

# An Phoblacht

## REPUBLICAN NEWS



**48 pages**

THE price of this week's special forty-eight page issue of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' is 30p.

There was no issue of the paper last week, Saturday 23rd May, in order to cover adequately this week the deaths and funerals of H-Block hunger-strikers Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara.

**30pence**

### TWO VOLUNTEERS SHOT DEAD IN DERRY

AS we go to press, news has come in that the British army has shot dead two IRA Volunteers in Derry at lunchtime on Thursday 28th May.

The dead Volunteers have been named as twenty-one-year-old Charles Maguire, and twenty-three-year-old George McBrearty, both of Creggan. The Republican Movement has expressed its deepest sympathies to the families of its fallen comrades.

### BODENSTOWN

Sunday 21st June

### National hunger-strike rally

DUBLIN Saturday 30th May  
Assemble 2 p.m. St. Stephen's Green

Sraith Nua lmi 3 uimhir 20 de Sathairn Bealtaine 30

Saturday May 30th 1981

(Britain 35p) Price 30p

## H-BLOCK MARTYRS

Four brave Irish martyrs, who died at intransigent British hands, for their republican beliefs, in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison



**RAYMOND McCREESH**  
aged 24, South Armagh  
died Thursday 21st May  
after 61 days on hunger-strike



**BOBBY SANDS**  
aged 27, Belfast  
died Tuesday 5th May  
after 66 days on hunger strike



**PATSY O'HARA**  
aged 24, Derry city  
died Thursday 21st May  
after 61 days on hunger strike



**FRANCIS HUGHES**  
aged 25, South Derry  
died Tuesday 12th May  
after 59 days on hunger-strike

# THE FINA

## PATSY O'HARA

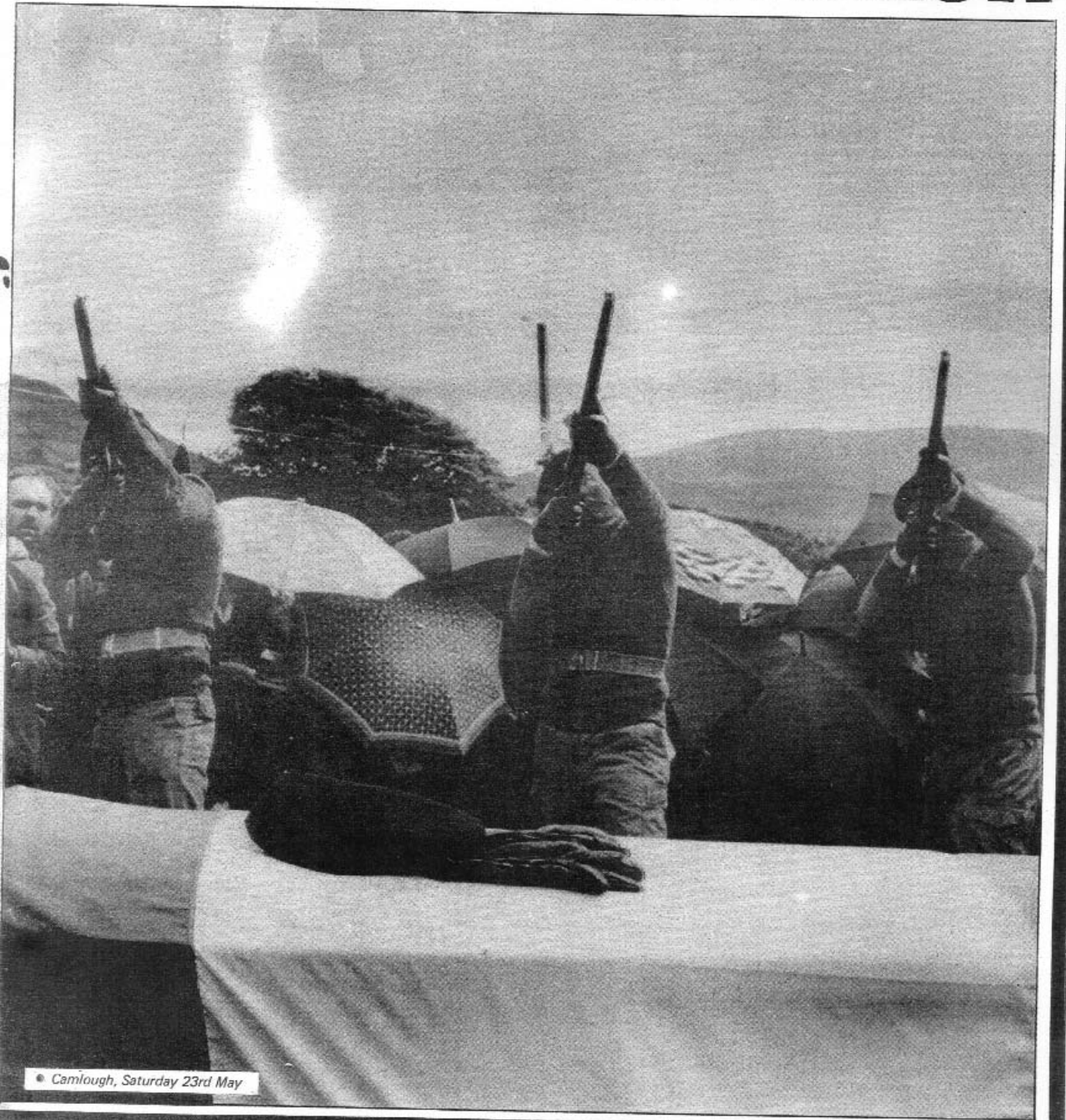


• Derry City, Monday 25th May



# SALUTE

## RAYMOND McCREESH



● Camlough, Saturday 23rd May

# THE FUNERALS OF RAYMOND McCREESH AND PATSY O'HARA



● Camlough, Saturday 23rd May



● Derry City, Monday 25th May



# A slow burning fuse

THE DEATHS of hunger-strikers Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara in the H-Blocks last week, in quick succession on top of the losses of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, has almost certainly touched off a slow burning fuse.

For although there has been an outburst of popular violence on the streets, the feelings of dismay, frustration and anger run much deeper than the often intemperate and impatient actions of the young people.

And on top of the frustration there is a feeling of outrage — which will find no satisfactory channel until its conversion to IRA support — at the indiscriminate retaliation by British forces on innocent nationalist people.

All of the dead hunger-strikers spent many years of their short young lives behind the barbed wire and prison walls, which are just some of the foundations of British 'law and order' in the North.

They could not tolerate what they saw going on in their land, a sectarian loyalist government discriminating against their people, peaceful protest routed, and eventually the use of British military force to shore up the collapsing Orange statelets.

They could not tolerate what they saw and the only choice they ever had was the choice offered to a slave. But instead they obeyed their consciences, found courage and energy, and went into battle with the odds overwhelmingly stacked against them.

## CHOICE

No Irish army occupies England. No Irish army harasses the people of England, nor has divided one community from the other, nor systematically goes around mowing down civilians or children.

British troops do not fall into

this category. They are not civilians nor children and the only pranks they get up to are murdering, torturing and maiming Irish people as they walk their own streets.

They have a choice between following their consciences and staying at home or taking whatever punishment Mother England has inflicted on them and on the Irish. That is the true picture of the British soldier in Ireland, and therefore it is hard to sympathise with them when they meet their maker early.

The deaths of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara are sweeping a change through the nationalist people of the North which is spilling over into increased awareness in the South. The change will not necessarily be fully seen on marches or in elections. But people throughout Ireland are leaving behind whatever doubts or reservations they had in the past about answering our problems through the use of force.

## DIFFERENT

People's reactions to the deaths of the hunger-strikers take many different forms. Many people, especially the old, have resorted

to increased prayer as their humble contribution.

Many people in nationalist ghettos who would have had second thoughts about opening their doors are now leaving them ajar. Those doors need to be kept open because this struggle is coming out of its infancy.

And many young people — the great hope for the future — who last month were nothing but soccer fans or into pop music, are now joining a growing queue to step into the footsteps of Bobby, Frankie, Raymond and Patsy.

Those who can fit into their shoes will get more than the five demands; they will set Ireland free...



● The IRA: those who can fit into the shoes will set Ireland free...

## Two Derry IRA Volunteers shot dead by British troops

AS we go to press, the sad news has come in that two IRA Volunteers have been shot dead in Derry city on Thursday lunchtime (May 28th) by British soldiers.

The 2nd Derry Brigade issued a statement (the full text of which

reads:

"Just before 12.50 p.m. today, an active service unit of Derry Brigade sighted a brown Opel car containing a SAS undercover agent. The active service unit pursued this car to the Brandywell and opened fire on it at the junction of Southway and Lene Moor Road. Almost immediately two other cars, one a red

Chrysler Alpine containing two SAS men, the other a yellow Porche with three SAS, arrived on the scene and opened fire on the ASU.

"The two Volunteers who had stepped from their vehicle were hit before the SAS sped off. Local people came to the assistance of the active service unit and got

them away. Unhappily the two Volunteers died.

"Our dead comrades were Charles Maguire, 21 of Cromon Garden, Craggan and George McBratney, 23 of Greycar Heights. To the families of our fallen comrades we extend our deepest sympathies. To those locally who assisted our comrades we express our thanks.



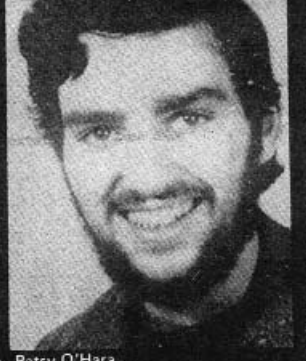
Bobby Sands



Francis Hughes



Raymond McCreesh



Patsy O'Hara

# OVERCOMING THE FEAR OF DEATH

## 'Keep on marching, don't give up'

THIS tribute to the determination and spirit of republican resistance of the four dead H-Block hunger-strikers — IRA Volunteers Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes and Raymond McCreesh, and INLA Volunteer Patsy O'Hara — is written by Belfast republican Jim Gibney, who had the demanding, but privileged, task of regularly visiting the former three in the H-Block prison hospital during their fast to the death for political prisoner status.

BY JIM GIBNEY

*I'm extremely weak, I'm blind, I can't see you. Tell the lads to keep their chins up. Don't be down-hearted. I'm hanging on. I'll see this thing through.*

Bobby Sands, sixty-one days on hunger-strike.

*Thatcher will have coffins coming out of here because we are not giving in.*

Francis Hughes, fifty-two days on hunger-strike.

*Keep on marching, don't give up.*

Raymond McCreesh, fifty-four days on hunger-strike.

THESE were the final words spoken on the last visits I had with three of the four dead hunger-strikers. (Patsy O'Hara was visited by representatives of his own organisation and I only saw him, briefly, once.)

From the beginning of the hunger-strike on March 1st, I spent a total of six-and-a-half hours with Bobby, Francis and Raymond: four half-hour visits each with Bobby and Francis, and five half-hour visits with Raymond.

The conversations on those visits covered a multitude of topics ranging from Bobby's election campaign and victory, the various visits to the H-Blocks by politicians and clergy, the IRA's campaign, the protest movement, and the state of health of the other hunger-strikers.

A measure of the prisoners' commitment during the hunger-strike can be gauged by the fact that not once did the hunger-strikers volunteer information about their own physical condition. Their deteriorating health did not preoccupy their minds. They used their bodies as weapons against British rule as coolly and calculatedly as they used guns and bombs before their imprisonment, but, alas, on this last operation their 'run back' led only one way — to the grave.

### PRIVILEGED

Having spent so much time (in terms of the visits they received on hunger-strike) with men whose bravery captured the imagination of the world, and who willingly died in the hope that their deaths would lead to a transformation in our struggle for national freedom, I feel both humble and privileged.

The inner political conviction, the will power, the personal heroism of the hunger-strikers, is inestimable. No matter what their opponents allege about their actions, no-one can rob them of the dignified manner in

which they overcame the daunting fear of death.

And while those moralists in State and Church bore us to tears with their view of the rightness and wrongness of the hunger-strike, the ordinary people know in their hearts and minds who is right and who is wrong, and act accordingly.

The four prisoners were held for two-thirds of their hunger-strike in the prison hospital.

The hospital contains eleven cells, six on one side of a smartly polished corridor floor and five on the other. Unlike the H-Blocks, the cell doors in the hospital block are wooden. The block is spotlessly clean and has the smell and appearance of a normal hospital, but differs in every other way, with iron grills and locked doors being the ingredients which change it into a prison.

My first visit to it was when Bobby Sands was thirty days on hunger-strike. Travelling with his mother, Rosaleen, and his sister, Marcella, in the back of a prison mini-bus from the prison visiting area, my mind was abuzz at the prospect of what lay before me.

Firmly planted in my mind was the wretched emaciated figure of the German hunger-striker Holger Meins, photographed shortly after dying on hunger-strike in a West German prison, in 1972. So, when I saw Bobby, with a boyish hair-style, clean shaven, and slightly drawn, sitting on top of the bed, wearing a multi-coloured dressing gown and greeting us with a smile, I was surprised at his reasonable appearance.

He was in good spirits and we talked at length about the situation inside the prison and outside. We discussed the protest movement and he cautioned against expecting large turn-outs early in the hunger-strike. He believed that people would respond when the condition of the hunger-strikers worsened. "The people know when to come on to the streets," he said.

The visit terminated all too quickly. I was pleased, leaving him, because I could see he was thinking ahead and was on top of the situation.

### PROBLEMS

My next visit to the prison hospital was the following week to see Francis Hughes. It was my second visit with Francis since he started the hunger-strike. He was in fine form, although his bad leg was causing some problems. We discussed the Fermanagh and South Tyrone by-election campaign which was just moving into full gear.

The following week I visited Raymond McCreesh in the hospital. He was fit enough to walk from his hospital bed to a room set aside for visitors.

His eldest sister Marie was on the visit with his brother Michael. Marie had not seen Raymond for over five years, so it was an emotional reunion dominated by family news.

When the visit ended Raymond stood up to say goodbye, and became dizzy, almost fainted, and had to sit down again. He had turned a pale white colour.

That same week I was back visiting Bobby, along with his mother and sister Marcella. He was now over forty days on



Long Kesh prison hospital

hunger-strike.

As we arrived in the hospital, the doctor in charge of the hunger-strikers invited us to his office. There, for twenty minutes, he, and another doctor called Emerson (who the McCreesh family tried to remove from treating Raymond in the last days of his life because of his suspected impropriety) went into great detail about their dilemma in dealing with hunger-strikers. They quite needlessly detailed the effects of a hunger-strike on the body and how the body lapses into a coma. Although they attempted to distance themselves from the prison administration, claiming their role was independent, in reality they were probing Mrs. Sands and Marcella to see if they could find a weakness.

When at last we went in to Bobby, he was considerably weaker than when I had last seen him, but he had no difficulty speaking or moving about the bed. He warned his mother about the doctors trying to get at him through the family and said that should he lapse into a coma he was not to be revived. We discussed his election campaign: he felt that the election would be a boost to the hunger-strike campaign, but would not be enough to shift Thatcher off course. How right he was to be proved!

The most trying time for the hunger-strikers was the period shortly before Bobby's death, when a virtual queue of international dignitaries lined up outside his cell door, waiting to try and persuade him to end the hunger-strike. Their presence alone created an illusion of movement and raised hopes only to be dashed by the vindictive language of Margaret Thatcher.

### IMPACT

But it was in the last week of each of the three hunger-strikers' lives that the full impact of the strike hit the hunger-strikers

themselves, their families and myself.

On my last visit with Francis I accompanied his mother and his brother, Oliver. It was a very moving occasion. Francis was going downhill fast. His eyesight was blurred and he had to hold his hand over one eye throughout the visit. He had been violently ill that morning.

His mother threw her arms around his neck and said: "I'm the proudest mother in the world. Your family are all proud of you." She blessed him with a special cross brought from Calvary in Jerusalem and Francis tenderly kissed it.

He said: "I always like to see you happy."

I never saw Francis alive again.

Two days later I visited Raymond. He was in pretty good shape. After leaving him I was walking down the corridor and I noticed Bobby's cell door open. I walked in and saw him lying in bed with a crucifix given to him by the Pope's envoy around his neck. His mother, father and Marcella were lined along his bed. He sensed someone else in the cell. He looked towards me.

"How are you?" I asked.

"Is that you, Jim?" he said, stretching out his hand.

"It is, Bobby," I replied, as I clasped him.

*I'm extremely weak, I'm blind, I can't see you. Tell the lads to keep their chins up. Don't be down-hearted. I'm hanging on. I'll see this thing through.*

We held hands for what seemed like an eternity but probably was less than a minute; then I left.

### SHATTERING

I had a similar, shattering experience two weeks later when I visited Raymond for the last time.

As I entered the hospital complex I physically shook, and as I passed the cells Bobby and Francis died in, my blood ran cold. I was tempted to look inside the cells, but out of the corner of my eye I saw a gaunt figure waving and smiling at me.

It was Patsy O'Hara. His cell door was open and he was sitting by his bed, propped up in a chair. I went to his cell door and spoke briefly to him. He was strong and in good spirits.

Raymond's condition contrasted strongly with Patsy's. He lay motionless in the bed. For thirty seconds he did not know he had visitors. Then, when he realised, he had difficulty taking in the names of his visitors: "It's your Uncle Peter and Jimmy McCreesh, your cousin, and Jim Gibney," said his cousin. "Oh," said Raymond in a faint voice that trailed off into silence.

We sat for a few more minutes in silence, broken finally by questions which reflected the strained mood, then a longer silence. I thought Raymond had died, his chest stopped moving and he appeared to stop breathing, but he came to . . .

As the visit ended, Raymond came round a bit, shook everyone's hand strongly, and threw his arms around his Uncle Peter's neck. "Keep on marching, don't give up," he said.

"That I will, that I will," said his uncle.



# H-BLOCK SIMMERS

## BELOW ELECTION SURFACE

### Cynical Haughey ahead of inept coalition

BY KEVIN BURKE

THE on-again off-again general election in the twenty-six counties finally got underway on Thursday 21st May, ending six months of speculation and indecision. On the face of it, the old adage that 'elections are lost by governments rather than won by oppositions' should never be truer than on this occasion.

Logically a government facing an election when unemployment stands officially at 126,000, and when inflation rates over the past two years have reached 16% and 18%, leaving its 1977 manifesto promises in shreds, should have no chance.

And a governing party which can only barely conceal a feud which has split the parliamentary party down the middle over several years, but most bitterly in the eighteen months since Haughey took over the leadership, should have even less than no chance.

But that is clearly not the position at the moment and going into the election, Fianna Fail, if one can rely on the IMS opinion poll taken on Friday 22nd May, would appear to be ahead of a Fine Gael/Labour opposition.

#### GOODIES

A number of reasons can be put forward for this.

Firstly, in a system of 'democracy' which leaves the electorate with little control on events, outside of the visit to the ballot box every four or five years, electoral goodies or bribes have a significant effect.

Fianna Fail, being in government, cannot make grandiose promises (otherwise why have they not fulfilled them already?), so they have cleverly oiled the electoral palm in recent weeks with increase in grants to first time house-buyers, the re-introduction of food and public transport subsidies, relief of interest payments for farmers and so on.

This burst of generosity with the taxpayers' own money has its effect in soothing discontent and reducing the desire for change to another government, which is obviously not going to be different in any major way, but might be that bit more severe, who knows?

This leads to a second factor which in this election appears to be having a major effect. That is the ineptitude of Fine Gael and Labour in putting themselves forward as a realistic alternative.

#### PROMISES

Whilst Fianna Fail as government 'stands on its record' which means playing with figures to show job increases of 80,000 rather than unemployment increases of 34,000 and social welfare increases of 30% rather than inflation rates which outstrip those increases — the opposition parties must come

up with the promises and new policies.

Neither Fine Gael nor Labour have come up with any more than tinkering with economic policies. Fine Gael has gone for a Thatcherite policy, reducing income tax rates and slapping it on indirect taxation and insurance contributions, and a whole contradictory mishmash of promises which would, they claim, improve public services whilst at the same time cut public spending, reduce foreign borrowing and wipe out the current balance of payments deficit over the next four years.

The dominant impression of their manifesto is the hair-shirt.

#### GAP

On the other hand, the Labour Party — by no means claiming to be a socialist alternative — are faced with having to promise something to their working-class supporters.

They have therefore promised increased public spending (as opposed to Fine Gael's decrease), re-introduction of a wealth tax (which Fine Gael has totally ruled out) and increased food subsidies (which benefit the rich as much as the poor).

Whilst Labour bows to Fine Gael with talk of 'wage moderation' and Fine Gael nods back with 'index-linked social welfare benefits', there is still a massive gap between the two parties, one of which is unashamedly conservative and the other is supposedly representing the interests of labour.

The fact that both parties are urging their voters to ignore the difference and transfer their votes on to the other party, even without a pre-election coalition agreement, leaves both parties with one clear and common label — opportunist.

So Fianna Fail are not in the hopeless position that would be expected, and the old adage must be extended to include 'but oppositions lose elections as well'.

There is also another most important factor in this election battle, which in the first week of the campaign has only been bubbling below the surface. This is the national question and in particular the hunger strike in the H-Blocks.

#### CONCERN

The IMS poll of Friday 22nd May, reflects a most significant jump of 12% in the level of concern on the war in the North (as compared to concern on unemployment and prices etc). The level of this concern, its genuine nature, the volatility of the emotions it arouses, are all factors which increase the importance and strength of the national question as



● To date, Haughey has successfully contrived to use the smokescreen of 'republicans' in his own party to excuse his failure to set on the H-Block issue — what is now required of those 'republicans' is that they call on Haughey to take positive action and condemn Thatcher.

an electoral issue.

Charles Haughey has always been aware of this strength and has made no secret of the fact that he would hope to take advantage of it, particularly as a distraction from his disastrous economic record.

His 'special relationship' with Margaret Thatcher has taken a severe hammering with the deaths of four hunger-strikers passing without him being able to deliver on his supposed new-found status with the British. At the same time he has continued to refuse to publicly condemn Thatcher or to take any steps which might put real pressure on her.

To justify this action he had contrived to divert the full responsibility for the hunger-strike deaths away from Thatcher, by constantly drawing out the European Commission red herring, and simultaneously has claimed that the deaths prove the necessity of finding a settlement on the national issue (a sentiment with which no one would disagree) and that his relationship with Thatcher, however tattered, is the only way forward.

So far, it must be said, he has had some success in putting over this line to his 'republican' supporters in the party and to a major

section of the electorate, despite the exemplary efforts of hunger-strike protestors who have clogged his footsteps on his electoral tour so far.

#### SMOKESCREEN

In Haughey's smokescreen there has been a vital element, whether knowingly or unknowingly.

A number of Fianna Fail Leinster House members, in the immediate days before the election announcement, made statements in support of the five demands of the prisoners. These included Timothy 'Chub' O'Connor in Kerry, Charles McCreavy in Kildare, and, most dramatically, Bill Loughnane in Clare.

The latter Fianna Fail 'republican' even went so far as to mildly criticise and threaten Haughey. However, following a meeting with Haughey, Loughnane equally publicly announced that he fully supported Haughey and now 'fully appreciated' the efforts of Haughey to save the lives of the hunger-strikers.

Neither O'Connor nor McCreavy were in any way checked by Haughey, as they had not criticised him, and had most probably gained support from concerned people. Loughnane had now gone even

better because he had tied Haughey as 'sound on the hunger strike' by his endorsement.

By willingly or unwillingly involving themselves in this manipulation, the three Fianna candidates had not benefitted hunger-strikers, but merely used hunger-strikers to benefit C. Haughey and themselves.

What is required from Fianna Fail candidates is a clear, unequivocal public call on Haughey to publicly condemn Thatcher to take positive action (by breaking diplomatic links and ending abortion) in support of election.

No Fianna Fail candidate, or other candidate, should be in any doubt that this is what is required now, not merely token support for the five demands, if want to claim electoral base from the hunger-strikers' support.

The intervention of H-B Armagh prisoners in the election battle will undoubtedly thrust the hunger-strike issue, and indeed the national question itself, into an unchallengeable forefront of campaign for votes. Not only will it clarify the prison issue beyond doubt, it will also give the electorate power to decisively effect issue anyway in what so far 'no-choice' election farce.

# DOUBLE DEATH INSIDE H-BLOCK

## But Brendan McLaughlin has to drop out

FOLLOWING the deaths of hunger-strikers Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara, it could have been expected that there would be a number of weeks before any of the second phase of hunger-strikers reached a critical stage.

But, on Monday 25th May, Brendan McLaughlin, who had replaced Francis Hughes on the hunger-strike only eleven days previously, was informed that unless he ended his hunger-strike he could expect to live for only four or five days, because of his rapidly deteriorating condition due to a perforated stomach ulcer.

On Wednesday 27th May, Brendan informed a Long Kesh prison chaplain that he would be ending his hunger-strike at 6 p.m. that evening.

In a statement supporting Brendan's decision and wishing him a full recovery, the H-Block Information Centre in Belfast pointed out: "To have continued in his critical condition would have meant almost immediate death before the effects of a long hunger-strike would have drawn in and built up the necessary pressure to break the British government's intransigence."

### BRENDAN McLAUGHLIN

On Wednesday 20th May, it was reported that Brendan McLaughlin, after only six days on hunger-strike, had been moved to the prison hospital. This was an immediate cause for concern as it is usually approximately twenty-one days before the hunger-strikers are taken from their blocks to the hospital.

The concern proved well-founded when, on Thursday 21st May, Brendan was rushed to the military wing of Musgrave Park hospital with a suspected perforated ulcer.

At first he refused even to allow tests to be done but then he agreed to a barium meal test which confirmed his suspected condition. He continued to refuse any medical treatment for the ulcer and, last Monday, May 25th, he was informed that without medical treatment he could die within four or five days.

The following day, after a week of being unable to sleep because of the excruciating stomach pains caused by the internal bleeding and frequently vomiting blood, Brendan agreed to take limited medical treatment short of ending his hunger-strike.

However, on Wednesday 27th May, having been repeatedly told by doctors that such treatment was virtually meaningless while continuing his fast and would have little effect on the time he could now expect to live, he agreed to end his fast.

### JOE McDONNELL

The condition of Joe McDonnell from Andersonstown, in Belfast, who replaced Bobby Sands on hunger-strike and who is now entering his fourth week of fasting, is not yet causing concern and he is still in H-Block 5.

On Wednesday 27th May, Joe was visited by his wife, his two children and his sister. At that



● On Thursday 21st May — after only seven days on hunger-strike — Brendan McLaughlin (inset) was rushed to the military wing of Musgrave Park Hospital in Belfast in a critical medical condition

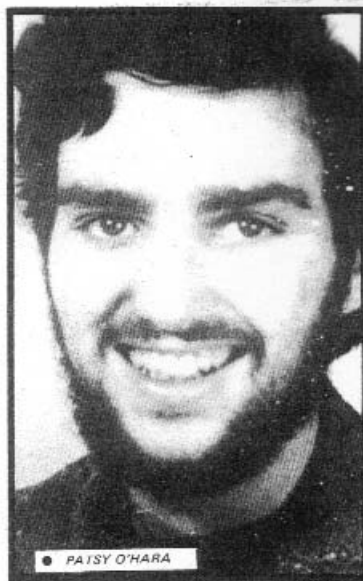
stage he had lost over 16 lbs. in eighteen days of hunger-strike, but, at that stage, had experienced no physical side effects.

He complained that on his way to the visit, the warders escorting him had tried to impose petty orders on him, demanding that he take his hands out of his pockets. On his refusal he was taken back to his cell and threatened that his visit would be cancelled, but the warders gave way when it became clear that he would not yield to their petty-mindedness.

### RAYMOND McCREESH

During the night following Brendan McLaughlin's original move to the prison hospital, at 2.11 a.m. on Thursday 21st May, Raymond McCreesh became the third political prisoner to die on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, as a result of the criminalisation policy of the British government.

Raymond's life finally ended after sixty days without food, during which he had suffered indescribably from the effects of his fast. Despite the black propaganda of the British, Raymond remained fully committed to his struggle and he proved with his life that he would not be broken by the inhumanity of the British government.



● PATSY O'HARA



● RAYMOND McCREESH

From the previous weekend it became increasingly clear that, with the British still unmoved, the end for Raymond was not far off. On Saturday evening, May 16th, Raymond was appointed by a prison chaplain. He was having great difficulty in moving and needed assistance: even when he was drinking water. His family confirmed that he was almost totally blind. Later on Saturday, the family received a phone-call telling them to return to the prison. When they arrived they found Raymond slipping intermittently into unconsciousness and, when conscious, in a very confused state. He had earlier been hallucinating and the medical staff in the prison tried to exploit his condition by initially telling him that he was in a hospital in Scotland and then offering him a drink of milk.

### CONFUSED

Raymond, in a very confused state, is alleged to have replied that he was not sure, but at no time did he indicate a willingness to take nourishment.

The British used his obviously confused state to imply both that he was wavering on his hunger-strike and that his family pressured him to continue, in a despicable black propaganda attack on Raymond McCreesh and his family.

But Raymond continued his hunger-strike, demonstrating with his life that he would die rather than be criminalised by the Brits.

On Monday, Raymond's family were provided with a room at the prison hospital and it became clear that his death would come shortly.

By Tuesday he had lost his sight and hearing and throughout the whole of Wednesday he was unable to move.

He died just after 2 a.m. on Thursday, dying as he had lived since his capture, resisting British attempts to break him as a political prisoner.

### PATSY O'HARA

Just before the death of Raymond McCreesh, reports on Patsy O'Hara's condition were causing extreme anxiety. Patsy had been relatively stronger than Raymond throughout the hunger strike which they began together on March 22nd.

However, in his final week, Patsy's condition deteriorated at an alarming rate.

On the Monday, when his family visited him, they found that both his hearing and his vision were beginning to fail. A prison doctor informed them that Patsy had suffered a murmur of the heart which indicated that he would

soon suffer a heart attack.

His condition became steadily weaker and he had difficulty talking clearly. When he tried to drink water on Wednesday immediately brought up blood later in the afternoon his teeth were contacted by a prison doctor and asked to go to the prison hospital.

They found that Patsy had his voice completely and late family reported that he had suffered a coronary attack. His body was fragile at this stage that the blood covering him were being supplied by a cage, his eyes had sunken into his head, his tongue was 1/2 its normal size.

Patsy was coughing up blood, his hearing was almost totally gone, and he was having increasing difficulty in breathing. Despite the imminence of death, Patsy's family were continually harassed by the prison officials.

Having been called urgently to the hospital the family delayed for over half-an-hour.

When they did gain entry found that when Patsy had the coronary attack there were doctors present or on duty some time. A warder threatened the visit when Patsy's brother Sean Seamus, moved a chair in the cell so that he could be close enough to allow Patsy to hear it.

### DIED

It was clear when Raymond McCreesh died early on Thursday that despite having appeared stronger throughout the hunger strike, Patsy would not be behind his dead comrade.

At 11.29 p.m. on Thursday, Patsy O'Hara died, having lived solely on water for sixty days. He died only twenty hours after and on the same as his comrade Raymond McCreesh with whom he began the hunger strike.

Following the deaths of Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara two further blanket men joined the hunger-strike.

On Friday week, May 2, twenty-five-year-old Kieran Dolan from Andersonstown in Belfast joined the hunger strike, after a half-year on the blanket. He replaced Raymond McCreesh.

Then on Saturday morning two days before his twenty birthday, Dungiven man John Lynch replaced Patsy O'Hara on the hunger-strike. Kevin has on the blanket for three and a half years.



# Britain's H-Block death policy intensifies nationalist sentiment

BY PETER ARNLIS

THE last two weeks have seen two more dead republicans carried out of the H-Blocks as a result of Britain's death policy; and two more massive funerals: those of Raymond McCreesh in South Armagh, and of Patsy O'Hara in Derry city.

The local government elections in the North, which saw British collaborator Gerry Fitt and the Sticky Republican Clubs defeated in West Belfast; a number of anti-H-Block candidates elected to various local councils; and the Irish Independence Party steal into the SDLP arena, showed an increase in nationalist sentiment and, like the huge turn-out at all the hunger-strikers' funerals, massive support for the prisoners' demands.

## COMMISSION

Meanwhile, although the question of intervention by the European Commission on Human Rights was continually raised by Free State premier Charles Haughey as his method of averting pressures on him to publicly challenge British premier Margaret Thatcher to grant the H-Block hunger-strikers' five demands, he may find that his play could backfire on him.

Firstly, the credibility of such an intervention, though it took a slow knocking, was finally knocked last week with some increased public awareness that the commission could not deliver the goods, especially when faced with an intransigent British government.

Secondly, one of Haughey's main planks in the Free State general election campaign is, he claims, the issue of the North. To promote it and capitalise on Irish nationalist sentiment he had (and still has) a choice between backing the hunger-strikers and saving their lives or promoting the transparently hypod-up "historic" Dublin/London summit talks which he claims will lead to a long-term peaceful settlement.

## HAUGHEY

For Haughey to have backed the hunger-strikers meant confronting Thatcher, who it is reliably understood, would be more than tempted to ditch the summit talks (especially given the mileage Paisley has got out of them). If Britain went ahead and ditched the talks, Haughey's claims of an "historic" breakthrough would be seen to have been exaggerated and he would be forced to fall from office or to make more belligerent nationalist noises.

However, for him to maintain his collaborating 'special relationship' with Thatcher has meant that he remains silent on the hunger-strike, and this has caused him problems with members of Fianna Fail who detect lackey connotations.

Already there has been an outspoken attack on him from within the party. Interviewed on RTE on Tuesday week, deputy Bill Loughnane, who had recently called upon Haughey to do more on the H-Block issue, expressed his disappointment in Haughey and said if he did not come up to the expectations of the people of the West of Ireland he would "stick a little pin in to him too". (A reference to Loughnane's part in Lynch's downfall in November 1979.)

