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An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

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REMEMBER THEM THIS CHRISTMAS

● Three generations waiting — Roy Walsh's wife Mary, with their daughter Roisin, son Patrick and young niece Seana, two generations that have grown up waiting for the release of one of the political hostages held longest by the British government

FAMILIES THROUGHOUT the 32 Counties of Ireland and abroad will once again celebrate the feast of Christmas together this year, but amidst the joy and festivities there will be several hundred families with at least one loved one absent.

The families and loved ones of the Irish republican prisoners of war will be thinking of their sons or daughters who are spending Christmas in jails in Ireland, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium and the United States. All are political hostages, deprived of their liberty as a direct result of Britain's denial of the Irish people's right to national self-determination.

While the materialist aspect of the Christmas season is locked out of those prison cells something purer lies within. It manifests itself in the endurance and dignity of the republican prisoners. Among those who have endured

the most are the POWs who languish in the hostile environment of English jails many miles from their families. Of these Roy Walsh, Paul Holmes and Billy Armstrong remain the longest serving Irish prisoners in English jails.

Since their arrest more than 18 years ago Walsh, Holmes and Armstrong have been the victims of brutality, harassment and petty vindictiveness at the hands of the British prison regime.

Their treatment has been in stark contrast to that of loyalists, ordinary prisoners and members of the British armed forces. They have been denied

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News

Defending the community

IRA INTERVIEW

A SPOKESPERSON for the IRA in a statement issued last week, made public details of a policy review conducted earlier this year into its handling of criminal and anti-community elements who actively oppress the nationalist community in the North. The IRA revealed that over the past year, following a wide-ranging internal debate, it has dramatically reduced punishment shootings of persistent hard-core offenders and has instead concentrated on a policy of ordering them to leave the country for specified periods of time. This review of its policy, said the IRA, would continue.

In an interview given this week for AP/RN, a spokesperson for the IRA's Army Council spells out the background to the organisation's change in policy and its continuing commitment to help the community defend itself from criminals and gangsters.

AP/RN: Could you tell us what this change in direction means in practice and why it has come about?

IRA: First of all, let me say that the IRA has always recognised that punishment shootings, and other forms of physical punishment, constitute a form of 'rough justice' and that while regrettably sometimes necessary in the situation where ordinary nationalists are plagued and oppressed by thugs and gangsters, they represent a far from ideal response to that problem. In 1989 for instance, when the IRA — particularly in Belfast — escalated such punishments, an IRA spokesperson interviewed by AP/RN (*The Hoods and The RUC*, November 16th 1989) emphasised that we were actively seeking alternatives that would lead to a reduction of physical punishments. That review has continued periodically ever since and has led to a change in direction during 1991.

Anti-community thuggery and gangsterism are clearly not unique to our communities, and in fact in most European urban environments the problems exist at a considerably higher level. What makes the problem unique in nationalist areas in the Six Counties is the existence of a war here and the cynical use by the RUC of these elements to demoralise the nationalist community and, sometimes, to glean information on republican activists and supporters. That is why, although we have consistently said that the problem is a community one and requires a community response, and that our involvement in dealing with these thugs diverts personnel and resources away from our primary task of engaging the British armed forces, we nonetheless recognise our responsibility to assist the community in tackling the problem, and to take the lead where necessary. That commitment will remain.

The emphasis of our policy this year has been to sharply reduce physical punishments (there have been ten in Belfast this year as compared with about 80 in 1989) and implement in their place a wide range of non-physical responses. These include warnings and making individuals publicly accountable for their actions, and a much greater element of communication, where appropriate, with the families of the culprits. At the sharp end of this process, where other warnings and restrictions have failed or been ignored, or where the severity of the offence dictates, the IRA reserves the right to exclude individuals either from the country or from part of the country for a specified period of time. At the end of that period the individual is then permitted to return in exchange for a guarantee of future behaviour.

This policy has been implemented



with considerable success throughout this year, though it is only now — having monitored its impact — that we are making it publicly known. In nationalist areas, where clearly people have been aware of the change, it has proved highly popular. Obviously, as a people's army, the IRA recognises the dangers inherent in physical punishments. Once an individual had been shot in the legs there was very little to negotiate about, either with the person himself or his family. The policy of temporary exclusions for persistent offenders, on the other hand, with the prospect of exclusions being reviewed in exchange for firm guarantees concerning future behaviour, has the advantages of keeping channels of communication open between the IRA, the offender and his family, and this has been productive in many instances leading to an end to criminal behaviour.

AP/RN: Does this policy mean an end to all physical punishments?

IRA: We reserve the right in limited specific circumstances to take military action, including punishment shootings, against individuals. Obviously this includes those who ignore our order to leave or who return prematurely without clearance to do so. It would also include those involved in the distribution of 'hard' drugs in nationalist areas, those who (for instance, in connection with the drug trade) associate with loyalist criminal elements, and of course, where appropriate, those engaged in actively assisting the RUC in intelligence gathering. Punishment shootings have always been a weapon of last resort, and we are confident that the success of the IRA's current policy will lead to a continuing steady decline.

AP/RN: Have the publicity campaigns of groups like FAIT and the so-called 'Newry Hostages Support Group' (NHSG) had any bearing on the IRA's policy?

IRA: No. The hollow hypocrisy of these groups is amazing. Both of these groups in particular, as well as groups like New

Consensus, are heavily sponsored by political organisations including the Workers' Party who are notorious in nationalist areas for gangsterism, armed robberies and arbitrary and savage physical attacks, including shootings, of nationalist people — particularly young people. These groups are not primarily motivated by concerns about IRA punishments, but are 'fronts', well-financed by public funds from the NIO (Northern Ireland Office) whose main purpose is to articulate an anti-republican position from within the nationalist community. The NHSG for instance has cynically manipulated the two Newry men expelled by us from the town, and has spuriously and unsuccessfully tried to promote them as political hostages! Their own best interests would be served by accepting the IRA's punishment of them and opening a line of communication with the Republican Movement.

The IRA's record of consistent response over many years to the hardship inflicted on the nationalist community by thugs and gangsters compares immeasurably with the empty criticism of opponents like the groups mentioned, and the SDLP, which offer no solutions to the nationalist community other than reliance on the RUC. They do this despite knowing that the RUC use, and in many cases promote, such gangsterism as part of their counter-insurgency agenda. These groups' propaganda is for consumption outside of the nationalist community, where it is recognised for the hollow response it is.

Our policy is dictated by our experience and by our knowledge of, and membership of, the nationalist community — not by the propaganda of British inspired groupings.

AP/RN: You mentioned earlier the need for a community response to tackle these problems. Do you see much evidence of this?

IRA: Over the past few years there has been a growth of community-based projects — particularly in Belfast — striving to identify with and work with alienated young people in an effort to reduce certain types of anti-community behaviour. The efforts of these groups are genuine, and while their success has been understandably limited, they have nonetheless put the issue of proper provision for young people in our areas on the social agenda. While we obviously have no direct relationship with these groups we are watching their efforts with interest.

While not detracting from their efforts however, what is clearly needed is increased provision, in the form of cheap accessible facilities, for the majority of our young people who are not engaged in anti-community activities. The failure of the British government to provide these is an indicator of its cynicism towards the situation of young people in the nationalist community. They are more interested, through the RUC, in manipulating young people and the problems they face, to promote discord and demoralisation in our areas.

AP/RN: Finally, how would you sum up the IRA's role in defending the community against the gangsterism you mentioned?

IRA: The IRA exists to defend the nationalist community against the physical effects of British repression and to engage in armed struggle against the British political and military presence. We do not seek to be drawn into a conflict with members of that community, particularly young people, because of their involvement in anti-community activity. We will not of course permit individuals to inflict hardship on their own community unchecked. Some of those young people currently doing so would be better off channelling their energy into combatting the British presence. We urge them to do so.

(continued from front page)

transfer to prisons in Ireland where their families could visit them more easily and have each been subjected to long periods in solitary confinement; Walsh has spent a total of three and a half years in solitary.

They have also been the victims of 'ghosting'; constant prison moves designed to disrupt visits and family contacts.

The families of Irish prisoners are the only ones deliberately discriminated against by British government policy. The British Home Office prison rules state that prisoners should be held as near to their homes as possible, to maintain better family continuity.



● ROY WALSH



● PAUL HOLMES



● BILLY ARMSTRONG

A small ray of hope for these men came on Monday, December 16th, when two English High Court judges ordered British Home Secretary Kenneth Baker to give a release date to Roy Walsh, jailed for life in 1973.

Lord Justice Nolan and Justice Potts ruled that Baker had "misdirected himself" in deciding that Roy Walsh (43) should serve at least 20 years in jail and they said that a release date should be given within the next 28 days. The ruling will also affect the sentences of Billy Armstrong and Paul Holmes who were sentenced with Walsh. There are unconfirmed reports that the British Home Office may appeal the decision.

Arrested for bomb attacks on New Scotland Yard and the Old Bailey Law Courts in London in 1973, Walsh, Holmes and Armstrong are currently in their 19th year behind bars. They were each sentenced to two terms of 'discretionary' life plus 20 years. Five other people, all equally sentenced for the same offences, were freed a number of years ago.

The five co-accused were transferred to prisons in the Six Counties, four after a prolonged hunger strike in the mid '70s.

Despite the fact that they received exactly the same sentences as their co-accused — who are all free — Walsh, Holmes and Armstrong remain in prison and had been told that their release would not even be considered before 1995, by which time they will have been in prison for 23 years.

In November 1987, Walsh was told by Douglas Hurd, the then Home Secretary, that "the judiciary has been consulted" as to the minimum period of his detention and it had been decided that his release would not be considered until March 1990. Hurd refused to discuss the matter with Walsh's solicitors.

In July 1990, Walsh applied for a judicial review to quash the Home Secretary's continuing refusal to reconsider his decision implying that he should serve a tariff period of 20 years. The Parole Board ruled that Walsh should stay in jail and said it would conduct another review in March 1995. Kenneth Baker upheld and defended the decision.

Giving the judgement on Monday, December 16th, Lord Justice Nolan said that Baker was obliged to take account of the time served by prisoners in the Six Counties. He ruled that "in order to achieve fairness and equality of treatment among life prisoners, the Home Secretary is under an obligation to disclose the length of the tariff period to satisfy the require-

ments of retribution and deterrence to the prisoner".

The Home Secretary was under a duty to exercise an independent judgement and to consult with the judiciary afresh if it was drawn to his attention that the tariff period recommended was wholly out of line with that adopted by the courts in comparable cases.

In the case of Roy Walsh there was no suggestion that the Home Secretary had exercised an independent judgement in determining the tariff period, nor that he had taken account of any factors other than the advice of the Lord Chief Justice. The court emphasised that the Home Secretary alone decided when actual release took place.

Roy Walsh and his family are currently in the process of taking a case to the European Court of Human Rights seeking an end to their ordeal.

According to Roy Walsh's lawyers the latest development does not guarantee immediate release and he now wants to establish what his tariff date is so that this may be appealed.

As people celebrate this Christmas, they should bear in mind those like Roy Walsh, Paul Holmes and Billy Armstrong and all the Irish republican prisoners — over 700 of them — around the world and resolve that in the New Year they will do their bit to ensure an improvement in their conditions and that the cause for which they are incarcerated is achieved.

Major attacks in North and Britain

THIS WEEK saw the IRA once again deal the British political and military establishment's morale a devastating blow both in the Six Counties and in England, with military operations which paralysed the economic life of the British capital and wiped out yet another military barracks.

The latest crown forces base to be destroyed was an RUC barracks at Brownlow in North Armagh which was targeted on Thursday evening, December 12th. It is the third such base in that area to have been blown out of existence in the past 12 months.

In a supplied statement on the operation the IRA said that a number of Volunteers secured the blast area around Brownlow Barracks so as to prevent any civilians from straying into danger. They then drove a massive 2,000lb bomb into position at the rear of the barracks. The bomb, on board a white van, was, according to the IRA statement, at all times under the control of an IRA engineer who was only given the go ahead to detonate the device when the blast area was declared clear.

Seven RUC personnel inside the base at the time of the explosion miraculously escaped death. All that remained of the base from which they had carried out their operations, however, was a solitary aerial mast and the tangled wreckage of armoured cars and jeeps.

■ MILLIONS LOST

In Britain the IRA carried out a series of well co-ordinated bomb attacks and hoax-bomb alerts with an estimated initial cost to the British establishment of well over £55 million in lost revenues.

On Saturday, December 14th, three incendiary bombs exploded in department stores at the Brent Cross shopping centre, north-west London. At the height of the Christmas shopping peri-

od, the closure of the centre on Saturday morning resulted in an estimated loss of £5.6 million in revenue. Early on Sunday, an incendiary exploded in the British National Gallery in Central London. The device had been placed in the bookshop of the newly opened Sainsbury wing of the gallery.

The IRA's strategic bombing of London's Clapham junction, one of Europe's busiest rail junctions shortly before 6am on Monday, December 16th, caused massive disruption to the British capital's business community and an estimated cost of up to £50 million in lost revenue. With 13 London terminals closed for over five hours during peak travel time, it is believed that around 250,000 of the normal one million commuters were forced to abandon their journeys to work.

■ SOLDIER INJURED

A British soldier sustained gunshot wounds in a fierce exchange of fire between his patrol and an IRA active service unit which was operating on surveillance duty near the South Armagh village of Cullyhanna on Friday, December 13th.

In a statement on the shooting the IRA's South Armagh Brigade said that a number of its Volunteers armed with automatic rifles and machine-guns were "carrying out routine surveillance in the Cullyhanna area" when a helicopter dropped 16 British soldiers into a field near the Volunteers' position. The IRA said that "when the patrol walked into open ground our Volunteers opened fire during which at least one soldier was hit. The troops returned fire but all our Volunteers withdrew safely."

■ SECURITY BREACHED

A statement from the IRA's Derry Brigade has said that Volunteers under its command breached security around a British army communications centre on the Limavady Road on Thursday, December 19th, where they placed a bomb which later destroyed the centre.

The statement said that a number of Volunteers armed with assault rifles secured the area around the communications centre, which is situated inside a Territorial Army base, to enable IRA

engineers to place a bomb in position. The device exploded shortly after 10.30pm.

■ INCENDIARY BOMBINGS.

IRA incendiary attacks have continued to be targeted on a variety of commercial premises over the past seven days. The first of the attacks came on Friday, 13th, when a number of devices were uncovered at several sets of premises in Belfast.

Attacks were to follow on Tuesday 17th and Wednesday 18th in both Antrim and Belfast. The Antrim attacks which came on Tuesday, were targeted on three sets of premises but devices were discovered leading to a long clearance operation during which the devices were defused.

Attacks in Belfast the following day totally gutted three sets of premises at Duncrue Industrial Estate and at York Road in the north of the city while another device went off at a hangar in Shorts aircraft factory in East Belfast.



In a statement on press speculation which attempted to link a Belfast house fire to an incendiary device the IRA said: "We absolutely refute suggestions that one of our incendiary devices was responsible for the fire which gutted a house at Durham Court."

■ BRITS TARGETED

The IRA in Belfast has also said that its Volunteers carried out a series of bomb attacks against crown forces targets which left one soldier injured.

Four of the attacks saw Volunteers use blast bombs against crown forces mobile and footpats but crown forces personnel escaped uninjured in all but one of the attacks. The devices were thrown at Short Strand and the Markets on Sunday, December 15th, in Stewart Street in the Markets on Monday where one soldier was injured, and on the same day in Andersonstown where a jeep was targeted.

Referring to the other bomb attack, which saw a 2lb Semtex device explode at Saintfield Barracks on Monday, December 16th, the IRA said that Volunteers had placed a bobby-trap device behind the front gate of the barracks intending it to explode when opened by members of the crown forces. The device, however, was dislodged and exploded in the early hours of the morning causing slight damage to the base.

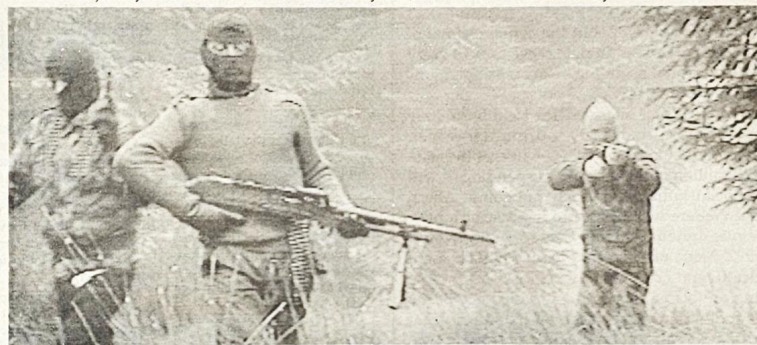
■ NEWRY EXPULSIONS

The IRA in South Down issued the following statement to the media:

"The IRA wishes to make the following statement regarding the five Newry men who were ordered to leave the town in August this year as a result of their anti-social activity.

