

# An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS



Sraith Nua Im! 3 uimhir 37 Sathairn Meán Fomhair 26 Saturday September 26th 1981 (Britain 25p) Price 20p

## Vote McCreesh

VOTE MCCREESH: that is the message being broadcast throughout South Armagh this weekend, and until polling day on Wednesday by republicans and other hunger-strike campaigners.

Mr. James McCreesh, father of the late H-Block hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh, is standing against the SDLP as an independent anti-H-Block/Armagh candidate in a local council by-election in Area E of Newry and Mourne district.

Over the next few days help is urgently needed with canvassing and car cavalcades. Telephone Bessbrook 838092 to offer your assistance.



## EXCLUSIVE: NEXT WEEK

### SDLP THINKING REVEALED

DETAILS of what happened during last weekend's two-day SDLP think-in in County Donegal have been supplied to 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' by a leading member of the SDLP dissatisfied with the party's inactivity over the hunger-strike.

Among details to be published in next week's issue will be deputy leader Seamus Mallon's frank report on the state of the party (including their belief that Sinn Féin could defeat them at the polls) and a startling comment from party leader John Hume that if the SDLP were in government they would have to introduce internment or bend the law as the Brits are doing!



■ An IRA Volunteer takes aim with an RPG7 rocket launcher

A PRESTIGIOUS British television documentary programme, 'Panorama', which spent six weeks investigating the effects of the hunger-strike, has estimated that funds, recruits, and political capital have — ironically — been channelled to the IRA by British inflexibility. Monday's programme attacked, as fallacy, British premier Margaret Thatcher's assertion that the hunger-strike is the IRA's 'last card'.

Clips of a film showing IRA Volunteers being trained on an RPG7 rocket launcher (which has recently been used in Belfast), and training on an M60 machine-gun, underscored the relationship between the weapons of resistance inside prison (the blanket protest and the hunger-strike) and those of the freedom fighters on the outside.

#### SIMPLE

But to say, as the programme did, that British inflexibility alone has boosted the IRA's fortunes is too simple. It ignores the all-important fact that, at a time of political crisis and confrontation (on this occasion forced by the British for a specific end: the unattainable defeat of the IRA through defeat of the hunger-strike), political forces will only be revealed as credible, and will only emerge centrally, if they had been there beforehand.

Thus, during this crisis the

Republican Movement has openly been seen by the people (and the international media) as having political ability and foresight, and as having the skills to accumulate more political muscle and strip down the exposed, weak-kneed constitutional nationalists: the SDLP.

Where instability is keenest, as in the North, rapid politicisation and radical gains can be made. In the relatively more stable twenty-six counties the gains will be slower but can immediately be seen in the attitudes of the young, or the

poor and unemployed, who can identify oppression across any borders.

#### EXPOSES

The Free State parties, the Catholic hierarchy, and the SDLP leadership, by their nature, are against taking real and effective action against the British because to do so forces them into militant politics which generally raises political consciousness and exposes what they really stand for.

Thus H-Block/Armagh campaigners and prisoners' relatives

have tramped a hard road, protesting in Dublin or lobbying in London (as they did last weekend), and have been criticised, morally blackmailed, maligned, and undermined, but never demoralised or defeated, by the attacks on them from the political and religious stay-at-homes.

Last Monday, another republican prisoner, twenty-four-year-old Jim Devine from Strabane, laid his life on the line for his republican principles and went on hunger-strike. Next Wednesday will see an interesting by-election forced by the SDLP in South Armagh when

Mr. Jim McCreesh, whose son Raymond died on hunger-strike last May, stands on an anti-H-Block/Armagh ticket against an SDLP candidate.

The Brits have made a grievous mistake in their misunderstanding of the hunger-strike, its momentum, and its political repercussions. It will cost them dear for years to come, and when the Irish socialist republic is established in place of British and Free State rule, and Stormont and Leinster House are swept aside, it may eventually be seen to have been their last card...

# IRA weapon of resistance





● LIAM McCLOSKEY



● PAT SHEEHAN



● JACKIE McMULLAN



● BERNARD FOX



● GERRY CARVILLE



● JOHN PICKERING



● GERARD HODGINS



● JIM DEVINE

# 8-STRONG FAST

## Liam McCloskey entering critical period

THE number of blanket men on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh has been re-established at eight for the first time since Friday, 31st July, with twenty-four-year-old Jim Devine from Strabane joining the fast from last Monday.

Of the eight hunger-strikers, four are in the prison hospital: twenty-five-year-old INLA Volunteer Liam McCloskey from Dungiven and three Belfast Brigade IRA Volunteers.

They are twenty-three-year-old Pat Sheehan, twenty-five-year-old Jackie McMullan, and thirty-year-old Bernard Fox, who was transferred to the hospital on Thursday week, September 17th, after coughing up traces of his blood.

On Monday of this week, when he was on his twenty-ninth day of hunger-strike, Bernard Fox was still having difficulty keeping down the recommended daily intake of five or six pints of water.

On Monday, however, when his mother visited him, she nevertheless found him in excellent spirits.

On Wednesday evening of this week, in a dramatic call, Fr. Denis Faul, champion of demoralisation and defeatism, publicly appealed to the next-of-kin of Liam McCloskey and Bernard Fox to intervene to save their lives — and to get the British off the hook of their intransigence.