Although Loughnane later withdrew his comments and issued a statement fully backing Haughey's

policies, his original views obviously reflect growing impatience with-in Fianna Fail ranks.

Haughey hopes that the Dublin/London summit talks are a bigger 'republican' ticket than the hunger-strikers, and he has in his favour, opposed to the Republican Movement and any benefit flowing to it owing to an increase in nationalist sentiment, the major political parties, the Catholic hierarchy, the trade union bureaucracies and, of course, almost all sections of the media.

But even then he is gambling, as the flood of votes to the handful of H-Block candidates in the North's local government elections indicated last week, and he may well need the obliging Sile de Valera to do her trick with another attack on the 'heartless Thatcher'.

## SNUBBED

But while the deaths of the hunger-strikers have not drawn any tangible change in the Free State government's collaboration, the net effect of the H-Blocks and the reaction to them continues to bring pressure on the Brits and to increase anti-British feeling in Ireland, particularly since appeals from scores of Catholic priests for a humanitarian settlement have been snubbed by Thatcher.

Earlier, in her snub to a number of leading Irish-American politicians, Thatcher hypocritically admitted the political motivation of the prisoners but still refused to budge. The British government, she said, "is not prepared, through the granting of political status, to legitimise criminal acts undertaken in pursuit of political ends."

The loyalist UDA, who during the first H-Block hunger-strike threatened to invade nationalist areas and 'exterminate' nationalist leaders, has since sobered up and its PRO, John McMichael, has now denied that there would be a violent response from them if the British government re-introduced 'special category status', since their imprisoned members would also benefit.

The frustration of the Catholic church in the face of British intransigence is now becoming obvious. After the death of Francis Hughes, Cardinal O'Fiaich sent a telegram to the British premier pleading 'In God's name, don't allow another death'.

On Friday fortnight, May 15th, she rejected his plea and said that



● CARDINAL O'FIAICH growing frustration



● Above and below: Thatcher's murderous intransigence is hardening nationalist feeling



it was up to the hunger-strikers themselves, their families, and their 'advisors', to surrender.

## PRIESTS

On Sunday fortnight, May 17th, twenty-four priests from the Dromore diocese in County Down (following the example of twenty-nine priests in Armagh the week before) expressed their dismay at "the refusal of the authorities to engage in serious dialogue... It is clear that the authorities have still not grasped a fundamental aspect of the present conflict — that they are dealing with Irish nationalist people, who differ from them in politics, religion and culture."

"Is it too much to ask, after so many years suffering, that they should acknowledge the unique nature of the present conflict, and the need for original and imaginative measures to resolve it?"

That same day, Fr. Brian McCrath, brother of hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh, sent a telegram to Margaret Thatcher asking her to "respect his dignity and save his life... All he has left is his pride as an Irishman and his loyalty to fellow prisoners, living and dead." Thatcher snubbed this appeal as well.

On Monday May 18th, thirty-one parish priests, throughout the archdiocese of Armagh issued a statement calling upon the British premier to "act with a sense of urgency to negotiate with the prisoners' representatives to prevent loss of life and turmoil in the commu-

unity."

They said that "as priests of this archdiocese we feel personal pain at the way in which our leader and the leader of Ireland's Catholics has been treated by the British government," and they accused the British of showing "little humanity, compassion or understanding."

## DIED

Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara passed away on Thursday May 21st in the H-Block prison hospital on the sixty-first day of their hunger-strike.

Raymond McCreesh died first, at 2.11 a.m., but Stormont castle delayed releasing news of his death in Ireland and in Britain by up to an hour, while, in America, the British press release describing his death as 'suicide' was widely distributed to the news media.

Patsy O'Hara died twenty-one hours later at 11.29 p.m., and a ferocious outburst of widespread rioting followed throughout nationalist ghettos in the North, as if the people's frustration, at first Bobby Sands' death and then Francis Hughes', and, in quick succession, Raymond and Patsy, could take no more.

## CARDINAL

Following the death of Raymond McCreesh, Cardinal O'Fiaich issued a statement indicting the British government.

He said: "Raymond McCreesh was born in a community which has always openly proclaimed that it is Irish, not British. When the

Northern troubles began he was barely twelve, a very impressionable age at which to learn discrimination. Those who protested against it were harassed and intimidated. Then followed Bunkton, the Bogside, Bombay Street, and Bloody Sunday in Derry, all before he was fifteen."

The Cardinal said that this was the background which had led Raymond to take up arms, and while he repudiated physical force, he continued: "I have no doubt that he would never have seen the inside of a jail but for this abnormal political situation. Who is entitled to pronounce him a murderer or a suicide? I leave this judgement to a just and merciful judge."

Cardinal O'Fiaich also demanded of Margaret Thatcher that she resolve "the problems of prison clothing and work... or be faced with the wrath of the whole nationalist people."

He was immediately attacked by the former Attorney-General of the North and Tory solicitor-general, Lord Peter Rawlinson, an English Catholic, who expressed 'horror and distress' at the Cardinal's statement, and said he had no right to make such comment!

But two vicars-general of the archdiocese of Armagh, Bishop James Lennon and Dean Francis McLarnon, came to the Cardinal's aid and repudiated "in the strongest possible terms the campaign of vilification against our Cardinal which has been going on for some weeks in a section of the British media."

# IRA MOUNT WAVE OF ATTACKS

THE spectacular blowing to smithereens in South Armagh of a British army saracen, and the five soldiers within it, was the high spot of IRA attacks, not only in the last two weeks, but also in the last two years — since the successful Narrow Water ambush resulted in eighteen British fatalities.

In the last fortnight there has also been a tremendous wave of IRA attacks against British occupation forces, especially in Belfast and Derry city.

The attacks (of which there have been too many to log all) have taken place against a background of revived militancy of the nationalist people engaged in intense but sporadic rioting on the ghetto streets — having been incensed by the further deaths of H-Block hunger-strikers Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara, and by the berserk antics of British army and sectarian RUC gunmen inflicting death and serious injury on men, women, and children, at random, with lethal plastic bullets.

The occasional open appearance on the streets of armed IRA Volunteers, preparing to operate against the occupation forces, has provided a great morale lift for the masses of angry people engaged in militant, and peaceful, forms of protest activity.

## TYRONE BOMBS

The IRA mounted a series of successful commercial bombing missions in County Tyrone the weekend before last.

Damage estimated at £1 million was caused at the Tyrone Brickworks near Dungannon on Saturday night, May 16th.

Ten lorries worth £25,000 each were destroyed by bombs at the brickworks on the Coalisland Road. The bombs were planted at about midnight by a dozen armed and masked IRA Volunteers who held up security staff.

There were other Saturday night attacks in Dungannon, adding up to a total of damage estimated at more than £1 million. In the town centre the Astor cinema in George's Street was completely destroyed and a furniture store and a fancy goods shop on either side of the cinema were extensively damaged.

Associated Tyro Depot in Newell Road and a shop in Sootch Street were also slightly damaged in further and separate bomb attacks which ignited fires.

Also on Saturday night in County Tyrone there were two targets for IRA active service units in Omagh. A hotel and a drapery shop were slightly damaged.

On Sunday, May 17th, two more successful attacks were mounted in Dungannon. Hit there were a Portakabin adjoining the Housing Executive's offices in the town and a coalyard in John Street, both of

which suffered fire damage.

In all these County Tyrone operations there were no civilian injuries.

That weekend the IRA in Derry city carried out two shooting attacks on British soldiers and one on the RUC.

On Friday 15th May, the day of Francis Hughes' funeral, British soldiers raiding a house in Cromore Gardens in Creggan came under fire from Volunteers at the top of Arranmore Avenue. Shots were also fired at the RUC in Gobnascale that night.

On Saturday 16th May, an IRA sniper fired two shots at British troops attempting to remove barricades in Creggan.

No hits were claimed by the Derry Brigade in these operations.

## BELFAST RUC

On Monday week, May 18th, the IRA mounted two shooting attacks against the RUC in Belfast, and a bomb attack against a UDR soldier in Newcastle, County Down. But no hits nor injuries were claimed.

The first Belfast attack took place in Twinbrook. An RUC patrol was fired on in Areema Drive, after a house in Cherry Gardens had been taken over eleven hours previously by armed IRA Volunteers.

The second Belfast attack occurred in the lower Falls. Armed IRA Volunteers had taken over a house in Dunville Street to launch an ambush. When an RUC land-rover swung into Cairns Street from Leeson Street a sniper opened up, but failed to score any hits.

Earlier that morning a UDR soldier had escaped injury because only the detonator exploded of a 2 lb. booby-trap bomb which had been planted underneath his car in Newcastle. After setting out from his home there was a small explosion under his car in Tullymore Road, but he suffered only shock.

## AMBUSHES

Tuesday week, May 19th, was the day of the South Armagh ambush at Altnaveigh near Newry when an IRA landmine disintegrated a ten-ton British army six-wheeler, killing the five soldiers within it (see next two pages).

On Tuesday evening, the IRA launched a gun ambush against British troops in west Belfast, but no hits were claimed.

Two armed IRA Volunteers commandeered a house in Westrock Drive in Ballymurphy at about 8 p.m. and when, three-quarters of an hour later, a British army foot patrol came within their line of fire, out of the back bedroom window, they opened fire.

The troops returned fire wildly, totally without concern for civilian life and limb, and narrowly missed killing a ten-month-old baby sleeping in his cot in another room. The Volunteers returned safely to base.

## WOUNDED

In the early hours of Wednesday week, May 20th, in Portlennone, County Antrim, an RUC man narrowly escaped death with only a gunshot wound to the foot, when more than fifty shots were aimed at him.

The lucky RUC man was walking along a street on the outskirts of the town when he was ambushed by the IRA, but managed to dive for cover. He was later said to be recovering in hospital.

Also on Wednesday, local council polling day in the North, a British soldier was wounded in an IRA sniper attack in Belfast during the evening. The Brit was one of a patrol which was outside Suffolk primary school, shortly after



polling had finished there.

At 8.10 p.m. the patrol was shot at from Brooke Drive, and the soldier was hit in the arm, but was not seriously injured. Enemy fire was returned but the Volunteers returned safely to base.

On Wednesday night a UDR patrol also came under fire in Belfast, at Millfield near the Unity Flats, but on this occasion the IRA sniper was unfortunate and did not score a hit.

## SHOTS

In the early hours of Thursday morning, May 21st, H-Block hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh died, and as angry people took to the darkened streets to protest at his death at British hands, the IRA mounted a series of gun attacks on British troops, especially in west Belfast.

Two shots were fired at a foot patrol at the junction of Springfield Road and Whitelock Road at 8.10 a.m. No hits were claimed and the enemy returned one shot, but the Volunteers returned safely to base.

Shots were also fired at another foot patrol in Suffolk Road at 10 a.m. No hits were claimed, no enemy fire was returned, and the IRA sniper, who had been operating from Falcarragh Drive, made good his escape.

## FIRE

Later that Thursday night, the fourth H-Block hunger-striker, Patsy O'Hara, died in Long Kesh prison camp, and people once more erupted on to the streets of north-east nationalist ghettos in a blaze of rioting which exceeded in intensity the level of street violence in response to the three previous deaths.

IRA Volunteers again grasped every opportunity, especially in

Belfast and Derry, to shoot at enemy patrols and fortifications, with more than a dozen separate gun attacks being mounted in the early hours of the morning.

Between 12.30 a.m. (one hour after Patsy O'Hara's death) and 3.30 a.m. on Friday morning the RUC came under fire at Springfield Road barracks, Divismore Crescent, Kashmir Road, and Lenadoon, in West Belfast, and at Rosapenna Street and Stratford Gardens in the Oldpark/Ardoyne

(continued on next page)



● Two of the ten lorries destroyed by IRA bombs at Tyrone Brickworks in Dungannon





Andersonstown, Belfast, after the IRA's RPG-7 rocket attack on a Brit saracen, last Friday

(continued from previous page)

ghetto area of north Belfast. Dozens of shots were fired but no hits were claimed.

The British army were fired on in the St. James' area, where they returned ten shots, at New Barnsley, and at Ballymurphy Drive, where, again, they returned fire.

In Derry city, IRA Volunteers exchanged shots with British army gunmen in the Brandywell area, and gun attacks were also mounted on a sandbag post at Rosemount barracks, and at soldiers in the Chapel Road area.

As news of Patsy O'Hara's death spread through the nationalist ghettos of Derry intense rioting was punctuated by more than a dozen IRA blast bomb attacks on British troops and the RUC, specifically in Shantallow, the Waterside, and William Street at the edge of the Bogside.

Up to half-a-dozen British troops were thought to have been wounded in these attacks.

#### BELFAST ROCKET

On Friday afternoon, May 22nd, the IRA's Belfast Brigade pointed

out that in the previous thirty-six hours they had launched gun attacks on British troops and RUC gunmen from nearly every nationalist area in the city.

In Derry city, during the late afternoon, an IRA Volunteer opened up with rifle fire on an RUC landrover as it entered Creggan at Westway, from Rosemount, but did not register any hits.

Just after 7 p.m. on Friday evening, a British army personnel carrier was hit by an IRA rocket in Andersonstown, west Belfast.

IRA Volunteers used an RPG-7

rocket launcher to blast the 'pig' which was patrolling the Andersonstown Road. The rocket hit a front wing of the vehicle and exploded outside it, injuring two of the soldiers inside, but not seriously.

The Volunteers, who were operating from Slemish Way, and who also fired shots at the 'pig', made good their escape. The 'pig' had been forced to slow down to drive around a pile of pallets placed in the middle of the road after they had been taken from the backs of lorries commandeered from the Bass Ireland brewery on the Glen Road in the early hours of the morning.

This was the second RPG-7 rocket attack launched by the IRA's Belfast Brigade in just over a week.

The previous Thursday, May 14th, an RUC man had been killed near Ballymurphy when a rocket hit, and exploded inside, an RUC jeep. The appearance of at least one of these rocket launchers on the streets of Belfast in the hands of the IRA, (with two hits out of two attacks), must be giving the British army and RUC growing cause for concern.

During Friday evening and night, several more gun attacks were mounted by the IRA on British forces in Belfast and Derry.

#### SNIPER

Last Saturday, the day of the funeral of hunger-striker Raymond McCreech in Camkough in South Armagh, was much quieter than the previous two days with a lull in republican guerrilla actions.

However, in Derry city, in the afternoon, an IRA sniper shot and wounded a British soldier.

A single high velocity shot ripped into the Brits' left thigh, hurling him to the ground as the other members of his foot patrol frantically dived for cover. The sharp-shooting Volunteer opened up on the patrol as it passed the junction of Cromore Gardens and Lislane Drive in the Creggan, at 5 p.m. Enemy fire was not returned. The soldier underwent several hours of emergency surgery in hospital.

On Sunday 24th May, an RUC patrol in a landrover parked near the new Westlink roundabout on Belfast's Grosvenor Road was caught unawares when IRA Volunteers drove up in a commandeered milk float and opened fire from the cover of the milk crates.

One RUC man was shot in the

arm and the Volunteers drove off and made good their escape, abandoning the milk float in the Lower Falls area.

#### UDR

In the early hours of Monday morning, a UDR man was shot dead in a carefully planned ambush at Gulladuff near the Bellaghy Road in South Derry.

Volunteers opened fire on the second of a two-landrover UDR patrol killing one of the occupants and injuring one other. Two more UDR men were injured when the vehicle ran out of control and crashed into a ditch.

Shots were fired in all directions by other members of the patrol, but in spite of this, an immediate cordon which was thrown around the area; the active service unit slipped away and returned safely to base.

On Monday afternoon in Derry, about half-a-mile away from the funeral route of Patsy O'Hara, an RUC mobile patrol narrowly escaped injury when a burst of automatic gunfire was directed at their vehicle, which was parked in a car park at Waterloo Street off the Strand Road.

Later the same afternoon in Belfast's Shaws Road, a single shot was fired at a British army patrol in Corrib Avenue. No hit was claimed.

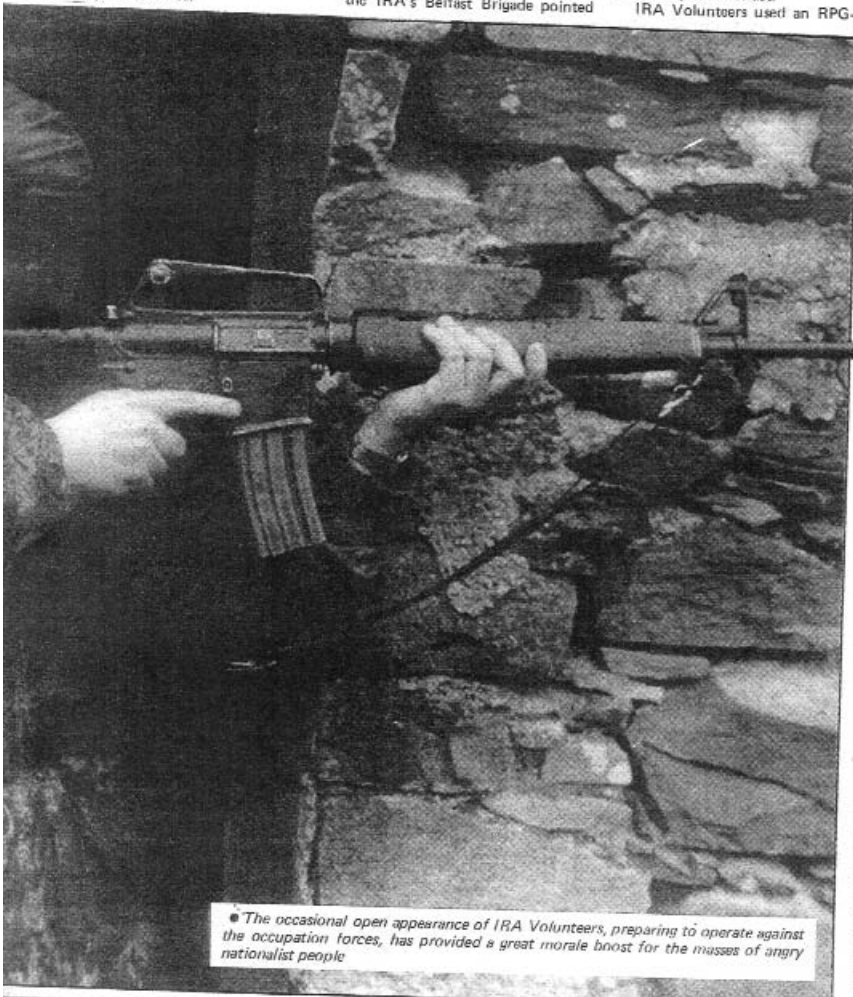
#### RUC

At 1 a.m. on Tuesday morning, May 26th, the RUC were caught by milk crates once again, this time in Derry. One RUC man was seriously injured when a bomb exploded in two milk crates filled with petrol bombs which he was examining outside the Superfare supermarket at Greenhaw Road.

The landrover, from which he had alighted, was set on fire when petrol sprayed the surrounding area, and two other RUC men inside later received hospital treatment for burns.

And on Wednesday night an off-duty RUC man, based in Newry, who was a former member of the B Specials, was shot dead as he was getting into his car after leaving a pub in the South Armagh village of Whitcross. The IRA Volunteers drew alongside the car in another vehicle and opened fire. In spite of intense enemy follow-up activity the Volunteers returned safely to base.

Also on Wednesday night, in Belfast, a nail-bomb was thrown at an RUC jeep at the junction of Etna Drive and Brompton Park in the east.



• The occasional open appearance of IRA Volunteers, preparing to operate against the occupation forces, has provided a great morale boost for the masses of angry nationalist people

# SOUTH ARMAGH

## Six-wheeler disintegrates

## Five soldiers killed

**THE killing of five British soldiers by the IRA in an expertly executed landmine attack at Altnaveigh in South Armagh on Tuesday week, May 19th, provided a welcome morale boost for nationally-minded people throughout the country, but particularly for the beleaguered and long-suffering nationalist people in the occupied six counties.**

IRA Volunteers had planted a massive 1,000 lb. bomb in a culvert and, when a saracen drove over it, it was detonated by remote control, literally blowing the armoured personnel carrier to bits, and spreading it over a radius of several hundred yards. The British army driver and four enemy gunmen were killed instantaneously.

The previous two Tuesdays had been especially bitterly sad days with the tragic deaths of hunger-strikers Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, both of whom died at intransigent British hands in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh.

The successful IRA attack took place near Newry, only a few miles from the Camlough home of hunger-striker Raymond McCreech, who was to die two days later, along with fellow hunger-striker Patsy O'Hara. Despite the timing and location of the devastating attack, it should not be regarded specifically as a reprisal for Britain's death policy in the H-Blocks, but as part of the ongoing overall IRA war effort to drive the British out of the country.

At about half-past-ten on the morning of Tuesday 19th May, two British army saracens were on routine military patrol near Newry.

The two six-wheelers (not 'pigs') were driving along Chancellor Road, parallel to the Belfast to Dublin railway line, at Altnaveigh, about two miles from the village of Besbrook, when the IRA struck hard. The first armoured personnel carrier was allowed to pass over a massive 1,000 lb. bomb hidden in a culvert beneath the road, but when the second was directly above the bomb it was detonated by a command wire by watching Volunteers.

The saracen took the full force of the blast and totally disintegrated, instantaneously killing the five soldiers inside. The soldiers in the first saracen suffered shock, but were not injured.

### EXPLOSION

An anonymous farmer, who lives

several hundred yards from the scene, was quoted in that day's 'Belfast Telegraph': 'I was working in the street in front of my house when I saw two army saracens stop near the Altnaveigh schoolhouse and soldiers, who had been on foot, boarding the two vehicles, which then continued along the road.'

'There was a tremendous explosion and as I looked towards where it was I saw one of the saracens going up into the air and earth and stones along with it. I walked across the two fields separating my house from the road and got within fifty yards of the spot. I was afraid to go closer in case there might be other explosions, but I could see soldiers' bodies and pieces of the saracen scattered in the field.'

The remnants of the ten ton saracen were scattered over a wide area and the bomb opened up a huge crater in the small country

measured more than twenty-five feet across. Bits of armour plating were embedded in earth several fields away.

The ambush took place at a spot about two miles from Newry, a similar distance from Besbrook, and four miles from Camlough. The force of the blast could be heard for miles around. Electricity supplies were temporarily cut off in the district because the explosion severed overhead wires.

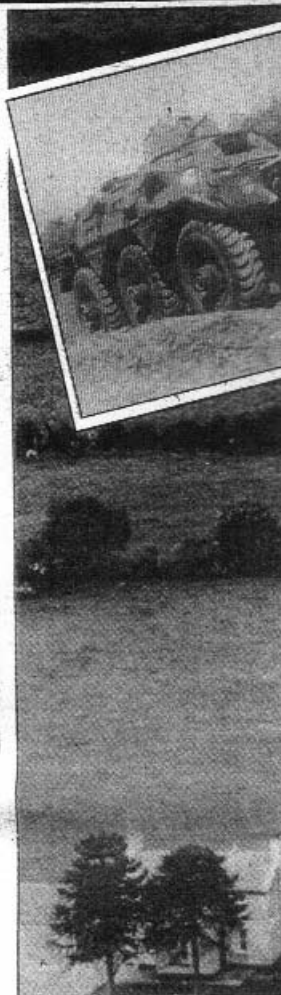
### FEARFUL

The first saracen radioed for help, while accelerating away from the ambush spot; but, although British troops and RUC men flooded the area, they refused to move in to

the scene of the explosion.

They were, not surprisingly, fearful that the IRA was still awaiting them with a second bomb, as at Narrow Water in August 1979,

(continued on next page)



road. Pieces of the wrecked heavy vehicle, such as a massive wheel and the radiator grill, were thrown two to three hundred yards from the blast area, where the crater



● The force of the blast hurled one of the massive wheels two to three hundred yards from the scene of the explosion



# HAMBUSH



● The bomb crater on Chancellor Road, at Altnaveigh in South Armagh is about one hundred and fifty yards from the Belfast-Dublin railway line; inset: the type of 'six-wholeer' which disintegrated in the blast



● The bomb-blast crater on Chancellor Road

Livingstone killed with a lethal plastic bullet by RUC gunmen one week previously.

## ARMED

A British counter-insurgency expert Colonel Robin Eveleigh (a former Royal Green Jackets commando) was interviewed on the BBC television 'Newnight' programme about the South Armagh ambush.

He said: "This is a classic case of armed propaganda. Armed propaganda is the sort of tactical doctrine of the urban guerrilla... The thing is that your military actions support your propaganda. The fact that I'm here today, the fact that we have an interview here shows the success of it. This has attracted attention to them, to their capabilities and so on."

Eveleigh, however, said that, in actual military terms, the damage of the five deaths to the British army was negligible.

Defending the British occupation, he said: "If ever soldiers died in a worthwhile war, in a campaign which is more worthwhile than 90% of those in which soldiers get killed, it is this one, because this is a campaign to preserve the forms of Western democracy, of courts, of legality against armed insurrection..." By which he meant British troops are preserving, or defending, capitalist political stability against the potential socialist revolution which would be opened up by Irish national unity and independence.

## HATRED

Parents of four of the five dead British soldiers were quoted in various newspapers but showed little or no understanding of why their sons had died — defending British rule in Ireland.

The father of Rifleman Michael Bagshaw, aged 24, from Oxfordshire, said it was "a complete waste of a life". This had been the rifleman's fourth tour of duty in the North (oppressing the Irish people at gunpoint), but "his attitude was that somebody had to do the job out there."

The mother of Rifleman Andrew Gavin, aged 19, from London, said: "I feel hatred but there is nothing I can say. They have killed him and they should be shot."

The parents of the other rifleman killed, Rifleman John King, aged 22, from Buckingham, were not quoted; they were believed to be holidaying on a Greek island when their son was killed.

The father of Lance-Corporal Grenville Winsome, aged 27, from Bedford, said: "He was proud to be a lance-corporal — he was in for his other stripe. I have no bitterness," he said, but added (contradicting himself): "I hope the blokes who planted the bomb go through the same as us one day."

He said of the IRA: "They are nothing but animals." Mr. Winsome went on to say that he was in favour of the troops being pulled out, but did not think it was a solution to "the trouble".

The father of driver Paul Bulman, aged 19, from North Shields, said his son "loved the army life and didn't mind serving in Ulster. He had paint thrown over him, but he never thought anything worse would happen."

Expressing a selfish, but welcome, war weariness amongst parents of British soldiers, he went on: "When you see Ulster on the TV every night you know someone's son is going to be killed or injured. You only pray it's not going to be yours."

(continued from previous page)

when a second massive bomb exploded as a Brit back-up team arrived at the scene of the first blast, inflicting heavy casualties on them.

British army helicopters and a spotter plane suspiciously surveyed the scene from a safe height, and took photographs to try and locate likely booby-traps. After several hours, nervous troops moved in cautiously, using sophisticated electronic scanner equipment and sniffer dogs.

Meanwhile, on both sides of the border, British and Free State troops on the ground, backed up by helicopters, and RUC and gardai in direct radio contact with one another, scoured the countryside.

They searched in vain for the IRA active service unit which had earned the applause of all republican-minded people, doubtless including the greenest of the Fianna Fail grassroots upon whom, ironically, Free State collaborator-in-chief Charlie Haughey is so dependent for support.

Four of the British soldiers killed were members of the First Battalion of the Royal Green Jackets one of the regiments hardest hit by the IRA in this guerrilla war — and the fifth, the driver of the saracen, belonged to the Royal Corps of Transport.

## SUCCESSFUL

The attack was the IRA's most successful and most spectacular guerrilla action against British troops

since the double-bomb ambush at Narrow Water near Warrenpoint in County Down in August 1979 when eighteen soldiers were killed; and was the IRA's second most effective attack ever, in the last decade.

Several similar attacks have taken place in the last two years, with, not only regular British soldiers, but also UDR and RUC men being the targets. Such ambushes, which are almost impossible for the enemy to combat systematically, have become the type of IRA operation in the countryside most feared and most respected by the British occupation forces.

Three months before Narrow Water, in April 1979, four RUC men were killed when a half-ton van bomb blew their landrover over a hedge near Bessbrook in South Armagh.

Four months after Narrow Water, in December 1979, four soldiers were killed when a landmine exploded underneath their landrover near Dungannon in County Tyrone.

The next month, January 1980, three UDR men were killed when 1,000 lbs. of explosives was detonated as two UDR landrovers were driving past, at Castlewellan in County Down.

Notably, the targets in these three cases were landrovers, and at Narrow Water were trucks, making the Altnaveigh ambush the first successful disintegration of an

armoured personnel carrier in recent years.

## HYPOCRITES

That IRA operation on Tuesday week, was — naturally enough — immediately condemned by British spokesmen and loyalist politicians. The IRA, in claiming responsibility for the attack, pointed out that "it is interesting to note that these loyalist hypocrites most vocal in condemning this IRA operation were totally silent when innocent nationalist civilians were recently murdered by British soldiers in Derry and Belfast."

The IRA also pointed out: "British soldiers should recognise that the English public and English politicians do not give a damn about the waste of their lives. How many times have you been told that the IRA has been defeated. You are fighting a war which you can not win."

An unusual angle of verbal attack on the IRA was mounted by the RUC's foolish Assistant Chief Constable Trevor Forbes, who stated, with respect to the soldiers, that "these young men weren't given the opportunity of living or dying" — presumably a confused reference to the republican hunger-strikers dying in the H-Blocks at British hands.

The IRA condemned his 'idiotic' statement as 'nonsense', pointing out that the soldiers "had the choice of staying in England, or deserting (for which we would give them every facility)."

The IRA also pointed out that the soldiers killed were 'English gunmen travelling the Irish countryside in an armoured car'; and that RUC man Forbes described these soldiers as 'innocent' but he had made no comment on the death of fourteen-year-old Belfast girl Julie

# STRASBOURG DIVISION EXPOSED

## Elizabeth O'Hara slams Haughey

BY SEAMUS BOYLE

THE suggestion of a behind-the-scenes H-Block intervention from the European Commission on Human Rights, as a result of pressure from Free State premier Charles Haughey, and the spectre of which he used so successfully to evade being nailed by public pressure, was finally exposed as having no merit.

But unfortunately it was exposed too late to prevent Haughey successfully escaping under the sand arising from the announcement of a Free State general election for June 11th.

However, an examination of Haughey's manipulation of the commission, and his taking advantage of its silence, shows just how cunning is this treacherous self-seeking politician.

Along every stage of his con trick, he was supported by the Free State media, too lazy to check their facts, and when his Minister of Foreign Affairs was dispatched to Strasbourg on Friday fortnight, May 15th, *'The Irish Press'* announced the next day, 'Lenihan in secret talks', despite the fact that no commissioners had even met him!

*'The Irish Press'* political correspondent Michael Mills swallowed Haughey's hook, line and sinker and said: "It looks likely now that the commission will make an intervention and issue a recommendation under a complex formula governing the commission's procedures which Mr. Haughey and his advisors have worked out in recent days."

Lenihan did meet a British Foreign Office minister, Douglas Hurd, but this meeting was of no consequence, and resulted in no fresh developments apart from creating the illusion of movement to naive observers like the political correspondent of *'The Irish Press'*.

### RESTLESS

The European Commission was beginning to grow increasingly restless with the contacts and pull the Dublin government — for the domestic consumption of Fianna Fail consciences worried about the hunger-strike — was claiming to have with it. The European Commission's press office denied that Lenihan had any contact "with either the secretary of the commission, Mr. Kruger, or the Human Rights Commission in general".

Twenty-four hours later, speculation was again increased when, this time, Stormont castle pushed the story that the commission was interested in intervening on the basis of examining the two outstanding complaints from the 1978 case taken by blanket man Tom McFeely and three others, and then them becoming generally involved in all areas of dispute even covering the five demands).

These complaints concern restrictions on correspondence and the lack of an 'effective domestic remedy'.

### BOASTING

Haughey was semi-publicly boasting that this initiative was his brainchild but the idea was in fact thought up by the commission itself, although the possible intervention was now being used by the British — who had no intention of agreeing to the commission attempting to find 'a friendly settlement' — to demobilise the campaign and take the pressure off Haughey.

On Saturday fortnight, May 16th, the commission admitted the McFeely case into its present

session and asked the British government if it was interested in a 'friendly settlement'. The media was buzzing with ridiculous speculation, one story alleging that Austria was taking out a complaint against the British government, but the most common story was that two commissioners were definitely flying into Belfast on the Tuesday to re-examine the McFeely case.

The British government delayed answering until Tuesday night when it turned down the commission's offer, well aware that protocol bound the commission not to make public whether any private attempt at mediation was made or what was their outcome. By this stage also, Haughey knew that he could shortly escape into the election fever which he unleashed on Thursday week, May 21st.

He had spent Monday, May 18th, at 'a major security summit' discussing the wave of arson attacks on castles and mansions and holiday homes around the Free State; the meeting and consequent publicity providing him with a welcome diversion to the hunger-strike. As the publicity from this little exercise began to subside, Haughey again had life pumped into the commission with that Wednesday's *'Irish Press'* announcing:

"Rays of hope could be discerned last night over the H-Block hunger-strikers — a definite trend towards breaking the deadlock has emerged after intensive negotiations under the personal direction of the Taoiseach, Mr. Haughey..."

### DECEIVE

On Tuesday, May 19th, Haughey, after a bit of pressure, met Elizabeth O'Hara, sister of hunger-striker Patsy O'Hara (who then had two days to live), in a bid to deceive her.

She recalls: "On Tuesday afternoon I took petitions to Mr. Haughey, consisting of almost one quarter million Irish signatures. A Mr. Elwood, a secretary, told us that Mr. Haughey was indisposed but that he would accept them for him."

"Before I left I said, 'Is Mr. Haughey indisposed all day?' and he said, 'He is, but he might be free at three o'clock and if he is I'll try and arrange a meeting for you then.'"

"So when I left there I decided to do a protest outside Leinster House in a caravan, myself and Eilish Reilly (hunger-striker Joe McDonnell's sister)."