"The IRA has decided that Noel McClory, Sean Brown and Gerwise White will be allowed to return for a three-day period beginning December 24th and will then be expelled again for a period up until March 31st 1992.

"In the cases of Liam Kearns and David Madigan the IRA has decided that they will remain expelled up until June 30th 1992 at which time their expulsion will be lifted dependent upon their behaviour."



● A routine IRA patrol such as this wounded a British soldier in a fierce gun battle in South Armagh last Friday

Spectacular Sinn Féin victory

SINN FÉIN achieved a spectacular victory in the Sperrin by-election with the election of Patsy Groogan to Magherafelt Council and a massive 43% increase in the share of the party's vote. The result was a resounding rejection of the pro-British assassins of the late Sinn Féin Councillor Bernard O'Hagan and a significant advance for the republican cause.

Three times in the space of the past ten months Sinn Féin have won by-elections in the Six Counties against all the predictions. The victories came in Torrent (Dungannon) Oldpark (Belfast) and now in Sperrin (Magherafelt).

At least two of the seats were ones which many observers and enemies of Sinn Féin felt that the party had no chance of winning and this third victory in a row is an answer to the media pundits North and South who have consistently attempted to portray a decline in Sinn Féin's electoral performance since the mid-'80s.

The Sperrin by-election was caused by the assassination of Coun-

cillor Bernard O'Hagan on September 16th last. O'Hagan's killing was part of an unprecedented wave of attacks by loyalist assassins against Sinn Féin members throughout 1990 and 1991 forming part of a restructured British counter-insurgency strategy. He was the fourth Sinn Féin member to be shot dead by the UFF/UDA this year alone. Many in the Sperrin area felt rightly that to have returned a non-Sinn Féin candidate in the by-election would have encouraged the assassins to continue their murderous campaign against the party. While the local SDLP were opposed to standing any candidate for these very reasons, the party executive imposed one on

the area. The drop in the SDLP vote of some 31% partly reflected local disgust at this decision.

In the event Patsy Groogan retained the Magherafelt Council seat for Sinn Féin squeezing past the SDLP by a margin of just two votes. But by any standards the result was a striking advance for the republican party whose share of the vote increased from 31% to 48%.

In a by-election in the same ward on August 28th the result was: SDLP 2,666, Sinn Féin 1,469 and the Workers' Party 640, giving the SDLP a majority of over 1,200 votes.

This time round Sinn Féin polled 2,101 first preferences, the SDLP only 1,855 and the Workers' Party 466.

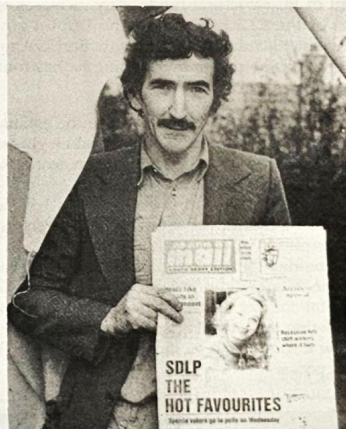
The recent electoral victories for Sinn Féin in different areas of the North were significant in their own right but combined they show a party machine that works cohesively and efficiently in spite of an unprecedented onslaught against it by loyalist killers and their allies.

The latest Sinn Féin win will have significantly boosted the party's morale in advance of any Westminster election which is at most only six months away.

The newly elected Sinn Féin Councillor Patsy Groogan condemned the arrest and detention of a young

Maghera man on December 12th. Glen Convery (21) was critically injured in an accident in April 1990 in which he lost his right arm completely and suffered severe disabling of the left arm and extensive first degree burns to his body. He has had dozens of operations to date and had just left hospital with 40 stitches when he was arrested by up to ten RUC men from his home. During the arrest the RUC abused Convery's mother and sister. He was charged with assault, actual bodily harm and intimidation and was refused bail in in Belfast's High Court on December 16th.

Groogan said that it was "inhuman in the extreme to arrest and detain someone in Convery's condition". Referring to the refusal of bail and the assertion by the RUC that they believed Convery would not turn up for trial, Groogan pointed out that the man was in need of constant



● COUNCILLOR PATSY GROOGAN

help, being unable to feed or wash himself.

He added: "I am particularly concerned that his medical condition will deteriorate and that given the conditions in Crumlin Road Jail, it will be impossible for him to recuperate in any way."



An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

December 19th 1991

■ Divide and conquer

THE DUBLIN GOVERNMENT had an assortment of messages and interpretations accompanying the publishing of its 1992 budget estimates. Divide and conquer was the underlying theme to Bertie Ahern's monologue. The PESP, recent poll surveys, a possible New Year election and PD demands had more to do with the estimates than the need for an equitable economic policy.

Ahern juggled percentages at will. He spoke of an increase in capital spending of 8.3%, an increase of 4% in total spending and predicted inflation of 3.5% in 1992. The agenda hidden behind the percentages was that Ahern is attempting to split the trade union movement over the PESP by paying wage increases selectively and honouring only particular commitments in the PESP. He claimed to be disappointed with the trade union attitude to the PESP renegotiation. Ahern was actually arming the government for the struggle that will ensue as the FF/PD coalition backs out of the minor commitments made to unions on social and economic reform.

The presentation centred on the 4% increase in overall spending proposed for next year, a seemingly generous increase of £276 million. Minister Ahern spoke at length, explaining in percentages how the £276 million would be split up. Health, Social Welfare and Education would account for more than £200 million of the spending increase.

As the smoke clears, questions need to be asked about the actual estimates. How much more money will be actually spent on additional services next year? What will the much heralded increase in capital spending be actually spent on? What motivated Ahern as he planned the estimates?

He laid emphasis on the additional spending allocated for Health, Welfare and Education. In all an increase of more than £200 million. However, unemployment is estimated to grow by 22,000 next year. This will cost the state almost £70 million, which leaves £130 million of the increase in spending. It will take £13 million extra to keep the Social Employment Scheme going. Ahern used the fact that spending on Social Welfare would have to increase as a publicity gimmick to counter the previous announcements that spending would have to be cut by £400 million in 1992. None of the actual money will be spent on improving services in Welfare, Health and Education.

The estimates on capital spending are also a maze of contradictions. Bertie Ahern bragged about the 8.3% (£144 million) increase in capital spending. What the minister did not highlight was that 55% of the total capital spending was funded by the EC. Most of the capital spending was planned in 1989 so as to avail of EC structural funds. Any increases announced now are in actual fact part of the £3.3 billion that the Dublin government receives from the EC between 1989 and 1993 anyway. Bertie Ahern is attempting to deceive the media and the public by claiming he has found the money to increase capital spending.

Fianna Fáil is determined to use the estimates as a relaunch of the government's flagging fortunes. The Dublin government's credibility has been seriously damaged over the past year on economic issues as much as public sector scandals. Obviously Haughey has an eye on "going to the people" in the New Year. It is possible that these estimates will never actually be implemented in their current form. The estimates could quite easily be the platform for a Fianna Fáil manifesto in early 1992.

Consider the broken promises in areas like the pupil-teacher ratio, the decline in spending on local authority and social housing and the increase in hospital charges. Then consider how Ahern has stuck rigidly to the Coalition borrowing and tax targets, it seems that the only people who get Fianna Fáil to follow through on a political commitment are the Progressive Democrats. What price power?

Beannachtáí na féile ó AP/RN

There will be no AP/RN next week. The first paper of the New Year will appear on Thursday, January 2nd 1992. Beannachtáí na Nollag agus na hAthbhliana dár léitheoirí uile in Éirinn agus ar fud an domhain.

News

RUSTLINGS IN THE HOLLY BUSH

■ BY HILDA McTHOMAS

IN THE LAST TWO WEEKS fresh rustlings have been heard in the political and media undergrowth: Peter Brooke could be relaunching his inter-party talks in the New Year. The prospects of a relaunch were discussed at this week's meeting of the inter-governmental conference in London between Brooke and Dublin minister Gerry Collins. A convenient 'gap' will be arranged in the schedule of intergovernmental conference meetings so that unionists can claim a suspension of the Hillsborough Agreement.

Brooke's previous attempt to produce some illusion of political movement between the unionists and the SDLP had collapsed early last July, within two weeks of the parties actually sitting down to exchange their analyses of the situation. Since then, the reason put forward by the British minister for shelving the talks had been the increasing proximity of British general elections.

The blanket refusal of the British to allow the expression of republican views, and their insistence in maintaining control over the North have been largely responsible for the failure, not just of the talks, but of all the British initiatives up to now. In the framework of the Six Counties and with the British agenda in operation, no political consensus is possible.

Yet unionists received most of the blame for the talks' collapse: had they not refused to continue talking if the London and Dublin government went ahead with a planned inter-governmental conference last July? And of course there was the ever-growing list of 'pre-conditions' which James Molyneux, but especially Ian Paisley kept building up.

The Dublin government would have to publicly commit itself to altering its Constitution's Articles Two and Three, the territorial claim over the North, which Ian Paisley described again last week as "iniquitous, blood-soaked and criminal".

Talks would have to take place in London, and even in Westminster, declared the integrationist James Molyneux, leader of the Official Unionist Party, who suggested that party leaders of the two unionist parties and the SDLP could start meeting informally in Westminster without waiting for an official resumption of Brooke's Talks. This was seen by Dublin and the SDLP as the unionists trying to evacuate the Dublin dimension out of the talks.

The SDLP, with problems of their own as their latest conference revealed, paid lip-service to the idea of talks without pushing very hard to get them started again. Since the talks collapsed, loyalist death squads have escalated their attacks on the nationalist community. And given the IRA's continued and relentless attack on the British presence in the Six Counties, British Premier John Major hinted at the recent summit meeting in Dublin that the proximity of elections was not a sufficient reason for putting

the talks "on hold". No doubt coincidentally, within days Brooke discovered he was "a bit more hopeful" about getting the talks started again.

What changed in the interim? Nothing, except the order from Brooke's boss to get the lead out and the politicians' tongues wagging between now and the elections. Unionists have not given up on any of their preconditions. SDLP and unionist leaders have all made noises about the need for talks. As the unionist daily the *Newsletter* ironically pointed out on December 13th, "it is the essence of diplomacy for all constitutional politicians to seek to give the impression that they are in favour of a resumption of the talks".

Yet the SDLP have as yet refused to say if they would agree that the talks take place in London — a direct snub to their view about the 'three sets of relationships'. And last weekend Ken Maginnis of the OUP predicted that unless Dublin announced movement on Articles Two and Three early on, the talks would founder fairly quickly.

The tone of newspaper editorials did not suggest a sea-change either. On December 13th the nationalist *Irish News* wrote that unionists "must not be allowed to hold to ransom" those who want a settlement for all sides. On the 16th the unionist *Newsletter* replied that "what Dublin and the SDLP (with NIO acquiescence) want for unionists is not a settlement; it is surrender".

A week later the *Irish News* came back with a defence of Articles Two and Three: "Nationalists by definition believe in the reunification of Ireland. Articles Two and Three give form and expression to that desire. It has also been established in the Irish courts that the government and Dáil are obliged to work for a united Ireland. Without Articles Two and Three this Constitutional imperative would disappear."

The *Irish News* pointed out that the right of northern nationalists to an Irish passport would go with Articles Two and Three, and concluded that unionists had "underestimated the strength of feeling of the nationalist community to this most emotive issue".

And so, once again, talks may be organised between some political parties, to satisfy a British agenda which demands that the British government should be seen to be doing something about Ireland, especially when the IRA is suc-



● Brooke — another charade in the offing?

cessfully applying pressure both in the Six Counties and in Britain itself. Such talks will collapse, just like the previous attempts did. But for the British that is not the point.

An interesting aspect is the open courting of the unionists by the British government, due to the possibility, if not of a hung parliament, at least of a slim majority for Conservatives after the next general elections. The British have worked hard of late to preserve unionist goodwill. In an interview with the *Irish Times* last September Brooke called Articles Two and Three "unhelpful" and "overly at variance with Article One of the Hillsborough Agreement" — a view contrary to that of Dublin's Supreme Court judgement in the case brought by the McGimpsey brothers. At the start of the month the *Times* announced the appointment of a new adviser for Brooke. Jonathan Caine, known for his unionist sympathies, was described as part of the "cham offensive directed at Ulster unionists" prior to the general election — a report which much annoyed the British government.

It is therefore highly unlikely that the British will put much pressure on the unionists to give on any of their preconditions regarding any new set of talks.

It is Dublin and the SDLP who will be expected to give in. The SDLP may well refuse to do so, in particular for electoral reasons. They may well end up this time as the baddies in the British press, but it will not cost them any votes in the northern nationalist community.

Yet for Irish nationalists it is tragic that once again the SDLP, and the Dublin government, are lending themselves to this British charade, raised quite cynically as a smokescreen for the failure of the British government to take the only courageous initiative with the potential to achieve peace: a declaration of intent to withdraw and appropriate action taken to persuade unionists to take part in political developments on an all-Ireland basis.



● Geraldine Ryan unveiling the monument to the Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, and plaque to her husband Liam in Moortown, County Tyrone

Tribute by the Lough shore

THE PIERCING STRAINS of the *Last Post* cut across the still air of a country graveyard on the western shores of Lough Neagh as republicans gathered in Moortown, County Tyrone, to unveil a monument to Volunteer Liam Ryan, killed along with Michael Devlin on November 29th 1990 by a loyalist death squad at the nearby Battery Bar owned by Ryan.

A colour party on an unusually bright December day led the procession of several hundred people to the graveside where Pearse McAleer chaired the proceedings. The national flag flew above the grave as the colour party stood to attention. Ryan's young widow Geraldine was presented with his beret and gloves before stepping forward and uncovering the splendid monument to the Tyrone Brigade of Ogligh na hEireann and plaque to commemorate her husband.

As the bugler played the *Last Post* the National Flag was lowered and

raised before Pat McGeown was called upon to give his oration. In it he spoke of the warm qualities of Liam Ryan and how he had a profound love of his native Tyrone, especially the Lough shore. He spoke of an evening spent in his company when it seemed, in spite of Liam's involvement in the republican struggle, as if he hadn't a care in the world. He spoke of his dedication and commitment and how he is missed by his family and comrades. The proceedings were brought to a close by the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.

Mobilise for Bloody Sunday — 20 years on

PREPARATIONS are already well advanced for the events next month to mark the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday in Derry when British soldiers of the Parachute Regiment shot dead 14 civilians. The events in Derry between January 20th and 26th are being co-ordinated by the Bloody Sunday Initiative which came together earlier this year to prepare for the anniversary of the 1972 massacre, a turning-point in modern Irish history.

The new independent group describes its purpose as encouraging "creative and imaginative political action around the future of Ireland". The Initiative, which includes relatives of those killed on Bloody Sunday, has attracted a wide range of participants including students, trades unionists, radical Christians, artists and community activists.

Commenting on the initiative, the group says that there has been a lasting significance to the events of Sunday, January 30th 1972, when 13 civil rights demonstrators were shot dead and many more injured (one dying later) by British paratroopers. However, the group sees its focus as on the future in "helping to work for British withdrawal and to build an independent, pluralistic, democratic and non-sectarian Ireland".

The group is committed to working non-violently and is open to anyone who wishes to work for the political goals identified by the initiative.

The Bloody Sunday Initiative sees itself as part of an international struggle "against repression and discrimination, against racism and colonialism, against poverty, sexism and injustice". The Initiative has organised a series of events, including debates, seminars and workshops, in the run-up to this year's march and rally on Sunday, January 26th. The events open on Thursday, January 23rd, with a debate "Better off with the Border?"



focusing on partition. On Friday 24th there is a day-long seminar "One world, one struggle" which focuses on Ireland in today's world. On Friday evening in "What happened and why?" eye-witnesses, including an Italian journalist, Fulvio Grimaldi, give their accounts of Bloody Sunday. A day-long series of workshops on Saturday explore human rights in Ireland followed by a concert in the evening.

The culmination of the week's activities will be the annual Bloody Sunday demonstration to which people have been invited to attend in huge numbers from all over Ireland and abroad. The Bloody Sunday Initiative will be extending specific invitations to a number of marching bands and other bands wishing to attend should contact the group as soon as possible.

All information can be obtained from the Bloody Sunday Initiative, 1 Westend Park, Derry, BT48 9JE.



● The Bloody Sunday Initiative are organising a series of events for the 20th anniversary of the 1972 massacre of 14 unarmed civilians by British soldiers

Poster, poem or essay

A Chara,

We would like to publicise a nationwide poster, poetry and essay competition which the Bloody Sunday Initiative is running to mark the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday. The Initiative is an independent group in Derry whose purpose is to encourage creative and imaginative political action around the future of Ireland. However, we are not a backward looking group, our focus is the future; helping to work for British withdrawal and to build an independent and pluralistic non-sectarian Ireland. The Initiative will especially seek to promote respect of human rights, dignity and justice within Ireland and internationally.

Entrants are asked to produce a poster, poem or essay expressing their view of a "Just Ireland".

The details of the competition are as follows:

Age groups 12-14; 14-16; 16-18

Essay length 12-14 100-150 words; 14-16 200-250

words; 16-18 400-500 words.

There is no limit in the poetry competition. First prize in all categories is a framed Bloody Sunday poster. Second prize in the 12-14 group is a £15.00 book token. Other groups will receive a copy of the new book by Eamonn McCann, entitled *Bloody Sunday in Derry*, which is due to be published in January. The poster competition will be judged by artist Robert Ballagh, the poetry competition by the poet Thomas Kinsella, and the essay competition by Prof Seamas Deane. The closing date for all entries is Friday, January 17th 1992. Entries should be sent or handed in to the above address and clearly marked "Bloody Sunday Competition".

Stephen Gargán,
Bloody Sunday Initiative,
1 Westend Park,
Derry city,
Ireland,
BT48 9JE.

Feature

Christmas parole — caution from POWs

IN A LETTER to the Campaign for Life on December 11th the republican prisoners gave a word of caution about Christmas paroles.

Later this month the Northern Ireland Office will announce that "Home Leave" parole will be granted to prisoners who have served at least 12 years of their sentences. Included in this category will be Life/SOSP prisoners. You will see on your TVs and in your papers an NIO minister, if not Brian Mawhinney himself, extolling the merits and success of previous paroles. It will be stated that these paroles are designed to help the prisoners and their families adjust to normal family life.

We the prisoners feel that what this announcement will not say is that for some Life/SOSP prisoners into their 17th year of imprisonment this will be the seventh time on parole and they are still without any prospect of securing a permanent release date.

While we welcome these paroles, as do our families, our joy is overshadowed by the prospect of spending many more years in prison with the uncertainty for ourselves and our families of not knowing when or if we will secure a permanent release date.

Do not be fooled that "Home Leave" parole is a humanitarian gesture on the part of the NIO. Mr John Cope, who was then the Minister for Prisons, dispelled this myth in July 1989 when he said that the NIO was giving parole to 120 lifers who had served over 13 years and that it was all part of the British government's efforts to win the "battle for hearts and minds". Clearly not a humanitarian gesture but rather the NIO cynically using prisoners for a propaganda exercise.

This year it would be nice if one interviewer would ask the question: "If the prisoners, some of whom have been on parole for the seventh time, are not deemed to be a 'danger to society' while out on parole, why then can they not be released permanently?"

Why is it a man who is into his 17th year of imprisonment is released for one week only to be snatched back to prison with no permanent release date? Isn't this cruel to both prisoner and family?

Is sinné,
Republican POWs,
H-Blocks,
Long Kesh.



● The aftermath of a night of rioting in Toxteth, Liverpool during 1981 — Could similar riots spill on to Dublin streets?

Brian Kenna from Dublin is one over 60 republicans who are spending Christmas in Portlaoise Prison. He took particular interest in the media hype about rampant crime and vandalism in some of the city's suburbs during November. In this article he puts it into perspective, using his experience as a community activist in his native Finglas.

Winter on the streets

■ Brian Kenna
(Portlaoise)

APRIL 1991 saw the tenth anniversary of the Brixton Riots in London which were to be followed by major disturbances that summer in dozens of cities throughout England. For us as republicans, and indeed, community activists, the issue of urban violence in such English cities as London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol ten years ago might not, at first glance, be seen as having any significance. But if we make an effort to look beyond the media hype surrounding recent trouble in some of Dublin's outer suburbs, we begin to realise that the social and economic background which prompted the Brixton riots is also at the core of some of the disturbances in Dublin's more disadvantaged districts.

Ten years ago the borough in which Brixton is situated had a housing waiting list of 18,000. More than a third of the existing housing stock was sub-standard. The area experienced massive unemployment, had a high rate of robbery and petty crime and little or no social amenities. The situation which exists in Dublin's local authority areas at the centre of "crime hype" media reports in recent weeks, all too sadly mirrors that experienced by the disadvantaged communities of Brixton, Hansworth, Toxteth, Moss Side, and St Pauls in the summer of 1981.

Dublin presently has a housing waiting list of 10,000 people. Housing maintenance cutbacks have led to many houses falling into disrepair for existing tenants. Unemployment has reached 80% in many local authority areas. Grant schemes which reward the surrendering of local authority homes has given those in secure employment the opportunity to leave disadvantaged districts, but has led to a ghettoisation of some areas for the remaining tenants. Many of the estates experi-

encing difficulties at the present time were built haphazardly in the late '60s and early '70s as an immediate answer to the housing shortage of the time and were built with no forward planning, inadequate back-up services and almost non-existent recreational facilities.

Add to that the social problems caused by the continued availability of addictive drugs in our communities; the additional burden placed on women in poverty situations, problems relating in particular to illiteracy problems facing lone parents; and the real, often overwhelming feeling of powerlessness experienced by those on long-term unemployment assistance and caught in the poverty trap. All this considered it should not come as any great shock to us that the social fabric of our society in these areas is beginning to experience great strain. It is not so much a case of these people being incapable of making decisions or choices to improve their situation, rather we must accept that their options are severely limited by the nature of the poverty and the structures of the society in



● BRIAN KENNA

which they are forced to live.

For the young people growing up in such extremely socially deprived areas, opportunities for a better life are few and far between. To remain in the areas which provided no employment for their parents is to almost certainly condemn themselves to a similar life of nothingness. Apart from the odd few who may be lucky enough to be successful in sport or perhaps music the only other real option is to emigrate.

In the media coverage over the last number of weeks the only reference to the social and economic reality of life in the disadvantaged districts of Dublin has been a fleeting mention of the level of unemployment. The news media appears to have been determined to sensationalise the whole notion of rampant crime, vandalism and lawlessness. The very presence of TV cameras with journalists willing to interview eight-year-old children serves to guarantee that these acts will take place. One could ask where these journalists and camera crews are when eight-year-olds (and younger) inject themselves with discarded syringes, found on stairwells of inner-city flat complexes or behind school bike sheds in the outer suburbs, but then again Dublin's drug problems are old hat and pre-teen addicts no longer

make the news.

Instead of attempting to portray the causes of the recent disturbances, the media has used irresponsible language to inflame the emotions of the people unfortunate enough to have to live in these areas. Talk of "rampant crime", "mob violence", "garrulous running riot", "the need for more gardai" and "longer custodial sentences for children" lends nothing to an understanding of the problem and serves only to cloud the issue. Paper never refuses ink and perhaps the recent events have given the "media managers" a welcome break from the repetitive, boring and to be honest, pathetic stories of political and financial scandals emanating from the members of Leinster House and their associates.

The real causes of social unrest in our communities are varied and wide-ranging. Whilst there is a role for responsible parenthood, it is wrong for society to seek to blame those parents who for whatever reason, have been unable to cope with the situation they find themselves in. It is equally wrong to seek to punish those youths involved in disturbances if we make no attempt to address the inequalities and disadvantages faced by those forced to live in situations of social deprivation. What is needed is a policy of positive discrimination for our more disadvantaged communities which would ensure the provision of publicly funded recreational facilities in those areas worst affected.

The whole area of education must be reviewed. Pupil-teacher ratios must come down and there must be full access to remedial classes for those pupils who require them. The educational system must extend to the parents and every assistance must be afforded those parents who could benefit from further educational or personal development. The area of family support must be greatly improved and those unfortunate enough to be at the lower end of the social and economic scale should be afforded full participation in communal affairs. The creation of real employment, not schemes or courses designed to alter the live register figures, has to be a priority. The provision of employment which offers real hope for the future is essential if our youth are to have any sense of self-worth.

These are all short-term measures which must be implemented immediately if we are to redress the present inequalities, but as a more long-term objective we have to look to real reform of local government so that working-class people can achieve a greater sense of participation in the corporations and councils which are supposed to look after their needs. Until we have tackled all the problems that are part and parcel of daily life in the disadvantaged districts of Dublin, we cannot claim to be truly concerned and have no right to judge the people who live there.

There are many areas throughout Ireland which have the capacity to explode at any given time and if we are to prevent that situation happening we must tackle the source of the problem and not just treat the symptoms. Unless we do so, next summer, when the dry warm weather brings youths onto the streets in greater numbers looking for things to do, we could be facing a real Brixton situation.

Feature

Christmas in the prisons

A season in Belfast's dungeon

THE FORCED INTEGRATION of republican prisoners in Crumlin Road Jail is the last vestige of the Northern Ireland Office's failed and discredited criminalisation policy. Crumlin Road prison is the only prison in the Six Counties where prisoners are denied an opportunity to live in an environment which in any way reflects their cultural and political identity. They are forced to live under a regime which cannot guarantee their safety from attack or intimidation.

The NIO, in their attempts to enforce integration, refuse prisoners access to the most basic educational and recreational facilities. The NIO stand over these refusals by citing that they cannot be provided in the interests of security and the good order of the prison. The underlying reason for this denial of basic amenities remains that for forced integration to operate prisoners have to be locked up for 23 hours each day and not permitted any access to amenities.

Not only are the prisoners them-

selves living under the constant threat of serious injury within the prison, but their families also find themselves drawn into the conflict. Collusion between loyalist paramilitaries and the crown forces is common place, and on numerous occasions letters, visiting permits, addresses, and photographs have found their way to loyalists by the hands of prison warders. Recently this situation has become even worse with the relatives of republican prisoners coming to or going from the prison being attacked by loyalists.

The NIO has had to admit that it could not put in place effective measures to prevent this, and yet still forces republican and loyalist to be housed in the same accommodation within the prison.

In recent times the NIO's attitude to the forced integration situation is one of extreme duplicity. On the one hand the NIO accept that it is sensible (and in its interests) to keep republicans and loyalists apart as much as possible. Yet the British refuse to implement the necessary policy changes to guarantee this separation and rely on republicans and loyalists to avoid each other in all areas of the prison. In doing so these prisoners deny themselves access to the already limited amenities to ensure they remain free from attack. Due to the confined nature of the living area it is impossible to completely avoid each other and this adds to an already volatile environment. Violence has erupted many times and as a result of the collusion between the prison warders and the loyalist prisoners, republican prisoners are often led into areas where they are outnumbered by loyalists.

If the NIO continues with this inhumane and dangerous policy then the Crumlin Road Jail will remain a source of conflict. Republican prisoners will continue to resist all attempts to criminalise them and will resist forced integration. Any minor cosmetic changes that do nothing to address the underlying cause of the problem must be exposed as such. The NIO must take steps to adopt a more sensible and humane approach.

The NIO know that the basis for the relatively stable environment which has been established in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh is recognising the



● The situation in Crumlin Road Jail is now out of control and can now only be stabilised by some form of separation

political and practical realities of the situation, that is that republican and loyalist prisoners cannot be forcibly housed together without conflict. Segregation in the H-Blocks has allowed the prisoners there to establish an environment conducive to their political aspirations. The NIO should extend their own "H-Block logic" to the Crumlin Road and by doing so remove conflict and fear of conflict from the situation and at the same time allow a humane regime to prevail.

Republican prisoners are not engaged in any campaign of prison protest. Instead we have attempted to negotiate better conditions and to keep the tension in here to a minimum. This sensible approach to the problem has been rebuffed by an intransigent prison administration intent on forcibly inte-

grating republican and loyalist prisoners to make a political point. The only way they can do this is by denying all facilities. They then try to provoke republican prisoners through petty punishments and sectarian antics.

The situation is now out of control and can only be stabilised by the implementation of some form of separation. All we ask is that we are kept in a hygienic environment, safe from violent attack and with educational and recreational facilities. This can only happen when the ending of forced integration is recognised as a human rights issue which must be supported by all those who believe in the humane and civilised treatment of prisoners.

PRO,
Republican Prisoners,
Crumlin Road Jail.

Writing from Long Kesh on behalf of the POWs there Brian Campbell, who is serving a 15-year sentence in H7, gives the view from below as Britain's high and mighty make ever more frequent flights over the prison camp.

Keeping an eye on the flying circus

NINETEEN NINETY ONE has been a bumper year for Royal watchers in Long Kesh. Every time a member of the British Royal family visits the Six Counties their red helicopter flies over the camp en route to Hillsborough. This year the traffic has been heavy. Royals by the dozen and Brits by the hundred to guard each one. They hold garden parties, visit schools and homes and hostels, make righteous little speeches and produce fawning coverage in the local media. And all to reassure their worried subjects that 'Ulster' is British. That's show business, public relations and politics rolled into one.

It's all rather pathetic, but it gives our morale a boost too. After all, NIO confidence can be reckoned in inverse proportion to the number of royal visits.

It can also be reckoned by whisperings about internment. It is a touching way to mark the 20th anniversary of the opening of Long Kesh by threatening a new generation with a spell behind the wire. A British solution to a British problem. They have this fixation with wanting to lock up more people and for longer periods. And yet imprisonment is a complex phenomenon which acts on people in ways which oppressors find hard to imagine. As the British Queen Eliza-

beth gazes down upon us she would undoubtedly find it comforting to think of us locked up out of harm's way, safely tucked up in bed at night. But our lives do not stand still in jail.

Terry Anderson, the American held captive in Beirut for almost seven years, said recently that his ordeal was not an entirely negative experience, and that he had learned a lot, particularly about himself.

Take then republican POWs captured in the 1970s. Fired with a clear determination that jail would not be a breakers' yard, either for them personally or for the Republican Movement, how much have they overturned the prison regime's aim of sapping their



● One of the many 'Royal' attempts this year to reassure the worried subjects that 'Ulster' is British

morale and commitment? Hundreds of POWs have fought the system through the Blanket protest and hunger strikes, the battle for segregation, the escape of 1983 and the formation of our own education system, and have borne the personal crises of imprisonment to emerge as stronger people.

Republicans have come to know a lot about imprisonment. In Long Kesh we have men with release dates 18 years hence and men with no release dates, men who were once interned and men who weren't even born when internment was introduced, men just in and men with 17 years served.

In 1991 the continuing release of those who have served long sentences, particularly those sentenced in the 1970s and the entry of many new POWs into the jail has produced a feeling that Long Kesh is undergoing a sort of generational change. The new generation is also learning one of the paradoxes of jail: time is a valuable

commodity. Making the best use of your time begins with an attitude of mind which combines a desire for personal and collective development with a recognition that the struggle doesn't end when you are sentenced.

That attitude has always been at the heart of the republican approach to imprisonment. What is conventionally perceived as a negative experience holds within it opportunities for both the Republican Movement and the POW.

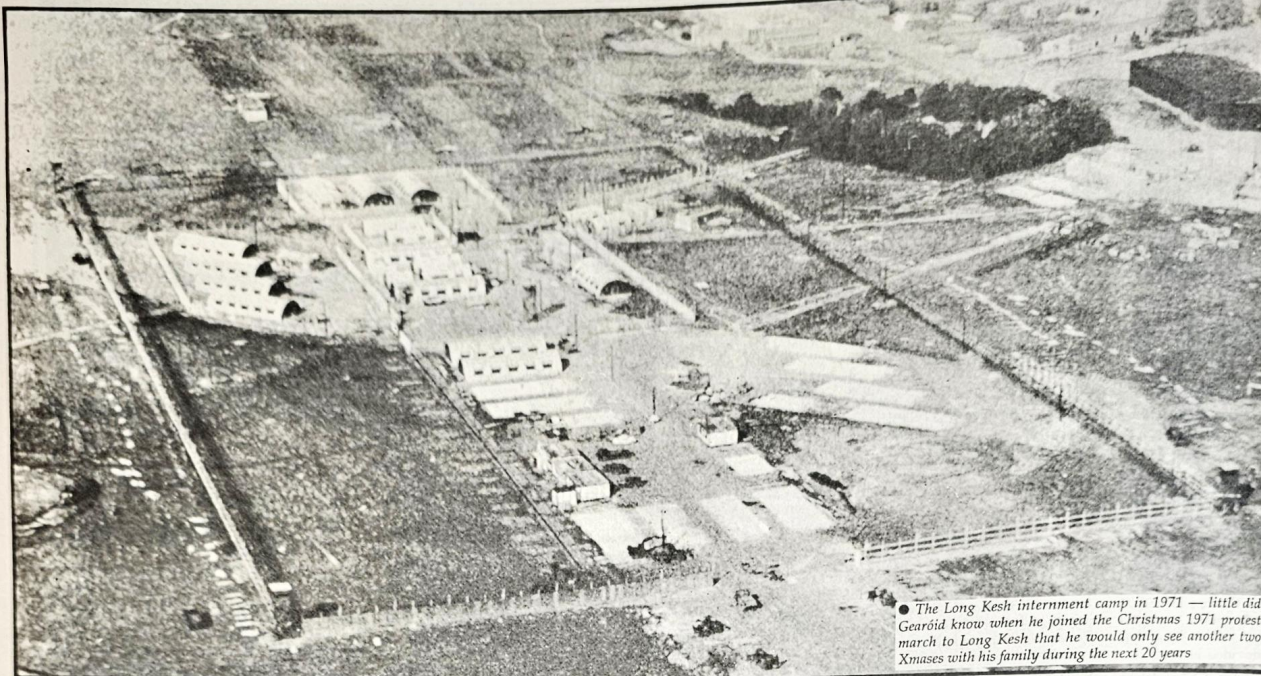
But the families and partners of POWs can have a different view of imprisonment. They have none of the immediate comradeship and support which we, living every day together, can give each other. They suffer financial hardship and must often cope alone with children and the affairs of the home. Of course the British, with their attitude to areas such as visits, transfers and compassionate parole are intent on punishing the families as well as the POWs themselves. We owe an impossible debt of gratitude to our

families, our partners and our friends who have supported us. At times of crisis in the jails our communities have also rallied to us and that has been a factor limiting the more coercive impulses of the prison regimes.