"We sat in the caravan having a peaceful protest and Eilish phoned Leinster House and was told there would be no meeting. She told Mr. Elwood that she was distressed and that we would have no alternative but to go on hunger-strike in solidarity with our brothers."

"He said 'Is that anything to do with the caravan outside Leinster House at the moment?' and she



● Haughey has continually and skilfully used the cover of the European Commission to deflect growing pressure on him to act

said it was. He said he would be down in about two minutes. However, the gardai came and said we were to move on or we would be towed away."

"I got out and started to talk to people and explained to them who we were. The gardai attempted to hook up the caravan so I got inside it to protest and they towed us away to a station."

"At half-four I was informed that Haughey wanted to see me at five o'clock. So I left the caravan to go and see him. I went to see him and the attorney-general was sent for. I asked him why the British were not giving any indication of sincerity to the commission about a friendly settlement."

"Haughey seemed interested, and asked about the McFeely case and told the attorney-general to get on to 'the two barristers' immediately. The attorney-general left in a rush and Haughey said 'Elizabeth, I can't do anything at this point in time now but could you give me a telephone number

where I can contact you within twenty-four hours and make sure you stay by the phone'."

### HOPE

"I left that meeting with hope. It was the first time anything like that had happened. I really had hope. When I left there I slept for the first time in weeks. At around midnight one of Haughey's secretaries phoned and left a message for me that they 'were working on it very urgently and would get back to me if anything happened'."

"I got a phone call at seven in the morning asking me to come to a meeting with Mr. Haughey at twelve o'clock. I brought Eilish Reilly with me and we were taken into Mr. Haughey's conference room."

"Mr. Haughey looked at me the minute I came in the door and he got up to shake hands with me and he said, 'Did you sleep well last night?' and I said, 'I did, for the first time in weeks because I had hope.' He shook his head, sat down and told me to sit."

"He turned round and said to Eilish, 'At this meeting I am talking to Elizabeth but you are entitled to take notes if you wish to do so. But at no time am I addressing you.' So the minute he said that, I knew there was something wrong."

"He never looked at me after that. It was the most formal meeting out of the four. He sat with the type-written statement and he said, 'I ask you Elizabeth at this point in time to ask Patsy to suspend his hunger-strike forthwith and for you to put a formal complaint into the Human Rights Commission.'"

### STOP

"I already knew what the commission was and what they had done. Now he was asking me personally if I wanted to save Patsy's life that I would have to ask him to come

off hunger-strike and to put a complaint into the commission. I said 'Mr. Haughey, stop a minute.' A he looked up at me."

"I said, 'After this, this is fourth meeting I have had with you, I had hope and belief in you last night and you are now asking me to ask my brother and comrade, Raymond McCreech, who is dying, to give up their hunger strike when they have suffered sixty days.'"

"I said, 'I never thought a prime minister of Ireland would take away another Irishman's pride this point in time. I have nothing more to say to you and I hope, next time I shake hands with prime minister there will be somebody different in your place. I said, 'I'll never, never, never for the heartbreak you have given me. The hope that you have just taken away from me.' And we I walked out at that."

Elizabeth had been deceived the continued impressions of press Haughey had given her on visits, of his continual claims to successfully involving the commission and of his assurance that would do 'all in his power' to save Patsy's life.

### REFUSAL

Gerry Adams, vice-president Sinn Féin, said, that the commission was a diversion arising from Haughey's need "to divert public attention from his refusal to support the prisoners' five just demands and to switch the focus of public attention away from his blatant collaborationist role with the British government's dogmatic refusal to concede the prisoners' demands."

Gerry Adams also questioned the merit of the European Commission entering the fray until certain basic requirements were met: "The situation is clear stated by the prisoners, their say

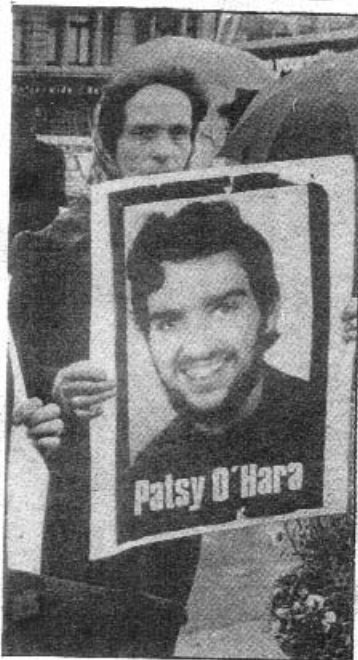


● ELIZABETH O'HARA

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# USED trickery



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orters and the late Bobby Sands MP. Only the British government can resolve the H-Block/Armagh crisis. Their intransigence remains so arrogantly solid that any intervention by any international human rights institution, bound by its own institutional bureaucracy and protocol, is doomed to failure and open to abuse by the establishment camp unless it can proceed on a clear understanding that the British government are committed to achieving a settlement based upon the prisoners' just and reasonable demands."

## INDIFFERENT

Within hours of Raymond McCreesh dying on Thursday week, May 21st, and with the Free State news swamped with the announcement of the election on June 11th, a statement issued by the European Commission, finally setting aside all grounds for rumour, (and virtually ignored by the media), said that the outstanding issues from the McCreesh case would be admitted in one of their next sessions - July, or even later.

When Patsy O'Hara died, twenty-one hours later, Haughey, who had said, after the death of Francis Hughes on May 12th, that "no Irish government can be indifferent to a prospect of these deaths continuing," was about as indifferent as one could get.

Not only did he not issue any condemnation of Britain but by last Sunday, on his general election tour in Mullingar, he was saying that he would not be seeking a show down with the British premier, Margaret Thatcher, in support of the prisoners' five demands.

And, with a brass neck to the very end his parting comment to a reporter was, "I believe it can be resolved either through the Human Rights Commission or the



● Polling stations throughout nationalist areas of the North were picketed by H-Block supporters

## LOCAL ELECTIONS SHOW MILITANT SHIFT IN NATIONALIST OPINION

# H-Block rocks middle ground

BY PETER ARNLIS

LAST WEEK'S local government elections in the North resulted in a number of major upsets for the British, particularly the growing threat to the parties in the middle ground whose existence the British government needs so desperately to promote its policy of normalisation.

The election on Wednesday, 20th May, was unforeseen by the Republican Movement as falling in the middle of a hunger-strike, and Sinn Féin had been bound by an ardent decision not to participate.

In the event, it was perhaps a miscalculation, and a lost opportunity to secure more permanent gains from the hunger-strike given the clear militant shift in nationalist opinion.

The elections also saw Paisley almost fulfill his predictions of overtaking the Official Unionists in the battle for loyalist supremacy. (He almost doubled his Democratic Unionist Party's number of seats from 74 to 142 against 152 for the Official Unionists.)

Among the many welcome upsets were the defeat of former SDLP leader Gerry Fitt, SDLP chairman Sean Farren, leader of the SDLP on Belfast city council Alisdair McDonnell and the defeat of the three Sticky Republican Clubs councillors in Belfast.

Among those elected on an anti-H-Block/Armagh ticket were two IRSP members and Fergus O'Hare and John McNulty of People's Democracy, in Belfast; about a dozen independents across the North; and twenty-one members of the Irish Independence Party, including hunger-striker Francis Hughes' brother, Oliver.

Oliver Hughes' record win in Magherafelt, with 1,961 first preference votes, set a new record for the highest number of votes going to an individual candidate since the council was formed and the record win of Independent Noel McCusker swung control of Magherafelt out of Paisleyite hands and into nationalist hands.

## SDLP

However, the IRP, in taking twenty-one seats, did not significantly bite into the SDLP, who



● 'Smash H-Block' slogan on Belfast's Falls Road dwarfs Sticky election poster foreshadowing the 'Republican Clubs' appalling showing at the polls

Although in recent days he attempted to ingratiate himself with the nationalist people by belatedly calling upon direct-ruler Humphrey Atkins to show 'compassion on the issues of prison clothing and work,' it was too late.

Devlin, who polled over three times the quota in 1977, just managed to scrape through the last count with the lowest number of votes without even reaching the quota!

However, his popularity soared when he announced that he was leaving the Andersonstown district to live elsewhere, ostensibly because of intimidation, but in actual fact due to his unpopularity. Among those to offer him a bed in East Belfast were spokesmen for the loyalist UDA!

The Alliance Party also took a severe hammering, going into the election with 70 seats and coming out with only 38.

Among their ex-councillors is John Cousins, their law and order and virulently anti-republican spokesman, who last March attacked Bobby Sands and accused him of going on hunger-strike under IRA orders.

The Sticks lost the three council seats that were held in Belfast by Mary McMahon, Jim Sullivan and party chairman Seamus Lynch. They managed to do even this against a remarkable background of being accused, and probably correctly, by almost every party, of carrying out personation.

## FITT

Fitt, Devlin and the Sticks ran on anti-republican tickets but the mortification of defeat was greatest for Fitt and ended a twenty-three year career in Belfast City Hall just as he was in line to become father of the council (Ahh!).

He polled only 541 first preference votes against 1,953 for the relatively unknown People's Democracy candidate Fergus O'Hare.

In a public statement before Polling day Fitt announced "a vote for me is a vote against the gunman, and I leave this decision to the electorate of Belfast."

After the election, he was totally demoralised and admitted that his defeat was because of his

for them to maintain an intransigence which ultimately led to deaths of four hunger-strikers.

But, forever playing the militant, the hypocrite who is at heart the British parliament with rogues who oppress Ireland, is

"There's been some very strange people elected in Belfast by Catholic electors and these people not too far away from the gun."

Fitt's decline into oblivion prospective defeat should he for West Belfast in a Westminster election is, however, likely to off-set by a peerage, which she have gone to Conor Cruise O'Brien except that, unlike Fitt, he is of type so he got the editorship of 'Observer' instead.

## PAISLEY

On the loyalist side, Paisley most managed to overtake the Official Unionists, and so shatter morale in their camp that the all-time native leader to James Moynihan Harold McCusker, Westminster MP for Armagh, declared: "If Uls Unionists want Paisley to be them, then I will not stand in the way, but I would have to consider my own political future."

In Lurgan, County Armagh DUP supporters had successfully rumoured that McCusker's motto was actually a DUP supporter who had voted for the Paisleyite party.

The next local government elections in the North are, barring a few resignations and deaths giving way to by-elections, not until 1985 as there will undoubtedly be major developments by then. Paisley will possibly embrace 'independent North' as his centre theme and the IRA will undoubtedly have forged ahead in weariness down the will of the British government to remain in Ireland.

An opportunity though has been lost by republicans to make some permanent gains from the hunger-strike and to establish formal electoral popularity in the eyes of the world. It is not a great loss, and many republicans would consider it no loss at all but give the remarkable and easy victory for relatively unknown pro-republican candidates it can be argued that had Sinn Féin or republican prisoners entered the field



● FERGUS O'HARE  
elected councillor



● JOHN MCNULTY  
elected councillor

empty outbursts about the H-Blocks, must unfortunately have survived a credibility inspection by the nationalist electorate - a rest-les electorate which republicans anyway, had not supplied with a viable alternative.

In West Belfast, Paddy Devlin

# British press reflects pressure

THERE has been some reaction to unfolding events, both inside the H-Blocks, and on the streets of the North, worth noting in the British press.

In particular, various influential newspapers are increasingly reflecting domestic and international pressure on the British government — heightened by the hunger-strike deaths — to change its militarist policy in Ireland.

On Friday 22nd May, the day following the deaths of Raymond McCreech and Patsy O'Hara, the 'Daily Mirror', despite ritual abuse about the killing that week of five soldiers in South Armagh by the IRA, and a call to the British government not to give in to the hunger-strikers, nevertheless repeated its now frequent opinion: "We believe a date should be set for Britain's withdrawal, troops and all."

## DAILY STAR

More significant perhaps is a piece on the same day by the political editor of the 'Daily Star' — the generally pro-Tory and particularly pro-Thatcher British tabloid.

Entitled 'The real price of Ulster' the article explains that holding onto the North is costing the 'staggering sum' to the British taxpayer of £2 billion each year. The article suggests a number of ways in which this money could be spent on alternatives in Britain but nevertheless ends up lamely: "The cost of the violence in Ulster is not only measured in lives lost — but in millions. How long will it really last?"

"As long as the people of Northern Ireland want to stay in the United Kingdom, governments have the will to pay."

## THE ECONOMIST

A much weightier contribution comes, however, from the weekly organ of the British capitalist class, 'The Economist'.

In a long, three-page article in last week-



● Britain's militarist policy — shown here by the RUC in Bellaghy during Francis Hughes' funeral — is being increasingly actively opposed by the nationalist community

end's edition of the magazine (dated Saturday 23rd May) the 'Economist' argues at length in support of its belief "that Northern Ireland would be better off linked also with Southern Ireland rather than only with Britain."

The magazine goes on to warn that "if the Protestants again block power-sharing by strikes, as they did last time, Orange-men themselves will then be straining the Ulster-English link to snapping point: they cannot expect young English soldiers to die to maintain the protective sovereignty of the Westminster parliament for them, while at the same time striking illegally against decisions of that parliament which they do not like."

Examining possible economic and religious differences between North and South the article pinpoints what it calls

'two plausible possibilities': "A loosely co-operative Ireland with North and South remaining largely separate and autonomous for, e.g. foreign affairs, central banking and the EEC... Or Northern Ireland could become part of a more nearly federal Ireland..."

## SUNDAY TIMES

Finally, in a reminiscing and meandering editorial through the last twelve years, last weekend's 'Sunday Times', whilst ridiculously throwing the onus onto Paisley to break the deadlock (instead of the British government), nevertheless recognised that a watershed was reached in the hunger-strike and the election of Bobby Sands.

The editorial said in part:

"British troops have again and again demonstrated that they are well enough

trained and equipped to run no risk of defeat. At the same time, after nearly twelve years of active service in the province they are no nearer victory either; and when, in 1971 and the early part of 1972, they pursued victory as hard as they could, the effect on opinion in Britain as well as elsewhere was so inflammatory that a Conservative government reined them back."

## LOSING

The editorial went on to say that the Brits went in in 1969 to restore calm and that:

"The government's hope was that, in the new atmosphere of calm thus established, Catholics would come to accept the legitimacy of the Northern Ireland state and Protestants would accord them a proportionate place in it. That policy is in ruins."

"Final proof was the result of the Fermanagh by-election a month ago. It arose from a quirk in the law and a mistake by moderate Catholic politicians, but it was a turning point. Faced with a choice between a Protestant advocate of continued union with Britain, a Provisional IRA prisoner seeking by hunger-strike to legitimise political violence, and abstention or a spoilt paper, most Catholics chose the hunger-strike. Westminster is governing part of its territory without the consent of the governed."

"The British authorities may not be losing the war on the streets, but they are certainly losing the war of persuasion. Ulster is widely seen outside Britain as the West's last unliberalised colony, and the hunger-strikes, irrational to the point of absurdity though they look from Britain, have contrived to dramatise that suggestion of oppressive colonial rule."

"Outside the British Isles the consequences may be no more than embarrassing — British delegations snubbed in foreign capitals, perhaps, or British ministers lectured at international conferences. But within Ireland the effect is disastrous. Cardinal O'Flaherty is unquestionably right that every dead hunger-striker powerfully increases IRA support. Two have died this past week, and the supply is by no means exhausted. An unconsenting Catholic community is being changed into a community actively opposed."

## LOYALIST ASSASSINS KILL CATHOLIC BUTCHER IN NORTH BELFAST

### British 'Sundays' smear IRA

BRITISH SUNDAY newspapers seized on the killing by loyalist assassins of a Catholic butcher, thirty-eight-year-old Patsy Martin, in his bed in North Belfast in the early hours of a week last Saturday morning, to make typically cheap and unsubstantiated anti-IRA propaganda claims.

'IRA kill Catholic butcher', screamed next day's 'Observer' (Sunday 17th May), once a liberal newspaper with some concern for the truth, now a mere plaything of virulent anti-Irish bigot Conor Cruise O'Brien.

"A Catholic butcher was found dead at his home in the Ardoyne district of Belfast and relatives and local people blamed the Provisional IRA," lied 'Observer' correspondent George Brock.

More of the same, as might have been expected, came from Fleet Street's gutter press: the 'News of the World', for example, carried a headline heavy with erroneous implications, "Shopkeeper who defied IRA is killed".

Meanwhile, two Dublin news-

papers, neither friends of the IRA, headlined the same story: 'UVF blamed for murder' ('Sunday Press') and 'Butcher killing 'was sectarian' ('Sunday Independent'), both correctly attributing responsibility for the assassination to loyalists.

Denying any involvement in the killing, the IRA's Belfast Brigade pointed out, on the Sunday afternoon, in a statement released mainly for the benefit of the British press, that "the murder is one of the long series of loyalist assassinations designed to terrorise and intimidate isolated Catholic families" and that "despite attempts by the RUC and sections of the English press to disguise this fact, the people of Belfast are only too well aware that this attack was the work

of a loyalist murder squad."

## HORRIFIED

Patsy Martin's body was found by his horrified fourteen-year-old daughter Elaine in a bedroom of the family home in the predominantly Protestant Abbeydale Parade, off Crumlin Road, at about 8.30 a.m. on Saturday, May 16th.

He had been shot half-a-dozen times in the head. The bedclothes, headboard and walls of the house were soaked in blood. The loyalist assassins had used axes to hack through telephone wires cutting off the Martins' house and about one hundred others. The victim's wife and daughter were sleeping in another room but did not hear the shots.

Patsy Martin, who jointly owned two butcher's shops, on the Crumlin Road and in Divis Street, was a well-known figure in the nationalist Ardoyne area and had



● The funeral of Patsy Martin

been working in the Crumlin Star Social Club until around 2 a.m. on the morning of the shooting.

## DISMISSING

The unionist 'Belfast Telegraph' stated on Monday, May 18th: "It is understood the RUC, while still investigating all possibilities, are following a line of inquiry related to loyalist involvement."

Despite its virulent anti-republicanism the 'Telegraph' dismissed ludicrous British Sunday

newspaper black propaganda that Patsy Martin was killed for not closing his butcher's shops during specified times for the funerals of H-Block hunger-strikers Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes.

The 'Telegraph' stated: "But it is understood Mr. Martin did close the shops. According to local people Mr. Martin closed his shops for the whole day for the Sands funeral and for about an hour for the Hughes funeral."





● Hunger-strike supporters picket Labour leader Michael Foot's Hampstead, London, home on May 17th

# Benn's challenge

BY SEAN DELANEY

ONE of the most important challenges posed by the hunger-strike in recent weeks has been to the continued existence of Britain's bipartisan policy on the North, which has effectively stifled British parliamentary debate on Ireland for the last twelve years.

Recent developments, integrally related to the internal struggle within the British Labour Party between left and right-wingers, and to the current battle by Labour left-winger Tony Benn for the deputy leadership — although they are rooted in local constituency initiatives which have been building pressure up for over two years — represent the most serious attack yet (and the one most likely to succeed) on bipartisanship.

The incident which provoked most controversy occurred during a BBC radio interview on Tuesday May 12th, given by Tony Benn.

During it, he said: "Britain's military presence in Northern Ireland is a major part of the problem. We have got to find a way of allowing a solution to be found in Ireland itself."

He also repeated his view that 'the partition of Ireland was a crime against the Irish people'.

He went on to suggest that British troops be withdrawn from the North and replaced by a United Nations 'peace-keeping' force.

## OUTRAGE

Benn's calculated challenge to bipartisanship with these remarks, particularly given Labour leader Michael Foot's close alignment with Margaret Thatcher's Tory intransigence after the death of Bobby Sands, drew a storm of outrage from shadow cabinet colleagues, some of whom — including Denis Healey, the other main contender for the deputy leadership — urged Benn to resign.

Michael Foot, for his part, angered at this deliberate and embarrassingly public snub to his recent endorsement of bipartisanship, rebuked Tony Benn in an attempt to warn him off speaking out again on this or other controversial topics which do not meet with approval of his shadow cabinet colleagues.

Benn, however, as an elected member of the shadow cabinet, cannot be sacked from his post and clearly showed no willingness either to resign or to hold his fire, going off to America where he was further involved in controversy when he openly attacked Reagan's right-wing government.

## BACKING

Benn's vocal criticism of present British policy in the North was shown, the day after the BBC radio interview, to have significant

backing within the Parliamentary Labour Party. At a two-and-a-half hour meeting of the backbench Northern Ireland Group in Westminster, a group chaired by Jock Stallard, attended by forty-two Labour MPs including party leader Michael Foot, all eighteen of the MPs who spoke after Foot argued in favour of some form of eventual Irish unity.

Many of the MPs present expressed dissatisfaction with the Labour Party's study group on Ireland which is currently in the process of producing a policy document aimed at this year's party conference.

The study group document is not expected to favour Irish unity, but a continuation of bipartisanship and direct rule, and is increasingly out of accord with the developing consciousness with regard to Irish affairs within sections of the Labour Party.

The election result in Fermanagh and South Tyrone can be seen as having had a fairly dramatic impact within the Labour Party, demonstrating the enormous support for the hunger-strikers which Thatcher and the British government had set their faces against.

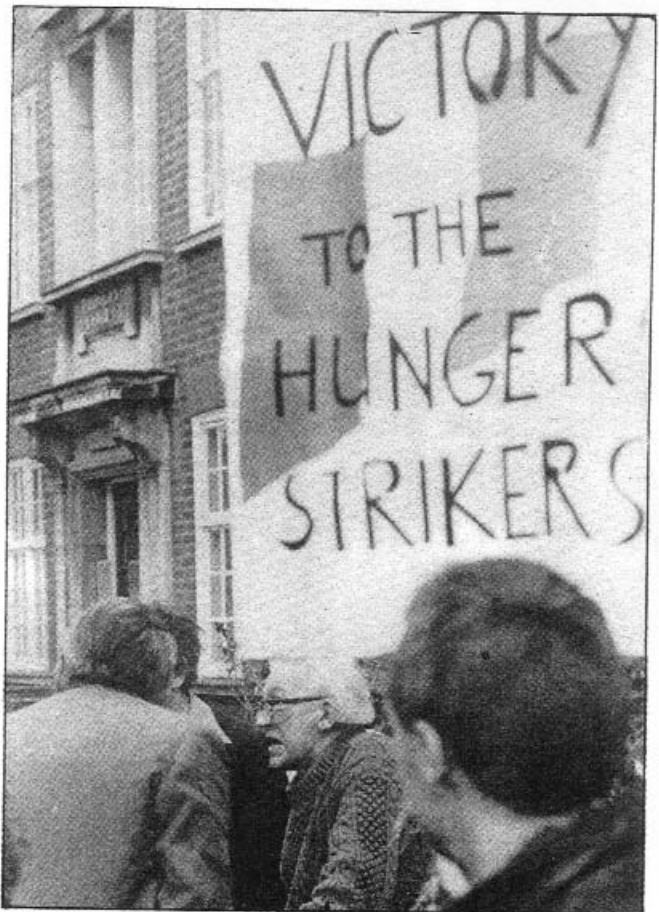
The subsequent actions of Labour Party spokesman on the North, Don Concannon, in visiting the hunger-strikers on their deathbeds to confirm Labour's support for British government intransigence, and of Michael Foot congratulating Thatcher for her stand, in the House of Commons following Bobby Sands' death, have further caused anger among sections of the Labour Party.

## DISQUIET

This, allied with the international support for the hunger-strikers, including from many western European social-democratic parties, and growing pressure from many constituency branches of the Labour Party, has caused disquiet within the Labour Party at the continuing adherence to a bipartisan policy which appears to promise diminishing dividends for the foreseeable future. Many sitting Labour MPs in marginal constituencies are also under pressure from their large Irish electorates.

Rumblings within the Labour Party, and on the fringes of it, have continued since, with former Labour Secretary of State for the North, Merlyn Rees, in an interview on 'Weekend World' on Sunday 17th May, saying that it might 'be a good step' to remove the British government's constitutional guarantee to loyalists on the future of the six counties.

Although his comments were heavily qualified, leading some observers to wonder whether he had meant anything at all, they produced a torrent of complaint from loyalist spokesmen, with Official Unionist leader, James Molyneux, laying the blame



● Michael Foot demonstrated Labour's craven acceptance of bipartisanship when he congratulated Thatcher on her intransigence after the death of Bobby Sands, himself a Westminster MP

for the 'changing attitude' of the Labour Party on Paisley's 'Carson-trail' stunts!

## CRACKS

The cracks in the armour of bipartisanship widened again, a few days later, when former Labour Foreign Secretary, David Owen, now a joint leader of the breakaway Social Democratic Party, urged that a new political solution for the North should be sought in the context of the EEC. His comments, made in the British House of Commons on May 21st were an echo of a

speech he had made to party supporters in Blackpool the previous week.

Whatever the short-term outcome of this present series of developments in bringing about British parliamentary opposition to Thatcher's intransigence on the prison issue, it seems likely to increase long-term pressure on the Labour Party to break from the sterile bipartisan policy and to begin to look at new options of Irish unity.

As such it is a development to be broadly welcomed, and closely watched.

# Purposeful anger in Derry

BY SEAN DELANEY

**NATIONALIST DERRY**, last Sunday, was a city in mourning for its dead hunger-striker, Patsy O'Hara.

Preparing itself, quietly and resolutely, for the massive funeral that was expected the following day. Flexing itself for the fierce resistance that everyone knew would erupt once more on Monday evening.

Everywhere there was a deep anger. But not an empty, self-destroying anger. One of the most revealing things since news of another hunger-striker's death began to replace news of a previous hunger-striker's death in the nationalist ghettos has been the slow, purposeful anger where everyone has found a useful part to play.

In the Bogside on Sunday afternoon, some were putting the final touches to stewarding arrangements for the funeral, others were making tea and sandwiches, and others were pirating for undiscovered sources of petrol to make the next night's bombs.

## STREAM

In the Brandywell, outside the Ard Foyle home of the O'Hara family, a constant stream of people were arriving throughout the day, in cars and on foot, to pay their last respects to the hunger-striker whose body lay inside, flanked by a guard of honour.

Inside the O'Hara home, too, members of Raymond McCreesh's family shared the vigil. It has been frequently noticeable throughout the hunger-strike how the families of the hunger-strikers have moved close together, sharing the worry, then the grief, and finally, helping to bear the coffin.

Everywhere in Ard Foyle, black flags of mourning fluttered from windows and from street signposts. It was the same in every part of nationalist Derry. Everywhere, it seemed, attention was turned to the funeral. People stood on street corners and asked when the body was being taken to chapel.

It had been planned to take it there on Sunday evening, but the authorities at Long Kesh had decided not to release Patsy's brother, Tony, on compassionate parole



Black flags fluttered from windows, everywhere attention was turned to the funeral

until Monday morning, so the body remained at home till Tony could see his brother one last time. (In the event, Tony was held up, on route, by the British army, in a usual petty bit of malice, so the body had to be taken to chapel before he reached home.)

## CREGGAN

Up in the Creggan — scene of much of the resistance — the tell-tale signs were clearly there. The dug-up and carefully broken flagstones, stacked in 'dumps' along the road, the crates of milk bottles here and there, the clusters of youths standing sentinel over the area.

In the Creggan community centre — likewise in the Bogside and Brandywell — a mountain of sandwiches was being prepared through the evening and night, both to feed the thousands due to descend on Derry the next day, and, more immediately, to provide refreshment for the scores of local people busy with the funeral arrangements

or with patrolling the area.

A new mood is sweeping nationalist Derry, hardening with the death of each new hunger-striker, reaching a new height with the death of Derry's own hunger-striker. People who previously steered clear of republicans now come to them for advice and help, wave as they pass them in the streets, offer them a lift.

Here in Derry, as elsewhere, the dividing line is clearly drawn: you either stand with the hunger-strikers or you stand against them, the days of standing nowhere are over.

In St. Mary's in Creggan, a sizeable number walked out of 10.00 a.m. mass in protest at the priest's criticism of the rioting, and there were those who walked out of other masses too.

Now in the Creggan men with brooms brush the route of tomorrow's funeral clear of riot debris, and cordon off the route with blue tapes; in Brandywell — the first part of the funeral route — local republicans check

out derelict buildings for British spy-posts; in the Bogside first aid posts remain vigilant, ready to deal with occasional casualties of isolated incidents of confrontation with the Brits, who on the whole, however, have abandoned the nationalist ghettos to the local people.

## UNCERTAINLY

At 8.30 p.m. a lone RUC landrover drives slowly past Creggan shops, the focal point of the area's resistance. Immediately it is stoned by a dozen youths. It drives on, uncertainly, not sure whether to drive back. It decides not to, and drives out of the area. Within seconds, there are almost forty youths waiting at the shops, some are looking for petrol bombs. The RUC don't return.

Everywhere, the victims of plastic bullets walk around, apparently none the worse for wear. A teenage lad who lost nine teeth when hit in the mouth by a plastic bullet, and later was hit twice in the leg, chats happily about recent back issues of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

A man in his twenties, that first-aiders swear was hit in the head by a plastic bullet on Thursday night, chats casually to friends by Creggan shops. Derry's rioters are certainly made of stern stuff!

## FURTIVELY

At 2 a.m., on Monday morning, Brit foot patrols creep furtively through the pitch-black streets and alleys of the Brandywell, encountering with looks of fear and suspicion groups of nationalist youths they meet on their way.

By mid Monday morning the Brits have disappeared, but not the youths. They are now at every street corner, on every junction, wearing stewards' armbands, directing traffic.

At 10.00 a.m. Patsy O'Hara's body is brought to the Long Tower chapel in the Bogside, flanked by a guard of honour, the hearse followed from the O'Hara's home by several hundred people.

In the early morning, a trickle of people begins to arrive in the Bogside in cars and minibuses, and to troop into the Bogside Community Association for a cup of tea.

By noon, the trickle has become a deluge.

# DIRTY TRICKS

THE British regime in the North has tried every dirty trick in the book to try to break the H-Block hunger-strike. Each of the four original hunger-strikers, in turn, were deliberately isolated in the H-Block prison hospital in order to increase their vulnerability to pressure to come off the strike — and pressure has come especially from certain clergy and prison medical staff masquerading as the prisoners' allies.

As the deteriorating health of each man reached a critical point their close relatives have been subject to all kinds of cruel public and private pressures and accusations, from the British Stormont administration, from the Long Kesh prison regime, and from the media.

Central to the Brits' death-bed strategy have been the attempts to split each hunger-striker from the rest, to split each hunger-striker from his close relatives, and to cause dissension between the hunger-strikers themselves, or their relatives, and the Republican Movement.

Without exception, each group of distressed relatives — of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, and Patsy O'Hara — were, in turn, put through the emotional treadmill of British cruelty as their sons and brothers lay on their death-beds. But the family who eventually proved to be the Brits' prime propaganda target was that of South Armagh republican Raymond McCreesh,

## CLIMAX

The climax of pressure from the Brits on Raymond and the McCreesh family began with the death of Francis Hughes, Raymond's cellmate for the previous

eighteen months. But Raymond's distress in no way effected his determination and on the Friday, when Francis Hughes was buried, Raymond was annoyed with his two visitors that day for not attending the funeral in Bellaghy.

It was at the funeral of Francis Hughes that the first signs of a major British black propaganda effort revealed themselves, when a Belfast-based reporter asked Raymond's brother Malachy McCreesh, whether the rumour was true that Raymond was giving up his hunger-strike.

Malachy mentioned this to Raymond the following day when he visited him and Raymond replied 'not a chance'.

The same day a miniature camera (used successfully to take photographs of Patsy O'Hara) and a miniature tape recorder were found by prison warders in Raymond's cell.

Later on Saturday evening the McCreesh family were summoned to the prison. A doctor alleged to them that he had asked Raymond if he wanted a drink of milk to which Raymond had, he claimed, replied 'I don't know'.

The family found Raymond lapsing in and out of consciousness, and when conscious he was hallucinating, and had been given the impression by doctors that he was in a hospital in Scotland.

The family found no signs that Raymond was seeking to end his hunger-strike, and made the prison medical authorities aware of this.

On the following day, Sunday 17th May, before any mention of Saturday's events were revealed, an article in the *'Sunday Times'*, by regular British army mouth-piece Chris Ryder, ended with a claim that Raymond McCreesh had always been the least determined of the hunger-strikers and would soon end his fast.

## DISTRESSED

On Monday morning, at the McCreesh home in Camlough, one of Raymond's sisters was deeply distressed by a visit from British soldiers asking what were the funeral arrangements for Raymond.

The Northern Ireland Office version of Saturday night's events began to break in news bulletins on Monday, and was given much coverage in Tuesday's newspapers.

Later on Tuesday, the Northern Ireland Office repeated the claim that Raymond had asked for nourishment and medical treatment, but that the family, through Fr. Brian McCreesh, had given contrary instructions following their visit to Raymond.

The ten o'clock BBC Radio 4 news that night suggested that Fr. Brian McCreesh had been instrumental in persuading his brother to continue his hunger strike. The McCreesh family issued



The McCreesh family — victims of British black propaganda

an immediate repudiation.

## VENOM

Raymond McCreesh died on Thursday 21st May; but the British propaganda smear campaign had not finished with the McCreesh family and it was again the *'Sunday Times'* (of Sunday 24th May) which was the vehicle for its venom.

It would appear that the discovery of the tape recorder in Raymond's cell had struck a chord with some British propaganda merchant. Whether the prison hospital cells are bugged or not (and they most likely are) the idea of floating a story about tape recordings existing in the Saturday night conversations had

obviously taken root.

The *'Sunday Times'* claimed that tape recordings were circulating among Tory backbench MPs which contained conversations that had taken place that Saturday night in Raymond's cell. The paper printed two sentences which purported to show that the family had persuaded Raymond to continue his hunger-strike against his wish.

Fr. Brian McCreesh categorically denied the statements attributed to both himself and his mother, and on Monday 25th May the Northern Ireland Office hypocritically stated that it had 'no knowledge of an alleged tape', stories of which had originated with Tory backbench MPs.