In important ways imprisonment is a double-edged sword for the British. It is a policy area which has rebounded on them so often that it must now be clear that it has its limits as a means of domination. A quick glance at the 20-year history of Long Kesh is enough to confirm that.

Imprisonment cannot defeat the Republican Movement, any more than Santa Claus can deliver all those presents on his own.

That's a comforting thought to ponder as we get ready for our Christmas dinner. This year we might tune in to hear Elizabeth Windsor making her speech. And in 1992 we'll look forward to giving her family's Flying Circus a friendly wave on their numerous flights above us. Merry Christmas!



● The Long Kesh internment camp in 1971 — little did Gearóid know when he joined the Christmas 1971 protest march to Long Kesh that he would only see another two Xmas with his family during the next 20 years

18 Christmases in British prisons

Gearóid Mac Domhnaill from Belfast has spent a total of 18 Christmases in British prisons in the Six Counties and in England. He is currently serving a life sentence in Leicester Prison and he writes here in a defiant spirit typical of the Irish republican hostages in English jails, all serving savagely long sentences.

Together we shall make Christmases in prison a memory of the past

TICK TOCK, TICK TOCK

WHILE WALKING round the yard the other day a comrade asked me, "How many Christmases have you been in jail?" (Mind you there were one or two during internment which I didn't "see" too well, wonder if they count?) Anyway, I paused to count and recount the last 20 years for my comrade.

On Xmas day 1971 my Aunt May Hannaway (RIP) and I joined with others in a march to Long

Kesh, as an act of solidarity with the internees and POWs everywhere. Our march was stopped on the M1

by the mercenary Brits and thugs of the RUC — we were denied the right to continue our march so we sat down and made speeches and sang songs. Eventually we were forced back along the way we came — I was knackered and fell into bed at 9pm — little did I know but I would only see another two Xmas under my own family roof during the next 20 years.

Nineteen seventy two saw me arrested, charged and remanded to Armagh Jail, where among less eventful but interesting things which we engaged in — we supported the hunger strike in the Crum for political status which we won in June. Lack of evidence saw me released in July. (I was in on the evidence of a young lad who retracted his statement saying he had been beaten and forced to tell such tales.) Freedom was relatively short-lived as I found myself interned before the end of the year and in the company of those whom I'd marched in support of the Xmas before.

The years 1973 and '74 saw me in the company of comrades young and old, fit and infirm. The older ones told tales of imprisonment and internment in prisons and on prison ships — North and South.

Some of those comrades went on to die in Long Kesh Cages, H-Block

hunger strikes, on active service on the outside and of natural causes like John Joe McGill and Volunteer Liam Hannaway. Lots of names and memories.

In October 1975 I found myself in the Crumlin Road Jail, still an internee, but also sentenced, having broken a PO's jaw for threatening to stop all my visits if I didn't let him photograph me. He said it didn't matter if I hadn't changed since the photo he had taken — no photo no visits. I gave him my answer. I got the shit kicked out of me by a large bunch of his pals, my clothes ripped off and photographed naked while held by the arms and hair! But I made my point too — and I didn't give 'em a photo! Sod 'em! Anyway internment was just about over and in mid-November during a feud I got out! I had 1975 and '76 at home, but then...

In March 1977 I was arrested, taken to Castlereagh, held for some days, charged by Scotland Yard detectives with conspiracy to cause, and causing explosions in England? News to me... Two lads were on remand for it already, and eventually were convicted. In my case there was lack of evidence (they never did produce any) and I was recharged with possession of materials at home — excluded from England



● Gearóid Mac Domhnaill in an English Jail in 1988

and remanded to Crumlin Road.

Another phase of an eventful year — when the loyalists put a bomb in our cell and it detonated at the dinner-hour lock-up, wrecking everything in our cell.

Being RTP's (Rough Tough Provos) cough cough — we were not too ruffled and so the recent operation by Ogaigh in the Crum I see as a long overdue response and one which may save republicans dying.

However, I was to see Xmas on remand in H1 Block, Long Kesh. I was sentenced in March '78 (16 years) and I went 'ar an phluid' — joining comrades in very memorable conditions, soon to become the no-wash, no sleep-out phase. They were difficult times in wonderful company, 1978, '79, '80 and the first

● British soldiers at Long Kesh during the 1971 hunger strike. A memory for me because not only to see no comrades die the back-up hunger strike and I'd become jaundiced week — my birthday was the hunger strike on 18th. A time of relief for lies. Tragedy, however, the corner and before we Christmas '81, ten of our comrades were to have all in the H-Blocks.

Nineteen eighty-one sad Xmas, but in their soldiered on and made could. Nineteen eighty-two still in the Blocks but turning point. In September we decided to spend Xmas elsewhere — some effort of others who were

nate. In 1984 I got married a wonderful person, but again around the corner Kieran Fleming was to on active service and Cl overshadowed by the body in the frozen water

But 1985 was to see in Britain and remanded Jail The previous two spent in the company people and comrades I get.

From Brixton in 1986 fenced to life and

Christmas IIII the prisons



ers at Long Kesh after the dramatic breakout in 1983 by 38
Ws including Gearóid

A memorable Xmas not only was I glad to see the end of the strike group jaundiced in the first birthday was the 19th strike ended on the relief for many families however, was around before we were to see men of our friends and to have given their

ghty-one was a sad, in their memory we made it what we eighty-two saw me ecks but 1983 was in September, 38 of spend Xmas of that — some of us were hanks in part to the who were less fortu-

ot married to a very on, but tragedy was ne corner. Volunteer was to drown while and Christmas was by the search for his en waters. s to see me arrested emanded to Brixton us two years were mpany of wonderful arades I'll never for-

in 1986 — I was sen-
life and moved to

Parkhurst Special Security Unit for Xmas 1986, then to Leicester SSU where I've spent 1987, '88, '89, '90 and now '91.

You may sound shocked to read of a series of Xmas like this — but I don't find my experience untypical of many, many comrades. Many less fortunate than I have fallen in the struggle and at Xmas it's always to them and their families and loved ones that my thoughts go. They, like our own loved ones, remain the victims. Think of them this Christmas.

I think of the tick tock of time and the things which show us that nothing can change the tide of resistance. Last month two Ogligha gave their lives in the heartland of the occupier for that struggle. Volunteer Patricia Black was not even born when my story had its beginning! Volunteer Frankie Ryan was only starting school! The struggle goes on and the British government has seen more judgements against it in the European Court. Still more cases on the issue of repatriation/transfer will be brought soon.

The fact is that while Irish people live so too shall that desire to be free — and we shall be free. Just you wait and see. Together we shall make Christmases in prison a memory of the past. But when I think of the tick tock of time the song of The Dubliners *My Old Alarm Clock* always comes to mind and I smile and I know —

Tiocfaidh Ar Lá!

There are over a dozen women republicans serving sentences in Maghaberry Prison in County Antrim. In the 26 Counties Pamela Kane is held in Limerick Prison, in England Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer are held in Durham; more republicans are held on remand in several jails. In this article Ailish Carroll (Maghaberry) on behalf of those women prisoners, pays tribute to the relatives of the POWs and to all who work for them and gives an overview of the main prison issues.

We salute your dedication

IN THE LEAD UP TO CHRISTMAS each year the relatives of republican POWs are busying buying Christmas parcels, posting cards and arranging that all-important Christmas visit. They take great care and go to great expense to see that we are well catered for and to show us that they care.

Unfortunately, though, the time and cost of supporting a loved one in jail is as demanding all year round as it is in the festive season. The families of those POWs held in jails throughout England, Belgium, France, Germany and the US know only too well the strain and pressure that results from trying to maintain some sort of relationship with the prisoner.

The continued policy of the British government to hold Irish prisoners in English jails ensures the maximum hardship for families and friends. Women and children are forced to make the harrowing journey by boat or plane, at great expense, several times each year. For those who are unable to travel, all meaningful contact is lost which places great strain on relationships and family bonds.

The British cabinet have spelt out quite clearly that they don't give a damn about prisoners or their relatives but at the same time they enjoy using POWs as political hostages. Repatriation, they say, is not on the agenda, with the result that this Christmas, as in past years, a great many families will be denied the chance to deliver their Christmas greetings in person.

Further problems arise for visitors to jails, some closer to home than others. The families of those men imprisoned in Crumlin Road Jail have not only lost many visits over the past weeks but have also been forced to wait hours on those days they are actually permitted into the jail at all. They have suffered, and continue to suffer tremendous emotional stress because the British are determined in their attempts to forcibly integrate republican and loyalist prisoners.

Attempts have been made on the lives of relatives visiting Crumlin Road Jail and they have suffered both verbal and physical assaults within the jail itself. Despite the fact that visits to the Crum have become something of a nightmare, the families of the POWs there continue undeterred, risking everything for a mere half-hour with their loved one.



● Maghaberry Prison, where sentenced and remand republican women POWs are held in the Six Counties

We women in Maghaberry are forever indebted to those who support us year in year out. Many of the women here have young children who are being looked after by family and friends. Raising someone else's child or children is a tremendous undertaking but one which our families accept without question. Our visitors continue to come here and give us their support despite the worsening visiting conditions, lengthy delays and the other hassles that visiting involves.

Republican POWs are, wherever they may be incarcerated, also indebted to those who help to lessen the burden for both ourselves and our relations. A wide range of financial support and advice is on offer from the POW Department, Prisoners Welfare, Green Cross, The Transport Department and many other concerned individuals and organisations. Too many to name individually. With the help of our local communities these groups provide transport to jails throughout Europe and America, deal with problems faced by families of POWs and cover part of the cost of parcels and transportation. Without their dedication and the generosity of the public who support them the problems we face and those our families face would be multipl-

Some people who will definitely not be on our Christmas card list this year are those who have not only failed to support republican POWs and their families in the past but who are



● ELLA O'DWYER



● PAMELA KANE

presently working to make life all the more difficult.

A motion proposed and passed in Belfast City Council to support segregation in Crumlin Road Jail was carried by a large majority. However, it is interesting to note that some SDLP and Workers' Party councillors abstained from voting on a vital issue which involves preventing further death and serious injury. Joe Hendron, who ironically, claims to be the voice of the people of West Belfast, chooses to ignore rather than tackle a problem faced by many of his own constituents.

The 26-County government's answer to corrupt British Diplock Courts and the hellholes in which POWs are forced to live, is to shove a few more victims onto the conveyor belt of British injustice. The 26-County government grants the British absolute authority to deal with Irish citizens anyway it pleases, whether that means the fabrication of evidence, the holding of media show trials or the general conviction of innocent women and men.

In the cases of the most blatant miscarriages of justice during this phase of the war — the Guildford Four, Birmingham Six and the Winchester Three — the 26-County government remained silent even when some British MPs, solicitors and some members of the English public voiced their discomfort over the convictions and demanded further investigations. Needless to say Charlie Haughey relied, mistakenly, on the world's short memory when he jumped on the political bandwagon after innocent women and men were eventually released. The horrors and suffering highlighted by these cases have not pricked the Fianna Fáil conscience as it continues to play a pathetic but obedient Rudolph to the 'mighty' British Santa.



● MARTINA ANDERSON

The Catholic hierarchy, like the 26-County government, remains happily silent when British injustice is the topic for discussion. When the IRA carries out operations against legitimate military targets the voice of the church is a strong and condemning one. However, when the British government and its death squads practice a blatant shoot-to-kill policy the humble church has no questions to ask; nothing to say. The silence of the church was deafening when a heart-broken mother, Margaret Ryan, appealed to the British coroner's office to release the remains of her Volunteer son, Frankie, so that he could be buried with dignity. The Catholic hierarchy has proved its amazing ability to find a voice to please Westminster but it is suddenly struck dumb when the nationalist people cry out for help for republican POWs when they are being held as hostages and abused.

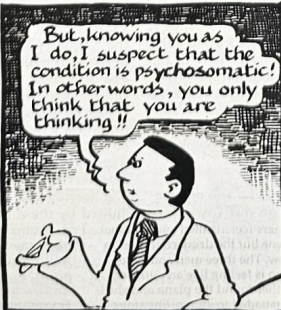
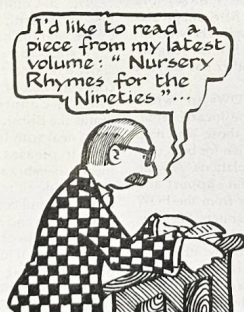
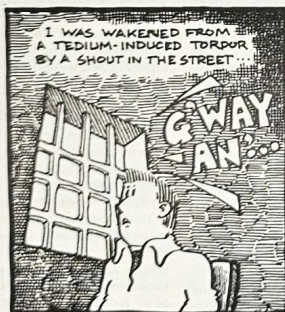
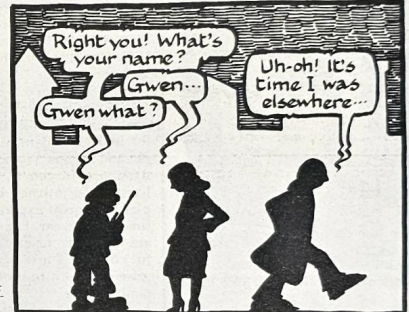
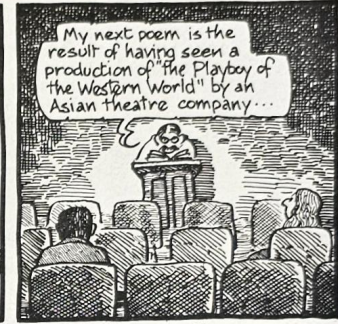
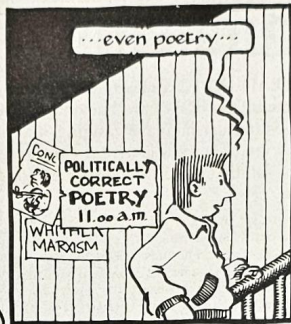
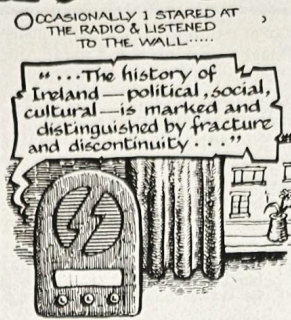
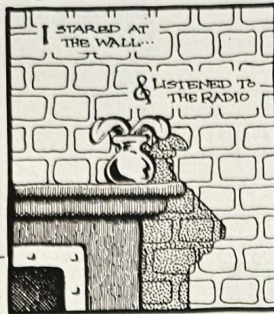
We wish to remind our families and friends, and all those who relentlessly support us, of our continuing gratitude for all that they do for us despite the hardship this entails.

We also wish to pay tribute to everyone who has lost a loved one in this war, whether they were killed on active service, members of Sinn Féin or the nationalist community. The families of people killed in this struggle are sometimes the forgotten victims in our midst. While we celebrate and enjoy the festive season Christmas is a time for them to realise how much they have lost and to remember those who are no longer with them.

Finally we republican women POWs take this opportunity to extend Christmas and solidarity greetings to our families and friends and to everyone who has supported and worked on behalf of all republican POWs throughout the years. We extend greetings to our comrades in other jails, to those who can't spend Christmas at home because they have been forced to go 'on the run' and to those comrades who continue to actively resist the British occupation of the Six Counties.

A special place is reserved in our thoughts for those in our communities who have lost a loved one in the course of this war, especially close to our hearts this Christmas are the families of Volunteers Patricia Black and Frankie Ryan whom we proudly but sadly remember.

A WINTER STALE



News/Review

Sinn Féin call for IPLO to Disband

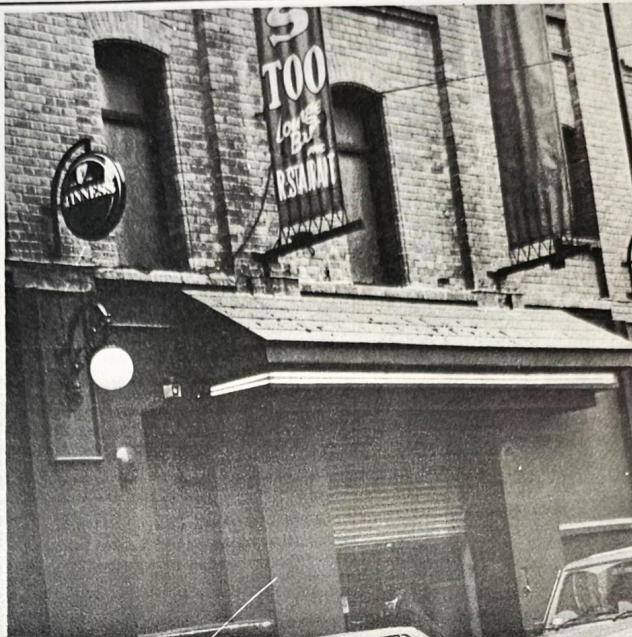
REJECTING the IPLO account of the events leading to the death of West Belfast man, Colm Mahon, who was shot dead by the IPLO at the snooker club where he worked as a manager, Sinn Féin has once again called for the IPLO to disband.

Thirty-nine-year-old father of three, Colm Mahon from the Gransha area of West Belfast, died from gunshot wounds to the head after he was fired upon in the doorway of the Frames bar and snooker club in Little Donegall Street in the early hours of Sunday morning. As the attackers fled along Union Street, customers in the club ran to assist the fatally injured man. Mahon was taken to the Mater Hospital but was dead on arrival.

The IPLO later admitted that they had carried out the shooting, claiming that their intended target had been a "prominent loyalist" and not the victim.

Contrary to the IPLO statement, eyewitnesses to the shooting said that the shooting dead of Colm Mahon arose as a direct result of an earlier fight on the premises after which a number of people were put out of the Frames Club.

In the wake of a full investigation into the incident, Sinn Féin dismissed the excuse offered by the IPLO as a "blatant lie" and described the IPLO as a "criminal gang" and the killing of Colm Mahon as "the latest example of its criminal activities". In a statement condemning the killing, a Sinn Féin spokesperson reiterated the party's call for the IPLO to disband.



● Frames Club, Belfast scene of the shooting dead of Colm Mahon by the IPLO — the shooting has been described by Sinn Féin as the latest example of that gang's "criminal activities"

Call for European action against discrimination

A WORKING GROUP of MEPs is expected to place a formal resolution before the European Parliament in the New Year, calling for the investigation into job discrimination against Catholics in the North.

The move came in the wake of a 'round table' meeting in Strasbourg in early December organised by Donegal TD and MEP for Connaught-Ulster, Neil Blaney.

Guest speaker at the two-hour conference, attended by over 30 MEPs, was secretary of the Six-County based Equality Working Group, Oliver Kearney. Commenting on the meeting, Kearney said there had been a "consensus of shock and outrage" by the MEPs at the scale of discrimination that had prevailed for so long.

A strongly worded resolution describing "such structural discrimination" as a "breach of basic human rights" and calling for the redirecting of structural funds to disadvantaged areas and the introduction of corrective legislation is expected to be presented to the European Parliament within a month.

Radio Times Behind the headlines

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

THE EXPLOSION which destroyed the RUC barracks in Craigavon was heard here, 16 miles away, in Long Kesh. In Craigavon it damaged a large number of houses in a nationalist estate and St Anthony's Catholic Church. The local primary school will more than likely have to be torn down and rebuilt.

The political and moral issues behind bombing as a pardonable act of guerrilla warfare (which the enemy doesn't wish to concede as advancing one's cause) and specific bombings such as this one (which levelled a significant proportion of civilian property and fortunately didn't kill anyone) become totally lost in the subsequent headlines and howls of condemnation from British ministers, political parties, church leaders and the media.

I find it hard to listen to most of these groups (though I do still listen) because of their double-standards and because none of them are actually advocating peace. If they were working for peace they would swallow their pretentiousness and talk to republicans in an attempt to resolve the conflict. When they loftily call for a permanent ceasefire as being the first step towards a settlement their real agenda is (i) republican surrender and (ii) to split the Republican Movement and have IRA Volunteers attack each other in a demoralising spiral of incestuous recriminations.

After the Craigavon bombing Brian Mawhinney, the new Security Minister, arrived on the scene. Just three days earlier he had boasted that his government would grind down the IRA and

promised that the IRA would never win. For over 20 years British governments have been trying to grind down the IRA without success or solution. As long as this remains British policy there will be an armed struggle which will derive moral sustenance in part from its critics' obvious hypocrisies. For example, after the van bomb in Belfast two weeks ago another minister, Jeremy Handley, told people to phone up Sinn Féin and demand an explanation. Wouldn't it be better, a reporter should have asked, to allow us to interview Sinn Féin representatives and broadcast their responses?

That former interplay between Sinn Féin and the broadcasting media, which sharpened republicans and forced them to consider other opinions and other worlds, has had a downside other than loss of publicity. As the struggle has, by force of circumstances, appeared more militaristic, or is becoming more militaristic, any external valid criticism is even more distant; and loyalty to the struggle, our besieged movement, and a bating down of the hatches, has become the imperative.

BBC radio went into West Belfast after Handley made his remarks accusing the IRA and

Sinn Féin of causing unemployment. The reporter, Paddy O'Flaherty, interviewed unemployed teenagers. All were unanimous that Sinn Féin was not responsible for the lack of investment in nationalist areas. They said the British government wanted them to condemn the IRA but they wouldn't do it. "I think the British government's talking crap. It's a war," said one youth who went on to talk about harassment and loyalist killings. None of them cared about the destruction of property in the city centre, they were so alienated.

However, in my opinion, it would be a mistake to extrapolate from those remarks the contention that support for all IRA operations, as distinct from support for the IRA, can be easily assumed.

In the case of the bombing of Craigavon RUC Barracks it is the people whose homes, school and church were damaged to whom the IRA has to listen and has to answer. It doesn't have to answer to Councillor Brid Rogers or Cardinal Cahal Daly — though they represent important aspects of opinion. It certainly doesn't have to answer to the British government or the RUC. But it has to listen to the nationalist people who will decide what actions are pardonable.

Drama Now (Radio 3) featured a play by Maurice Leitch called *Where the Boys Are*. The action takes place in a small English guest-house-cum-restaurant where business is in serious decline. It is owned by Kate who is middle class, childless and has been rendered insecure by her husband Terry. He is from Belfast, emigrated in 1965 and is himself insecure, claiming to be British but being treated as 'a Paddy', even as recently as that day by a soldier at a wedding party.

On this particular evening two friends from Terry's teenage days arrive to celebrate old times. Moss, the extrovert, claims to be

a saloon piano player now but actually manages discos for loyalist paramilitaries. Wilbur is taciturn and morose, wears dark glasses and an expensive suit and is really in England to secretly meet a British army officer. There are hints of links between loyalist paramilitaries and the disgruntled military, though the main theme is about identity and relationships (both personal and political).

As Moss helps Kate with the dishes, and later in the conservatory among her exotic plants, he is pressed by her to reveal more about her husband Terry, as if she doesn't properly know or understand his maudlin behaviour. She also wants to know more about the situation in Ireland which Terry constantly broods on, keeping scrap books of newspaper cuttings.

"Every night the chandeliers shake," Moss tells her. "It's like San Francisco."

When Terry asks Wilbur for details of the latest killings he receives a detailed description of a grotesque sectarian murder. But it is obvious that Wilbur, who considers himself cynical, hardnosed and an activist, resents not only Terry's "romanticism" but also Kate's Englishness and the English (even though he is here to plot with the military).

"We've got to go it alone, do it ourselves!" he tells Moss who regrets having set up the weekend. And when the Polson-Brownes, an elderly couple who are regular diners, arrive, Wilbur can hardly tolerate them and leaves the room.

The Polson-Brownes are quoted Kipling and treated to an incoherent rant on loyalism by Terry who says, "Our lot: the last little bit of pink on the map... But the Indians are waiting... the jolly old lease has run out." The diners feel insulted and quit the scene but the drink continues to flow. The three men and Kate, who is feeling like an outsider, gather round the piano and she is persuaded to join in. She sings

Sweet Lass of Richmond Hill but Terry says it sounds like a funeral dirge and he wants Orange songs. She turns on him:

"You and your little history, hugging it to yourself. Always blaming. And that man in the dog collar. He's the epitome. Rage and blame and self-loathing..." She defends the 'wet' Polson-Brownes, her upbringing and culture, "the ponies and Winnie the Pooh," things for which he once admired her. She storms out but Terry shouts after her pathetically: "We produced eleven American presidents, all their generals, and Hurricane Higgins..."

Moss runs after Kate to console her in the conservatory and, being the good friend that he is, contemplates seducing her. Back in the sitting room Wilbur now complains to Terry that Terry and Moss had always picked on him and humiliated him because he had a crush on the singer Connie Francis! They talk about the Troubles and Wilbur sneers at Terry's long-distance interest. He tells him: "Your needle's stuck and has been since 1965... It's not your problem anymore. Your place is here. All this... No one is interested in putting the clock back, believe me. This time we consolidate with associates. Ones who can deliver... In fact, one of those associates is just a phone-call away."

Terry is confused and goes looking for his wife who has rejected Moss's advances. He literally crashes into the conservatory and cuts himself. "Look! Blood!" he shouts. "Red Hand of Ulster!"

Wilbur retorts: "Nobody needs your blood, Terry. We've got enough of our own. Go to bed. Go to bed."

In the last scene the two loyalists are left sitting downstairs. Wilbur tells Moss to play something "while I'm waiting on my call". On the piano Moss plays *Where the Boys Are* which fades into the Connie Francis version.

It sounded like the gentle waves of an innocent, adolescent past lapsing on the stony shore of the present.

A Chara Santa, You probably remember me. I visited you in Robbs in High Street three times in December 1959. I was the wee lad in tears with the chapped thighs, wearing a checked scarf, a duffle coat and my da's water boots. You patted me on the head, gave me a replica pistol wrapped up in a parcel and told me to go out and shoot a few badgies. Thanks for the advice, anyway.

This Christmas, however, I'm in big, big trouble and am in jail with some of the most dangerous and ruthless men in the country, though the prisoners and I try to stay well clear of them.

Santa, there is still no sign of Georgie Hagans making me a harp despite me doing his ironing, licking around him and letting on that he's losing weight. This harp has been promised to about ten different republican supporters from Kerry to Carrigart who in foolish anticipation have placed all sorts of money in my tuck shop and whose kids are so excited by the prospect of a Long Kesh Harp that they've agreed to eat their cabbage and turnips. So Santa, you may get out the mahogany and the coping-saw. And if you've any chimes I wouldn't mind a couple of jewellery boxes as well.

Please leave two vacuum-cleaners for Gerard McKee and Ned Flynn whose cells are literally jumping; for Brendy Mead's head some of that special hair-promotion pomade (Rudolph Products). I can't think of anything else... Oh yes, we would like conjugal visits pending an amnesty, and following.

That's about it for this letter. Will write you again next week.

Sin é,
Danny.

Nuacht



● Agóidithe in aghaidh eiseachadta i nGaillimh le linn cuairte Uí Eochaidh ar an bhaile

'Now that's it'

■ LE EOGHAN MAC CORMAIC

THUG Cathal O hEochaidh, Aire na Gaeltachta, camchuairt ar Gaillimh maidin Dé Luain.

Bhí sé sa chathair le cloch cuimhneacháin a leagadh i mballaí fhoirgneamh nua atá á thógáil faoi láthair do Roinn na Gaeltachta san Ollscoil agus de úirlabhras sa cholaiste beidh an t-áras ina ionad léinn agus comhladair do phobail na Gaeltachta sa cholaiste nuair atá sé críochnaithe. "Beidh sé ina ionad sóisialta agus cultúir do chur chun cinn an staidéir trí Ghaeilge féin". Cosnóidh an t-Áras breis agus £1.6 milliún, £1.2 ag teacht trí fháltais an Chranncuir "Náisiúnta", agus an chuid eile ó fhoinsí na hollscoile féin.

Thug O hEochaidh an drochaimsir leis go Gaillimh ach chruinnigh grúpa

daoine san fhearhainn ag geataí an cholaiste agus chuir picéad frith-eiseachadta ar an áit fad agus a bhí O hEochaidh istigh.

Tá caighdeán áirithe cúinas i réim ag O hEochaidh mar aire na Gaeltachta agus tugtar aird ar na rudai nach bhfuil déanta aige thar na blianta in áit rudai atá déanta. Níor bhris sé an nós sin fad agus a bhí sé i nGaillimh. Leag sé an chloch leis na focail bhreá Gaeilge "Now. That's it", agus ba léir, go deimhin, gurbh é sin é. Ag preasagallamh ar eagraíodh tar éis an tsearmanais giorra faoin aer gheall O hEochaidh go mbeadh stáisiún theilifís na Gaeltachta (nó na Gaeltachta) bunaithe agus ag craoladh roimh dheireadh 1992. Ar ndóigh beidh siad abálta ansin cosc a chur ar Shinn Féin faoi Alt 31 sa dá theanga oifigiúil.



● Saor arís, Terry Anderson, iarghialla Meiriceánach sa Liobáin

Gialla

■ LE JOE MCQUILLAN, H7

FAILTE ABHAILE roimh an ghiall deireanach, Terry Anderson, a scaoileadh saor an tseachtain seo, nó ar chóir go mbeadh Joseph Cicippio nó Alan Steen an ghiall deireanach? Tá mé trína chéile toisc gur ligeadh an oiread sin giall iartharach saor le déanaí.

Taobhaíonn sé fosta ar cén nuachtán a léann tú má tá tú chun creidib-

heáil go bhfuil an giall iartharach deireanach scaoile saor. Dar le ceann a léigh mise tá beirt Ghearmánach ina ngialla go fóill. Arís is féidir nach bhfuil sé de cheart agam ach shlí mé go bhfaca mé léarscáil ar a raibh An Ghearmáin ina chuid den domhan iartharach!

Bheinn áthasach dá mbeadh deireadh leis an staid giall go hiomlán. Deir Iosrael go raibh siad ag obair go dian le sócrú a bhaint amach. Go dtí seo tá 69 ngiall scaoile saor acu ach le linn na tréimhe céanna ghabh siad 19 nduine eile. I gcás amháin nuair a bhí Liobáineach á fhuadach ag forsaí Iosraelacha scaoil siad iníon an fhir faoi fhiche. Ní raibh siad sásta go leor go raibh páiste naoi mbliana d'aois dúnmharaithe acu mar phléasc siad buama i dteach an fhir chomh maith. Chaill a bhean chéile cuid dá

cos sa phléascán, agus gortáladh a deirfiúr agus bean eile.

Níor thóg tiortha mar An Bhreatain nó SAM callán nó níor thóg na Náisiúin Aontaithe créib ach oiread cé go bhfuil Iosrael sa Liobáin Theas 13 bliana tar éis don Chomhairle Slándála a rá leo imeacht. Ní raibh siad chomh mall sin ag cur brú ar an Iaráic cúlú!

Mar a bhí mé ag rá sula ndeachaigh mé ar strae bheadh áthas orm dá mbeadh deireadh iomlán agus dá scaoilfí gialla uilig saor. Is trua go raibh daoine á gcoinneáil faoi ghlas le cúig bliana anuas, ach mar is gnáth tá sé ligthe i ndearamad ag tiortha áirithe go raibh siad go bhfuil daoine á gcoinneáil faoi ghlas acu le breis is 18 mbliana anuas.

Allas i mBloc 7!

BHÍ CEILIURADH MOR i mBloc 7 le déanaí nuair a bhí deireadh leis na scrúdaithe Gaeilge — scrúdaithe a mhair dhá oíche. Tháinig siad i ndeireadh dianchúrsa a mhair seachtain, le ranganna ar siúl sé lá sa tseachtain.

Tháinig smaoineamh an dianchúrsa ó Mhicheál 'Mars Bar' a bhí ag lorg cúrsa de shaghas éigin a ghlacadh na daltaí ó chaighdeán an Fháinne Airgid go caighdeán an Fháinne Oir. Le cuidiú ó Shéamas O hEaráin (seolaimid ár mbuiochas chugat a Shéamais) cuireadh cúrsa oiriúnach le chéile. Rinne Leo Mac Grianna, múinteoir dár gcuid féin, neart oibre ag ullmhú is ag clósóirí an ábhair don tseachtain. Nuair a bogadh é agus Séanna Breathnach, múinteoir eile a bhfuilimid an-bhuiochas as, an bhloc thit an obair iomlán ar Pháidí O. Leo beag as Doire agus Lorcan mór!