# EMOTIONAL DEPARTURES

**\*THE death of hunger-striker Patsy O'Hara naturally taxed the emotions of the O'Hara family who had been under eight weeks of distress and suffering, closely monitoring his condition and offering him their support.**

Patsy's brother on the blanket, Tony, was allowed in to see him on a few occasions but not on the last evening that Patsy remained conscious.

Three-and-a-half years ago, Tony out of four hundred men, had once shared a cell with Bobby Sands, who taught him Irish. Little did he know then that Bobby and his brother would perish on the same hunger-strike.

## TONY

Tony states: "I saw Patsy for half-an-hour on Thursday morning and for three-quarters of an hour on Thursday night before being taken back to my cell. He was in a coma at this stage.

"The last time I was actually speaking to him was on Monday and he was very disoriented. He was dubious about the things that he was thinking. He said that he had some sort of dreams that were way out.

"He said he knew they were not true but he asked me was Bobby dead, was Raymond dead. He knew that, but he was not sure in case it was a dream.

"I sort of sensed on this visit, when the screws called it over, I realised when I shook his hand, by the look on his face, that this would be the last time I would ever talk to him. We shook hands. It was a very emotional occasion.

"We had been talking about the old times, when we were kids, about the house, what we were going to do when we got out and so on. He had been in good form.

"But we did not show our feelings to the screws, because Patsy would not have wanted that, for me to break down crying in front of the screws. So I just held back as best I could.

"He died fighting for his country and his fellow comrades. He served them."

## SEAN SEAMUS

Another brother, Sean Seamus, says that when the family were urgently summoned to the hospital on the Wednesday evening, the day before Patsy died, just shortly after he took a heart attack, they were delayed at the prison gate for over

half-an-hour before being eventually allowed in.

Fr. Toner, a prison chaplain, told Mrs. O'Hara that when Patsy took what is presumed to be a coronary attack no doctors were present or on duty for some time.

That evening when the family went into Patsy's cell there were three chairs on the right-hand side of Patsy's bed, one of which Sean Seamus moved round to the left-hand side so that Patsy could hear him.

A medic immediately threatened that if Sean Seamus did not put the chair back he would terminate the visit. Sean Seamus protested and demanded to see a senior warder who then said that the order came from a doctor, Dr. Ross. When challenged, Dr. Ross denied issuing any such directive.

## MOTHER

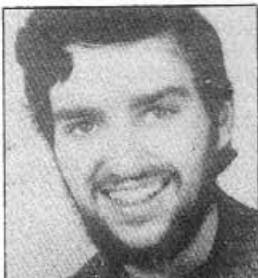
While Patsy was still lucid, his mother asked that his brother Tony be allowed in from the H-Blocks to see him, but this was refused until Patsy lapsed into unconsciousness.

James and Peggy O'Hara had maintained an almost constant vigil by their dying son's bedside for the final few days.

In the early hours of Thursday morning, and just shortly before the death of his comrade Raymond



● Sean Seamus (wearing glasses) helps carry his brother's coffin



McCreesh just after 2 a.m., Patsy told his mother: "I'm sorry mammy we did not win. Please mammy let the fight go on."

Mrs. O'Hara states that this was the clearest possible expression of her son's wishes and that if he lapsed into a coma he was not to be revived.

## ELIZABETH

When Patsy died at half-past eleven that night, his father, twenty-one-year-old sister Elizabeth, family friend James Daly, two priests, two prison warders, and a doctor, were present.

Two members of the family had been keeping a vigil at his bedside at all times. Elizabeth had remained in the prison from half-past seven on Thursday morning.

She recalls the agony of that evening:

"My mother and father came in to relieve me, and I went into the room which had been made available for us at the prison.

"A priest had been sitting with Patsy and he came out and told us he was dead. That was at about ten o'clock or half-past ten. When we went into the room he was still alive. They thought he was dead because his heart had stopped and he tried to breathe but he breathed very hard after that.

"And his face was full of pain. About twenty past eleven then he gave his last breath.

"My father called 'Patsy!' and he sort of, as if he recognised the voice, sort of just tried to move his head, just one last time. And then he died. And as he was dying his face just changed, he had a very, very distinct smile on his face which I will never forget. I said, 'You're free Patsy. You have won your fight. And you're free.' And he was cold then."

# Patsy O'Hara ONE WEEK TO LIVE

THESE pictures of Patsy O'Hara in his prison cell were taken exactly one week before he died and the day before Francis Hughes' funeral. The film was smuggled out but unfortunately the camera and miniature unused tape recorder were apparently discovered by prison authorities two days later in the cell of Raymond McCreesh.



● Members of the O'Hara family at the funeral: Mr. and Mrs. O'Hara; Patsy's sister Elizabeth; and his brother, H-Block leader

## TWO PRISON TRIBUTES TO RAYMOND McCREESH

# A COURAGEOUS REPUBLICAN

A TRIBUTE FROM A FORMER COMRADE-IN-ARMS, PADDY QUINN, H-3 BLOCK, LONG KESH

I FIRST MET Raymond McCreesh, through his older brother Michael, while I was at St. Coleman's college in Newry. Since he was in a different year to me I had little contact apart from saying hello, but he struck me as a very quiet and sensible type of person.

The McCreesh family are a quiet, ordinary nationalist family greatly respected about the district of Camlough. Raymond was the type of naturally quiet person who never bothered anyone, and at first when I heard he was a Volunteer of the IRA I was somewhat surprised, but I was soon to discover him as a very brave and determined young man.

I could even describe him as stubborn to some extent, for when Raymond believed he was 100% right about something he stood by it until he could be proved wrong, which wasn't often.

### FREEDOM

Raymond, like many other young men from South Armagh, realised in his heart that freedom for his people wasn't going to be handed them on a plate. He knew that you had to fight for true freedom, suffer for it and die for it if necessary.

Such freedom Raymond found in the arms of the Republican Movement, and he did not shrink from the task that lay ahead, even knowing that imprisonment or death were a strong possibility. He knew that peaceful means would not bring justice from Britain and he hadn't to look very far back in history to find the perfect example of Derry's Bloody Sunday.

British guns, unjust laws such as internment, general terrorising of the nationalist population by the Brits and pro-British assassin squads, were all part of the force used by Britain to maintain her rule in this country, and Raymond rightly decided it is only by force it can be overcome.

I remember vividly a story Raymond once told me about his father. It was back in the '71-'72 period when the Austin Curries and Paddy O' Hanlon's were travelling the North organising the rent and rates strike

against internment.

It was at one such meeting Raymond's father spoke, and warned the people of Camlough that the organisers of such action were only using them and the internees to further their own political careers, and when they had no further use of them they would do an about turn and stab the people in the back.

### DETERMINATION

Needless to say, the people of Camlough were no different from the rest of the nationalist people of the North and believed in the sincerity of Currie, Fitt and O'Hanlon. Neither did they take kindly to the foresight of Raymond's father, but what he had said he stood by and was proved to be right in years to come. His son, Raymond, had the same courage and determination to stand by what he believed in.

For those aims, and for these past four-and-a-half years, like all his comrades in the H-Blocks and Armagh prison, Raymond suffered greatly and finally died. I guess his courage and determination can be summed up by the last words of a letter he wrote me before embarking on hunger-strike: 'There is a chance I may be home before you, my friend. Goodbye.'

Don't let Raymond's death be in vain. Let his courage, determination and sacrifice inspire you to continue the struggle for the freedom for which he sacrificed his young life.



● MR. McCREESH



● Raymond McCreesh, pictured in 1975

THIS TRIBUTE TO RAYMOND McCREESH WAS READ OUT IN 'D' WING, H-3 BLOCK, LONG KESH PRISON CAMP.

IT WAS at the age of seventeen that Raymond McCreesh joined the ranks of Oglagh na hEireann.

The nationalist people were being crucified daily by British forces and pro-British sectarian murder squads, especially in Belfast and Derry, and one such as Raymond who cared deeply for his people could not ignore that suffering.

For Raymond there was only one way to defeat the force that was oppressing his people, and that was by using force. Knowing full well the price he might have to pay, and which many Volunteers had already paid, Raymond did not shrink from the challenge but joined the struggle he believed to be right and just.

### ACTIVE

During the next two years, although Raymond was a very active Volunteer, he was never suspected by the Brits. Although he avoided being seen with known Volunteers as much as possible, Raymond was what is known as a 'pusher' and was very determined to operate against the enemies of his people, but both because of his quiet nature and the fact that his family had no record of a republican background, his involvement remained unsuspected.

His fellow Volunteers, however, soon discovered another side to Raymond which

ordinary people knew nothing about: he was a very courageous and determined young man. It must have come as some surprise to the people of the Camlough district on hearing about Raymond's capture during a gun battle.

They must also have been surprised when it was announced that Raymond had joined the hunger-strike, but then the Camlough people who saw him as a quiet, even shy, type of person weren't to know the side of his character that his comrades inside and outside jail knew.

### DEATH

Raymond took one courageous step after another to bring an end to the suffering and sorrow caused by British rule in this country.

His death has not been in vain. How many more young men, on watching the funeral of our brave comrade, have decided to take that same step which Raymond took when he was seventeen? How much closer has it brought us to achieving our final goal, the true freedom which can only be found in an Irish socialist republic?

Only time will tell how much closer, but in the meantime let us not despair, but pledge ourselves to continue the struggle in the same determined and courageous fashion which our brave comrades have shown us. Their victory will be ours.





# THE FUNERAL OF RAYMOND McCREESH



• The final salute



• IRA Volunteers accompany the body of their comrade, Raymond McCreesh

# THE FUNERAL



● Republican Volunteers salute the body of their dead comrade, Raymond



● Members of Raymond McCreesh's family at his funeral: from left: Fr. Brian; his mother; his father; and

**THE** burial of IRA Volunteer and H-Block hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh last Saturday was the biggest funeral ever seen in South Armagh. Thousands of people flocked to the tiny village of Camlough; travellers in the North having to negotiate British army, UDR, and RUC checkpoints at various stages.

Raymond McCreesh's coffin, draped in the tricolour with beret and gloves pinned on top, was carried from his home in St. Malachy's Terrace by his father and brothers, including Fr. Brian McCreesh, to the lane at the side of the house where the cortege was joined by a seven-man IRA guard of honour, twelve members of Cumann na mBan and seven members of Na Fianna Éireann — all uniformed and masked.

Behind family and friends, marched hundreds of wreath-bearers and thousands of sympathisers, the route of the funeral being extended down through Camlough village to allow everyone to pay their respects to the courageous Volunteer who had endured sixty-one days on an historic hunger-strike, which ended fatally for the initial four volunteers and which four others continue.

The cortege, to the occasional tolls of the chapel bell, made its way down a lane, even more narrow than the South Derry roads through which the body of Francis Hughes had passed eight days previously.

The verges of this lane were overgrown with glistening green grass, ferns, nettles and wild raspberry bushes. Small midges danced through the air in between the sprays of mizzled rain which often seemed to threaten a dark downpour.

But mild weather prevailed and, on the opposite of this small valley, Camlough Mountain radiated brilliant green colours and the gold of blossoming whin bushes, while Slieve Gullion to the south was dark and passive — scenery to seduce to nationalism a stranger's heart. And the hills and fields and countryside which Raymond McCreesh grew up in and loved, and for whose people he laid down his life, were filled with his unconquerable spirit.

## SALUTE

A lone piper led the funeral up Chapel Road towards St. Malachy's

lane which runs adjacent to the McCreesh home, three IRA Volunteers from the South Armagh Command, carrying bolt action .303 rifles, fired a three volley salute over his coffin which rested on trestles. There was loud applause to this. They then removed their berets and bowed their heads for a minute's silence.

Outside the chapel the tri-colour was removed from the coffin because of the Catholic Church's unreasonable attitude towards republican funerals; although after the requiem mass the flag was put back in place.

Five priests, led by Fr. Brian McCreesh, concelebrated requiem mass in gaelic (which Raymond spoke fluently) in the small and modest St. Malachy's church, which held but a few hundred people, the service being broadcast by loudspeakers to those waiting outside. There was a large number of priests in the congregation, every parish in the archdiocese being represented.

## SERMON

The sermon was given by Fr. Thomas Wolsely, the parish priest. He welcomed everyone to the mass

and spoke on the subject of repentance and said: "We ask God's forgiveness for Raymond and for each one of ourselves, for everyone living on this island and the next island beside us."

He offered sympathy to the McCreesh family and praised their endurance: "Those of us who have seen them over this past few weeks have admired the perfect patience and resignation that they have already shown to us. I ask you all to continue to support them with your prayers .... In this whole ordeal I have yet to hear a member of the McCreesh family say a harsh word about any person. I must say I admire them for that ..."

"Piety, or loyalty, is a virtue in which Raymond was not lacking. He loved his parents, his family and his country. It was perhaps his concept of the latter which led finally to his tragic death and to this day. "But who is to judge? As our cardinal has said, Raymond would never have been involved in this tragic situation but for the historical circumstances of his land."

## CRITICISED

Fr. Wolsely then spoke about the Catholic Church's present attitude to the use of physical force and indirectly criticised the British government for abusing the Pope's sermon at Drogheda in September 1979:

"Violent means must not be used, the Pope says, to change injustices. But neither must violent means be used to keep injustices. The Pope has said so. The first passage has been over-quoted; the second one seldom heard."

"In today's papers you will have seen that the priests of this diocese

of Armagh, the Archdiocese of Armagh, in their statement have quoted the words of the Pope in Drogheda where the Pope said with EQUAL URGENCY, equal urgency, and here I paraphrase the Pope's words for the sake of brevity.

"A great responsibility lies on politicians, especially those with the power to remedy injustices. To make sure conditions will never arise where people will feel compelled to remedy injustices by other means ...."

"We know that in some countries an imaginative act of statesmanship has been able to bring peace to areas much more troubled than ours, and much larger. One hopes then and prays that with God's aid we shall soon see a lasting peace in this land, and that no more deaths will be necessary and that people of all religious and political persuasions will be brought more closely together as children of God."

After requiem mass, Raymond's coffin was removed to the republican plot in the cemetery at the side of the church, only a hundred yards from and within view of his home. The piper led off with *Ur chill ni Chreagain* ('the new churchyard of Creggan' — a mythological resistance lament).

At the graveside Joe McElhew, from South Armagh, chaired the ceremony and described everyone present as Raymond's 'brothers and sisters'. A one minute's silence was observed before two buglers played the Last Post and the Volunteers of Oslagh na h-Éireann, Cumann na mBan and Na Fianna Éireann saluted.

## WREATHS

The Tri-colour was then removed from the coffin, and, along with beret and gloves, presented to Raymond's mother, Mrs. Susan McCreesh. The guard of honour was then dismissed and Raymond's remains were lowered into the grave, on the headstone of which was inscribed: 'Ireland unfree shall

never be at peace'.

Fr. Wolsely then completed religious service before the laying ceremony began. He said that all houses in the dist open to everyone and anyone would want a cup of tea.

Among the wreaths laid ones from the McCreesh the IRA's GHQ Staff and Council, South Armagh Sir Irish Republican POWs wreath was in the shape of the National Graves Association's Belfast Brigade, loyal H-Block/Armagh Cor Cumann na mBan and na the families of Bobby Sands Hughes, Patsy O'Hara, Donnell, Brendan McL Kieran Doherty and Kevin (who that day had lost hunger-strike), and the Volunteer Brendan Quinn on active service in 11 whose body is interred in

There were other wreaths numerous to mention, but them were many from G/ and local firms, and a 1 made up of green, white and flowers in the shape of a t from 'the people of Bally in Belfast.

## ORATION

Sinn Féin president Brádaigh, who is bann entering the North by the government under threat sentence, then gave the oration:

He said: "A chairde, táimid baili inniu lena bhfuil fágha a seo de Réamonn MacRaoi i gcré. Agus nuair a sheas ag béal na huagha seo, tá gcoirthe ach chomh málta an bród agus an mó ionainn."

"Mar tuigeanm m tharraing sé chuige féi uaigneach na stailce o bhfuair sé bás uaigneach Bliocanna, i gCampá na C Ach, gur thaispeán sé gur

(continued on next p



# RAYMOND McCREESH



● Ruairi O' Breideigh, president of Sinn Féin, gave the oration

(continued from previous page)

an duine sonair, toil an Éireannaigh sonair, ná neart iomlán Rialtas agus fórsaí na Breataine."

He continued:

"A chairde, we are gathered here to perform a last, sad but proud duty for that great Irishman and human being, Raymond McCreesh.

"And as we stand here by his graveside in the republican plot we must surely ask ourselves, 'what manner of man was this and what motivated him?'"

"We know that he was sprung from this countryside so rich in lore, so steeped in history, so certain of its Irishness in that it yields to no community on the island of Ireland in its claim to its Irishness and its Irish identity.

"This was to be seen through today's ceremonies, through the beautiful mass in Irish and the lament played by the piper, 'Úr chailín Chreagáin.' Because here in lower Killeavey, in south Armagh, and in south Ulster, the tradition is very rich.

"And, if the poet Art McCooey in 'the new churchyard of Creggan', had a dream and a vision of a wonderful country and a promised land he expressed it very clearly: '... it was the wonderful country where the English didn't rule yet!'"

"And Raymond McCreesh, a young man, was born into this countryside; grew up in it and was formed and moulded and influenced by it; and put an awful lot into his few years on the face of this earth.

"Through Camlough primary school, St. Colman's in Newry, Newry Technical College, as a minor footballer with Carrickcruppen, as a Gaelic player who learnt the language of his country and spoke it fluently and proudly, who was aware of the denial of freedom to those who regard themselves as part of the Irish Nation, to the oppression and brute force with which this denial was put into action, and so he joined Na Fianna Éireann and graduated from that to the ranks of

the Irish Republican Army.

"This quiet, unassuming, self-effacing young Irishman, with that great inner strength and determination which has only really been seen in the past sixty-one days. This man, barely not yet out of his teens, served his country and bore arms against the common enemy, against the enemy of all mankind, which is imperialism and exploitation and which finds its expression in this part of the world in the British forces of occupation.

## TRADITION

"Around these parts, where the men of the 4th Northern Division of the IRA operated sixty years ago, Raymond and his comrades bore arms. Around this part of Ireland where the poet lamented the departure of the O'Neills and the Chieftains, the ordinary people took up the struggle as Rapparees and as Tories led by the renowned Redmond O'Hanlon. In that rich tradition, follow the young men of today.

"And they are never and can never be exemplified better than in the young man whose mortal remains we have laid to rest here.

"Captured in battle he was sent to the dungeons of the H-Blocks. For four years he wouldn't take visits, he would make no concession nor compromise with the British murder machine at work in our land.

"And so we can say, that for human dignity, for the dignity of all mankind at its highest stature, Raymond McCreesh suffered the dreadful agony of hunger-strike and gave all he had; placed his body before the juggernaut of imperialism; placed his frail body there to be crushed. We salute him!

"We salute him and while we look back to the dead generations and acknowledge their part we know that never before in Ireland has there been a hunger-strike of such duration, and never before in Ireland have four hunger-strikers in a row given up their lives. A new

place in history has been carved out by the men of this generation, the most heroic generation yet to resist foreign oppression in our country.

"And May 1916, when from the 3rd to the 12th of May the leaders were executed one by one, and two by two, has had its parallel in this month of May 1981 when we have seen our hunger-strikers go one after the other. First Bobby Sands MP, then Francis Hughes, then Raymond McCreesh and now Patsy O'Hara.

## CALLOUSLY

"The British government has coldly, callously and cruelly murdered Raymond McCreesh and his comrades. They have done this in the face of world opinion. And they have done it while those south of the border who enjoy a transient political power have said that they 'cannot be indifferent', and yet they let it all happen as did someone before them who said that he could 'not stand idly by', and did just that!

"And what, a chairde, is the effect of it all? We see British policies in Ireland in ruins. Where now is their 'normalisation', where now is their 'criminalisation'?

"These hungry and starving men on their beds of pain, by superior moral strength, have pushed the British government to the wall and have shamed them in the eyes of the world.

"The English government never had any right in Ireland, never any scintilla of right, other than that of the robber with superior force. But any claim they may have made to the world to rule in Ireland must surely now be called into question because the British government has shown itself to be completely incapable of understanding, or governing, or ruling any section of Irish people.

## STRENGTHS

"And this has been done, a chairde, by humble men, by ordinary

men whom we never suspected had these great inner strengths. And if one is to quote from the great hunger-striker martyr, the Lord Mayor of Cork, Terence MacSwiney, he wrote in his 'Principles of Freedom', and he said: "For the struggle that will support a man through every phase of this struggle, a strong and courageous mind is the primary need."

"In a word, moral force. Raymond McCreesh had that in plenty.

"MacSwiney goes on to say that the single test is the bravest and the noblest, and it is the test that offers the surest and the greatest victory. And he concludes and says, "For one armed man cannot resist a multitude, nor one army conquer countless legions. But not all the armies of all the empires on earth can crush the spirit of one true man, and that one man will prevail."

"Such a man, a chairde, was Raymond McCreesh, your own neighbour, your fellow Irishman, your kith and kin, your flesh and blood. And he wrote to one of his comrades in the H-Blocks in a secret letter in Irish:

"Tá seans ann go mbéidh mé ahaile romhat, a chara" — there is a possibility that I may be home before you, my friend.

"Yes, how prophetic. Raymond has arrived. He has arrived here ahead of his comrades. But he has arrived with victory and he has arrived in triumph because the strength of his spirit has conquered over all material considerations.

## IDEALISM

"The heartfelt sympathy of us all is extended to his relatives who have borne themselves throughout this ordeal with such dignity and with such restraint and on behalf of all of us I wish to extend to them our heartfelt sympathy and also our unstinted admiration.

"The young people of this country and indeed of all the world, in the generosity of spirit that is their lot and in their idealism, they

recognise instantly, they recognise what is generosity, what is unselfishness, and what is principle and they have seen this in Raymond McCreesh. They have seen it clearly and they will remember in the time to come.

"Wherever in this world there is oppression, there is always resistance. And when the oppressed raise their banners around this world, along with the names of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King and Terence MacSwiney will be written the names of Bobby Sands and Patsy O'Hara. And along with the name of Fr. Camillo Torres who died fighting the forces of oppression in Latin America will be inscribed the names of Francis Hughes and Raymond McCreesh.

"Raymond McCreesh is not dead, a chairde. He lives in our minds, and he lives in our hearts, and he will inspire all of us in the days that are before us.

"And what was said at the time of Terence MacSwiney's death bears repetition now, as we go from here and turn our eyes once more in the direction of the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. We think of Joe Mc Donnell, Brendan McLaughlin, Kieran Doherty and Kevin Lynch.

"We repeat, at the shrine of his bier and the deathbeds of his comrades, we pledge that while an Irish heart beats we shall not desist in our efforts until the hands of those who would rob our country of its independence fall nerveless, or a just judge has taken His vengeance.

"Leaba i measc na bhFínní agus i láthair naomh uile na hÉireann go raibh ag ár gcomrádaí Reamonn MacRaois.

"Go raibh maith agaibh."

Before the ceremony ended the people observed a minute's silence for Raymond's comrade, Patsy O'Hara, who began the hunger-strike the same day as Raymond and who died twenty-one hours after him on the sixty-first day of their hunger-strike. The two young men were born within a fortnight of one another in February 1957.

# THE FUNERALS OF AND PA



● A lone piper leads the hearse at Camlough



● A section of the funeral crowd in Derry city



● Cumann na mBan and na Fianna Éireann Volunteers in Carrickcruppin churchyard, Camlough



● A section of the funeral crowd at Camlough



# RAYMOND McCREESH SY O'HARA



● Members of the O'Hara family at the funeral



● INLA guard of honour escorts Patsy O'Hara's body

# THE FUNERAL OF



● Tony O'Hara, released on parole from the H-Blocks for a few hours, and Mrs. O'Hara, at Patsy's funeral



● The funeral cortege moves along Bishop Street in Derry

**THE FUNERAL of Patsy O'Hara, reminiscent of that of Bobby Sands two weeks earlier, was massive and easily the biggest turn-out in Derry city, since the Bloody Sunday funerals of February 1972, nine years ago.**

Patsy's remains, flanked by an INLA guard of honour and led by a piper, were removed to the Long Tower Church, overlooking the Bogside, for ten o'clock requiem mass said by Fr. Collins, last Monday morning.

In the clammy heat of a warm May afternoon, his coffin was removed from the church and rested on trestles at the chapel gates where first the tri-colour, and then the Starry Plough, were pinned into place by the gaunt figure of Patsy's brother, Tony, who was paroled from the H-Blocks for several hours, under strict conditions, including that he would make no public statements, nor give press interviews.

## GUARD

Two helicopters maintained close observation of the funeral procession, which was led by a piper and a drummer, followed by a guard of honour of over thirty uniformed members of the INLA, by relatives carrying the remains, and then by representatives from the IRSP and comhairle, the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, and the Republican Movement. Behind those were hundreds of wraith-bearers and then the marching strength of what appeared to be the whole of nationalist Derry and representatives from every other Irish town and city.

Among the mourners were relatives of the Sands, Hughes and McCreesh families who shared the immense grief — the past three weeks seemingly one endless funeral. After a short distance the coffin was placed in the hearse to continue the journey down Bishop Street, through the Brandywell, the Bogside and up to the Creggan to the City cemetery.

Black flags were flown from most windows and the huge tri-colour fluttering from a pole opposite the O'Hara house was at

half-mast. From the Brandywell, specks of people could be seen climbing up Creggan Hill to the cemetery where a long line of people could be made out.

On one gable wall in huge writing was painted: 'Give our POWs their status'. On another wall was written: 'Patsy we salute you and your comrades'.

The cortege wound its way up Lecky Road, and the sound of shuffling feet on a gritted road, the absence of nature and its offspring of bird calls and wild exciting smells, and the acoustics of the claustrophobic march, made one well aware that this was a city funeral procession.

## SHOCK

The flyover into the Bogside was thick with people, and a hubbub of audible conversations distinguished the funeral from the silence, if not sombreness, of Bobby Sands' burial, perhaps indicating the stretching of the emotional threshold to the point where undoubted continuing shock and outrage have been superficially channelled into idle chat on the pretence of normality.

To the sound of a drummer beating a slow march the mourners travelling up Westland Street looked back in awe as the never-ending procession poured through the Bogside. Going past John Hume's house, people wondered where was he today?

People dragged themselves up the steep Eastway, which leads into the Creggan, before turning into Iniscarn Crescent and into the cemetery. The body had been moved from the hearse and once again carried by family, friends, and

comrades, in turn, up to the freshly dug grave.

The INLA guard of honour was brought to attention before being slow-marched to the coffin which now rested again on trestles. Six of them stepped forward and fired three volleys from short-arms over the remains of their comrade.

Then they knelt down and observed a minute's silence, before the firearms were cleared by the uniformed man who called out orders and handed each weapon back to each Volunteer.

The flags were removed and Patsy's body was lowered into the grave.

A number of priests led the prayers and afterwards offered their condolences to the O'Hara family. The Volunteers were called to attention and saluted as the Last Post was sounded.

## CO-OPERATION

James Daly, husband of Miriam Daly, the H-Block activist who was murdered a year ago in her Belfast home, chaired the proceedings and introduced the speakers. One theme running through most of the speeches was calls for greater co-operation between the INLA and the IRA and the establishment of a broad anti-imperialist front.

In his opening address James said:

"A chairde Ghaeil; is cúis mhór bhróin ó a bheith anseo i lathair chun cónra Patsy O'Hara a chur a lár, agus is cúis bhróid é mar tá muid bailithe anseo chun omós a thabhairt do Patsy, saighdiúir sóisialach, príosúnach polaiticiúil agus sár Gheal."

"Today we have said farewell to our beloved comrade Patsy O'Hara, as we lay him to rest in his native Doire Colmcille. We lay here his worn out young body, while his immortal spirit has already triumphed over death."

James offered condolences to the O'Hara family before introducing a uniformed spokesman from the leadership of the INLA who read out a statement blaming the

Haughey administration in the South, as much as the British government, for the death of Patsy.

The spokesman said, "Our comrade did not die solely for the five demands of the political prisoners. He recognised that if the prisoners are criminalised then the struggle for Irish freedom is criminalised. This is the reason why Patsy went on hunger-strike and along with his comrades in death, Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, and Raymond McCreesh, courageously confronted the Thatcher regime and her loyalist lackies."

The speaker called for the establishment of a broad front to fight British imperialism and paid tribute to two INLA Volunteers who had recently been killed on active service in Belfast: Jim Power and Matthew McLarnon.

## PLEA

Patsy's brother, Sean Seamus, then spoke, and made a personal plea for unity. He also attacked Charles Haughey's role in propping up Thatcher by remaining silent. "In 1969, Jack Lynch said, 'we will not stand idly by'. In 1981 Charles Haughey said, 'we cannot be indifferent' — the same speech, different words."

"Two thousand years ago, Pontius Pilate said his hands were clean when he intended crucifying Jesus Christ. His hands were not clean and neither are the hands of Charles Haughey today. He tried to deceive Marcella Sands and he tried to deceive my sister, Elizabeth, but the record must be put straight — the onus of guilt lies with him, Patsy's blood is on his head," said Sean Seamus.

"A lot of people think the four hunger-strikers died for nothing. But the fact is that the four deaths have brought us closer to national liberation, closer than we have been during the last twelve years of war. The whole world sees clearly, some for the first time, the true colour of the British. 'It is scarlet red with the blood of many Irishmen and women'."

Stewards then assisted in the laying of scores of wreaths, one of which was in the shape of a large Starry Plough, an H-Block and a tri-colour in one mass of appropriately coloured flowers. There were wreaths from the INLA, IRSP, IRA, Sinn Féin and H-Block Committees and from the families of the other hunger-strikers.

## ORATION

The oration was given by Gerry Roche of the IRSP and comhairle, who extended sympathy to the O'Hara family and paid tribute to Patsy's contribution to the struggle for freedom in his country, a contribution which began at an early age.

Gerry Roche said that Patsy's political maturity had led him to embrace socialism, not "the socialism of the academic textbook ... but a socialism gleaned from applying his own ideas to the experiences and needs of the people of Derry."

Gerry Roche detailed Patsy's personal experience of repression — North and South — and continued: "Patsy understood clearly the totality of relationships between the Free State and Britain as one of slave to master ... but he was determined that this relationship be destroyed forever through the establishment of a thirty-two county socialist republic."

Even in the H-Blocks, Patsy "recognised that the struggle in the prisons was part and parcel of the overall struggle against British imperialism. He saw that the moves to criminalise the prisoners were moves to criminalise the struggle for Irish freedom. He joined the blanket protest ... for he believed that it is no crime to fight the British occupation forces, but the duty of every Irish man and Irish woman."

Gerry Roche praised Patsy as 'an outstanding revolutionary' and concluded: "agus le bas Patsy. Cailliúint mhór is ga é do ghluais-eacht na saoirse in Éirinn. D'oibrigh

(continued on next page)



# PATSY O'HARA



(continued from previous page)

se le fuinneamh agus le dóchas ar  
ár son agus ar shon a mhuintire. I  
measc na laoch atá a ainm."

## FINAL

The final speaker was Bernadette  
McAliskey of the National H-Block/  
Armagh Committee.

She said:-

"It is only fitting that the National  
H-Block/Armagh Committee — on behalf of the tens and  
hundreds of thousands of people  
throughout this country, and in  
many other countries, who have  
supported the five demands of the  
prisoners and worked for them —  
should today add their sympathy  
and condolence to the family of  
Patsy O'Hara and the families of  
the three other hunger-strikers,  
Bobby Sands, Raymond McCreech  
and Francis Hughes.

"It is our earnest hope in the  
H-Block/Armagh Committee,  
through the local action groups,  
that we might have brought about  
the winning of the five minimum  
demands of the prisoners without  
the loss of a prisoner's life.

"The fact that we have not done  
that is not the failure of those who  
have supported the prisoners, it is  
not the weakness of those who have  
supported the prisoners, but the  
failure of the British government,  
the failure of those in this country  
who still seem to honour such in-  
tangible feelings of respectability  
and neutrality above the lives of  
their fellow countrymen.

"We stand in awe at the un-  
believable courage of the four  
young men who have given their  
lives in pursuit of those five de-  
mands. There can be none of us  
who really can imagine, except  
the members of their families, what  
it must have taken every day to  
have recommitted themselves to  
carrying on that fast to the bitter  
end. Young men who had every-  
thing to live for; and we take heart  
and courage from the courage that  
they have shown.

"We will continue, having buried

the last of the four hunger-strikers.  
We will now continue to struggle to  
win the demands before we come  
to a critical period and the possible  
losing of four more.

## TRAGIC

"As the cortege left the Long  
Tower church this morning, per-  
sonally I could not help but cast  
my mind back to a time in 1969  
when there was no ambiguity on  
the part of the Catholic hierarchy  
as to the position of young men  
like Patsy O'Hara. When I stood in  
this city and young men like Patsy  
O'Hara were sent for because the  
Long Tower church was under  
attack and so was St. Eugene's  
cathedral.

"And it is tragic, in this time in  
our history, that the Irish people,  
who for centuries have defended  
their church and their religion,  
should be, by and large, so sadly  
abandoned by it in their hour of  
greatest need.

"But as we leave this cemetery  
today, let us remember the amount  
of work that has to be done. Let  
us remember that our brave young  
men have paid the price of their  
bold sacrifice. But the prize has yet  
to be won, the demands have yet to  
be gained.

"So we must go out, not in a  
spirit of dependency, we must go  
out, not in the spirit of demoralisa-  
tion, but knowing and taking heart  
from the courage of those who have  
shown us the way, that unity is our  
strength, and that we have shown  
by our strategy that it is correct to  
stick with our single issue and build  
the broadest unity possible, to  
shame those who would not stand  
with us, at least into silence, and to  
continue to win the hearts and  
minds and the active support of the  
plain people of this country. We  
will show those who purport to  
lead it that either they lead us on  
the path of justice and freedom or  
they stand out of our way.

## FIGHT

"And in conclusion, let us never  
forget, but let us leave here know-  
ing that as we are brothers and sis-



● Above and below: armed INLA Volunteers prepare to fire the final salute over the coffin of their comrade, Patsy O'Hara



ters in a common fight, so in the  
death of our prisoners has every  
mother taken each of the four of  
them as her own son, has every  
young man and woman taken each  
of the four of them as their own  
brother, let us go forward to save  
our other brothers and sisters in  
the prisons of Long Kesh and Ar-

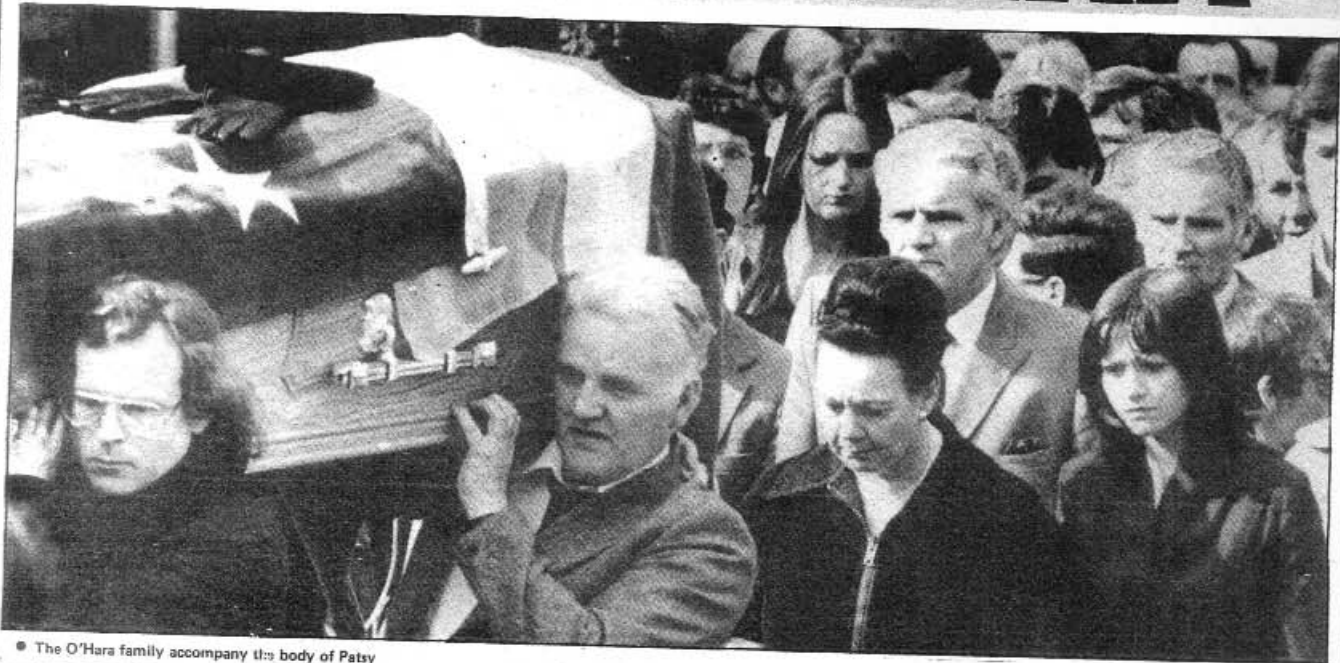
magh, let us go forward in unity, in  
dignity, and in the knowledge that  
we will win.

"We have paid the price, we will  
not be diverted. And no matter  
how great the price may become,  
it can never be more than the fam-  
ilies of our four prisoners have been

asked to pay. And we will continue,  
and see that that price was not paid  
in vain."

Thousands of people then filed  
past Patsy O'Hara's grave before  
breaking up in the early evening  
sunlight, nursing their grief, and  
nursing their anger for another day.

# THE FUNERAL OF PATSY O'HARA



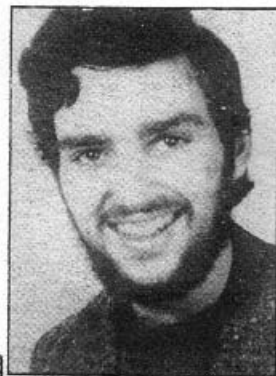
● The O'Hara family accompany the body of Patsy



● INLA Volunteers kneel to pay their last respects to their comrade Patsy O'Hara



# RUC desecrate Patsy O'Hara's body



WHEN the RUC-hijacked corpse of hunger-striker Patsy O'Hara was eventually recovered from the RUC in Derry, last Friday morning, May 22nd, eight hours after his death in Long Kesh prison camp, his family noticed gashes and marks on his face, as if it had been scratched and beaten.

This desecration was the climax of distress to, and harassment of, the O'Hara family, which had, like the smear campaign against the McCreesh family, particularly intensified in the last days of their son's life.

After Patsy O'Hara died, the Long Kesh prison governor, Stanley Hilditch, told Mr. James O'Hara that his son's body would be brought to Omagh and he would have to phone the RUC to find out where it could be collected.

However, at 4.40 a.m. Friday May 22nd, the O'Haras received a phone-call from friends in Derry to the house they were staying at in Belfast.

Patsy's brother, Sean Seamus, explains, "the RUC had phoned Derry with a message for us, 'if you want to collect this thing, you had better collect it before daylight, otherwise it is going to get dropped at O'Hara's front door step.'"

"They had said they were not allowing any daylight processions, and, if we attempted that, then what they would do, was take the body and drop it by helicopter to Derry. They were very, very abusive the whole time.

"The undertakers collected the body from Omagh at about six o'clock in the morning and I took

the body from the undertakers to the house.

"When the coffin was opened the first thing I noticed was that Patsy had a lot of marks around his nose — very deep cuts which he should not have had. He had bruising on his eyes and apparently there were a lot of marks on his body which appeared to be cigarette burns. I noticed it and I said, 'Look, that was not there'. But it was said to me that maybe in the heat of the moment I did not notice it.

"But the minute my mother walked in, the minute my father walked in, the minute Jim Daly walked in, the minute my sister walked in, everyone of them said 'What happened to Patsy? There were no marks on the body.'"

"So what I think may have happened was that they threw him head first into a landrover, or into a helicopter. We don't know which transported the body to Omagh. That would allow for the nose to be broken. But I do not know how he got the other bruises."



● Patsy O'Hara's body being brought to his Derry home

AFTER the deaths of Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, and Patsy O'Hara, the RUC hijacked the hunger-striker's bodies, on each occasion, and only conditionally released that of Francis Hughes to his family in Belfast, at Forster Green Hospital.

A further attempt to hijack the body on the M2 motorway on its way to the Hughes home in Bellaghy in South Derry was only thwarted when an American camera crew arrived on the scene, and witnessed and filmed the armed hijacking.

The undertakers have since published a full statement on what took place in this incident, and have lodged a strong formal complaint with RUC chief Jack Hermon about the treatment meted out to them by the RUC.

## INCORRECT

Brothers Thomas McCusker, of Magherafelt, and Danny McCusker, of Swatragh, in County Derry, issued a statement through their solicitors following what they point out are erroneous reports in the media and incorrect statements by the RUC, concerning the removal of Francis Hughes' body from Belfast.

In their statement, the undertakers explain that at about 5 p.m. on Wednesday, May 13th, the day after Francis died, the Hughes family told them to proceed with the body from Forster Green Hospital and follow the RUC landrovers for a direct run through the city to Toomebridge.

Up until that stage they had

## Undertakers condemn RUC hijack of Francis Hughes' body



● Francis Hughes' body leaving Forster Green Hospital in Belfast under heavy RUC escort

been no controversy of any nature between them and the RUC.

After about half-a-mile, however, on the Newtownbreda dual carriageway, the landrovers in front and behind them stopped, and the McCuskers also stopped the hearse. The cortege came to a halt not because the hearse was immobilised as had been claimed by the RUC but because the RUC stopped it.

"A number of armed police then ran to the hearse, told us to get out and stated that they were taking over," the McCuskers point out.

"We refused to get out and said that we were in charge of the hearse. Thomas, who was in the passenger seat, in fact said 'not bloody likely' and went to lock the door of the hearse."

The door open, grabbed Thomas by the legs and body and threw him out of the hearse onto the road. In doing so they tore his clothes. He was dazed as a result of being manhandled and left lying on the road.

"Danny McCusker, the driver, then attempted to put the keys of the hearse into his mouth but they were 'knocked away' by a

immobilisation to which the police referred.

"Danny then grabbed the steering wheel and put his shoulder to the pillar of the door to prevent himself being pulled out. Danny was pulled by the shirt and tie and also by the hair and ear. The attempt by the RUC to remove us from the hearse only ceased when an American television crew arrived on the scene."

## STOPPED

None of the mourners intervened as they had been stopped by the RUC some distance back, prior to the hearse being stopped. There were then further negotiations between the police and the Hughes family, who told the undertakers to proceed towards Toomebridge. Owen Carron (Bobby Sands' election agent) came in the hearse during the rest of the journey.

"As we came towards Randalls town on the M2, the police directed us towards the by-pass, away from the direction of Toomebridge. Mr. Carron asked us to stop the hearse so that he could consult further with the family.

"While he was doing this, a police officer instructed us to follow the police escort immediately. We told him we were only there doing a day's work and that we were awaiting instructions from the Hughes family.

"At this stage he ordered a landrover to reverse up to the hearse and stated that the police would leave the coffin in Bellaghy. Mr. Carron then returned with the instructions from the Hughes family to follow the police escort. We did this, and arrived at Bellaghy at

# LETHAL PLASTIC BULLETS BRING F

## Several killed, hundreds as British army & RUC go on rampage

THE BRITISH ARMY and RUC have continued their attempts to repress any expression on the streets of protest or anger at the deaths of the hunger-strikers.

Thousands of the provenly lethal plastic bullets have been fired at not just rioters but also peaceful demonstrators, and, on occasion — when the British army have felt bored or the sectarian RUC unoccupied — at non-protestors.

Hundreds of injured nationalist youths have sought backstreet medical treatment rather than report into their local hospital because of the practice that such injuries were being logged in a particular way that enabled the information to be used by the RUC to frame injured persons on riot or disorderly charges.

Thus scores of youths who reported to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast were either arrested on the spot after treatment or were picked up later while recuperating at home, and charged with some offence relating to the street protests.

The use of plastic bullets has been, until recently, perceived internationally and by the media, and almost certainly by unaffected sections of middle-class nationalist people, as being psychologically less outrageous than the use of live rounds.

They certainly have that advantage for the Brits and RUC while effectively instilling terror and fear into their nationalist victims.

### HORRIFIC

But recent deaths and injuries (including the wounding of two press men) have more than enlightened people to the horrific damage these bullets can cause. Last week leading Catholic churchmen and the SDLP joined the chorus of growing protests at the use of the plastic bullets which recently claimed their fourth victim in as many weeks — three of whom were children.

Last month fifteen-year-old Paul Whitters was killed by the RUC; another Derry youth, Alex McLaughlin, lost an eye, and a South Derry man, Brendan Kelly, had his right eye destroyed when hit by an RUC plastic bullet in Maghera.

Earlier this month those injured by plastic bullets included: fifteen-year-old Martin Hamill from Turf Lodge who lost his sight when shot in the head with a plastic bullet fired by the British army; sixteen-year-old Paul Logue received six stitches after being hit in the face by the RUC in Derry; sixty-eight-year-old grandfather Patrick Doherty was hit on the

chest and received a fractured skull after being assaulted; Belfast mother-of-six, Mrs. Bridget McGuire received a wound to the head which needed twenty-six stitches after being shot by the RUC; fourteen-year-old Julie Livingstone shot dead by the British army in Belfast; thirty-six-year-old Alfred Parker needed sixteen stitches to his head; fifteen-year-old Damien Marrow, Belfast, suffered brain damage; four-and-a-half-year-old David Madden received six stitches to a head wound; and five-year-old Neil Lynagh received a serious leg wound after being shot by the RUC.

### DEATHS

The attacks on nationalist people continued last week with two more innocent deaths, twelve-year-old Carol-Ann Kelly in Belfast, and father-of-seven and widower, forty-five-year-old, Harry Duffy in Derry, among countless others injured.

Last Tuesday the RUC in a major propaganda offensive held a press conference and compared the seemingly-innocent plastic bullet with nail bombs and petrol bombs and an RPG7 rocket launcher, as if the plastic bullet was their only defence, and ignored the military hardware they have at their disposal and which they use.

Most of this propaganda was overturned by a press conference in Belfast on Thursday sponsored by the Association for Legal Justice and addressed by Father Denis Faul who catalogued the latest deaths and injuries.

In reaction to the death of Carol-Ann Kelly the mothers of Twinbrook have called for an inquiry, while RUC chief Constable Jack Hermon, who has been masquerading as an 'enlightened policeman' for the purposes of normalisation, dropped his mask, supported the use of the lethal bullets and said they would remain in use.

The following examples show just how lethal 'the plastics' are, as the kids of nationalist Belfast call them, can actually be.

### TURF LODGE

Twinbrook was not the only Belfast area to suffer at the hands of British army and RUC gunmen.

On Friday, May 22nd, the British army, lying in ambush in fields opposite

Turf Lodge, opened fire on two boys from the area, seriously injuring one of them. There had been some hijacking in the area before the shooting and the Brits used this in an attempt to justify the shooting.

However, major discrepancies were immediately apparent in the Brit statement. The Brits stated that both boys were shot while attempting to hijack a car, yet they were standing 150 yards apart when they were shot. The Brits claimed that both boys were armed, yet despite the fact that the Brits had them shot, and surrounded before local residents arrived, only one hand gun was found and this is reported to be an air pistol.

What is clear is that the shooting of the two boys was a premeditated murder attempt with the Brits staking the area out to this end.

As a result of the shooting, fifteen-year-old schoolboy Joe Greene, who has two brothers on the blanket, was seriously injured with two bullets in the back. Pat Donnelly, aged seventeen, was also hit twice, once in the stomach and once in the wrist.

### ARDOYNE

In Ardoyne, fifteen-year-old Paul Lavelle was the victim of a plastic bullet fired by Brits on the night of Friday, May 15th. He was struck on the head and despite an emergency brain operation there is still a possibility that he may not survive.

Paul Lavelle had gone to buy a bottle of milk at around 10 p.m. when he walked into a minor riot. His father, Mr. Patrick Lavelle, says that the soldiers trailed his son up an entry beside the GAA club in Flax Street. "He was pulled in and kicked and punched. When he ran away the troops fired and hit him from point blank range, hitting Paul in the head," explains his father.

Also on Friday, May 15th, school children in the Ballymurphy area were again the target of British plastic bullets.

Eleven-year-old Joseph Mullan from Divismore Crescent, was returning home from school at 3.30 p.m. when British soldiers travelling in a saracen on the Springfield Road opened fire, injuring young Joseph in the leg. He was taken to hospital where he was treated for lacerations and several severe bruises.

On Tuesday May 19th, two saracens were moving down the Whitelock Road on the edge of the Ballymurphy estate at 4.30 p.m. A plastic bullet was fired from one of the armoured cars, striking thirteen-year-old Kevin McLaughlin on the head. Kevin had been sitting alone on fencing near his home. An ambulance took him to hospital with severe head injuries.

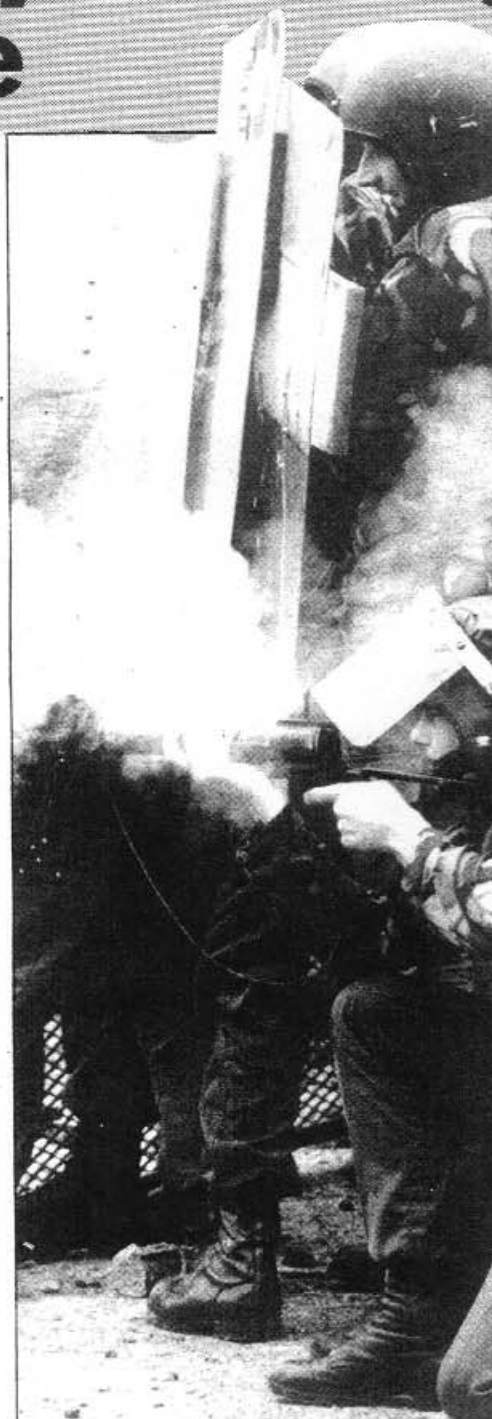
### BEECHMOUNT

On three consecutive nights, Brit and RUC patrols stationed around the Falls Road/Beechmount Avenue junction wounded local people in further shooting attacks.

At 10.45 p.m. on Friday, May 15th, nineteen-year-old Damien McKenna from Beechmount was returning home from a night out with two friends.

As they passed Daly's garage on the Falls Road, a Brit fired at them with a plastic bullet. Damien was struck on the head behind the right ear and fell to the ground. His two friends who tried to help him were chased away by the Brits and RUC who were in the area in strong force.

Damien was dragged aside by a Brit



and an RUC man who then proceeded to kick him unconscious. He woke up later in the Royal Victoria Hospital where he received treatment for his injuries, including ten stitches to the wound behind his ear.

17th, twenty-two-year-old Eugen Neill also from Beechmount, was p the same spot. The Brits stopped searched him and then asked his and address, which he gave. The were at this time arresting an

(continued on next page)



# LITIES AND HORRENDOUS INJURIES

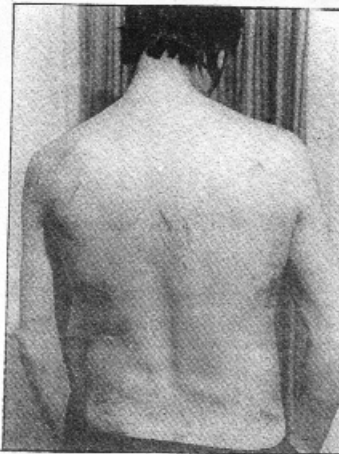
## Injured men



## BRUTALITY VICTIMS



● **PAULINE MAGEE**  
dragged along the road by a Brit vehicle



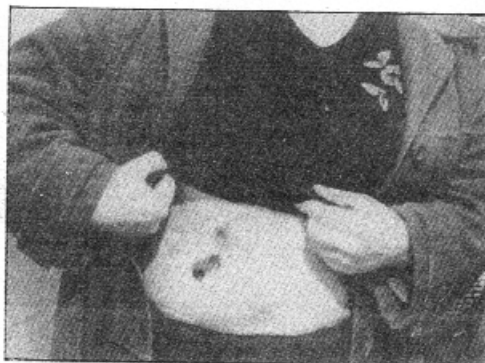
● **NOEL MCGUINNESS**  
attacked by eight soldiers



● **SARAH WILDY**  
shot in stomach by a Brit-fired plastic bullet



● **LIAM GILMORE**  
knocked unconscious by British soldiers



● **MARGARET McDONALD**  
shot in stomach by RUC-fired plastic bullet



● **PATRICK DONNELLY**  
shot in stomach by British army



● **ROSALEEN MCGEE**  
received a broken arm from Brit-fired plastic bullet



● **PAUL LAVELLE**  
shot by a plastic bullet and despite an emergency operation doctors said he may not survive



● **CIARAN RICE**  
victim of plastic bullet



● **THOMAS TORNEY**  
suffered a broken arm from a Brit-fired plastic bullet

rifle and shot Eugene at point blank range in the thigh with a live round. Eugene fell to the ground stunned, and was then taken to hospital.

The bullet passed straight through his leg, and doctors told him that had it struck a bone he would almost certainly have lost his right leg.

On Sunday evening, the Beechmount/Broadway areas were again the scene of indiscriminate Brit shooting. There had been minor rioting in the area and Brit patrols were exchanging insults with a group of young boys.

Mrs. Sarah Wildy, a grandmother from the St. James' area, was passing Our Lady's Hospital just as the Brits prepared to leave the area. As they climbed into their armoured car one of them fired a plastic bullet which struck Mrs. Wildy on the left side of her lower stomach. She collapsed and was

taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital in an ambulance.

### THURSDAY

At 6.10 a.m. on Thursday morning fifteen-year-old schoolgirl Margaret McElorum was the first victim when she was struck by a bullet at the junction of the New Lodge Road and Lapper Street. She was on her way to a public rosary for Raymond McCreesh who had just died; Margaret was taken to hospital where she was treated for a wound to her lower back.

Another fifteen-year-old girl was also injured when the British army opened fire with plastic bullets in the Markets area. A large crowd of women had been banging bin lids when the Brits opened up.

Marie McKernan, who was standing



● The funeral of Joe Lynch, killed by an RUC landrover

(continued from previous page)

youth and when Eugene inquired after the youth he was told 'it wasn't his business'.

He persisted in questioning the Brits until one of them cocked his

(continued on next page)

LETHAL PLASTIC BULLETS BRING FATALITIES AND HORRENDOUS INJURIES

# Several killed, hundreds injured as British army & RUC gunmen go on rampage

(continued from previous page)

near her home, was struck on the chest by one of these bullets.

Mrs. Kathleen Hanna, a twenty-four-year-old mother-of-two was injured during the same incident when one of the bullets struck her on the head. Both Marie McKernan and Kathleen Hanna were taken to hospital. Mrs. Hanna's wound needed twelve stitches.

## FRIDAY

Early on Friday morning, Tommy Cupples from the Short Strand area of East Belfast was seriously injured when he was hit three times by plastic bullets fired by RUC men.

Mr. Cupples, a thirty-two-year-old father-of-four, was out looking for one of his children and was walking along Thompson Street which was well removed from rioting which was going on in the area at the time. RUC men in a landrover passing up the street opened fire on him hitting him three times. He was taken to hospital where he was treated for injuries to his eyes, arms, thighs and buttocks. He also required thirty stitches to a head wound.

Mr. Cupples has suffered three epileptic fits since the incident, all of which are a direct result of his plastic bullet injuries.

At the same time in West Belfast, Mrs. Rosaleen McGee, a mother-of-three from the Grosvenor Road area, was standing with a group of women at the corner of Grosvenor Place. The women were banging bin lids in a peaceful protest at the death of Raymond McCresh and Patsy O'Hara. Plastic bullets were fired at the women from a passing RUC landrover.

Mrs. McGee was struck on the arm, with which she was protecting her face, and was detained in hospital where surgery was carried out on her arm. Doctors told her that the bone in her forearm was badly shattered.

## FALLS

Early on Friday morning, while bin lids were still being banged to inform people of the death of Patsy O'Hara, Margaret McDonald from the Lower Falls area was shot in the stomach at a range of about two yards by a plastic bullet. Not being able to sleep she had gone up to the Falls Road and arrived just as an RUC landrover approached.

She attempted to take cover behind the wall of a convent but the landrover pulled up and an RUC man called on her to come out. She stepped out immediately to let them know that she was a woman and when she came into view the RUC man opened fire on her hitting her in the stomach.

She is still under medical observation and will probably need a skin graft for her wound.

## MCGUINNESS

Noel McGuinness, who lives in Fort Street off the Springfield Road, was returning home in the early hours of Friday, May 22nd, and was walking in Clonard Street when he was attacked by about eight soldiers.

He recalls what happened:

"They dragged me at least thirty yards while at the same time kicking me and beating me with their batons. I was put into the back of an army vehicle and was made to lie on the floor. The soldiers then proceeded to stand upon me and continually abuse me while I was being taken to Springfield Road barracks. When I was in the vehicle I heard a female voice say something like 'Kill the fenian bastard, we've got him now'. By the time I arrived at Springfield Road barracks some of my outer clothing had been torn completely off me.

"I was then taken to Hastings Street where I was put in a cage with twelve other men. There were holes in the roof of the cage and as it was raining heavily we asked if we could be taken to another room. The policemen only answered



"Fuck up you Fenian bastards". The policemen came round now and again and shouted things such as 'Three cheers for Bobby Sands' and 'Come on down and see the monkeys' and other sectarian bigotry. Nearly everyone who was in the cage with me had injuries due to beatings or dog bites.

"I was then brought to Townhall Street where I was charged with riotous behaviour..."

## KILL

In the same area the following night British soldiers attempted to knock down and kill two teenagers.

Pauline Magee and a friend, George, were returning home to Bombay Street having just left the chip shop at the corner of Springfield Road and Springfield Avenue. An army vehicle which was travelling on the wrong side of the road also drove up onto the pavement. The two young people were unable to get off the pavement in time and a length of barbed wire which was hanging from the vehicle wrapped itself first around George, who managed to pull it off, and then around Pauline.

Two youths who saw the incident occurring said that the vehicle was travelling at such a speed that they could actually see the sparks from the barbed wire which was trailing along the ground. Pauline was dragged along the ground for at least fifteen to twenty yards, and received cuts and bruising.

## LEESON ST.

During the H-Block protests on the streets in the early hours following the announcement of Patsy O'Hara's death on Friday, May 21st, British soldiers and RUC men, besides killing and wounding a number of civilians, went berserk breaking into people's houses.

In Leeson Street in Belfast soldiers broke into the home of Mrs. McNay after her eighteen-year-old grandson, Brendan and his friend, They kicked the bottom wooden panel of the hall door and deliberately smashed the top glass panel.

In the living room they swept ornaments off the television and Mrs. McNay, who is not long out of hospital, was hit on the leg by a soldier as he ran out to the yard. Her grandson and his friend were trailed out of the house and brought to Hastings Street RUC barracks where they were charged with

riotous behaviour.

In the early hours of Friday a major confrontation was taking place between local youths and the British army in the Ardoyne area of North Belfast.

Unable to come to grips with the young rioters the Brits vented their frustration on anyone they could lay their hands on.

Liam Gilmore, who was celebrating his thirty-sixth birthday, had just come

back from a local club at around 1 a.m. He then went to collect his eldest daughter who was babysitting but having only walked yards from his home he was set upon by six British soldiers who knocked him unconscious and proceeded to kick him as he lay on the ground. His injuries needed a total of nineteen stitches and he is still in hospital.

The Saint Lazarus ambulance which



• The young members of the bereaved Duffy family walk in the funeral

## The killing of Harry Duffy

The Derry man who died from plastic bullet wounds received during rioting in the Bogside after the deaths of Raymond McCresh and Patsy O'Hara, was forty-five-year-old Harry Duffy, from Benevenagh Gardens in the Creggan estate.

He was hit by a plastic bullet in the chest and by a further plastic bullet in the left temple, which split open his skull resulting in a massive loss of blood. He was taken to Altnagelvin hospital close to death, where he suffered a coronary attack and died.

Harry Duffy came to live in Derry, from his native Dundalk, several years ago, and was known locally as 'Harry Dundalk'. His wife Brigit died in November 1977, leaving him to bring up their seven children alone.

He was a scrap metal dealer by trade and was a familiar sight, pushing a wheelbarrow and blowing a whistle, in the Creggan estate.

Nevertheless, despite being given permission by local people, he always resolutely refused to remove valuable scrap from barricades, saying that young people had risked their lives to build the barricades and he did not wish to make money out of it.

His popularity, and Derry's deep sense of grief, were demonstrated by the large crowd of about a thousand people who followed his coffin from St. Mary's church in Creggan to the city cemetery, for burial on Saturday. He was buried in the same plot as his wife. Only hours before the burial service Harry's three youngest children had made their first Holy Communion.

took him to hospital was wrecked by Brits as it re-entered Ardoyne. £200 worth of damage was done to vehicle and the three attendants assaulted by the British army patrol

## MARKETS

During the early hours of F morning homes in both the Ard and the Markets areas were deliberately wrecked by the British army.

Brendan McNally from the Markets was arrested after plastic bullets fired at his door.

The following night the Brits turned and threatened his wife, Nuala McNally and her two children saying that if any petrol bombs thrown in the area that night they would return and attack the McNally home.

On Saturday night, at 9.30 p.m. group of young boys were seen at the junction of Annadale Street the Antrim Road in Belfast. An landrover passed them several times before finally opening fire. Paul Simmons, a fifteen-year-old boy, the New Lodge area, was hit in the left eye.

He was taken to hospital where immediate surgery was carried out. A second operation the following day succeeded in saving his eye although extensive skin grafts will be necessary.

## LYNCH

In the north of the city at young nationalist, Joe Lynch, the Antrim Road was murdered by the RUC in the Oldpark area on Friday, May 23rd, when a landrover deliberately driven into him.

Joe was walking to his home in the Bone area at about 11.30. The Oldpark Road was clear of cars but as he began to cross the road a RUC landrover came speeding towards him from the Crumlin Road station.

It drove straight at Joe hitting him at the Ballinure corner and dragging him for over yards along the ground. The landrover sped on up the Oldpark Road an Oldpark RUC barracks, leaving lying seriously injured on the ground. He died from his injuries after admission to hospital.

Local eye-witnesses are adamant that the killing was a deliberate calculated murder, and not 'a accident' as the RUC have claimed.

## SERIOUS

During the weekend there again many serious injuries caused by plastic bullets.

Last Sunday, May 24th, seven-year-old Thomas Torney from Murphy was leaving a local club after midnight when Brits in a landrover travelling along the Whiterock Road fired a plastic bullet.

Thomas Torney was struck in the chest by the bullet which first fractured his arm and then, glancing off, struck on the right side of the groin, a muscle and causing severe bruising. He was kept in hospital for four days and will need medical attention several months.

On the afternoon of Sunday 24th, a twelve-month-old baby became the youngest victim of the weekend when British army soldiers pushed a burnt-out car into the house in which she was sleeping. The baby was put into a pram mother.

At around 3.45 p.m., two army saracens arrived to clear the house. The Brits had a clear view of the house as they pushed the burnt-out car into it. A neighbour seeing what was happening lifted baby Dolores just before the pram was crushed by the wall of the house. The Brits apparently greatly amused and I at Mrs. Burns who was obvious distressed.



# GIRL'S HEAD CAVED IN BY PLASTIC BULLET

## British army slay young girl

**Carol-Ann Kelly  
(aged 12)  
Murdered  
by British troops**

AFTER the death of young Julie Livingstone a fortnight ago and the injuring of several other school children by plastic bullets, Brit and RUC patrols have injured a further five children, one of them shot twice in the back with live rounds. One of the most outrageous shootings was the killing of twelve-year-old Carol-Ann Kelly, from the Twinbrook area of West Belfast, who was struck on the head and fatally wounded by a plastic bullet fired at a range of several yards.

Carol-Ann had been coming out of a shop in Aspen Park at about 8.30 p.m. with two friends at 8.30 p.m.

Tuesday, May 19th. She was carrying a carton of milk which her mother had sent to the shops to fetch. There were few people on the street when five British army jeeps entered the area. The Brits were clearly in a state of agitation and were making comments at the students such as, 'we'll get reference to the soldiers' and by the IRA in South (agh).

### BULLETS

As they came to the spot where Carol-Ann was standing, the Brits fired the first two jeeps opened fire with plastic bullets and without warning. Carol-Ann's two friends dived for cover but Carol-Ann was not so fortunate. She was struck in the head by one of the bullets and knocked unconscious. When local people

reached her she was bleeding profusely from the wound. Neighbours called an ambulance which arrived after fifteen minutes, the delay being caused by the British army who initially sent it away from the scene. Carol-Ann was taken to hospital where she was operated on, and survived on a life-support machine until her death on Friday, May 22nd.

Mrs. Kathleen Robinson, a neighbour who travelled with Carol-Ann and her mother to the hospital, also witnessed the incident. She stated: "This young child was shot for absolutely no reason. There was no trouble in the area at the time. Rioting only began after the Brits shot Carol-Ann."

The British army had said that the young girl was shot when a local school which was being prepared for the local government elections the following day was attacked. And the rioting which broke out in the estate was a direct response to the shooting which occurred several hundred yards from the school.

The shooting provoked an angry

response from local residents and intense rioting took place in the area throughout the night. During this rioting the Brits seized every opportunity to attack and brutalise nationalist civilians, men, women and children.

### BRITS

Fionnuala McDonnell, a twenty-seven-year-old mother-of-five, from Twinbrook, was attending a protest at the shooting of young Carol-Ann and was with a group of women banging bin lids outside the school which the Brits had occupied, when at around 10 p.m. three soldiers, with Brits walking alongside, entered the estate.

The Brits came under petrol bomb and stone attack at the Aspen Park side of the estate. But they moved on round to the school where the protest was peaceful. As they neared the school the Brits made a baton charge at the women, firing plastic bullets as they came.

One of the soldiers grabbed Mrs. McDonnell, screamed obscenities at her, held her by the waist and batoned her across the head. She was then kicked to the ground. Mrs. McDonnell was taken to hospital bleeding from a wound to the head which required 4 stitches.

Some two hours later forty-eight-year-old Michael Mulholland, a father of five from the estate, was the victim of a vicious assault. He was standing at St. Luke's chapel, only yards from his lane, when a Brit snatch squad attacked women who were banging bin lids.