Rinneadh comparáid idir an cúrsa agus tógáil na meachán — deirtear gur cailleadh an oiread sin allais lena linn, ach amháin i gcás Pickles. Bhí rálla ag dul thart gur thit sé ina chodladh i rith ceachta lá amháin, ach níorbh fhíor é. Tá a fhios sin againne tar éis an fhiosrúcháin a rinne a rang sula bhfuigfeadh sé a theastas anocht; teastas a fuair gach duine a chríochnaigh an dianchúrsa.

Tá scríobtha ar an teastas gurb é... "aidhm an dianchúrsa seo spiorad na Gaeilge a ardú i measc na gcimí agus

cumas labhartha an chime aonair a fheabhsú ag an am céanna"... agus go ndearbhaíonn an teastas... "go bhfuil dul chun cinn suntasach déanta (ag an chime) agus go bhfuil caighdeán maith Gaeilge bainte amach aige". Fuair achan cime a chríochnaigh an cúrsa (níor thit duine ar bith amach lena linn) an teastas agus chuaigh siadsan nach raibh fáinne acu cheana faoi scrúdú chun ceann a bhaint amach. Ba suimíil an comhrá a chluinstin! Labhair Seosamh, ár staraí, ar na Péindilthe; Séamas ar gheimhreadh '78 agus é ar an agóid phluide agus cuid mhór de na fir eile ag cur síos ar a gceantracha féin. Bhí bomaite brónach ann fosta nuair a d'éisteamar le Seán agus a scéal faoi

TEIPEANN CINSIREACHT AR AN LEATHANACH GAEILGE

TAR ÉIS don leathanach Gaeilge alt a fhoilsíu an tseachtain seo caite ag trácht ar dhul in olcas coinníollacha cuairteanna i bPríosún Maigh Ghabraí dhéin bairdeirí iarracht cinsireacht bhídhídiúil a chur i bhfeidhm ar an nuachtán.

An tseachtain seo caite dúirt colúnaí dár gcuid, Eamonn O Cullinn go raibh gearán déanta ag na banchimí faoi dhúnnadh ceann de dhá sheomra cuairte sa phríosún. Níor thaitin an scéal le bairdeirí a stop cóipeanna d'An Phoblacht ó bheith scaipthe sa phríosún. Dhéin na banchimí i Sciathán Teach Mournie agóid faoin

uair a ghafa, é gortaithe go dona agus a chomhrádaí, Séamas (McElwain) ina lúf marbh cóngarach dó.

On 14 a rinne an scrúdú, bronndadh an fáinne óir ar fhear déag acu agus fáinne airgid ar an trífur eile. Comhghairdeas d'achan duine acu.

Agus anois a chomhrádaíthe, an bhfuil sos tuille againe? Measaim go bhfuil. Cuir chugam an tseadlaid sin le bhur dtóil agus las an 'Hamlet seo domh — tá an Nollaig ann. Agus go raibh Nollaig shona ag achan duine agaih a léitheoirí uaisle.

Daltaí an dianchúrsa: Jim McCann, Rory McCarthy, Sean Lynch, Eddie Seale, Martin O'Neill, Martin Gough, Joe Simpson, Jim O'Reilly, Paddy O'Dowd, Leo Fleming, Peter Bateson, Bernard Fox, John Pickering, Mickey Valleley, Laurence McKeown, Brendan Brannigan agus Brendan Mulvenna.

chinsireacht seo, agus dá thoradh sin d'ionsaigh na bairdeirí iad. Féigadh na mná gan chóir dochtúra ar feadh roinnt uaireanta tar éis ruathar na mbairdeirí ar na banchimí gan chosaint. Bhí gearrthas agus brúanna ag roinnt de na mná ach sa deireadh bhuaigh siad an agóid. Deir Oifig Thuaisceart Éireann gur tugadh an péipéar do na banchimí tar éis alt amháin a shli siad bheith ag sárú cúrsaí slándála bheith aistriú.

Chlaigh urlabhras Shinn Féin ar chúnaí cím, Francie Molloy ar Oifig Thuaisceart Éireann na coinníollacha cinsireachta a mhaíod ionas nach gá do na banchimí agóid a dhéanamh chuile uair nach féidir leis na bairdeirí an teanga náisiúnta a thuiscint.

hb mhór sa chathair fosta. Ar an 1,300 teaghlach ar clúdaiodh sa suirbhé bhí 70% ann a fuair airgead ar iasacht laethúil le bia a cheannach. Dúirt 40% acu go mbeadh siad ag dul isteach i bhfiacha le bronnannas Nollag a cheannach dá gcuid páistí. Dúirt 10.3% go nglacann siad airgead ar iasacht arís leis na fiacha seo a ghlacadh agus measann níos mó ná leath na ndaoine a bhí i bhfiacha go ndéanann sé dochar dá gcuid sláinte.

Is é mana an fheachtais phoiblí "Tá rud éigin speisialta sa aer!" Más ea is é don lucht saibhir amháin ach don aicme oibre ní feabhas ar an saol. Chítear nach bhfuil ann dóibh ach bochtaineacht agus dífhoisteacht.

'Boom Town'

■ LE MARCAS MAC RUAIRI

TA feachtas poiblíochta ar siúl le roinnt blianta anuas ag rá gur "boom-town" Doire. Tá daoine anois ag tabhairt le fios nach bhfuil gach rud mar a deirtear.

Sa mhí seo caite cháin ceardchumannaithe stráiteis an rialtais le jabanna a chruthú. Níl dífhoisteacht sa chathair ag laghdú. Dúirt ceardchumannaithe amháin, Neil Adair, rúnai an cheantair don Amalgamated Engineering Union nach raibh polaiteoirí

ag tabhairt aire ar an fhirinne. Dúirt sé gur jabanna miandóla atá á gcruthú ag an rialtas agus tá ganntanas mór go fóill de na jabanna déantúisíreacha atá de dhíth. Lena chois tá do dhroch choinníollacha agus pá iséil ag baint le bunús na jabanna a chruthaigh an rialtas na mallaibh.

Ag teacht i ndiaidh nochtadh na dtuairimí seo phoiblígh nuachtán áitiúil suirbhé ar fhiacha sa chathair an tseachtain seo caite. Taispeánann an suirbhé go bhfuil fiacha ina bhfad-



Tabhair dúinn ár scoil

BHÍ agóid ag fóireann Ghaelscoil Chearbhaill Uí Dhálaigh i Léim an Bhradáin, Contae Chill Dara, lasmuigh den Roinn Oideachais i mBaile Átha Cliath. Bhí idir múinteoirí, tuismitheoirí agus páistí ag an agóid ar an Máirt ag éileamh scoil nua — rud atá siad ag fanacht ar le 12^ú bliain anuas. Bunaíodh an scoil i 1979 agus bhí sé suite i 'pre-fab' ag an gCumann Lúthchleas Ghael. Aistríodh é i 1984 go dtí an foirgneamh ina bhfuil sé anois — áit nach raibh oiriúnach don ghnáthscóil náisiúnta a bhíodh ann dár le Roinn an Oideachais. Bhí tús le cur ar fhoirgneamh nua i 1990 ach de thairbhe ghearrtha siar an rialtais, ní ndearnadh fós é.

BEANNACHTA NA NOLLAIG

Thursday, December 19th 1991 — LEATHANACH 13



THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT sends seasonal and solidarity greetings to all our imprisoned comrades in Ireland and abroad and their families, and to all those who cannot be at home with their families during this festive season. "The struggle must be well thought-out. It must be mature, but once it has begun it must be continued to the end. There can be no compromise; no middle terms. No peace that will only half-guarantee the stability of a country. The victory must be total." Nollaig shona daobh uilig.

from your boyfriend, Marty O; from Seamy O and Teresa; from Terry; from Paddy, Kipper and the boys; from Fra frog.

DOHERTY, James (Fleury, Paris). Wishing you a happy Christmas and looking forward to seeing you in the new year. From Annarose, Rossie, Brenda, Jim and Frankie; from Delia and girls.

DOUGAN, Rory (Crumlin Road). Merry Christmas Rory. From Michael, Greta and family.

DOWD, Brendan (Full Sutton). Xmas greetings Brendan. Love from mam.

ENNIS, Seamus (Portlaoise). Happy Christmas Seamus. Thinking of you. From Karen. XXX. Merry Christmas daddy. From Seamus and Eoin; from many; from Damien and Joan; from Claire and Paul.

FARRELL, Mark (Portlaoise). Happy Christmas Mark. All our love. From mother, father, brothers Sean and Colin, and sisters Niamh and Aine.

FERRITY, Geraldine (Maghaberry). Christmas greetings Geraldine and good luck in 1992. Thinking of you, love Eileen, Bernie and Tess; from Barney. XXX.

FLANAGAN, Pat (Portlaoise). Merry Christmas Pat. From your wife Doreen and children Noel, Kevin, Sean and Sinead.

FLYNN, Ned (Long Kesh). Xmas greeting Ned. From Rosin, Mickie, Brenda and Sean; from all the Hamilton family.

GALLAGHER, Brian (Long Kesh). Thinking of you always Barney especially at Christmas. Love from Eileen, Bernie, Tess, Rachie, Bunt, Santa, Cathal, Danny, AJ and Maggie.

GILMARTIN, Eugene (H-Blocks). Xmas greetings to my dearest husband Eugene. Love and miss you always. Mairead. XXX; from Eddie, Grainne and Mairead.

HAMILTON, Fra (H-Blocks). A very happy Christmas to our son Fra. At this special time no words could say how much we miss you. From your wife Cathy. Merry Xmas and a happy New Year. I love you and will be thinking of you; from your wee daughter Caitlin; from your brother Eddie; from uncle Jerry, aunt Patsy and family in Australia; from uncle John, aunt Lucy and family; from your big sister Rosemary; brother-in-law Marty and Patrick; from your sister Tina, Pat and Sean; from your sister Cathy, brother-in-law Hassan and family; from your sister Jacqueline and brother-in-law Val; from Joanne, Seany and Catrina; from Murzo. From Noreen, Joe, wee Joe, Sean and Kate.

HANRATTY, Gerry (Germany). Best wishes Gerry. From Jim, Marguerite and family.

HEALY, Noel (A wing). Christmas greetings from Raymond, Lisa and Rachel. From Paul.

HEANEY, John (H7) Thinking of you at Christmas. From your loving wife Jenny; from the Heaney family. From the Doogan family. From the Kelly family.

HILLEN, Michael (Crumlin Road). From Jackie, mammy, daddy and all the family; from Patsy and Donna and family.

HILLEN, Michael (Long Kesh). From mammy, daddy and all the family.

HILLEN, Noel (Maghaberry). From mammy, daddy and all the family.

HILLICK, Laurence. Merry Christmas son. We are thinking of you always. God Bless you. Love mom, dad and granny; from Katie and Charlie; from your cousin Kevin, Siobhan and family.

HOLMES, Paul. (England). Merry Christmas Paul and a happy New Year from Tommy, Mary McLarnon and family.

KANE, Pamela. (Limerick) Christmas Greetings from mam, dad and all the family.

KAVANAGH, Paul (England). Merry Christmas Paul. From your loving wife Martina; from your mother Mary.

KEARNS, Gerard (Portlaoise). Merry Christmas Gerard. All my love. From Carol. Merry Christmas daddy from Darren, Gary, Edel and Donna; from Ma, Da, Ed and Declan; from Peader, Rita and kids; from Parkey, Pauline and kids; from John and Sharon; from Martin, Patricia and kids.

KELLY, Sean (Crumlin Road). Best wishes for Xmas and the New Year, from mam, dad, Brian and Steven; from Bridget, Liza and Cora; from Sam and Scott; from Seamus, Patricia and children.

KENNA, Brian (Portlaoise). Christmas

greetings Brian. From mam, dad and family.

KINSELLA, Les (Portlaoise). Wishing you a Merry Christmas and a happy New Year. From mam and dad; from Barbara and Ger.

LYNCH, Joseph (Portlaoise). Christmas greetings Joseph. From your wife Nora, sons Joe and Anthony, daughters Patsy, Rossie and Noreen and grandchildren Rachel, Clara, Louise, Johnny and Joseph; from your sister Margaret.

LYNCH, Peter (Crumlin Road). Seasons greetings Peter. From mam, dad and family. From Rosin, Mickie, Ann, Geraldine, Brian and Kids; from Deirdre and Eamonn; from Mary and Kevin; from Julie Ann, Brenda, Nuala, Pat, Brian, Sinead, Catrina, Terry, Sean, Donna and Kevin; from Raymond, Lisa and Rachel; from Nell, Eileen, Tom, Brendy and family. Aoiden, Aoiden and Patrick.

LYNCH, Seán (H5). LYNCH, Kevin (Crumlin Road). Christmas greetings to you both and to all the Fermanagh republican POWs. Thinking of you now and always. From mam and dad and all the Lynch family.

MCALIESE, Pearce (H5). Happy Xmas from mam and all the family.

MCANN, Harry. Christmas greetings from Fran and Eamon. From Seamus, Patricia and family.

MCComb, Damien (Full Sutton). Christmas greetings to my darling husband Damien. Our thoughts are always with you, but no more so than at Christmas. From his wife Theresa and kids; from all the Higgins family. Dundak and Belfast.

MCComb, John (Belfast). Christmas greetings to John (Boy). From his brother Damien (Full Sutton) Theresa and Kids.

MCOTTER, Liam (Leicester). Merry Xmas and happy New Year Liam. Thinking of you. From Jackie and the Kids; from the Fucso Family; from Michael, Greta and family; from Gonne; from Jim, Marguerite and family.

MCOTTER, Paddy (H-4) Merry Xmas and happy New Year Paddy, thinking of you and missing you. Love from Jackie. XXX. From Fionnghuala and Padraic.

MCOTTER, Seán (H-4) Merry Xmas and happy New Year. From Jackie and the Kids.

MCORRY, Alex (H5). **MCORRY**, Brendan (Crumlin Road). Happy Christmas and New Year. Our thoughts are with you at this time of year. Take care, all our love mam and dad, sisters and brothers; from Emmanuel, Geraldine, Leanne, Marian; from Katrina, Jim and baby James; from Michelle, Dee and baby Diarmuid.

MACDERMOTT, Eamonn (Long Kesh). Merry Christmas and a happy New Year. From all your family in Ireland and America.

MAC DOMHNAILL, Gearóid (Leicester). Best of Luck for Xmas Gearóid. From Michael, Greta and family.

MC DONALD, Vivian (H5). Happy Christmas and a happy New Year. From mammy, daddy, John, Cathal, Damian, Ellis and Austin.

MC EL DUFF, Barry (Crumlin Road). Nollaig shona duit mo chéadsear. Beidh mé ag siormhachnamh ort an t-am ar fad, Barry. Ó do stát Paula. XXX.

MC EVOY, Paul (H5). Thinking of you and all POWs. Hope you have a merry and holy Xmas and a happy New Year. Love mam and dad. God Bless; from girlfriend Karen XXX; from Deborah-Ann, Geraldine, Dave and Ann; from Paddy, Colette and nephews Darren, Gerard and Connor; from Plumpo and girlfriend Marie; from Tony, Michelle and nieces Danielle and Clara; from Gerard, Mary, niece Janine and nephew Declan; from Brendan and Damian and all the lads on the road; from Liza Jane and Joseph; from aunt Mary and family, and aunt Nellie and family.

MC GINNITY, Pat (Long Kesh). From Sadie, mammy, daddy and all the family; from your loving wife Sarah; from mam, dad and Raymond.

MCGETTIGAN, J (Crumlin Road). Merry Christmas. Don't drink too much. From Maurice, Bernie and family.

MCGETTIGAN, Pól (H5). Merry Xmas Pól. From Maurice, Bernie and family.

MC GURK, Patsy (H8). Thinking of you at

Christmas. Keep smiling. With all our love. From your loving wife Cindy and children Grainne and Seán.

MC HUGH, Noel (Crumlin Road). Thinking of you at Christmas and always Noel. Also belated birthday greetings. From all the family in Lisnaskea; from your brother Brian.

MC KEE, Eugene (H8). Christmas and New Year greetings to my dear son. Always thinking about you. God Bless. Love mam; from your loving wife Regina; from your loving son Eoghan; from your sister Liz, Joe, Lisa and Danny; from Liam and Diane; from Eddie, Rita and kids; from Danny, Chris and Liam; from Alice, Davey and kids; from Aunt Deborah and family; from Nora and Pipe and the McLaughlin family circle; from Benny, Pat and kids.

MC KEE, Michael (Crumlin Road). Merry Christmas Michael. Thinking of you. From your loving mother; from your sister Marie, Maurice, Paddy and family; from your sisters Michelle, Catriona and family; from your sister Phil; from your aunts Phil, Annie and Mary; from Hughie and all the McKees.

MC LARNON, Brian (H5). Christmas greetings Brian. From mam and dad, Elaine and Nuala. From Gerald, Kathleen and Thaddeus.

MC LAUGHLIN, Seán (Long Kesh). All the very best wishes at Xmas and the New Year. Thinking of you always, love from your sister Josie, Cormac, Rossa and Aisling.

MC NALLY, Louis (Long Kesh). Christmas greetings to my darling husband. From your loving wife Annette. XXX To my dear daddy; from your loving daughter Louise. XXX.

MC QUILLAN, Joe (Long Kesh). Wishing you a Merry Christmas and happy New Year. Always thinking about you. All our love and best wishes. Your loving mam and dad; from Jim, Pat and family; from Bernard, Rosemary and family; from Maria. XXX.

MADDEN, Seamus (Crumlin Road). Best wishes for Christmas from mammy, daddy, Evelyn, Mary and Charlie; from Mick, Colette, Catherine and Niall; from Pat, Brenda, Bronagh, Sorcha and Clare; from Bridget, Dominic, Kevin, Barry, Lisa, Ryan and Christopher; from Kathleen and Noel; from Carmel, Joe and Niamh; from Carol and Martin; from Bob and Eileen; from Fran, Gerard and Mickey and Seamus; from Seamus, Patricia and children.

MAGUIRE, Donna (Germany). From mammy, daddy and all the family.

MAGUIRE, Harry (Long Kesh). All the best for Christmas and the New Year Harry from all at home.

MARKEY, Peter (Long Kesh). From mammy, daddy, Peter and all the family.

MATHERS, Sean (Crumlin Road). From Marian, Darren, Sean, Melissa, mammy, daddy and all the family.

MOLLOY, Martin (H-Blocks) Merry Xmas Martin. From mam, dad, Anne, John, Patrick, Ciaran, Conor and Barry.

MONTGOMERY, Robert. Wishing you a happy Christmas and a hopeful New Year. From Kathleen and children.

MONTGOMERY, Seán. Wishing you a happy Christmas and a hopeful New Year. From Kathleen and children.

MOORE, Dermot (H3). Happy Christmas and New Year. Thinking of you always, especially at this time of year. From your loving wife Kathleen; happy Christmas daddy from John, Joanne and Kyla. XXX; from Mary and family; from Martina, Robbie and family; from Rosaleen, Brian and family.

MULLIGAN, Paud. Happy Xmas Paud. From mam, dad, Michelle and Gene.

MURRAY, Barry (Long Kesh) Happy Xmas Barry; thinking of you always. From mam, dad, Kathrine and the boys.

MURRAY, Pat (France). Christmas greetings to my loving husband Pat. From Kathleen, Maire, Corrina, Fiona, Aisling, Patrick and Leo.

NOLAN, Eamon (Portlaoise). Wishing you a very happy Christmas Eamonn. Don't eat too much. From mam and dad; from Conor and Darren; from Geraldine, Jimmy and children; from Liz and Tracey.

NOONAN, Noel (Portlaoise). Merry Christmas Noel. From your wife Marion and children.

O'CLEIRIGH, Eamon (Portlaoise). Christmas greetings Eamon. Love from Ann and Caroline, mam and dad, Jimmy and Imelda and children, Vincent and Tina and children, Alish and Steve and Kasim.

OWDYER, Ella (Durham). Merry Xmas and a very happy New Year Ella. From your husband Jackie. All my Love. XXX; from Nora and Bill; from Esther, Eamonn and Kids; from Meta, Gerry and Kids; from Donna and Gerard; from John, Bernadette, Maurice and Michael; from May.

O'HAGAN, Seán (Long Kesh). Happy Christmas Seán. Thinking of you as always. Love Roisin. Happy Christmas daddy. From Tracy, Mairead, Denise, Kevin, Seán Og and Ursula; from mammy, daddy and all the family.

O'REILLY, Jim (H7). Best wishes Jim. Love and miss you, thinking of you as always. Lots of love. From Marguerite; from Theresa; from Kieran, Ann-Marie, James, Clara and Louise; from Anthony, Joanne and Barney; from Conor, Bronagh and Caoimhín; from Dermot, Maria and Kirsby.

PATTERSON, Neil (H8). Wishing you a very happy Xmas sweetheart. Hopefully our first Xmas as husband and wife isn't too far away. I love and miss you with all my heart. Your loving wife, Siobhan. From Teresa, Gerry and Maureen; from Gerard and Josie; from Barry, Collette and family; from Deirdre, Peter and family; from Angela, Johnny and family.

QUIGLEY, Tommy (Full Sutton). Happy Christmas son from mother and brothers and family circle. All our love, see you soon, mam; from Gerard and Carolanne; from Josie, Cormac, Rossa and Aisling.

QUINLIVAN/MCAULEY. Wishing our son and brother Nessan Quinlivan and his comrade Pearce McAuley a very happy Christmas wherever they may be. All our love and best wishes. From mam and dad. From Siobhan, Ger, Sean and Patrick; from Cliona and Maurice.

QUINN, Frankie (Maghaberry). Christmas greetings to our son Frankie. From mammy, daddy, Gerard and Michael; from Paula and Brian, Allana, Erin rose and Nuala. From Pauline. XXX.

ROGERS, Peter (Portlaoise) Christmas and New Year greetings Peter. All my love. Deirdre and Eamonn. From Mary and Kevin; from Dora and Kevin. From Peggy, Pat, Rosin, Mickie and family; from Geraldine, Brian, Ann, Mrs McNally and all the kids.

SEELLY, Eddie (Long Kesh). Wishing you a happy Xmas and a happy New Year. From your mam, dad, brothers and sisters and family circle.

SHERRY, Peter (Parkhurst). Happy Christmas daddy and happy New Year. Looking forward to seeing you in the New Year. Lots of love. From your loving daughters Orla and Emma; from Anne Marie, Martin (H8) and family. Nollaig Shona Duit, a Pheadair, Beidh mé ag smaoineamh ortsa ag an am seo mar atá mé i gconair. Bhain mé súlt mór as na cuairteanna an mhí seo caite. Tabhair aire duit féin, ó do dheirfiúr dhúis. Le grá mór, Irene.

VELLA, Natalino. To Nat, Christmas greetings and lots of love. From Claire, Dominick and Romano.

WALSH, Roy (Full Sutton). Happy Christmas Roy. From your darling wife Mary. XXX; happy Christmas dad from Patrick and Roberta; happy Christmas dad from Rosin and Gerard; happy Christmas daddy; lots of love from wee Seana. Happy Christmas Roy; from Jackie, Ann, Betty, Agnes and Geraldine.

WEIR, Bow (Crumlin Road). Xmas greeting Bow. From Rosin, Mickie, Brenda and Sean.

WYLLIE, Adrian (Crumlin Road). Merry Christmas Adrian. From mother and father; from Charlene. From Brian, Seamus and Stephen.

XMAS greetings to all republican POWs. From Pauline.

XMAS greetings to all women POWs. From Pauline.

CHRISTMAS and New Years greetings to all republican prisoners at home and abroad. From Christy and family.

CHRISTMAS and New Years greetings to all my comrades, supporters and friends. Many thanks and keep up the good work. From Pat, Pauline and Donncha (France).

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS to all republican POWs at home and abroad. Wishing you a happy New Year. From the Central Committee of An Cumann Cabhrach.

ANDERSON, Martina (Durham). Merry Xmas and a happy New Year Martina. From your loving husband Paul; from the McMillan family; from Gonne; from May.

BENNETT, Michael (Gusgrave Park). To our wee son Michael, POW, miss you lots and lots. Love from mam, dad and all the family; from your wee brother Bubble; from Rosin, Mickie, Brenda and Sean; from Geraldine, Brian and Kids. From Michelle.

BRADY, John (Long Kesh). All the best for Christmas son. We love and miss you. Lots of love mam and dad; from sister Martina and brother Ben; from Lorna, Paul and baby Megan.

BROWNE, Theresa (Maghaberry). Merry Christmas Theresa. All the best, we will be thinking of you. Fra, Cathy and Caitlin.

BULLOCK, Martin (H7). Christmas greetings Martin. From your loving wife Anne Marie. XXX. From Martin, Seamus, Karl and Catherine.

BURKE, Michael (Portlaoise). Merry Christmas love and a happy New Year. From your ever loving wife Sheenagh. XXX; from Vicky, Tanya and Peter.

BUTLER, Eddie (Full Sutton). Best wishes son and a happy New Year. From mam, dad and all the family in New York.

CAMPBELL, Brian (Long Kesh). From Grainne and all the family.

CAMPBELL, Jimmy (H5): **CAMPBELL**, Brendan (Crumlin Road). Best wishes for Xmas and the New Year. From mam and dad and all the family; from Noreen, Kevin and family. Magherafelt. From Kathleen and family.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise). Christmas greetings John. From mam.

CARNEGIE, Kenneth (Portlaoise). A very happy Christmas and New Year "Sad Sam". Next year I will have to call you "Happy Sam" ha! ha! Love and miss you very much at this time of year. All my love, Onagh. XXX; from your sister Deborah, Pat and family; from Elaine, Paul and boys. XXX; from mammy, daddy, Thomas, Eibhlin and Lorna with love. XXX; from your brother Charles, Ann and girls, New York; from Brendan, Colette and family. XXX.

CARROLL, Dermot and Ailish. Best Wishes for Christmas. From Gregory Carroll; from Neil and Siobhan.

CLARKE, Seamus (Portlaoise). Happy Christmas Seamus. From your wife Marion and daughter Aoife.

CORBETT, Kevin (H5). Merry Christmas and a happy New Year. From your cousins Mairead and Seavie.

CORBETT, Peter (H5). Merry Christmas and a happy New Year. From your cousins Mairead and Seavie.

CORRIGAN, Seamus (H8). Christmas greetings Seamus. Wishing you a merry Christmas and lots to drink and eat. Love from mother.

COSGROVE, Kevin (Crumlin Road). Nollaig Shona daobh a Chaoimhin, I hope Santa brings you what you want!! Go easy on the mandarins. "There's carrots in my curry". From your brothers Jay and Ste, Atha Cliath.

COSGROVE, Noel; **COSGROVE**, Paul (H-Blocks). Merry Christmas and a happy new year from the Hamilton family.

COYLE, Dermot (Crumlin Road). Happy Christmas to a loving husband and wonderful father, lots of love. From Fionnghuala, Darren and Padraig.

COYLE, Kieran (H3). Merry Christmas Kieran. Thinking of you now as always. Love Tina. XXX; to Daddy, we miss you, from Tanya, Tracy, Shay and Clara. XXX; to our son Kieran, thinking of you. From mam, dad and family.

CRONIN, Mark (Crumlin Road). Christmas greetings Mark. From girlfriend Biddy and all the family.

CROSSEY, Art (Portlaoise). From Marian, mammy and all the family.

CULLEN Carol (Maigh gCabrai) / **MCINTYRE** Tony (Ceis Fhada) Nollaig shona duit ag baint úr faoi mhaise do mhamai agus dháid ó Chliodhna agus Eamonn.

DEANE, Patricia. (Maghaberry) Happy Xmas Tricia and a merry new year from your mam and dad, sisters and wee brother;

Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST

FLIGHT OF THE WILD GEESE

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE VOLUNTARY EXILE of the 'Wild Geese', following the ending of the Williamite War, in the winter of 1691, like the flight of the Earls, three quarters of a century before, depleted Ireland of many of its best fighting men.

In 1688 war broke out in Europe between the French King Louis XIV and a league of European states led by William of Orange. Later that year he replaced James II as King of England and James fled to France. The following year, accompanied by Patrick Sarsfield, he came to Ireland, where, with the assistance of the Irish Catholics, he reckoned that Ireland could be used as a stepping-stone for the recovery of his throne.

During his reign he had appointed the Earl of Tyrconnell, Richard Talbot, as Lord Lieutenant and Commander of the army in Ireland and with his support and that of the land-hungry Irish leaders, still smarting from the Cromwellian confiscations, James went into action.

Following the siege of Derry in

August 1689, and his defeat at the Battle of the Boyne in July 1690, James fled to Dublin and returned to France forever. The Irish Jacobites, who had backed the wrong side in an English dispute and the Irish peasants, duped into thinking they were fighting a patriotic war, continued to fight.

After the Boyne, William's armies took Ulster, Leinster and eventually Munster, forcing Tyrconnell and Sarsfield to make a stand at Limerick. The city, under the command of Major-General Boisleau, with Sarsfield as second-in-command, was defended by 10,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry. In August, 1691, William, with an army of 38,000 men laid siege to Limerick.

Despite the loss of an entire army convoy at Ballyneety, William managed to secure additional supplies and

Limerick was attacked with vigour. The garrison put up a determined defence and all the attacks were repulsed. The siege was abandoned the following month and William returned to England leaving General Ginkell in command.

After the Battle of Aughrim in July 1691, Ginkell renewed the siege at Limerick. Sarsfield, now commander of the Irish Jacobite army following Tyrconnell's death, defended the city for a second time until October 1691, when the Treaty of Limerick was signed. Under the terms of the Treaty Irish soldiers were allowed to leave Ireland for any country of their choice. In what became known as the flight of the Wild Geese, Sarsfield and about 14,000 troops left Ireland for France and joined the Irish Brigade.

With the flight of the Wild Geese, Ireland was emptied of many of its finest fighting men, and there was no force capable of resistance when the Treaty of Limerick was later broken. It would be exactly a century before Irishmen would take up arms against the English and renew the fight for freedom.

In the flight of the Wild Geese, Sarsfield and his troops sailed from Cork for Brest in France on December 22nd 1691, 300 years ago this week.

RESTORED MONUMENT UNVEILED



● THE RESTORED MONUMENT to Volunteers Jim Sheridan, Martin Lee and Johnny Bateson was unveiled by Sinn Féin Councillor John Hurl on Sunday December 15th at St Theresa's Graveyard, Newbridge, County Derry. The three Volunteers died in a premature explosion in Magherafelt on December 18th 1971. The original monument was destroyed by British soldiers less than 18 months after it was erected. Following a highly successful fund-raising campaign by the local Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair the monument was completely restored.

Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: meets 8.30pm every Tuesday, Dublin Resource Centre, Crow Street, DUBLIN

PICKET ON US EMBASSY: opposing US policy in Central America, 11.30am-1pm, every Saturday, Ballsbridge, DUBLIN

CIORCAIL CHOMHRA: Chuile Luan 9-10.30am, Club Chonradh na 6 Sraid Fhearchair, BAILE ATHA CLIATH.

Cleachtalgh do Ghaeilge linn

IRISH & BASQUE VIDEO NIGHT: *Negu Corriak and Behind the Mask.* 8pm Friday 20th December, 121 Bookshop, 121 Rialtan Road, Brixton, LONDON, Taillé £2 — includes vegetarian meal

CANDLE LIGHT PICKET: For Pamela Kane, 8pm Saturday 21st December, Limerick Prison, LIMERICK. For further information contact Tom Clancy, Phone 2061-53855

CANDLE LIGHT VIGIL: 3pm, Saturday 21st December, GPO, O'Connell

St. DUBLIN, Organised by the POW Department. Bring your own candles

ART O'NEILL COMMEMORATION: 400th anniversary, 12noon Thursday December 26th (St Stephen's Day): Assemble Deering's Cross on Blessington/Ballinglass Road, HOLLYWOOD, County Wicklow. Procession to Knocknadruid. Further details from Gerry O'Neill 045-65728

IRISH NIGHT: Music by Hyland Paddy. Saturday 28th December, late bar, Gatsby's, NEWRY, Taillé £2.50. Organised by the Republican Movement

SINN FEIN FUNCTION: Music by Ceol Beilhaven group, Sunday 29th December, Slabh-on-Arann Hotel, BALLINAMORE, County Leitrim

FERGAL CARAHAR COMMEMORATION: 6pm Monday 30th December, The Square, CULLYHANNA, County Armagh. Torchlit procession to unveiling of plaque dedicated to the memory of Fergal Carahar

SEAN SABHAT COMMEMORATION: Speaker Joe Austin, 12 noon, Sunday January 5th, Bedford Row, LIMERICK CITY

DRAW RESULTS

Dublin North-East
POW Draw results

1st £100: Brian Tyrrell, c/o Andy; 2nd Mirror: Sarah c/o Kevin; 3rd Framed Hankie: Eddie and Paula, c/o Micko Byrne; 4th Framed Poster: K.B. c/o Cole/Colley; 5th Book: Robert Sloan, c/o Dermot.