Michael Mulholland was dragged to the ground where he was kicked and beaten by several Brits. He was then pulled into a van where the assault continued. The Brits finally threw him out and he was taken home. On examination his doctor called for an ambulance and he was detained in hospital with bad injuries to his side, legs and back.

Whilst on the rampage the Brits deliberately drove through the recently-erected memorial to Volunteer Bobby Sands MP, whose home was in Twinbrook.



Michael Kelly, Carol-Ann's brother, holding the plastic bullet that killed the shopping she was carrying

● Right: twelve-year-old Carol-Ann Kelly; and above: pictured in her coffin, her face badly bruised by the impact of the plastic bullet



● Barricades on the Falls Road, Belfast, within minutes of the news of Patsy O'Hara's death

# FIGHTING BACK

A WEEK of sporadic but often fierce rioting followed the funeral a fortnight ago, on Friday 15th May, of hunger-striker Francis Hughes, leading up to the pitched battles which broke out on Thursday week, May 21st, and the following day, Friday, with the news that Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara had died.

In Belfast, Divis Flats' residents maintained their staunch resistance to British army and RUC incursions, and as rioting broke out in other nationalist areas, the British forces found themselves under growing pressure in trying to deal with the outbreaks of popular resistance.

The participation of increasing numbers of adults in the rioting is a trend which began following the first H-Block death, of Bobby Sands, and which has continued ever since as more and more people become increasingly bitterly frustrated at the intransigent stance of the British government.

## TWINBROOK

During the evening of Tuesday 19th May, following the death of five Brits in an IRA ambush in South Armagh, the British army entered the nationalist estate of Twinbrook in some force and it was immediately clear that they were seeking some sort of revenge.

Carol-Ann Kelly, a twelve-year-old girl, was struck on the head by a plastic bullet which shattered her skull, causing her death three days later in hospital.

The senseless wounding of the young girl provoked an angry response in the area and a night of intense rioting followed with numerous petrol bombs raining down on British army and RUC vehicles. Snatch squads stayed well away from the danger areas concentrating their attacks on women banging binlids. Heavy rioting continued well into the early hours of Wednesday morning.

## NEWS

However, early on Thursday morning, as bin-lids again carried the news of death in the H-Blocks, the local outbreaks became full-scale confrontations, as rioting

broke out in Newry, Strabane, Derry, Dungannon and every nationalist area of Belfast.

Over twenty lorries, commandeered from the Bass Charrington brewery on the Glen Road in west Belfast, were used to barricade the Andersonstown area and intense rioting broke out as Brits attempted to move into the area.

Fierce battles were also fought out in Twinbrook, the Lower Falls, Turf Lodge and Ardoyne as showers of petrol bombs rained down on RUC and British army patrols.

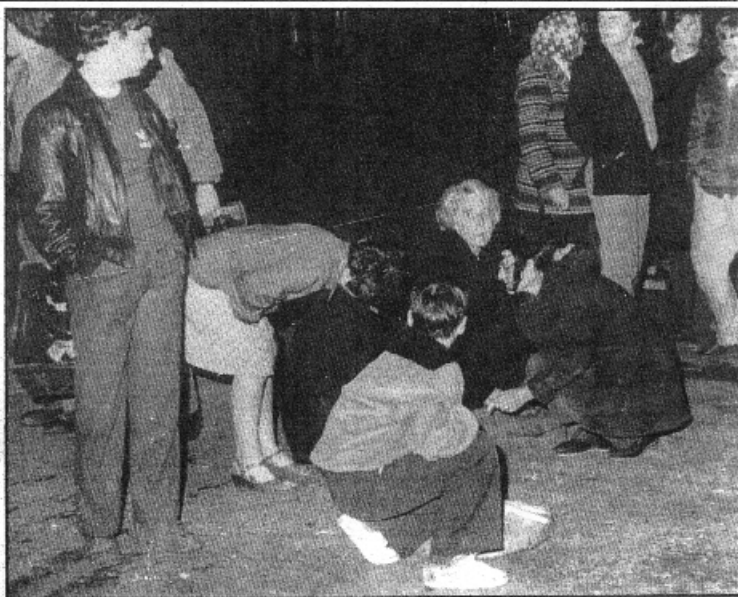
The time of the death of Raymond McCreesh, early on Thursday morning, meant that much of the rioting was short-lived, but as crowds gathered and petrol bombs were being prepared on Thursday night, for a re-commencement of the battles, the news broke that Patsy O'Hara had also died, twenty-one hours after his comrade Raymond. This double blow brought bigger crowds than ever out.

In Derry, fifteen blast bombs were used in addition to over two hundred petrol and acid bombs. Half-a-dozen Brits were injured by shrapnel and others burnt as petrol bombers scored direct hits. Several shops were also set alight by the rioters while the Brits, stretched to their limit, could take no action to save the buildings from destruction.

## BARRICADES

In Belfast, barricades again went up, as more and more people took to the streets. Scores of petrol bombs were thrown at British army vehicles as they attempted to move along the Andersonstown Road.

In Ballymurphy, heavy attacks were again made on the Henry Taggart barracks and rioting also broke out in the Short Strand and



● Bin-lidding in Belfast announces Patsy O'Hara's death, last Thursday night

Ormeau Road areas.

In Ardoyne, the entrances to the area were secured and defended, with barricades of burning vehicles across many streets. British army and RUC patrols leaving the Oldpark barracks came under heavy attack in the Bone area.

On the Falls Road, at Beechmount and at Dunville Park, hundreds of masked youths launched waves of attacks on the Brits and the RUC who were vainly attempting to control the situation.

## NIGHTLY

Rioting continued over the weekend in many nationalist areas, proving to be much longer lived than after the previous two H-Block deaths.

In Derry, Strabane, and Newry, and in the Ardoyne, Bone, Andersonstown, Markets and Clonard areas of Belfast, rioting continued on a nightly basis with many barricades in place.

In Derry, following the funeral of Patsy O'Hara on Monday, another night of heavy rioting broke out with blast bombs being thrown. Over two hundred petrol bombs were also used during the battles which took place in several areas including William Street, Creggan, and Shantallow, and at Rossmount barracks. Rioting also occurred in Newry on Monday night.

Blast bombs are being used more extensively this week and new ingredients are being added to the petrol bombs as the rioting clearly becomes more popular, more organised, and more sophisticated.

The British government must surely realise that by its death



● Petrol bombs are speedily prepared on Thursday night in Belfast



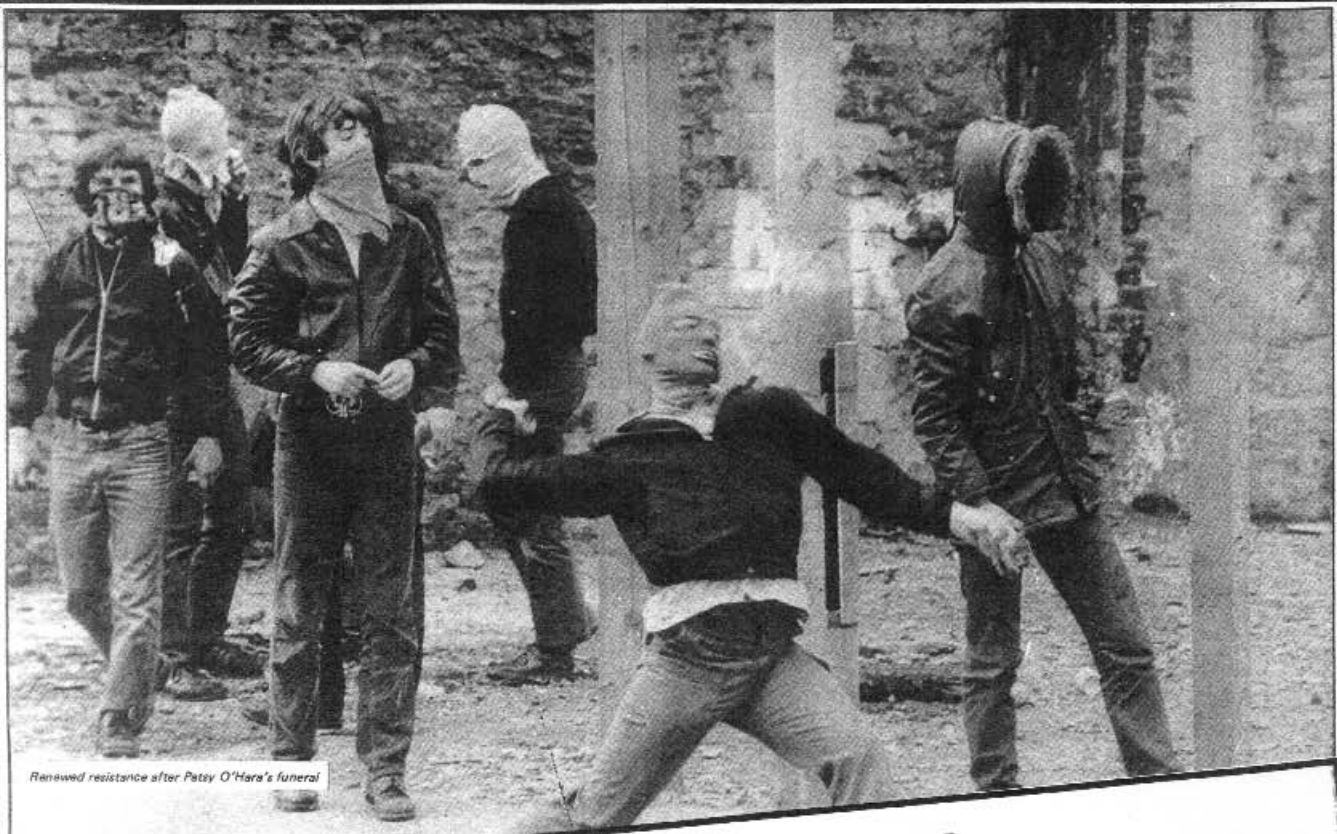
● Brewery lorries blaze on Belfast's Glen Road, after Raymond McCreesh's funeral

policy in the H-Blocks, and the brutality of its gunmen on the streets, that they are sowing the seeds of the eventual destruction of British rule in the occupied six counties.

They are creating in every nat-

ionalist area an army of r and experienced street fight army the ranks of which co to swell, with many incre demanding to take up more ive weapons than mere stor petrol bombs.





Renewed resistance after Patsy O'Hara's funeral

# Derry resistance

BY SEAN DELANEY

THE night of Thursday week, May 21st, and early next Friday morning, witnessed some of the most intense rioting Derry has yet seen during the H-Block hunger-strike, after the deaths earlier on Thursday of, first, Raymond McCreesh, and then, just before midnight, of Derryman Patsy O'Hara.

During the rioting, which lasted for almost five hours, a forty-five-year-old man received plastic bullet injuries from which he later died, several others were taken to the Altnagelvin Hospital in Derry or the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast where they are in a critical condition, and well over one hundred others received less serious injuries for which they were treated by emergency first aid volunteers in the Bogside.

Tension began to rise in nationalist Derry early on Thursday when news broke of the death of Raymond McCreesh. Then, in anticipation of rioting, patrolling Brits warned Bogside youths: 'We'll leave you plenty of casualties before we go'.

But it was only when that death was followed, around midnight, by news of the death of Patsy O'Hara, that rioting began in earnest.

## CONFRONTATION

As soon as that news came, groups of nationalist youths began filtering from neighbouring ghettos down into the Bogside, on the fringes of which confrontation with massive contingents of Brits and RUC was already beginning.

The first heavy salvos of plastic bullets had been fired by blood-crazed RUC men as soon as the bin-lidding began to announce the death, (many rounds being aimed at windows of houses), but they were soon to be met by a solid wall of resistance from nationalist youth — assisted by the people of the Bogside — hurling petrol and acid bombs, and blast bombs.



After Patsy O'Hara's funeral

In the rioting that ensued, virtually all the injured received plastic bullet wounds above the waist, and a very high proportion suffered head wounds — evidence of a deliberate policy by Brits and RUC to inflict maximum injuries on rioters.

Far from deterring Derry's fiercely determined nationalist youth, however, they paused only long enough to drag away their injured comrades before again regrouping to drive out the Brits.

## FIRST-AID

One of the most interesting developments has been the emergence of first-aid posts in the Bogside and Creggan, manned by local youths who have received basic instruction in treating riot injuries.

Most injured rioters flatly refuse to go to Altnagelvin Hospital in the loyalist Waterside, both because of the certainty of coming to the attention of the RUC if they do so, and because they are critical of the

medical attention they receive there.

Instead, Thursday night's injured — with the exception of four or five critical cases — were taken to two first-aid posts in the Bogside, manned by over forty volunteers. The posts also use two white vans converted to act as ambulances, the Altnagelvin Hospital ambulances being notoriously reluctant to enter the Bogside.

According to voluntary medical workers the injuries sustained on Thursday night were worse even than those during the fiercest rioting in 1969.

At one first-aid post alone, over a hundred casualties streamed in and out through the night. Many had head injuries, the majority required stitching and bandaging. One rioter had a ball bearing dug out of his shoulder, and many people who had been struck by plastic bullets experienced burning, giving rise to the belief that the bullets have been coated with acid or a caustic substance before firing.

Throughout the night the people of the

Bogside responded in support of the militant rioters with a supply of blankets for the wounded, and tea and food for everyone.

Immediately after being treated for injuries, those that could returned to the front-line of resistance. Officially, the Brits and RUC admitted only six casualties among their number, but reports from inside Altnagelvin Hospital indicate a far higher total than that.

The resistance of the Derry rioters, in response to the deaths of the two hunger-strikers, went on well into Friday morning.

Their persistence and courage in riots since the death of Bobby Sands has already given them an unparalleled reputation amongst the nationalist youth of the six counties.

As one voluntary medical worker said of their determination: 'Many of them didn't realise they'd been hit, they were so full of anger and hate.'



● Riot-clad gardai protect the British embassy after the death of Bobby Sands

# Anger and frustration— in Free State

BY KEVIN BURKE

**MILITANT** expressions of anger and frustration, which arose in the twenty-six counties when it became obvious, following the death of Bobby Sands, that further hunger-strikers would be allowed to die, continue to be evidenced by a number of arson attacks.

The random uncontrolled rioting in Dublin, which dominated media coverage of protests following the first two deaths, has, however, not been seen since the night of Wednesday 13th May.

The Dublin riots, which because of their spontaneity and indiscipline resulted mainly in savage attacks on protestors by riot-clad gardai and random damage to property, have only been prevented at the expense of cancelling major protest marches in Dublin, particularly at night.

The decision by the National H-Block/Armagh Committee to cool down the situation in this way was taken consciously and it remains to be seen whether Saturday's major rally in Dublin, with extended and wiser stewarding, will show the move to have been successful.

## REASONS

At a major indoor meeting in Dublin's Mansion House on Friday 22nd May, the committee explained to an attentive audience the reasons for its determination to continue to base its campaign on the peaceful mass mobilisation of people and organisations. It was stressed that rioters were not being condemned but that it was a matter of strategy, particularly with involvement of campaigners in the Free State election campaign, that the committee would not be diverted from its planned aims.

The campaign of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee has one objective only: the single issue of saving the lives of the hunger-strikers by gaining their demands. The campaign is not going to take on the added task of conducting the revolutionary upheaval North and South which some of its tiny ultra-leftist hangers-on imagine is possible.

However, whilst the National H-Block/Armagh Committee has thus reaffirmed its position, there have been a number of independent actions around the Free State aimed mainly at British-owned property or the historic remains of Britain's physical presence.

## ATTACK

On Friday 15th May, there was a dramatic attack by armed men on the County Kerry home of the Honourable Denis Hicks Robson at Caragh Lake. Shots were fired, as Hicks Robson, a former English Circuit Court judge, and his wife, were put out of the house, which was then set on fire and almost totally destroyed.

In Sligo, the Custom House at the Quay was reduced to a burnt-out shell early on Friday morning. The Custom House was previously destroyed by fire by republican forces in 1922 during the Civil War.

Also on Friday, an attempt was made



● A major indoor meeting, in Dublin's Mansion House on Friday 22nd May, reaffirmed the National H-Block/Armagh Committee's strategy of peaceful mass mobilisations

to set fire to the Woolworth's store in Bray, County Wicklow.

On Saturday 16th May, the eight-hundred-year-old ancestral home of the Earls of Fingal, Killeen Castle at Dunshaughlin in County Meath, was extensively damaged by fire early in the morning. In Sligo, there was an attempt to set fire to the Church of Ireland cathedral.

Bray in County Wicklow was the scene of another attack on Tuesday 19th May, when major fire damage was averted at the town's courthouse by the speedy arrival of the fire brigade.

On Tuesday night, protestors, mainly from Donegal, crossed the border at Belleek, where an Ulsterbus was taken over and destroyed by fire. A riot lasting for an hour followed during which plastic bullets were fired by the RUC.

The Donegal/Fermanagh border was the venue on Thursday night of further rioting against the RUC when the border crossing was blocked by a compressor at Pettigo. And on the same night at Belleek the customs hut was burnt to the ground.

The Belleek crossings were again blocked on Friday night by commandeered vans and a lorry. Elsewhere in County Donegal, the Letterkenny courthouse was slightly damaged by fire on Friday and there was an attack on an ESB power station near Ballyhooley. And in County Meath a British-owned house at Enfield was destroyed by fire.

On Saturday 23rd May, a bus carrying English fishermen which was parked empty in Ballinamore, County Leitrim, was set



● Spontaneous riots have resulted in savage attacks on protestors by riot-clad gardai

on fire and destroyed in the early hours of the morning. Another busload of anglers arriving at Duni Laoghaire, later in the day, turned back on hearing of the incident.

## TOURIST

There had already been loud noises heard from Free State tourist concerns about a major fall in advance bookings which they attributed to the hunger-strike campaign and, in particular, to the displays of anger in recent weeks around the twenty-six counties.

CIE announced that their package tour bookings are down by 50%. Bord Failte, the tourist board, reported scattered can-

cellations of holidays, as did the B. and I. line shipping company, and Aer Lingus is also expressing concern.

Following the Dublin riots and, even without the rioting, the frequent marches through the city centre, Dublin stores, cinemas and hotels were complaining of reductions in business of between 20% and 30%, and were calling for all future demonstrations to be banned in the city centre and only allowed in the Phoenix Park.

In the midst of all this turmoil, and in response to the growing pressure, Free State premier Charlie Haughey — still determined not to yield in the direction of taking action aimed at British premier Margaret Thatcher — called a dramatic 'security' meeting on Monday 18th May. Involved in the meeting with Haughey were his Minister for Justice Gerry Collins, the Garda Commissioner and several senior gardai.

In the course of a statement issued later, Haughey excused the vicious attacks by gardai on protestors and passers-by in the course of the Dublin riots. He went on to build up the incidents as being a cause for public concern for general safety rather than being a clear expression of public concern about the hunger-strikers.

## IRA

In a statement issued through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau in Dublin, the IRA commented on the meeting and subsequent statement:

"Charles Haughey's high-level security meeting over 'a wave of lawlessness' in the twenty-six counties is merely a diversionary exercise to draw attention from his idleness and collaboration in the face of ongoing British intransigence and callousness toward the hunger-strikers in Long Kesh, in an attempt to consolidate his election prospects.

"His attempt to divert public attention from his failure to meet the national people's expectation in this regard is a further clear indication of his intention to continue with his pro-British anti-republicanism and anti-H-Block/Armagh stance.

"The sporadic and spontaneous incident which he exaggeratedly elevates to a 'wave of lawlessness' are no more than a righteous manifestation of nationalist anger toward the British government and resentment of Haughey's idleness and collaboration through his silence on the prisoners' five demands in the ongoing hunger-strike situation.

"With particular reference to Dublin there are serious and deep-rooted social and economic reasons which successive Free State governments have ignored in their own self-interest and which have led to confrontations on an ongoing basis for several years now.

"The IRA has not been involved in the incidents in the Free State in the wake of the deaths of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes; nor do we condemn them. We recognise them for what they are: symptoms of a society whose alleged government does not cater for the democratic wishes and needs of the vast majority of people in the country."



## Hunger-striker No.7

### KIERAN DOHERTY

THE REPLACEMENT for the late Raymond McCreesh on the four-strong H-Block hunger-strike is a Belfast republican who was captured in August 1976.

Twenty-five-year-old blanket man Kieran Doherty joined the hunger-strike last Friday, May 22nd.

Born on October 16th 1955, Kieran Doherty, a single man, is one of a family of six children, who comes from the Andersonstown district of west Belfast.

Kieran Doherty joined the Republican Movement in late 1971, after the introduction of internment in August of that year. He was arrested in February 1973 and interned in Long Kesh without charge or trial, for almost three years, before being released in November 1975.

In August 1976 he was arrested in Balmoral Avenue in south Belfast, some time after a car chase on the Malone Road involving the RUC and two cars commandeered by the IRA.

Three other Andersonstown men — John Pickering, Chris Moran, and Terry Kirby — were captured at the same time after a brief siege, whilst another, Liam White, was arrested in the same area. They were all charged with a variety of republican offences. Kieran was charged with possession of fire-



arms and explosives, and with commandeering a car.

After spending seventeen months on remand, Kieran was sentenced in January 1978 to twenty-two years' imprisonment.

On arrival at Long Kesh, Kieran and the four others, who received sentences of between eighteen and twenty-six years, immediately joined their comrades on the blanket protest, on which they have remained ever since.

Kieran has now been on hunger-strike for political status, to the death if necessary, for one week.

## Hunger striker No.8

### KEVIN LYNCH

THE REPLACEMENT for the late Patsy O'Hara on the four-strong H-Block hunger-strike is another INLA member, Kevin Lynch, from Dungiven in County Derry, who joined the hunger-strike last Saturday, May 23rd, two days before his twenty-fifth birthday on Monday.

Kevin Lynch was born in Park Village, eight miles west of Dungiven where his parents now live. He has four elder brothers and three sisters.

In 1970, at the age of fourteen, Kevin joined the local na Fianna Eireann, which at that time was connected with the Sticky Republican Clubs.

He took a keen interest in sport when at St. Patrick's secondary school in Dungiven, and once captained a County Derry under-sixteen hurling team which won an all-Ireland final. He left school at the age of sixteen and began work as a bricklayer.

In 1972, when the Sticks called a ceasefire he left them and joined an independent active service unit.

In August 1973, he went to England, where he worked at bricklaying for three years. Whilst in England he joined St. Dympna's GAA club in Luton and played for Hertfordshire county minor team. Early in 1976 he returned to Ireland on holiday, but decided to stay.

Kevin then joined the INLA which had recently broken away from the Sticks. But he was arrested out of his Dungiven home in the early hours of one December morning in 1976. Three others — Liam McCluskey,



Seamus McGrandles, and Harry Mullan — were arrested at the same time.

Kevin was taken first to Limavady barracks, and then to Castlereagh, where he was interrogated for three days. He was charged with taking part in an armed raid, with carrying out a punishment shooting, and with conspiring to disarm members of the British forces.

After being held on remand for one year in Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail, he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in December 1977. Inside the H-Blocks he went on the blanket immediately, and was attacked several times by warders, including on one occasion with a hammer.

Kevin, who is in H3-Block, has now been on hunger-strike for political status, to the death if necessary, for one week.

## Hunger-striker No.9

### MARTIN HURSON

COUNTY TYRONE Republican Martin Hurson is the replacement on the four-strong H-Block hunger-strike for Brendan McLaughlin (who had to drop out on Wednesday).

Twenty-six-year-old blanket man Martin Hurson joined the hunger-strike on Friday, May 29th.

Martin Hurson was born on September 13th 1954 in Cappagh, County Tyrone. He is the second youngest in the family and has two brothers and six sisters. His mother is dead.

Martin Hurson was arrested after a dawn raid on his home by the British army on November 11th 1976, and taken to Omagh RUC barracks. In a complaint he later made

to the RUC he said that he was "beaten about the head with clenched fists and with the open hand. I was hit in the privates... punched in the stomach... and my arms were twisted at this stage. My ears and hair were pulled... my legs kicked apart when I was standing against the wall."

He signed self-incriminating statements as a result of these beatings by the same RUC men who are presently suspended for assaulting James Joseph Rafferty, also from Cappagh.

Martin was interrogated for two days in Omagh and because of a shortage of accommodation (due to the number of people being interrogated) he was transferred to Cookstown RUC barracks. Before leaving Omagh, Martin made a complaint about



he didn't make another statement he would be sent 'back to Omagh', and so he signed a statement under this duress.

He appeared at a special court in Omagh on November 13th 1976, and was charged with IRA membership and the attempted killing of two civilians accidentally injured in a landmine explosion, this last charge later being withdrawn. However, other charges were preferred: possession of explosives, conspiracy to kill crown forces and causing explosions and his trial got underway in October 1977. His trial, along with four co-defendants, lasted about three weeks, Martin contesting the admissibility of the statements which were the only evidence against him.

All five were convicted, the judge declaring that Martin's statement taken in Omagh was admissible, and so he did not have to consider the Cookstown statement. And so, in November 1977, Martin went on the blanket protest in the H-Blocks but appealed against his conviction.

At his re-trial in September 1979, the judge ruled the Omagh statement inadmissible but then went on to accept the Cookstown statement and convicted Martin again to twenty years. Martin again appealed against this conviction, but it was disallowed in June, 1980.

## Two courageous blanket men released

TWO blanket men have been released from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, after each successfully defied Britain's criminalisation policy for more than four years.

Twenty-two-year-old John Bradley was welcomed 'back to his Belfast home on Wednesday week, May 20th, by local people, having served five years' imprisonment (including nine months on remand).

Two days later, last Friday, May 22nd, he returned to the gates of Long Kesh to greet former fellow blanket man, twenty-five-year-old Patsy McCourt from Derry, who had also served five years'

imprisonment (including eight months on remand).

The two men report that there has been a steadily growing feeling of intense anger and deep sadness amongst the more than four hundred H-Block blanket men following the deaths of each of the hunger-strikers. But that the prisoners remain determined to defeat Britain's attempts to criminalise them and are committed to con-

tinuing the hunger-strike to this end.

John Bradley felt deep regret at having to leave his comrades, especially with Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara so close to death (both were to die the next day), and he affirms: "Although I obviously couldn't stay with my comrades, I will continue to do all I can to help them win political status."

Patsy McCourt states that after the last two deaths the blanket men are more determined than ever.



● John Bradley (right) greets Patsy McCourt on his release from the H-Blocks last Friday

# hunger-strike....hunger-strike.... hunger-strike.... hunger-strike

## FREE STATE ELECTION

THE long-heralded launching of the general election campaign in the twenty-six counties on Thursday 21st May provided a target of action for hunger-strike campaigners which will inevitably be the focus of the campaign until polling day on Thursday 11th June.

In the week leading up to the election announcement there had already been intensive picketing of the homes of Leinster House members, particularly those belonging to Fianna Fail.

Both Fianna Fail leader Charles Haughey and Fine Gael leader Garret Fitzgerald have quickly found that they are not going to be able to ignore the H-Block hunger strike as they tour the Free State.

### HIT

On Friday 22nd May, Charles Haughey narrowly missed being hit by a can of paint, the contents of which splattered a number of his aides and his Special Branch bodyguards during a visit to Dun Laoghaire.

On Saturday, Haughey had to cut short a 'walkabout' in Dublin's Dollyman and took refuge in the local Garda station when confronted by hunger-strike protesters.

On the same day, Garret Fitzgerald, on a tour of the twenty-six counties by train, was met at Galway station by several protesters.

On Sunday, Fitzgerald was again confronted on his arrival at Cork, and there was a particularly loud protest at Waterford, where a timid Fitzgerald remained on the train to make his speech. Fine Gael supporters attacked two men holding the Waterford hunger-strike banner, tearing it to shreds.

### TOUR

Meanwhile, Haughey's Sunday tour of County Meath was met by hunger-strike protesters at almost every venue, with the largest demonstration in Navan, as well as strong protests in Trim and Athboy. And in Cork city the Fianna Fail candidate selection convention was picketed.

On Monday, in Longford, Haughey for the first time formally met a delegation of hunger-strike protesters (other than relatives of the hunger-strikers), when he was persuaded by local Fianna Fail minister Albert Reynolds to receive a letter from the two local Sinn Féin councillors, one of whom, Sean Lynch, is currently Longford county council chairman.

As he continued on his tour westwards, Fitzgerald was again confronted by major protests in Roskeev, County Roscommon, and in Mohill, County Leitrim.

There have been signs within Fianna Fail, at local level, of deep concern on the hunger-strike issue with the Cork North West councillor co-opted of the party extending votes of sympathy on the deaths of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, and the Greenhill Fianna Fail cumann in Dublin directing an expression of concern to the party's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Brian Lenihan.

### SYMPATHY

With the continuing deaths of the hunger strikers, many more organisations have made, or renewed, calls for action, as well as expressing sympathy.

On Monday 18th May, Kerry County Council adjourned its monthly meeting for fifteen minutes as a mark of respect to Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes. Votes of sympathy were passed and the issue was debated for forty minutes.

On the same day, Roscommon County Council passed a motion, proposed by Sinn Féin's Dermot Mullooly, and seconded by Paddy Lenihan (brother of Brian Lenihan), calling on Charles Haughey to withdraw Garda and troops from the border.

The previous week, Carrick-on-Suir UDC had passed a vote of sympathy on the death of Bobby Sands, observing a minute's silence and calling for action from the Dublin government.

There have been a number of calls too, from the trade union movement, with the executives of the ITGWU, the largest union, issuing a statement from its May meeting which pressed Haughey to 'use his good offices with Mrs. Thatcher' to find an early resolution to the issue.

An emergency resolution passed by the IPOCU post office union, at its



● H-Block protest greets Fine Gael election express at Galway Station

annual conference on Friday 22nd May, made a unanimous call for action from the ICTU and from all trades councils.

Carrickmacross Trades Council in County Monaghan passed a motion of sympathy to the McCreeh family. An attempt to widen the motion to cover all the deaths in the week, and to include the five British soldiers killed, was heavily defeated.

The ATGWU branch in Clonmel, County Tipperary, which represents over thirteen hundred members has issued a statement contradicting implications that they were intimidated from work to support the day of mourning for Bobby Sands.

A group of twenty-two top Irish writers and artists, including such names as Robert Ballagh, Benedict Kiely, Edna O'Brien, Bryan MacMahon and (Haughey scriptwriter) Anthony Cronin, has written to the British government urging the concession of political status to republican prisoners.

A general meeting of students at University College, Cork, has called on Charles Haughey to 'denounce Thatcher's inflexibility' and to expel the British ambassador from Dublin.

Conradh na Gaeilge has again offered condolences to the dead hunger-strikers' families and called for a public condemnation of Thatcher by Haughey.

Protest activity around the twenty-six counties, since the death of Francis Hughes, has continued at a high level, with daily pickets and vigils maintained in many cities and towns as well as larger marches, meetings and vigils organised too.

### MOURNING

Reports of activity on the national day of mourning for Francis Hughes, on Friday 15th May, not received in time for inclusion in the last issue of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* (Saturday 16th May), include an almost total work

stoppage in Ennis and Shannon in County Clare, where silent marches and public meetings were held in both towns. There were closures too, elsewhere in the county, at Ennistymon and Kilrush, where all the construction workers from the Moneypoint ESB site came out in support.

In Meath, on the same day, five hundred workers attended a meeting during the afternoon in Navan and there were closures in Ashbourne and Duleek. In the latter town, a continuous vigil is being maintained at a caravan in the main street. There was also a rally in Athboy on the Friday night.

In Naas, County Kildare, a vigil was maintained throughout the day on Friday 16th May and at lunchtime a march was held through the town. In Dungarvan, County Waterford, several hundred people supported a march and meeting in the town-centre. A vigil was also held in Kenmare, County Kerry.

### RALLIES

On Saturday 16th May, there was also widespread action around the twenty-six counties. Large rallies were held in Mohill, County Leitrim; Longford town; Galway and Nenagh, County Tipperary.

Hundreds also attended meetings in Clons, County Monaghan; Cavan town; and in Carrigart, County Donegal.

There were also vigils, marches, and wreath-laying ceremonies in Wexford; in Cahircivson, County Kerry; in Dunboyne and Trim in County Meath; and in several towns in County Cork including Bandon, Skibbereen, Dunmanway, Bantry, and Clonsilla. In Pettigo, County Donegal, protesters blocked the border for several hours.

On Sunday 17th May, a meeting at Ballina on the Tipperary/Clare border attracted wide attention, being addressed by Fianna Fail Leinster House member Bill Loughane.

More than one hundred people attended a meeting in Urlingford, County Kilkenny — an area previously not particularly active.

A large crowd attended a meeting in Belurbet, County Cavan, and a meeting in Annagry, County Donegal, also drew a large attendance. After-mass meetings were held throughout County Sligo.

In Grangemockler, County Tipperary, there was a well-attended meeting.

### OCCUPIED

Also on Sunday, about one hundred protesters occupied the pitch at the Monaghan versus Tyrone GAA football match forming a large 'H'. A

minute's silence was observed by the spectators at the match in tribute to Francis Hughes.

On the night of Monday 18th May, two thousand people took part in a parade and rally in Cork's city centre, where speakers included the Tan War veteran Commandant Tom Kelleher.

On Tuesday 19th May, a group of about sixteen protesters occupied the home of Lord Altamont in Westport, County Mayo. Westport House, which is open to visitors, was held for several hours by the protesters who allowed tourists to leave before locking the entrances and hanging banners and posters from the windows.

On Wednesday 20th May, a local march and meeting was held through the Walkinstown area of Dublin during the evening and was supported by about one hundred people.

On Thursday 21st May, black flag vigils were held and books of condolences opened all over the twenty-six counties following the death, early in the morning, of the third hunger-striker Raymond McCreeh.

His death, quickly followed on Thursday night by that of Patsy O'Hara resulted in another upsurge of activity over the weekend, beginning on Friday.

### CAPACITY

On Friday night, a major meeting in Dublin's Mansion House attracted by far the biggest indoor attendance to any such meeting in many years with the hall full to capacity.