I nDíl Chuimhne

AGNEW, Charles; BATESON, John; DEVLIN, Eugene; FOX, Brian; GRANT, Edward; LEE, Martin; McCABE, Jack; McDADE, Gerard; McDaid, James; McILVENNA, Sean; O'DONNELL, Phil; QUINN, Brendan; SHERIDAN, James. In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Charles Agnew, John Bateson, Eugene Devlin, Brian Fox, Edward Grant, Martin Lee, Jack McCabe, Gerard McDade, James McDaid, Sean McIlvenna, Phil O'Donnell, Brendan Quinn and James Sheridan. I mease laochra na nGael go raib siad. "They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

AGNEW, Kevin (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Kevin Agnew, Sinn Féin, who died on December 18th 1988. Always remembered by the James McGinn Sinn Féin Cumann, Killea.

BLOUNT, Emmet (2nd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Emmet Blount, Education Officer, James Connolly Sinn Féin Cumann, Ballyfermot, Dublin, who died on Christmas Day 1988. RIP. Always remembered by Brendan and Chrissie, Ballyfermot. Always remembered by Comhairle Limerick, Atha Cliath.

CARROLL, Roddy (9th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Roddy Carroll who was murdered on December 12th 1982. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by the Crew family. DONALDSON, Nellie (1st Ann). In

loving memory of my mother. Sadly missed and always loved by her sons David, Tracy and family. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for her. FLEMING, William (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol William Fleming. Always remembered by Paul and Siobhan. Always remembered by Dermot and Anne.

FOX, Brian (17th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our beloved son and brother who died on the December 21st 1974. "Fold him in your arms Lord Jesus." Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Still loved and sadly missed by his loving father, mother, brothers, brothers-in-law and nieces and nephews at home and abroad.

Always remembered by Gerry and Anne Fox and large family circle. Always remembered by his sister Susan, Manfred and family.

GREW, Seamus (9th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Seamus Grew who was murdered on December 12th 1982. A soldier true, you would not bend the knee, you died for justice and for Ireland free. Always remembered and deeply missed by his family.

McDADE, Gerard (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Gerard Mc Dade, murdered by the British army on December 21st 1971. You hold a corner in our hearts, a space no one can fill. You have not been forgotten Gerard, what's more you never will. Sadly missed by your brother Thomas, Carmel and family. Honour and cherished by his son Gerard.

Sadly missed by your brother Francis, Cathy and family.

Sadly missed by your brother Peter. Sadly missed by your sister Ann, Jimmy and family.

Sadly missed by your sister Mary, Raymond and family.

Sadly missed by all his friends and relatives in Shannon and Belfast. Always remembered by Danny, Eilish and family, Shannon.

Always remembered by the Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin Cumann, Shannon.

Always remembered by Gerard and Eileen McDade and family. Always remembered by Mr and Mrs McGettigan and family at home and abroad.

McDADE, James (17th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol James McDade, who died on November 14th 1974. Always remembered by Gerard and Eileen McDade and family.

McILVENNA, Sean (7th Ann). In proud and loving memory of our dear son Vol Sean McIlvenna, who died on active service on December 17th 1984. The sense of loss is as sharp today Sean as it was on that Monday seven years ago. But the exciting memories you left compensates. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Lovingly remembered by mum and dad.

Always remembered by Maureen. Always remembered by his sister Ina and nieces Caroline and Simone. Always remembered by his brother Neill, wife Noreen and nieces Sara-Rose and Kathleen.

Remembered always by Rosario and niece Siobhan.

Remembered with pride by uncle Felix and aunt Sarah and family. Always remembered by aunt Sally and uncle Harry.

Remembered by aunt Mary and family.

Always remembered by aunt Anne and family.

Always remembered by Joe, Margaret and family.

Remembered with pride by the Paddy McIlvenna Sinn Féin Cumann, Armagh city.

Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, Armagh.

Always remembered by Leonard Hardy, POW, Portlaoise.

Remembered always by Damien and Theresa McComb and family.

Always remembered with pride by Christopher, Christine and family.

Always remembered by his friends Sindy and family.

Always remembered by Hugh, Bernadette and family.

Remembered with pride by Mickey. O'KANE, Mary (1st Ann). In proud and loving memory of Mary O'Kane, Drumsara, who died on December 17th 1990. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for her. Always remembered by the James McGinn Sinn Féin Cumann, Killea.

Remembered by the Donaghy family. From Rose and family.

From John and Annalena. RODDEN, Peter (3rd Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vol Peter Rodden. Your memory I treasure with thoughts that are dear. I think of you always, not just once a year. Forever remembered by Jacqueline Martin, Toome.

SHERIDAN, James; BATESON, John; LEE, Martin (20th Ann). In proud and loving memory of Vols Jim Sheridan, Johnny Bateson and Martin Lee who died on December 18th 1971. Always remembered by

County Derry and SW Antrim Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin. From Seamus Steele Sinn Féin Cumann Newbridge. Remembered by the Fergal O'Hanlon/John Davey Sinn Féin Cumann.

Comhbhrón

MONTGOMERY. The Republican Movement, Markets and Short Strand, deeply regrets to learn of the death of Eddie, grandfather of Sean and Peter, and extends sympathy to the entire Montgomery family.

Buíochoas

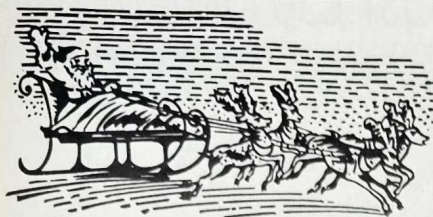
BLACK. I would like to thank all those who sympathised with my family and myself on the tragic loss of my daughter Patricia, all those who called at my house, sent mass cards and attended the funeral. I would especially thank all the POWs for their mass cards and letters of sympathy. As it is impossible to thank everyone individually I hope you will all accept my sincere thanks. Holy sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for all your intentions. Marie Black.

A SPECIAL THANKS from the POW Dept for the following H-Block prisoners for their art work on our behalf. Jimmy McAllister,

Michael Doherty, Terry Boyle, Jimmy Thompson, Kevin McCallion, Curly Craven, Paul McGettigan, Martin Meehan Jnr, Johnny Gilmore, Paul Doherty, Sam Taggart, John Brady, Martin Mallon, Martin O'Neill, Davy Doherty, Sean Doherty, Micky Hillen, Gerry Rice, Brian Gormley, Rocket Meehan, Stevie Connolly, Gary Breslin, Martin Kelly, Gerry Magee, Martin Gough, George Hagens, Brian Hunter, Leo Fleming, Micky Tactac, Paul McLarnon, Joe McFall, Jimmy Doherty. Nollaig shona to all POWs.

Beannachtaí

CAMPBELL, Brendan (Crumlin Road). Happy Birthday. From mum, dad and family. CARROLL, Dermot and Ailish. Happy first wedding anniversary. Best wishes. From Jenny and Johnny. MAC DOMHNAILL, Gearóid (Leicester). Breithlá sona duit Gearóid. From Michael, Greta and family. From the Doherty family. From all your friends in St James. From Joyce. From Mr and Mrs Doherty and Martin. From Elizabeth, Cathy, Agnes and Families. From Eamon, Toni and Family. From Jackie and Ella. From Lornie, Bob, Bik and Pickles. MADDEN, Seamus. Happy birthday Seamus. From mummy, daddy, Charlie, Donna, Chris and Joe.



We can't comment at the moment we're a bit short-staffed. — Kenneth Baker's office when asked for a comment on Monday's IRA rail-line attack which ground London to a virtual standstill.

Now there's another junction at Clapham. — British Rail hoarding near the site of Monday's explosion which crippled rail transport in London.

Whoever was behind the blast was aiming at disruption, not destruction. — Sky News reporter Rob Gillis quoting a police source, Monday, December 16th.

Rush hour was extended by about an hour. — The AA on Monday.

It's rather like when Hitler fell. You could not find a member of the Nazi party and now in Ireland and among the Irish community you cannot find an IRA supporter, but obviously there must be a considerable number. — Tory MP Anthony Beaumont Dark following Monday's explosion.

London is the biggest soft target in the world and it is intolerable that the IRA can hold the capital to ransom in this way. — Tory MP Ivor Stanbrook, Financial Times, Tuesday, December 17th.

Dúirt Siad

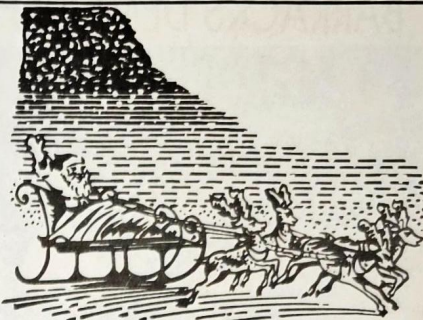
It was a Monday morning and there was just chaos all over. — Sky News reporter Rob Gillis at the scene.

We are winning the fight against the terrorists and they know that jolly well. — Clueless Coleman, rounding off what for him was not a great year with another clever witticism.

To say it is like looking for a needle in a haystack is the understatement of the century. — Frustrated British detective on the hunt for IRA Volunteers in Britain, the Sun, Tuesday, December 17th.

Some estimate that the cost of the current bombing campaign across the country could top £100 million. But the true accounting is not in terms of pounds but of our right to go about our business unhampered and unmolested. The suspension of that right for so many people was the IRA's real success yesterday. In closing stations and urging its customers to stay at home, BR played out the IRA's script word-perfectly. — Daily Express editorial, Tuesday, December 17th, showing division in British ranks about how to deal with the IRA's tactics in England.

The stay-at-home message was one of surrender. Everyone should have been exhorted to try and reach their workplace in the spirit of the blitz in defiance of the terrorists who now wish to wage economic war on Britain. — Daily Express.



Little has changed since the Fenian outrages of the 1880s shocked London and led to the first security checks at Westminster. — London Times leader, Tuesday, December 17th. The little matter of 26 Counties evacuated by the British?

It's a no-win situation. — Police source on the disruption caused by the Clapham bomb, Daily Mail, Tuesday, December 17th.

How this little dent in the ground brought the nerve-centre of Britain to a standstill. — Daily Mirror headline, Tuesday, December 17th.

An IRA bomb made a small dent in the ground yesterday... and blew a £46 million hole in Britain's business. — Daily Mirror, Tuesday, December 17th.

Taking a life is obscene, but damage to historic bits of culture, if that was the aim, is absolutely outrageous. — Labour MP Andrew Foulds on Sunday following the IRA's firebombing of London's National Gallery, Irish Independent, Monday, December 16th.

If the nationalist aim is a legitimate political aspiration, then it is perfectly proper for the constitution to give expression to that aspiration. Do Messrs Paisley and Molyneux regard parties or governments who wish to have a united Ireland as expressing legitimate beliefs? If they do, how can they possibly expect the Irish constitution to be changed in advance of any talks? — Irish News editorial supporting the retention of Articles Two and Three, Friday, December 13th.

If the Republic's government can spare time from its hurry to amend the Extradition Act to Britain's satisfaction, perhaps it might consider asking the Major government to scrap the PTA in return. That would be a worthy achievement for Charlie in the twilight of his stewardship. — John Barrett's London Calling column in the Kerryman, December 13th.

The letters I write to CJ Haughey never get a reply. What we do is a thorn in the hand of the state. We publicise emigration and I think that doesn't tie in with the government's attitude, which is 'out of sight, out of mind'. The more that go away, the fewer welfare payments the government has to make. — Seamus McGuire from Thurles, County Tipperary, who helps Irish homeless to return from London every Christmas. He told the Independent on Sunday that when he wrote to all the TDs in Leinster House, only three donated a total of £70.

Reargunner

THE RELIEF OF DERRY

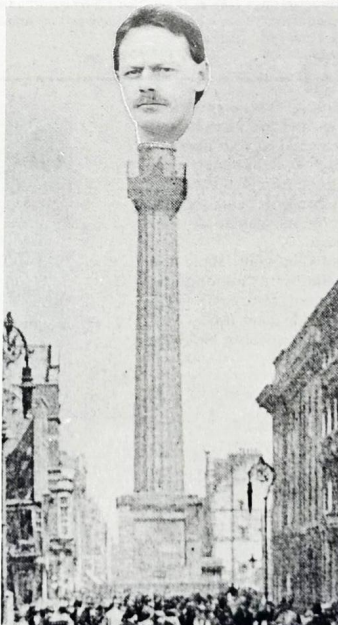
IRELAND breathed a healthy toxic-free sigh this week at the news of the Relief of Derry 1990s style. The Maiden City has — as all Green Republicans will recall — been under siege by the multinational giant Du Pont for almost a year now with their plans to construct a toxic waste incinerator at their Maydown plant site, three miles down the Foyle from Derry.

Although the town was the focus of the campaign to halt the project (and Derry wans are well experienced in their ability to resist besieging forces be it in 1688, 1969 or 1991) the waste incinerator would of course have affected the whole north-west, ultimately causing a major environmental threat to Donegal, Tyrone and the Foyle not to mention property prices along the Culmore to Moville coastline where such luminaries as John Hume have second homes...

The siege was lifted this week when Du Pont announced that the plans had been dropped for financial reasons, but for whatever reason it is a welcome Christmas present for the area. We have a lot to be grateful for that such a campaign was organised and while not wishing to single out any individual David who fought the Du Pont Goliath for praise, our own Hughie Brady, Sinn Féin councillor in Derry, should be acknowledged as a people's champion for his unwavering opposition to the Du

Pont scheme. Marching, writing letters, public speaking — even dressing up as a piece of toxic waste (by putting on his Sunday suit, I'm reliably informed) and parading the streets at Halloween, Hugh fought the campaign without pause. The result? Du Pont surrendered.

And now that the siege has ended in victory for the Green Machine the Reargunner has a small suggestion as to how Brady could be honoured in a way which would be both culturally fitting, with a historic precedent, and would surely gain 'cross community support'. For some time now the loyalists in Derry have been trying to have their pillar of Governor Walker, hero of the 1688 siege, rebuilt. The pillar was demolished by the IRA in the early '70s because of its sectarian and triumphalist nature but the Reargunner suggests that it could now be rebuilt with the hero of the 1991 siege atop. Hughie Brady, gazing over his beloved toxic-free city, with his two fingers ceremoniously raised to the vanquished Du Pont foe.

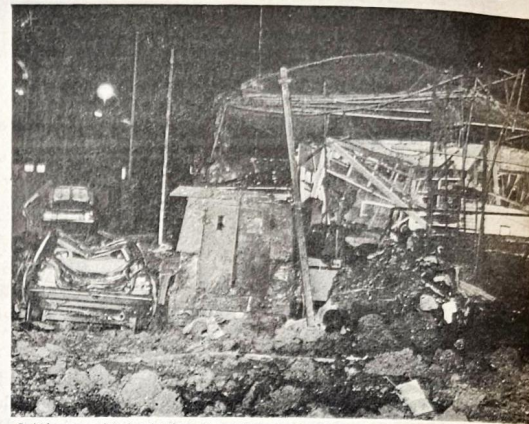


● Hughie Brady — hero of the Du Pont toxic waste siege of Derry 1991

BARRACKS DEMOLISHED, ENGLISH ATTACKS COST £50 MILLION PLUS



● The bombing of the rail line at Clapham Junction in London proved once again the inability of the British government to confine their Irish war to the Six Counties.



● (Above and below) The ruins of Craigavon Barracks which was demolished by an IRA bomb on Thursday night, December 12th

British pay price as IRA strikes

THE EXTENT to which the IRA's campaign is frustrating the most intense British efforts to suppress it was illustrated dramatically in the past week with action by Oglagh na hEireann in London and in the Six Counties costing the British government tens of millions of pounds. An even bigger loss was sustained by British credibility with such a senior figure as Scotland Yard Chief George Churchill Coleman blurting out the rash statement that "We are winning the fight against the terrorists and they know that jolly well."

Coleman's statement came a week after a similar pronouncement by the new British 'Security' Minister Brian Mawhinney who promised "100% success rate" against the IRA. Mawhinney could not conceal his frustration days later as he surveyed the ruins of yet another British barracks

demolished by the IRA. From Craigavon to Clapham Junction the message was obviously that the IRA can still set the agenda.

The refusal of the beleaguered British Home Secretary Kenneth Baker to make a statement to the House of Commons about the IRA's £46 million

blow to the British economy when it brought London to a halt on Monday, had more to do with the embarrassment of British ministers at their inability to confine the cost of their Irish war to the Six Counties than with the need to maintain a stiff upper lip, or, as Baker claimed, to deny the IRA "the oxygen of publicity".

With government business crippled for a day — even the British Transport Secretary could not get to work and Baker's own office was short-staffed — the price of Westminster's refusal to withdraw from Ireland was brought home directly, as it was earlier this year when IRA mortars rained on Downing Street.

The IRA spelt out its message clearly and placed the responsibility firmly where it belongs — with the British government — when it said at the weekend:

"The economic cost of disruption to daily life in Britain will continue to rise as long as the British government and its army continue to occupy part of Ireland's national territory."

— See War News page 3

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