The meeting, which was particularly concentrated on the practical steps forward in the campaign, was chaired by Fr. Piaras O'Duill of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee; and addressed by Joe Keohane of Kerry (GAA); Eilish Reilly, a sister of hunger-striker Joe McDonnell; Tomas McAnne of the Abbey Theatre; Ita Ní Dónaith of Conradh na Gaeilge; Bobby Sands' election agent Owen Carron; and



● EILISH REILLY  
sister of hunger-striker Joe McDonnell

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hunger-strike....hunger-strike.... hunger-strike....hunger-strike

# PROVIDES ACTION TARGET



● H-Block protest greets Fine Gael election express at Waterford Station

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H-Block campaigner Bernadette Mc Aliskey.

In County Monaghan, on Friday, there were vigils in Castleblayney, Clones, and Monaghan town, and a large march and meeting in Carrickmacross attended by hundreds.

Vigils in Bellinamore, County Leitrim, were held on Friday night and continued again on Saturday and Sunday. A midnight vigil was held in Letterkenny, County Donegal, and several rosary vigils were held in towns in the county including Lifford and Castlefin.

Several hundred people attended a march and rally in Cavan town on Friday night, and elsewhere in the county a large meeting was held in Bailieborough.

Vigils were held in New Ross, County Wexford; in Passage West, County Cork; and in Moate, County Westmeath. In Portlington, County Laois, black flags have been in evidence and leafletting and posterage continued throughout the weekend.

## TRAVELLED

On Saturday 23rd May, many people travelled from the twenty-six counties to the funeral of Raymond McCreesh in Camlough, with a special train for one thousand people chartered from Dublin. The day of mourning called for by the National H-Block/Armagh Committee was again widely observed.

In Dublin, several hundreds attended a vigil, led by historian and writer Eamon MacThomais, outside the GPO, where thousands continued to sign the books of condolences for the two latest bereaved families.

In County Kerry, the largest ever hunger-strike demonstration attracted thousands to a march, through Tralee, led by a colour party. There were also meetings held in Killarney, Listowel,

Ballybunion and Cahirciveen.

In Cork city, two thousand people marched through the city centre for a wreath-laying ceremony at the national monument.

In Limerick, large crowds attended a special mass followed by a march to a rally in the city centre. Marches were also held in the county at Bruff and Kilmallock.

In Waterford, many hundreds followed a lone piper and two symbolic tricolour-draped coffins through the city to a meeting sponsored by the Trades council. In Wexford town a stall was maintained throughout the day where signatures were collected in the book of condolences.

## VIGILS

Over one hundred people attended a silent vigil in Longford. In County Meath, meetings, vigils, and work stoppages took place on Saturday in Navan, Trim and Duleek.

In County Louth, vigils were held in Drogheda and Dunliver. A large rally in Dundalk attracted thousands and there was a shutdown by many shops during the afternoon.

In Monaghan, four hundred people attended a meeting in Castleblayney. In Sligo town, a black flag vigil was held by five hundred people. A vigil was also held on Friday night and on Saturday.

In Killesno, County Cavan, a well-attended rally was held on Saturday afternoon.

In County Donegal a march and rally was held in the afternoon in Ballyshannon, and in the evening people from all over the county travelled to a memorial procession in Letterkenny.

On Sunday 24th May, in Donegal, a major rally was held in Buncrana and drew a large attendance.

In Monaghan town there was also a large turnout for a march led by two symbolic coffins flanked by a colour

party. A volley of shots was fired over the coffins.

In County Cavan, on Sunday, meetings were held in Crossarlough, Arvagh and Crosskeys.

A vigil was held on Sunday in Gorey, County Wexford.

## STOPPAGES

Many people from the South again travelled northwards for the funeral of Patsy O'Hara, last Monday, May 25th. Vigils, meetings and work stoppages again took place around the twenty-six counties.

In Dublin, a rally was held at the GPO during the afternoon.

In Wexford, protestors with black flags lined the main street, and there were some stoppages for part of the afternoon in New Ross. In Waterford a vigil was held during the afternoon. There were work stoppages in Cork city during the afternoon when several hundred marched to a wreath-laying ceremony.

In Limerick, a meeting was held in Foynes attended by many workers from the Alcan construction site.

In Sligo, a march on Monday attracted an attendance of thousands.

Vigils were held in the major towns of County Monaghan. In Longford a vigil with black flags and coffins coincided with the electrifying visit of Charles Haughey to the town. In Duleek, County Meath, there were closures for a vigil and short meeting in the afternoon.

In Drogheda, County Louth, there were some factory closures and many workplaces stopped during the afternoon for a period of silence.

Dundalk was again the venue of a major rally during the afternoon when there were many stoppages and closures in the town. Again the attendance was estimated in thousands.



● H-Block display at Rathmines/Ranelagh action group offices in Dublin



● Waterford rally, sponsored by the trades council, May 23rd



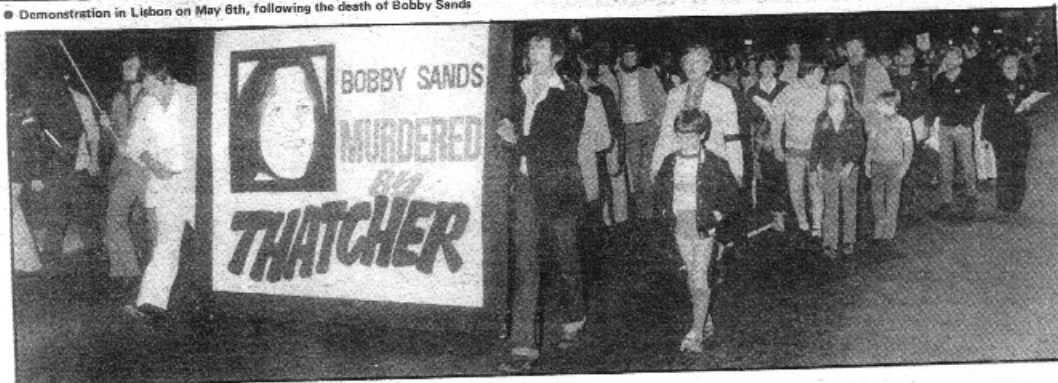
● Vigil in Gorey, County Wexford, May 24th

**hunger-strike....hunger-strike.... hunger-strike....hunger-strike**

# INTERNATIONAL



● Demonstration in Lisbon on May 8th, following the death of Bobby Sands



● March in Sydney, Australia, after the death of Bobby Sands, on May 8th



● Demonstrations in support of the political prisoners have continued in Norway since the visit of the British Queen in May (above) when there were several protests

THE continuing deaths of hunger-strikers, whilst not attracting the massive coverage by sensation-seeking media around the world which was given to the death of Bobby Sands, has nevertheless drawn massive attention.

The continuing protests have increased that international pressure on Britain has in no way abated.

## UNITED STATES

Daily demonstrations in the United States have continued to be held in New York, Chicago, and Boston.

On Sunday 17th May, thousands of people marched in Philadelphia led by the city's mayor.

Rhode Island governor Garfield ordered flags to be flown at half-mast on all public buildings to mark the death of Francis Hughes. In Toledo, Ohio, Clan na Gael used the opportunity of an international park on Saturday 16th May to fly the Irish tricolor of all the flags, at half-mast.

Following the death of Ray McCreech, Senator Edward Kennedy strengthened the tone of his statement calling for action from the US government.

Last Saturday, May 23rd, a thousand people marched through New York to the United Nations building where a mass was said for Ray McCreech and Patsy O'Hara.

The main ten o'clock news in New York featured an interview with Sinn Féin vice-president Gerry Adams which was divided into segments showing five consecutive nights and under the lead story.

Former blanket man Charles Cronin who is continuing his tour in the US was interviewed by a number of television and radio stations as well as newspapers in Miami and Fort Lauderdale.

The other former blanket men Noel Cassidy and Seamus Deasy are continuing to make appearances in the West coast and in the north respectively.

Last Tuesday, May 26th, American bars and businesses in the United States closed for two days during the afternoon, in mourning for the dead hunger-strikers.

The Organisation of Asian Peoples in the United States has sent a telegram to Prime Minister Hare calling on him to take immediate action in support of the hunger-strikers.

## AUSTRALIA

In Australia, there has been controversy following widespread and sympathy displayed on the part of the hunger-strikers. The member of the state parliamentary Labor Party in Melbourne inserted a tribute to 'fellow parliamentarian' Bobby Sands in the local newspapers. Several Party branches followed suit.

The federal executive of the Young Labour movement unanimously passed a resolution condemning the 'Thatcher regime', called for the withdrawal of troops from Ireland and expressed support for the IRA to unite Ireland.

Following the death of Francis Hughes, a picket was held at the consulate in Melbourne; and, on Saturday 16th May, about twenty protesters gathered in the City where a meeting was held before a picket on the British Consulate.

In Perth, the city's first picket was held on Saturday 16th May, with thirty people taking part in a vigil.

In Sydney, about twenty people picketed the British Consulate on Wednesday 13th May, and hundreds attended a wake ceremony on the following Sunday.

In New Zealand, protests included the paint-bombing of a trade mission in Christchurch at the British High Commission Wellington; and a march on 15th May in Auckland.

## EUROPE

Around Europe, activity continued at a high level. A

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**hunger-strike...hunger-strike... hunger-strike...hunger-strike**

# SOLIDARITY

(continued from previous page)

trade unions in France have sent strong letters to the British embassy in Paris. Calls at the embassy to protest at British intransigence have included the niece of the late French president General De Gaulle.

Demonstrations have been held in Strasbourg and last week a support meeting and concert was held in Montpellier.

In Paris the newspaper 'Ireland Libre' held a two-day forum on Ireland which was addressed by, among others, former blanket man Fra McCann and Paddy Bolger of Sinn Fein.

In Belgium, the international conference of Mennonite churches has sent a telegram to the British government calling for the prisoners' demands to be granted.

In Flanders, the windows of British Leyland in Antwerp were painted with slogans on Tuesday 12th May. On Wednesday a demonstration on the British embassy in Brussels was broken up by riot police.

On Friday 15th May demonstrators smashed all the windows of the British consulate in Ghent.

In West Germany, recent meetings have been held in Mainz, Göttingen and in Marburg university. The windows of the British Airways office in Frankfurt were smashed and on Saturday 23rd May in Bonn demonstrators occupied the grounds of the British consulate and burnt the union jack before being ejected by riot police.

In Portugal, the parliament has passed a motion expressing sorrow at the death of Bobby Sands.

The Portuguese Council for Peace and Co-operation has called on Britain to grant the prisoners' demands. And a church occupied by hunger-strike demonstrators was stormed by police with machine guns who arrested all those inside including several journalists covering the event.

In Greece, demonstrations have continued to be held in the capital Athens.

In Corsica, the holiday home of a British diplomat was bombed at Bastia. The Front for the National Liberation of Corsica has expressed sympathy and support for the hunger-strikers.

In Malta, the governing Maltese Labour Party has called on the British government to concede the prisoners' demands. Condemnation of Britain has also come from the Fronte Nazionale Siciliano, Sicily's liberation movement.

In Scandinavia, the British embassy in the Finnish capital of Helsinki has been daubed with slogans in support of the hunger-strikers. In Denmark, demonstrators from several political groups protested outside the British consulate in Aarhus on Thursday 14th May.

In Norway, where the visit of the British Queen Elizabeth met with several demonstrations early in May, including on one occasion a hail of tomatoes, protests have continued with expressions of support from a number of political groups.



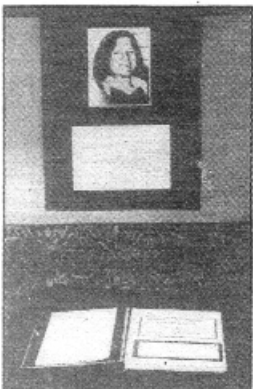
● Part of a demonstration held in Trondheim, Norway, earlier this month



● Athens, Greece



● Picket of the British Airways office in Melbourne, Australia, on May 7th



● Book of condolence for Bobby Sands in the Irish National Association hall in Sydney, Australia



● Protest near the British embassy in Paris, on May 13th



● Former blanket man Charlie Crumley (centre), in Pittsburgh, USA, with world-renowned musicians, Liam Clancy (left) and Tommy Makem

hunger-strike.... hunger-strike.... hunger-strike.... hunger-strike

# British protests increase

**HUNGER-STRIKE** protests have been continuing in Britain, increasing in intensity with the deaths of the hunger-strikers.

There have been brief flurries of publicity too, on the odd occasion when controversy on the hunger-strike breaks out in the establishment parties.

One such incident was support coming from Ken Livingstone, the newly-elected leader of the Greater London Council, where the Labour Party has taken control in the May local elections.

Another example has been the tributes paid to Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes by the local Labour Party branch in South Leicester, which received the backing of the local Labour MP Jim Marshall.

Hunger-strike campaigners have been particularly active in the Birmingham area, where leafletting has been continuing on a wide scale, taking advantage of wherever large crowds, particularly of workers, have gathered.

On Tuesday 12th May, a vigil in the Sparkhill area followed news of the death of Bobby Sands. The following afternoon the headquarters of the AUEW in Birmingham were occupied and, in the evening, the annual general meeting of the Birmingham Labour Party was picketed.

On Thursday 14th May, a Labour Party meeting where Tony Benn addressed several hundreds, was leafleted. On Saturday 16th May and the following Monday, rallies held in conjunction with the unemployment march from the North-West of England to London were leafleted at Smethwick and Birmingham.

A march was held in Cardiff in South Wales on Saturday 16th May, where about eighty people followed a symbolic coffin, covered in a tricolour, through the city centre. A rally which followed the march attracted about one hundred people.

In Manchester, vigils of up to one hundred people have been held on the deaths of each hunger-striker. Extensive leafletting has been carried out. The H-Block video tape has been shown at a number of universities and colleges in the area, and at public meetings held in surrounding towns.

In London, meetings, pickets and vigils have also continued. On Saturday 15th May the regular street meetings



● Above: a vigil in London's Kilburn Square, called immediately after news of Francis Hughes' death; right: a three-hour occupation of Aer Lingus offices in London's Regent Street on May 18th

were held in several London areas with a large meeting outside Victoria station.

On Sunday 17th May, about fifty protesters picketed the home of Labour Party leader Michael Foot, who met them and dismissed their views, claiming that Gerry Fitt represented the nationalist people of the North.

The following day, eight protesters occupied the Aer Lingus offices in London's Regent Street in protest against the failure of the Free State premier, Charles Haughey, to publicly condemn the British government.

On Tuesday 19th May, students occupied the Kingsway College of Further Education for three hours. On Thursday, about twelve people staged a noisy two-hour picket of the TUC headquarters in London, in support of the hunger-strikers and of the Irish struggle.

Last Saturday, May 23rd, street meetings were again held in many parts of London. In the afternoon,

a meeting was held in Camden Town, attended by between one and two hundred people and addressed by trade union speakers. On Saturday evening a vigil was held in Kilburn Square.

Last Sunday, May 24th, about seventy people picketed the home of Labour Party leader Michael Foot for the third week in a row. A large contingent on the picket were Irishmen of the Moishedin group. Earlier in the day, a vigil had been held outside Westminster cathedral in honour of Patsy O'Hara.

On Sunday night, about twenty protesters began a twelve-hour occupation of the Irish Club in Eaton Square, again in protest at the inaction of the Free State government.

Last Wednesday morning, May 27th about fifty picketers harangued members of the Labour Party's National Executive Committee as they arrived for a meeting at the party headquarters in London.



## DUNKIRK VETERANS SNUBBED

THE detrimental effects of the H-Block deaths on Britain's international image continue to mount, with one particular indicative incident the week before last — even before the death of Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara — receiving unusually wide media coverage.

A group of unsuspecting British ex-servicemen had planned a wreath-laying ceremony in the French town of Seclen. But the town's Communist mayor has vetoed any official civic welcome in protest at the British government's death policy in the H-Blocks. The rebuke may even blow up into an international incident following a complaint to British premier Margaret Thatcher from the ex-servicemen's local Tory MP.

### WREATHS

Members of the Ramsgate branch of the Dunkirk Veterans' Association in Lancashire were due to visit Seclen, near the Belgian border, on Tuesday. Since the late forties the association has been revisiting Dunkirk to commemorate the evacuation. And, every year, the former soldiers of the Lancashire Fusiliers arrange a trip to lay a wreath on the grave of Captain Richard Porritt, an ex MP, who died in an explosion

in Seclen during the second world war.

This year, local Tory MP David Trippier wrote to recently-elected mayor Jean Denaillie, on behalf of the association, asking him if a civic reception would be possible. But the mayor replied that he would not officially welcome the group, as a protest over Britain's 'colonial policy' and its intransigence on the H-Block hunger-strike.

### REVOLUTIONARIES

The mayor, cross-examined by British and Irish journalists, said of the delegation: "I will neither officially receive, nor even meet them. There are British troops in Northern Ireland... Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes are brave Irish revolutionaries. They, along with the IRA, are fighting for freedom, equality and fraternity, and against British imperialism. Also I deplore the prison conditions in Northern Ireland and I deplore the imperialistic intentions of the British."



● A recent demonstration in France in support of Irish political prisoners

British troops, he went on to say, should be withdrawn from Ireland. He is totally opposed to British 'colonial policy' in Ireland and, he said, the deaths of hunger-strikers Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes have deeply touched French workers. "My position," he stated,

"is that I will welcome no war veterans from England, until England grants prisoner-of-war status to the IRA prisoners."

The principled stance by the mayor of Seclen had an impact not only on the ex-servicemen, who must now be wondering at British

deeds in Ireland, but enraged Tor MP David Trippier, who complained at the rebuttal: "It really is terrible. It's so sick. It's absolutely sick." And off he tripped to complain to Maggie Thatcher, thereby unwittingly fanning the flame of further international controversy



hunger-strike....hunger-strike.... hunger-strike.... hunger-strike

# Northern protests

IN the early hours of the morning of Thursday week, May 21st, bin-lids and whistles carried the news through Belfast, Derry and other nationalist areas of the North, that Raymond McCreesh, after sixty days on hunger-strike, had become the third political prisoner to die on protest in the H-Blocks.

The noise quickly reached a rattling crescendo, as more and more people came onto the streets to join the protests.

Rosaries and vigils were less numerous due to the immediate outbreaks of rioting and also because of attacks by the RUC and British army on the peaceful protests that were being held. In the New Lodge, a fifteen-year-old girl on her way to a rosary was shot in the back with a plastic bullet.

Hardly had the news of Raymond's death sunk in, during that day, when, just after midnight, came the tragic news that Patsy O'Hara had died at half-past eleven.

The deaths taken separately were two saddening blows, but taken together they were traumatic; and, on Thursday night, peaceful protests were totally eclipsed by the intense rioting which followed the urgent spreading of the news with bin-lids and whistles.

The following day, black flags were hanging from many houses, some of which had not displayed flags previously, and there was an atmosphere of upset and deep anger in the nationalist areas.

Organised protest activity went ahead. The regular nightly pickets on Springfield Road and Andersonstown barracks, and on the Brit fort at Turf Lodge, continued in west Belfast.

A large and spontaneous protest march, early on Friday morning, was held in Derry, but the crowd of several thousand could not reach the Guildhall Square because of British army blockades which were under constant attack by hundreds of local youths.

Two half-day periods of mourning were called by the National H-Block/Armagh Committee to mark the funerals of Raymond McCreesh on Saturday and Patsy O'Hara on Monday. Shops, offices and workplaces in nationalist areas throughout the North closed down between 1 p.m. and 5 p.m. on Saturday and again on Monday.

On Saturday, in Derry, a black flag march was held to the city cemetery to coincide with the funeral of Raymond McCreesh in Camlough and buses carried people from all areas to the funeral itself.

On Sunday, in Belfast, an impressive several-thousand-strong crowd marched in a black flag procession from the Buzby Bee in Andersonstown to a short rally outside the H-Block committee offices on the Falls Road. At the head of the march, the slow beat of a drum was the only sound which broke the silence along the three-mile route.

Belfast dockers, Bobby Dickie, told the crowd that pressure must be brought to bear on the Free State politicians by a greater mobilisation of people in the twenty-six counties. He also criticised the hypocrisy of the trade union bureaucracy in condemning apartheid in South Africa while ignoring sectarian discrimination, political bias, torture and oppression in their own country.

H-Block campaigner Bernadette McAliskey momentarily broke the sombre mood of the rally by calling for a minute's silence for the death of Gerry Fitt's political career.

She continued on a more serious note, however, pointing out that the failure of the campaign to date would have to be recognised and rectified. This could only be done by maintained unity and increased efforts.

"This is no time for doing your own thing", she said, emphasising that the supporters would have to stay together and become effective in areas where the campaign had so far failed to build. The march in Dublin this Saturday, she said, was important in bringing pressure to bear on the Free State establishment.

Despite the increasingly violent efforts of the British army and RUC, the



● Belfast march passing through lower Andersonstown, last Sunday



● One of the nightly pickets on Springfield Road barracks in West Belfast

campaign would not be terrorised off the streets, she concluded.

The march broke up peacefully.

On Monday, buses again ferried people from many areas this time to the funeral of Patsy O'Hara in Derry city. Once again the work and business shut-down was effective in nationalist areas and the mood of grief was almost tangible.

With four more hunger-strikers moving daily closer to death, emergency meetings are being called by most local action groups to re-examine and reorganise protest activity, and this activity is expected to increase dramatically over the coming days and weeks.

The level of street protest activity had increased over the week previous to the deaths of Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara with action group meetings being held in various areas to plan further mobilisations.

Street activity, which had been dropping off, was being re-emphasised and new activities were being planned. One novel form of protest was developed in Belfast around the slogan 'Imprison the real criminals': Brit and RUC barracks being sealed off by mass pickets in a token attempt to keep the enemy in their forts for a given period each day.

This was done with a large degree of interest generated at Springfield Road barracks and each successive night the pickets at both entrances grew in numbers. The Belfast H-Block/Armagh Committee encouraged other areas to do likewise.

The 'rush hour' picket line down the centre of the Falls Road was revitalised and vigils were held in many areas.



● Rally in Newry, after a march from Camlough, last Sunday week

Several large demonstrations were also held that week, the biggest of which was from Camlough (the home village of Raymond McCreesh) to Newry, on Sunday, a fortnight ago. An estimated crowd of three thousand marched to the rally in the centre of Newry.

In South Derry that Sunday, a crowd of almost one thousand marched from the Glen Chapel to a rally in the centre of Maghera, and, in Belfast, the Youth Against H-Block and Armagh held a rally outside the H-Block offices on the Falls Road.

In Coalisland, the local action group

held a picket every evening at the barracks; and in Lurgan a picket was held in North Street on Saturday.

Several public meetings were held in Derry over the week: on Saturday, outside the Bogside Inn; on Monday, in the Shantallow area; and, on Tuesday evening, an indoor public meeting, attended by about one hundred people in the Galliagh area, formed a new action group to organise activities in that area. Every night between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. in Derry, Brit propaganda was countered by Radio Saoirse, operating on 1100 metres medium wave and 185 long wave.

On Monday evening, a vigil in Swatragh in South Derry attracted a crowd of around seven hundred, and the following evening in Bellaghy three hundred gathered.

On Wednesday, polling day in the local council elections, the Belfast action groups mounted pickets on most polling stations in nationalist areas in the city, encouraging people not to vote for candidates who were opposed to or non-committed on the prison struggle. These pickets badly disrupted the 'Sticks' organised personation campaign.

# Brí na bhFocal

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ

AN MHAIRT seo caite maraíodh cúigear saighdiúirí Sasanach i bpléasc i nDeisceart Ard Mhacha. Bhí na saighdiúirí ar patról nuair a phléasc míle púnt d'ábhar pléascach faoina Saracen. Maraíodh láithreach iad.

I ndiaidh an eachtra seo bhí na polaiteoirí ag iarraidh a chéile a shéir le ráitis. Ní raibh mórán cónaí leis an gúid is mó des na ráitis agus bhí seic teachas go smior iontu. Cheapfá ag léamh na ráitis gur buíon de Chumann na Croise Deirge a maraíodh in ionadh saighdiúirí ar diúite i dtír íasachta ar iarraidh an tír sin a choimeád, fuoina smacht.

Dúirt Thatcher go bhfuair na saighdiúirí bás ag cosaint "the law abiding citizens of Northern Ireland". Tuigtear an tearma seo sa Tuaisceart. Is ionann Caitliceach agus bagairt agus dá thír sin tá seic amhrasach i súile an dlí. Tá seic soiléir mar sin, i gcomhthéacs an Tuaiscirt, gur ionann "law abiding citizens" agus na Dúiseoirí. Agus sin an teachtaireacht is míán le Thatcher a thabhairt.

## ATKINS

Is spéisiúil dhein Atkins iarracht na saighdiúirí a cheangal leis an bPápa. Táimid ag cloisint moladh don pápa ós na hAondachtóirí a ghnáthach leo "kick the Pope" a bheith mar mhana acu. Ar ndóigh níl i geist ach polaiteocht. Luann Atkins gur fóbarthaigh don chúis chéanna (scelmhiú), iad na saighdiúirí agus an Pápa Eoin Pól.

Cé go bhfuil sé soiléir nach

bhfuil sé seo fíor cheapfá ó chaint Atkins go raibh ard mheas aige ar an bPápa agus an Eaglais Caitliceach. Ach mar sin féin níl ann ach dúpla seachtain ó dhíoltaigh sé d'achainí an Pápa a thug an t-Ath, Magee chuige, an fadhb sna Blocanna H a reiteach. Chomh maith le sin dhíoltaigh Thatcher d'achainí ón gCairdínéal ó Flaich.

Lean Atkins air agus dúirt sé go raibh na saighdiúirí ann chun an pobal a chosaint ó "the calculated violence of terrorist groups". Ó tháinig siad, is ó Arm Shasana agus a gcomhghuaillithe, an U.D.R. agus an R.U.C. is mó a tháinig, "calculated violence" i gcoinne an phobail. Ní gá dom ach na focail, Castloraigh, Blocanna H agus Domhnach na Fola chun fírinne mo chás a chruthú.

Leanann sé ar aghaidh agus deir eann sé go raibh na saighdiúirí ag tabú leis an Civil Authority. Níl Civil Authority ar bith sa Tuaisceart. Níl ann ach Rialtas Shasana agus a bpolasaíthe in éadan mhuintir na hÉireann.

## CAINT DHÚBAILTE

Thug na polaiteoirí aondachtúil eiseamláirí iontacha de chaint dhúbailte dúinn. Dúirt James Molyneux, ceannaire na n-Aondachtóirí Oifigiúla linn gur chóir níos



● Píosa den Saracen de chuid Arm na Breataine a sídeadh as a chéile i nDeisceart Ard Mhacha

mó úsáid a bhaint as an S.A.S. Is ionann seo agus a rá gur chóir níos mó Caitlicigh a mháir.

Lean Jim Killefder (P.U.P.) gur chóir don Eaglais Caitliceach saighdiúirí de chuid Óglaigh na hÉireann a chur faoi choinnealbhá. Teastaíonn ó Killefder gach Caitliceach a cheangal le bás an chúigir. Sin an saghas macnaimh a úsáideann an U.D.A. etc. nuair a maraíonn siad Caitlicigh ar an taon ábhar gur Caitlicigh iad. Is spéisiúil gur bhagair an U.D.A. go dtógfaidís "frontline role". Sé is brí le sin ná go dtosnóidh siad a bhfeachtas i gcoinne

an pobal Caitlicigh arís.

Ní raibh ciall ar bith leis an méid a bhí le rá ag Peter Robinson den D.U.P. Dúirt sé gur léirigh an ionsaí, "the cowardly tactics of the I.R.A." Is cosúil nach dtuigean sé féis nádur an chogaidh sa Tuaiscirt. Cogadh treallchogaithe in éadan an stáit atá ar siúl.

Dar leis go bhfuil meastacht ag baint leis an eachtra seo. Ach chuir na hÓglaigh san eachtra seo a mbeatha agus a saoirse i mbaol. Leirigh na hÓglaigh crochacht as an ngáth a chás seo.

Ach ó thaobh baothachaithe de,

caithfidh an duais a thabha tsachtain seo do Trevor F. ón R.U.C. Dúirt sé nach b'na saighdiúirí "the opportunist living or dying". Tá an argóir le clois go minic na feitheant agus níl ciall ar bith leis.

Tá rogha againn go léir. Is linn a bheith mar gúid de Shasana nó gan a bheith. Má i ann siad páirt sna fórsaí tuigean siad an soáil. Tuigte chách gur tairgaid iad fórsa Breataine sa Tuaisceart.

Tá an rogha soiléir agus níl gheardín acu san a fochann as.

# Ceannaigh Earraí Eireannacha

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ



TA POSTANNA á chailiúint sa tír lá i ndiaidh lae, thuaidh agus theas. Tá teacht isteach na bhfeirmeoirí ag titim i dtéarmaí réalacha. Chun postanna a chosaint tá sé mar pholasáil ag Gluaiseacht na Poblachta le fada an lá feachtas earraí Eireannacha a cheannach a chur chun chinn.

Séasann go leor de mhuintir na hÉireann leis an bpolasáil sin. Ach tá cuid des na úinéirí siopaí ag iarraidh an dubh a chur ina gheall ar a gcostaiméirí. Tagann scéal chughainn an tseachtain seo mar gheall ar chás a tharla le déanaí.

Bhí fógra mór "Irish Tomatoes 79p per lb." leasmuigh de shiopa Fitzpatricks fruit and vegetable, 41

Stráid Camden i mBaile Átha Cliath. Mheall an fógra bean isteach sa siopa. Ach nuair a phíos sí suas na tréatá thug sí faoi deara go raibh Canary Tomatoes scríofa ar an bpáipéar a bhí timpeall orthu.

Dúirt lucht an siopa láf gan bacaint leis an bpáipéar agus nach raibh tábhacht ar bith ag baint leis sin. Thaispeán sí ansin dóibh an

fógra a bhí ar an mbosca "exported from Canary Island". Mar fhreagra ar sin d'tompaigh an bosca timpeall i dtreo is i bhfeadfaí an fógra a theic. Dúirt fear an siopa láf nach re itní ach "busy body".

Léiríonn an cás seo go gceitimid go léir a bheith ar ár n-áir i gcoinne a leithéid seo.

# Drúchas Minding one's P's and Q's

LE DEASÚN  
BREATNACH

WE HAVE mentioned the difficulties Celts have had with their Ps and Qs: that the Celtic language split into two main streams, characterised by elements of Ps and Qs; and that this is the main difference between Irish and Welsh to this day. Q-Celtic maintaining itself, if with some difficulty, also in Scotland; Q-Celtic in process of restoration in the Isle of Man (of Manannán Mac Lir, the Irish sea-god); and P-Celtic being revived in Cornwall (and with it an anti-Brit movement), and being still reasonably strong, across the Channel, in the north-west of the French state: Brittany (which takes its name from the original Brits, who were friends and allies of the Irish and, in the main, led by Irish saints).

Very early in the history of the Celtic language there was a P-trouble: words beginning with that letter lost it. The effect has remained to this day.

Latin has 'pater' for father; across the spectrum of languages having their origin in Latin we have: Père, Padre, Pare, Patre. The Indo-European link will change slightly the initial letter: Father, Vater, Padar, Vat.

In Irish, the word is 'athair', the language remaining true to something that happened perhaps three thousand years ago. The same thing happens with 'fisc' (fish); 'fisc' (boat); and we can grasp the point without difficulty when we put back the P for that which stands as a stop-gap for the P, the F: Père, Park, Puerto, Porque, and Fish, Fisk, Fist, Pesca, Pesca, Pesca.

But there were people in Ireland before the arrival of the Celts (perhaps three hundred years before Christ, perhaps seven hundred); and they spoke languages considerably different to any of the Celtic languages.

We do not know for certain but some of us guess that those languages may have had some relationship with Mongol tongues with, for example, the languages of the Eskimos or of the Red Indians of America.

## LANGUAGE

It is certain that descendants of these people are part of the Irish people of today. Although we do not have any clear idea of the languages or languages they spoke we do have, in the Irish language, certain words which belong to that pre-Celtic language (or those pre-Celtic languages).

One of these words is common enough even in English dialect in these islands: Broc for 'banger'. Again, as a reminder of our P-problems, we have porridge, 'brab'.

Most of such words, however, are where they are safe, on the tops of mountains. This place where the boy-slave Patrick was put to work with his master's swine was Slabh Mí, which



● RIVER LIFFEY, DUBLIN. Ignorant Anglo-Irish persons have forced the masculine Liffey into a feminine role.

figures in a proverb uncomplimentary to the clergy. Slabh is no problem; but nobody knows what Mí means.

Such strange names occur, also, in glens and in the names of rivers and even on the occasional plain. Like the pre-Celtic peoples of Ireland they have been accepted and assimilated. We know what gave us the word 'Boyne': Boyning, perhaps, was the version in late Celtic in Ireland, meaning 'white cow'.

But whence Liffey (in modern Irish, Liffey, unusually, for rivers, masculine)?

## IGNORANT

Ignorant Anglo-Irish persons who

regard it as a sign of literacy, rather than the obvious opposite, not to know the Irish language, have made fools of themselves by forcing the masculine Liffey into a feminine role and calling this new thing 'Anna Liffey'.

The 'Anna' unknown to such illiterates, has come down to us through the corruption of the word for 'river', abhainn, in modern Irish.

The same word, incidentally, is to be found in England as 'avon'. England was Celtic-speaking largely up to about, perhaps, one hundred years before the birth of St. Patrick, and even, very likely, for some considerable period afterwards.

Celtic-speaking England was invaded by Teutonic peoples with the fall of the Roman Empire. They were fierce and savage peoples and these characteristics have remained over the centuries, down to the present time, especially to be noted in their dealings with the Irish people.

At the beginning of their onslaughts on the Celts in England, comments were made by the historian, Gildas, and they are very similar to comments by Irish people concerning the conduct of British troops in Ireland over the past ten years (for the past eight hundred).

As in Ireland, many of the old Celtic placenames remain in England. Shakespeare is known as the Bard of Avon (the bard — a Celtic word — of

avon, the river, another Celtic word he is said to have lived in Stratford Avon).

Cambridge, the place of the fair university, also has a Celtic prefix: it still means crooked in Irish (as Scots Gàirdhig and Mans). The v appears in the famous Scottish surname Campbell (anglic, Campbell), the crooked mouth.

## PATRICK

We are told that the Irish saint, Patrick, came to Ireland in 432. The Irish were so sensitive about the Ps and Qs, however, that they renamed him Coric, replacing the initial P by C.

After a while, éansibh, they decided to accept him as he was. The man, his followers brought into Irish a new vocabulary of words which, originally Latin, had passed through Welsh as Christianity progressed in the country.

Thus, today, the Irish words many terms connected with the Chu have obvious Latin roots: sagart, eagla, caspeag, loach, beisteadh will do examples (priest, church, bishop, he — originally leity — and baptism).

The new influence had strange results: Baithis (forsooth) came to be called because this was where baptism of water began. Even one of the Irish words for 'rain', báiste, resulted from this fertilization.

This is part of what we mean when we say that the Irish language is the Irish thing in Ireland and that it 'grows up', as it were, in Ireland.

It continued to be Celtic language but it became unmistakably part of the Irish soil, climate, character, mirroring no other language spoken in Ireland to this day. He managed to do, as there have been many: Latin, Norm French, English, German, Lollard Dutch, Flemish... and Pictish.



## A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE H-BLOCK HUNGER-STRIKER FRANCIS HUGHES — BY IAN MILNE, A FORMER COMRADE-IN-ARMS —



● Former comrades-in-arms: Ian Milne (left) and Francis Hughes



● Francis Hughes, badly wounded after a shoot-out, shortly after his capture on March 17th 1978

# A true guerrilla fighter

ON Good Friday 1977, a car-load of RUC men who overtook and flagged down a car travelling along the Moneymore Road in South Derry, were suddenly confronted by armed IRA Volunteers. Two RUC men were killed and one injured in the ensuing shoot-out, and the Volunteers withdrew safely from the area despite a further shoot-out a hundred yards up the road.

This typically daring operation was one among many during several hugely successful years of republican activity in South Derry, which enemy forces correctly believed was masterminded by Francis Hughes. The RUC subsequently took the extremely unusual step of issuing a 'wanted' poster of three republicans from the South Derry village of Bellaghy: Francis Hughes, Dominic

McGlinchey and Ian Milne — describing them as their 'most wanted men in the North'.

Here, one of the 'wanted' trio, Ian Milne, now on the blanket protest in H-Block, describes Francis Hughes, the republican he knew both as a fellow activist and as a good friend.

THIS is only a short account of my dear friend and comrade Francis Hughes, who gave his life for a just and a worthy cause. It is an honest picture of a man who was a true friend and a loyal soldier of Ireland.

Frank's earliest involvement, in his teens, was with the 'Sticks', but this didn't last very long after they called a ceasefire in 1972. This, he realised, wasn't going to help to remove the British out of Ireland, so he broke away and formed his own unit under the name of 'the Unrepentants', which carried out attacks on the British forces.

In mid-1974, Frank joined the local unit of the Provos. From the moment he joined he went straight into active service. There was no stopping now; twenty-four hours a day he would rush to get operations done.

He had a great sense of leadership which everyone admired, and you just couldn't hold him back. The Republican Movement had got itself a true soldier. When he was held a couple of times by the RUC, he would have died rather than answer their questions, and always referred to the local barracks as 'Sam's Parlour'.

In 1975, aware that the Brits were on the point of charging him, Frank went 'on the run'.

### SPLIT-SECOND

On active service Frank was always calm, the sort of guy who never got excited, taking every risk in his stride. In frequent tight spots he made split-second decisions, and

they were always the right ones. A natural soldier, and a fearless one at that, Frank used to say, 'if something has to be done, then do it, don't talk about it'.

Around the fire, in homes where he stayed while 'on the run', he met many people and got on well with them, and they with him. They would always let it be known he was welcome back, anytime. Frank was a boy for laughs, and when times were dull he would always come up with a good gauld yarn, and he loved children very much.

The Brits and their allies were Frank's enemy and he confronted them on every occasion. He was a good organiser and planner, and the British were very careful where they trod, and the UDR and RUC careful where they slept. In effect, they too were 'on the run', knowing they were targets for Frank, at home, at work, and in their fortified barracks.

### TIGHT-LIPPED

Towards the end of 1976, people were being offered £50,000 for information leading to Frank's arrest, but the tight-lipped people of Derry never betrayed him. He loved his native town and countryside and there wasn't a field or ditch which he didn't know. Some nights he would walk ten or fifteen miles in search of the enemy or to make contact with other Volunteers lying out in fields.

On active service he was always in complete control, never giving away his



● Francis Hughes

position by smugging or by careless movements, and would lie out in the open for nights on end waiting on the enemy — often in blizzards.

Towards other Volunteers Frank had a brother-to-brother relationship in that he would rather have carried out an operation

himself than needlessly endanger his comrades. His attitude was always: 'if anything should happen it's better me than you'.

He used to call his active service unit the 'flying column of the IRA' and it had many close calls, the best known being the shoot-out with the RUC in Draperstown in 1974; near Moneymore in 1977; and the final one near Maghera in 1978.

### SHOOT-OUT

A true guerrilla fighter, carrying his AR 18 rifle, short-arm and grenades with him at all times, with his sheer nerve, boldness and cunning, the Brits dreaded the thought of meeting him.

When Frank was finally captured in March '78, after the shoot-out with the SAS, they must have thought for sure they had heard the last of him.

But Frank Hughes had other ideas. Frank used his body as a weapon when he had no gun; he never once lacked that flame of freedom burning inside him; he never once forgot his love for the Irish people.

That same revolutionary flame was still there when he went on the blanket and went on, as before, to shoulder the supreme responsibility himself. He gave his life for his comrades, dying a slow and tortured death.

Frank Hughes' main aim was to achieve an Ireland free from the British invader. His dedication to that aim, as a true soldier of Ireland, can never be questioned by those who knew, and always remember him.



## MacDiarmada Commemoration

THE annual commemoration of the executed 1916 leader Sean MacDiarmada was held in Killybegh, County Leitrim, on Sunday 17th May, with a large attendance from the surrounding counties.

The parade, led by a colour party and two pipers, marched from Straduffly Cross to the MacDiarmada memorial in the village where wreaths were laid, including one by the 1916 leader's niece, Mrs. Keane. A decade of the rosary was recited in Irish, and the 1916 proclamation and a statement from the local Republican Movement were read.

The proceedings were chaired by Seamus McGowan and the oration was given by Owen Carron, election agent of the late Volunteer Bobby Sands, MP.

During the ceremony a British army helicopter openly crossed the border, circled the village and hovered over the town square for several minutes.

Earlier this year, on Saturday 21st March, Killybegh was the scene of a major cross-border incursion by the British army when twenty fully-armed British soldiers patrolled the village for a half-hour period.

## Death of Maire Gleeson

THE death has taken place of Maire Gleeson of Ballymackey, Nenagh, County Tipperary.

A life-long member of Cumann na mBan, she was the wife of veteran Dan Gleeson who was interned and imprisoned in the forties, fifties, sixties and seventies. She remained faithful to her republican ideals until her death and many republicans have come to be thankful to her for her kindness and hospitality.

## Death of Johnny Grealy

THE death has taken place of Johnny Grealy, who for many years lived at Rathcoffey, County Kildare, and was chairman of the Wolfe Tone Commemoration Committee and vice-chairman of the County Kildare branch of the National Graves Association.

Johnny was born in 1894 in Shanawalla, Ballyheena, County Mayo, and was the son of the local Fenian leader Michael Grealy. He joined the IRB and Irish Volunteers in 1915 and remained a dedicated supporter of the republican cause all his life.

He saw active service right through the Black and Tan war, firstly as O/C of the East Mayo Brigade's flying column and later as O/C of the 3rd Western division's active service unit. He is reputed to have fired the first shot west of the Shannon in the Tan war.

He was captured by Free State forces towards the end of the civil war and was held as a hostage under sentence of death until his release in 1924 when he emigrated to the United States. On his return in the early thirties he continued his republican activities serving further terms of imprisonment.

Of the present phase of the struggle and the campaign of vilification of republicans he would always summarise thus: 'Remember that the same sorts of people are saying the same sorts of things as they did about us in our day and about my father in his time'.

Final honours were accorded the remains by the Republican Movement. A stirring graveside oration at Mainham cemetery was delivered by An tAithair Deaglan Mac Congamha and musical tributes were rendered by members of the O Duill family. The sympathy of the Republican Movement was extended to Johnny Grealy's wife, family and friends.

## Funeral of

THE death has taken place of Athy republican John Day after a lifetime of association with the Republican Movement in County Kildare.

At his funeral in the town his remains were accompanied to the graveyard by a guard of honour and the sympathy of the Republican Movement was expressed to his wife, sons and daughters and many friends.



## IN MEMORIAM

ENGLEN, Martin; FITZSIMMONS, Joey; McDONNELL, Edward; McILHONNE, Jackie. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Englen, Joey Fitzsimmons, Eddie McDonnell and Jackie McIlhonne, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion while on active service duty on May 28th 1972. Fuair siad bás as troil ar son saoirse. Never forgotten by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

ENGLEN, Martin; FITZSIMMONS, Joey; McDONNELL, Edward; McILHONNE, Jackie. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin (Big Min) Englen, Joey Fitzsimmons, Eddie McDonnell and Jackie McIlhonne, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who were killed in an accidental explosion in Anderson Street in the Short Strand in the early hours of Sunday 28th May 1972, while on active service duty. We also remember those civilians who died in the same explosion. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a namacha. Never forgotten by the members of the Martin Tracey Sinn Féin cumann, Short Strand, and by all their friends and comrades in the Short Strand.

MARTIN, Eugene. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear son, Eugene, (aged 18), who died on May 13th 1974. RIP. Will those who think of them today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

McKEARNEY, Sean. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear son Sean, (aged 18), who died on May 13th 1974. RIP. Will those who think of them today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

McKEARNEY, Sean; MARTIN, Eugene. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving

memory of Vol. Sean McKearney and Vol. Eugene Martin, Ogligh na hEirann, who died on May 13th 1974. RIP. Mary Queen of Ireland intercede for them. Always remembered by the McKearney/Martin Sinn Féin cumann, and aunts.

McKEARNEY, Sean; MARTIN, Eugene. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Sean McKearney and Vol. Eugene Martin, Ogligh na hEirann, who died on May 13th 1974. RIP. Will those who think of them today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

## Sympathy

GLEESON. Deepest sympathy to Dan Gleeson and family at Ballymackey, Nenagh on the death of Marie Gleeson, from the Republican Movement in North Tipperary.

McNULTY. The McNulty/McGorrian Sinn Féin cumann, South Down, would like to extend deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Mrs. Mary A. McNulty, Castlewailan, who died on May 21st. A mhúile na n-geall deán idir uile ar a hanam.

McNULTY. The Peter McNulty Sinn Féin cumann, South Down, send their most sincere and deepest sympathy to

the family and friends of Mrs. Mary A. McNulty, Castlewailan, who died on May 21st 1981. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a hanam. McNULTY. South Down Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin wish to extend their heartfelt sympathy to the family and friends of Mrs. Mary A. McNulty, Castlewailan, who died on May 21st 1981. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for her.

# MAIDIN DE MAIRT

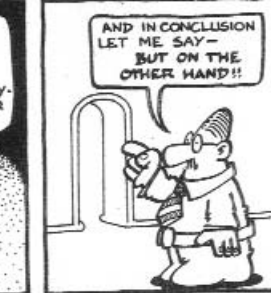
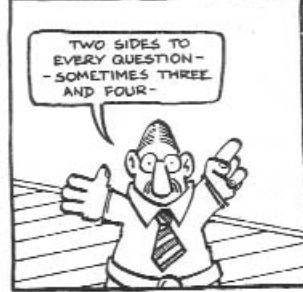
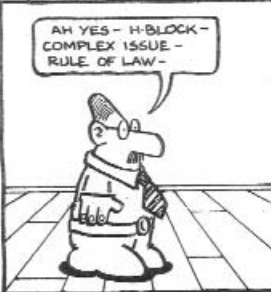
Seo dán a chumadh ar bhás Bobby Sands. Is féidir é a chanadh le fonn 'Bold Robert Emmet'. Táimid buíoch dár leitheoirí uilighe a sheol dánta agus amhráin chughainn. Is oth linn nach féidir iad go léir a chur i gcló. 'Mór Bhride Anna' údar an dán.

Té scamaill go bránach os cionn críocha Fódhla, An ghrian go laghbhríoch agus spártha faoi smáil Ó tháinig an fógra dár gciaipadh 'dár scúilín, Fuair Bobby óg bás go mach maidin De Máirt.

Be ghaire é an tréimhse a chaith sé sa saol seo, - Saacht mbliain is fiche is caoie-seacht lá, A mór-chuid i ngéibhseann ar son saoirse Éireann, - Is ann a fuair Bobby bás maidin De Máirt.

Is mianúil an t-ógfhear a tháinig chun comhraic Le síd agus claidheamh ná gunna 'na láimh, Ach scóth-íoch na h-úighe is bláth geal na croícheir A roghnadh an bás a thóg seansa-é lá.

Caoil dó go bródúil ar pháin is ar cheolchruit, Tógáil an leacht ar a uaigh go hard, Ar son saoirse Fódhla is a chomrádaíte óga A fuair Bobby óg bás go mach maidin De Máirt.



## BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

CALLAN, Adrian. (H5-Block). Birthday greetings to our son Adrian on his 22nd birthday. God bless you and all your comrades. From mum and dad.

CALLAN, Adrian. (H5-Block). Best wishes to our brother Adrian. From your sisters, Ariane and Ursula.

CALLAN, Adrian. (H5-Block). Birthday greetings to our brother, Adrian. From your brothers Eugene, Aaron, and Ivan.

FIELDS, Damien. (H4-Block). Best wishes on your 20th birthday, Damien. From Kate, Paddy and all the family, Armagh City and "Pop" (Cage 11).

HEAPES, Gerry. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Gerry and best wishes from Paddy and family: from Patrick and Gerard; from Margaret and Linda; from Mrs. Devlin and James, Black Street; and from Carmel and Barbara.

MAHER, Bernard. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday for May 27th. - From Noel, Tony, Rabi, Paddy, Bert, Brian, Paddy and all the barman in Vals send their regards, and say there must be at least a half a dozen pints behind the bar for you now.

MAHER, Bernard. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday to my son Bernard. "It doesn't take a special day to bring you to my mind, for a day without a thought of you is very hard to find." Love from your mother, and all the family.

MAHER, Bernard. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Bernard. From Larry and Philly, also from Elizabeth and Brenda.

MAHER, Bernard. (Portlaoise). Many happy returns Bernard. From the Sillery family, Dublin.

McGLINCHEY, Sean. The Belfast Prisoners of War Welfare Association send birthday greetings to Sean McGlinchey for May 31st. "It doesn't take a special day to bring you to our minds, for a day without a thought of you is very hard to find."

QUINN, Ann-Marie. (Armagh jail). Happy birthday Ann Marie. It doesn't take a special day to bring you to our minds, for a day without a thought of you would be very hard to find. Love and kisses, Peadar and Imelda Hamill and family.

QUINN, Ann-Marie. (Armagh jail). Many happy returns, Ann-Marie. We salute you in your courage and determination. Victory is in sight. From the Cassidy family, Monaghan.

## THANKS

THE H-BLOCK/ARMAGH APPEAL FUND acknowledges with thanks the receipt of £100 from the republican prisoners in Portlaoise Jail, received via Mary O'Keefe, Portlaoise.

GREEN CROSS '73 received with thanks a donation of £48 from Mr. D. Whitley.

GREEN CROSS '73 received with thanks an anonymous donation of £10.

## RAFFLE RESULTS

National Graves Association, Wexford Michael Conroy Memorial Fund  
1st prize: Róisín Davis, Gorey. 2nd prize: Anthony Rossett, Wexford. 3rd prize: David Kavanagh, Clonroche.

## LOST

BROWN ROSARY with faded brown scapular attached, in white leather purse, was lost on Saturday 23rd May, between Dublin and Camlough. It has a deep sentimental significance for its owner, who is offering a small reward to its finder. If found, please contact Mrs. Murphy (Howth), c/o An Phoblacht/Republican News, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin.



# Sympathy

**HUGHES:** Deepest sympathy to the mother, father, and family circle of our esteemed friend Vol. Francis Hughes, South Derry Battalion, Óglaih na hÉireann, who died on Tuesday 12th May in Long Kesh prison hospital on the fifty-first day of his hunger-strike, murdered by a cruel and callous British government. Sadly missed by his comrades-in-arms in the strike and by all the Míle fámhla. "Another patriot death for Ireland another murder for the crown."

**HUGHES:** The Bellaghy Prisoners of War Association deeply regret the death of Vol. Francis Hughes, South Derry Battalion, Óglaih na hÉireann, who died on May 12th 1981 in Long Kesh prison hospital on the fifty-first day of his hunger-strike. Murdered by a callous and cruel British government, he gave his life for his comrades and for Ireland. Mary Queen of the Gael grieve for him. "Mother of Ireland take him to thy breast, this soldier son who died for thee." "Bide us be faithful still and to make no peace with England until Ireland is ours." P.H. Pearse. Deepest sympathy to his mother, father and family circle.

**HUGHES:** The Bellaghy POWs in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Magilligan and Portlaoise are deeply saddened by the death of our comrade-in-arms Vol. Francis Hughes, South Derry Battalion, Óglaih na hÉireann, who was murdered by the intransigence of a cruel and hypocritical British government. Mary Queen of the Gael grieve for him. "For every revolutionary that dies, ten will take his place." Deepest sympathy to his mother, father and family circle.

**HUGHES:** The Healey family, Castle Dawson, (Ireland at home and abroad), deeply regret the death of Francis Hughes, South Derry Battalion, Óglaih na hÉireann, who was murdered by the intransigence of a cruel and hypocritical British government. Mary Queen of the Gael grieve for him. "For every revolutionary that dies, ten will take his place." Deepest sympathy to his mother, father and family circle.

**HUGHES:** Brian and Rose extend their deepest sympathies to the family of Frank who died in hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, murdered by British intransigence. Although we are dead, he will live forever in the hearts and minds of those who loved him.

**HUGHES:** Deepest sympathy to the family of Frank who died in hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, RIP. "Although your mortal body lies murdered, and is laid to rest, your spirit soars, and the demand for justice is the voice of a free people." Always remembered by his friends, the Diamond family, Co. Derry.

**HUGHES:** Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Vol. Frank Hughes, who died in hunger-strike in the hell holes of Long Kesh. "No greater love can a man have than to lay down his life for his country." He will not be forgotten. Always remembered by his friends Mary T. and Pauline.

**HUGHES:** Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Vol. Francis Hughes, from Jim and Veronica.

**HUGHES:** Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Vol. Francis Hughes, from all friends and comrades in Dúnagall.

**HUGHES:** Deepest sympathy to the family, friends and comrades of Vol. Francis Hughes. All my love I will miss you, but my tears may come and go, dear in my heart you will remain because I love you so. "Of course I can't understand but I remain what I am, a political prisoner of war." Deeply regretted by Monica.

**HUGHES:** McCREESH: O'HARA. The Dublin Dockworkers Union, Dublin, extends deepest sympathy to the family, friends and comrades of Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara. They were an inspiration to all who show them and their names will always be remembered with pride.

**HUGHES:** McCREESH: O'HARA. Sinn Féin's DOW department, Britain, deeply regrets the deaths of our comrades Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, and Patsy O'Hara, and tender our most sincere sympathy to their bereaved families. They have played the noble band of Irish martyrs for the cause of an Irish democratic socialist republic. An immortal the citizens of this, weaves offered.

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Sinn Féin POW Department offers condolences to the families of our comrades Raymond and Patsy who died on May 21st 1981 on the sixty-first day of their hunger-strike in political status. "Not England's fault but we'll wear, tho' by our vengeance, round, our concentrated love we've had her justice never found."

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** The staff of An Phoblacht/Republican News extend deepest and heartfelt sympathy to Mr. and Mrs. McCreesh to Mr. and Mrs. O'Hara and to all the relatives and friends of our comrades Raymond and Patsy who died on the sixty-first day of their hunger-strike for political status. "We will never allow ourselves to be intimidated nor our people either. Hunger-strikes and oppression, the men and women of no property have risen." (Bobby Sands).

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Irish Republican Prisoners of War in jail in Ireland and England deeply regret the deaths of our comrades Vol. Raymond McCreesh and Vol. Patsy O'Hara (INLA) who died on the sixty-first day of their hunger-strike for political status. "We will never allow ourselves to be intimidated nor our people either. Hunger-strikes and oppression, the men and women of no property have risen." (Bobby Sands).

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** The College of Business Studies Hunger-Strike Action Committee, Belfast, with to express their anger at the murder of Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara at the hands

**McCREESH.** The Republican Movement, comprising Óglaih na hÉireann, Cumann na mBan, Cumann na nGall, Na Fianna Fáinne, Sinn Féin and Cumann na n-Ulshannais, deeply regret the death of Vol. Raymond McCreesh and extend condolences to the bereaved McCreesh family.

Raymond McCreesh was a quiet unassuming Volunteer, but one who carried the mantle of Republicanism in a serious and determined fashion, both on IRA operations and finally on this historic and historical hunger-strike. He died upholding his political convictions before the world. We salute our comrade Raymond and from his sacrifice we draw and are drawing increased strength.

"Deliberately here we avow ourselves, as he avowed himself in the dock, Irishmen of one allegiance only. We, and you others who are associated with us in today's task and duty, are bound together and must stand together henceforth in brotherly union for the achievement of the freedom of Ireland... We pledge to Ireland our love, and we pledge to English rule in Ireland our hate... Our fate is strong and wise and wary. But... they cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens in the hearts of young men the seeds sown by the young men of a former generation." PADRAIG PEARSE.

## Final salute to Bobby Sands

May 7th 1981



## Final salute to Raymond McCreesh

May 23rd 1981



of the British government. "My position is in total contrast to that of an ordinary conforming prisoner. I am a political prisoner, a freedom fighter." (Bobby Sands.) We would also like to extend our deepest sympathy to their families and friends.

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** Deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Vol. Raymond McCreesh and Vol. Patsy O'Hara (INLA), who died in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, as a result of a hunger-strike enforced on them through British intransigence and brutality. Always remembered by their comrades, and Raymond's former cell mate, Paddy Loughlin (HS) and by all the Loughlin family.

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** The members of the Pearse/McDaid Sinn Féin cumann,

**O'HARA.** The Republican Movement, comprising Óglaih na hÉireann, Cumann na mBan, Cumann na nGall, Na Fianna Fáinne, Sinn Féin and Cumann na n-Ulshannais, deeply regret the death of comrade Vol. Patsy O'Hara (INLA), who sacrificed his freedom and young life for the cause of Irish independence, and offer our sincerest condolences to the bereaved O'Hara family.

"We stand for the freedom of the Irish nation so that future generations will enjoy the prosperity they rightly deserve, free from foreign interference, oppression and exploitation. The real criminals are the British imperialists who have thrived on the blood and sweat of generations of Irish men. They have maintained control of Ireland through force of arms and there is only one way to end it. I would rather die than rot in this concrete tomb for years to come." PATSY O'HARA.

Birmingham, deeply regret the deaths of Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara and tender to their families their deepest sympathy. They gave their lives for their friends and their country. Go underlie the bridge at a shamacha.

**O'HARA.** Patsy. We tender our deepest sympathy to the family and friends of our gallant comrade Patsy murdered by British imperialism. "Soft be the soil that mantles his grave, proud be the country that bore him, evergreen be the memory of his soul that has fled, to join the brave men gone before him." Deeply regretted by his comrades Lynn, Sadie, Bernice, Lorraine, Armagh wail, Godhail I Slócháin a Láoch mionúil na hÉireann.

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Óráid McAuley Sinn Féin cumann, Collin, Belfast, wish to express their deepest



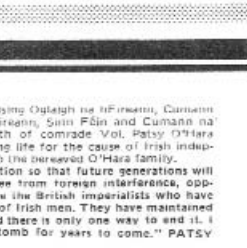
## Final salute to Francis Hughes

May 15th 1981



## Final salute to Patsy O'Hara

May 25th 1981



sympathy to the families, friends and comrades of Vol. Raymond McCreesh and Vol. Patsy O'Hara (INLA) who died on the 61st day of their hunger-strike for political status. They will be spoken of among their people and generations will call them blessed.

**McCREESH: O'HARA.** Sincere condolences to the families and friends of Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara who died on hunger-strike. Their deaths have not been in vain. Victory to the POWs. We wish you strength and continuing struggle. From the Left Socialist Party (V.S), Denmark.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Thomas Gibson Sinn Féin cumann, Portlaoise, County Laois, deeply regrets the murder of

Volunteers Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara (INLA) at the hands of the British. We wish to extend our deepest sympathy to their families. "It is not they who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who will ultimately conquer."

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** Dundalk POW send their condolences and deepest sympathy to the bereaved families of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Cathal Hughes Sinn Féin cumann, Belle Aina Clath, offers sincere sympathy to the families and friends of our four heroic comrades Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara who gave their lives on hunger-strike. We pledge our continued support to their comrades in the H-Blocks and Armagh.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** An Cumann Cabhrach's Dublin committee offers deepest sympathy to the families and friends of Volunteers Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara (INLA).

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The members of Walkinstown branch of An Cumann Cabhrach wish to express their deepest sympathy to the families, friends and comrades of Volunteers Bobby Sands, MP, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, and Patsy O'Hara (INLA), who gave their lives for Ireland in Long Kesh prison. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for them.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Liberty Machine Sinn Féin cumann, Dublin South West, offers most sincere sympathy to the parents, families and comrades in our heroic Volunteers Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara (INLA), murdered in Long Kesh prison May 1981. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." (P.H. Pearse).

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The RCG, England, wish to express our deep sympathy and solidarity with the families, friends and comrades of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara, murdered by British imperialism. We condemn the vicious barbaric refusal of the British ruling class to recognise what all the world recognises that Irish POWs are political prisoners. That refusal has led directly to the murder of four gallant Irish freedom fighters. We salute you Bobby, Francis, Raymond and Patsy and pledge our support to continue our campaign in support of the prisoners for political status. Victory to the hunger-striker's! Victory to the Irish people!

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** I would like to extend my sympathy to the families and friends of Vols. Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara (INLA), who died on hunger-strike. From Thom Schuyms, a friend of Ireland.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Irish Republican Sinn Féin cumann, Cathair Na Mart, offers deepest sympathy to the families of four gallant Irishmen, who died on hunger-strike. "Of course I can be murdered but I remain what I am, a political prisoner of war." (Bobby Sands.)

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Billy Reid Republican Fionn Hand, Glasgow, send their deepest sympathy to the families of Vol. Bobby Sands, MP, Vol. Francis Hughes, Vol. Raymond McCreesh, and Vol. Patsy O'Hara (INLA), who died on hunger-strike in the hell holes of Long Kesh. The name also sends messages of support to Joe McDonnell, Brendan McLaughlin, Claran Doherty and Kevin Lynch.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** Queen's University, Belfast, Students against H-Block/Armagh, condemn the murders of Vols. Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara and tender deepest sympathy to their families.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** An Cumann Cabhrach's central committee offers deepest sympathy to the families and friends of Volunteers Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara (INLA).

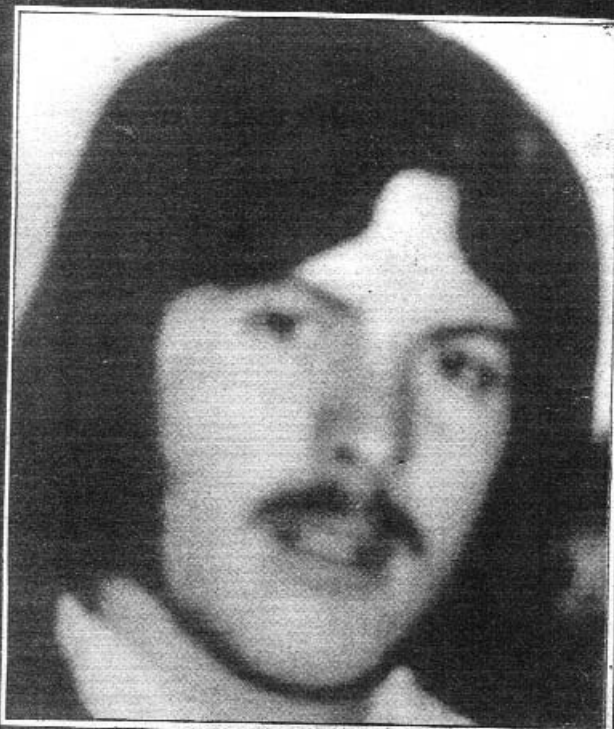
**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** The Irish Northern Aid Committee, Kansas City, USA, wish to express our extreme sorrow over the deaths of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh, and Patsy O'Hara, and we wish to forward our sympathy and love to their families. We also wish to express our solidarity with Brandon McLaughlin, Joe McDonnell, Claran Doherty and Kevin Lynch, May God keep you and bless you all. Please find comfort knowing that your brothers and sisters in America do know of your torment and care very much for you all.

**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** Westport H-Block/Armagh Action Committee extends deepest sympathy to the families of Vol. Bobby Sands M.P., Vol. Francis Hughes, Vol. Raymond McCreesh, and Vol. Patsy O'Hara (INLA), who died on hunger-strike in Long Kesh. We also offer our sympathy to all their comrades in the H-Blocks and in Armagh and salute our continued struggle in the struggle. I measc Láochra na nGael so raib a nánamacha.

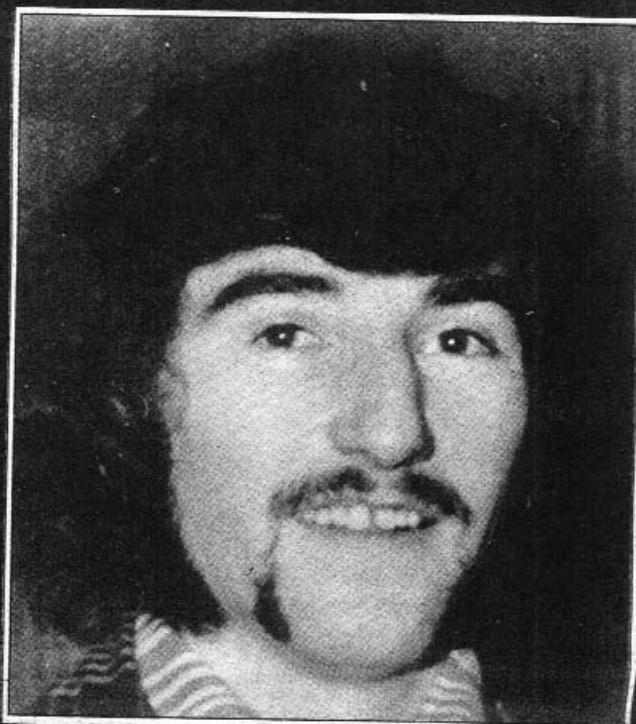
**SANDS: HUGHES: McCREESH: O'HARA.** Most of the family, friends and comrades of Bobby Sands, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreesh and Patsy O'Hara, who died for Ireland. We remember them in our prayers. From the McAuley family, Dublin.

**MAC SANDAIR: MAC AODHA.** For chumhbrón do theasáin agus do chaire na nGalligh Róibéard Mac Sandair agus Pádraig MacAodha. Fuar siad b'la pobal na hÉireann a shaothrú, i bhfáltais na nGalligh go raib a nánamacha. Comraide Ceantar Mhuinínach de Sinn Féin.

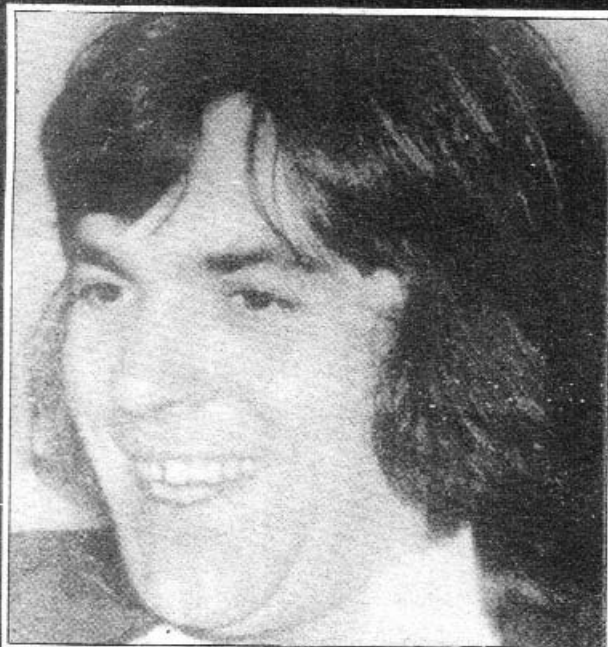
# SAVE THE LIVES OF THESE FOUR HUNGER-STRIKERS



**KIERAN DOHERTY**  
aged 25, Belfast  
commenced hunger strike  
Friday 22nd May



**KEVIN LYNCH**  
aged 25, South Derry  
commenced hunger-strike  
Saturday 23rd May



**JOE McDONNELL**  
aged 30, Belfast  
commenced hunger strike  
Saturday 9th May



**MARTIN HURSON**  
aged 26, Tyrone  
commenced hunger-strike  
Friday 29th May

## SMASH BRITISH H-BLOCK DEATH POLICY! SUPPORT THE POLITICAL PRISONERS!