After visiting the prison hospital Fr. Faul warned that not only Liam McCloskey, but also Bernard Fox, is entering a critical phase of his fast. He warned that Liam McCloskey is going blind; and that Bernard Fox is in danger of suffering kidney failure due to his inability to hold down sufficient water and that he could suffer consequent brain damage.

### FOREMOST

Foremost hunger-striker Liam McCloskey, who completed fifty-two days without food last Wednesday,

was visited by members of his family on Tuesday, who reported afterwards that his ability to focus was seriously impaired, resulting in partial blindness.

He has been mostly confined to bed, although in the evenings he is able to meet with his three comrades: Pat Sheehan, forty-five days on hunger-strike last Wednesday, Jackie McMullan, thirty-eight days on hunger-strike that day and reported as being in no pain and able to keep down water, and Bernard Fox.

Last Wednesday, the four other hunger-strikers were still in their respective H-Blocks, having completed the following days on hunger-strike: twenty-five-year-old Gerry Carville, from Greencastle in County Down, twenty-four days; twenty-five-year-old John Pickering, from Belfast, seventeen days; twenty-one-year-old Gerard Hodgins, also from Belfast, ten days; and Jim Devine, three days.

### AGNEW

Proxy prisoner MP, Owen Carron, visited H-Block blanket man and Leinster House TD, Paddy Agnew, on Wednesday.

During the short visit, which



● PADDY AGNEW, TD visited by Owen Carron, MP

was scrutinised by four or five warders, the two elected representatives discussed the continuing hunger-strike. Paddy Agnew expressed his disgust at the attitude of the Dublin Coalition government, which at first pretended to be seeking a solution to the hunger-strike but has now abandoned such attempts, and is more intent on defeating the hunger-strike and undermining the relatives of the prisoners.

According to Owen Carron, Paddy Agnew also criticised the attitude of the SDLP who are now showing their true colours as opponents of the hunger-strike, and he described John Hume's attack



● Militant relatives of H-Block prisoners, in Downing Street, London, last weekend, included (from left to right): Francis Hurson, brother of Martin, who died on hunger-strike in July; Michael McCloskey, brother of Liam, current foremost hunger-striker; and Gerard Fox, brother of Bernard, a hunger-striker whose physical condition is worsening ahead of the usual rate of deterioration experienced by those on the fast

on the National H-Block/Armagh Committee as inhumane. Paddy also expressed great disappointment in the stand taken by the Irish hierarchy.

Owen Carron subsequently

pointed out that he personally wished to condemn the prison administration who are now forcing blanket men into 'closed' visits because they refuse to hold up their top lip for warders.

## Hunger-striker No.23

# Jim Devine

JIM DEVINE, aged twenty-four, a single man from Strabane, County Tyrone, joined the H-Block hunger-strike last Monday, September 21st, bringing the number of hunger-strikers back up to eight for the first time since the last day of July.

Glasgow-born Jim Devine is the twenty-third political prisoner to join the hunger-strike which has so far resulted in the deaths of ten prisoners.

Jim is the second eldest in the Devine family; he has four brothers and five sisters. Jim was born in Glasgow but, in the early 'sixties, when he was only a young

boy, the family, who had emigrated to Scotland, returned to the North of Ireland. They moved to the predominantly unionist town of Comber in County Down.

Comber, where Jim spent most of his childhood, was a quiet town, but when 'the troubles' began in 1969 things changed. Several Catholic families were petrol-bombed out of their homes. The local primary school which Jim had attended — St. Mary's — was bombed by loyalists. Jim and several other members of the Devine family were threatened. On one occasion Jim was forced to stand for the British national anthem, 'The Queen', at the cinema; and, more seriously, in another incident he had a knife put to his throat.

In March 1973 the Devine family left

Comber and moved to Strabane in County Tyrone, where both parents originally came from.

Jim went to St. Colman's High School in Strabane, but left to become an apprentice electrician in a government training scheme in Derry city.

Meanwhile Jim was taking a keen interest in the political conflict and he became an active IRA Volunteer.

In September '78 Jim was arrested from his home and after being held — and threatened — in Derry's Strand Road barracks, he was charged with various gun and bomb attacks.

He was held on remand for sixteen months, and then in January '79 he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in a non-jury Diplock court which he refused to recognise. Two months later he was sentenced to a further, but shorter, concurrent term.

Jim has been 'on the blanket' in the H-Blocks since he was first sentenced. If he had conformed, and had not resisted 'criminalisation', he would have been due for release — with half-remission — in two years' time.

Jim has now almost completed his first week on hunger-strike, to the death if necessary, in H6-Block.





..WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS... WAR NEWS...

# IRA attacks

THE IRA continued to mount regular attacks against enemy forces in the occupied six counties in the past week, particularly in Belfast where, at the beginning of the week, two British soldiers were seriously wounded in an expertly mounted gun ambush, and where an active service unit breached security at a city centre barracks to plant a bomb under an RUC vehicle.

In County Tyrone, several days earlier, an RUC Reservist was seriously wounded.

## DERRY CITY RUC MEN SHOT AT

Two RUC men narrowly escaped injury in Derry city shortly before midnight on Thursday week, September 17th, when IRA Volunteers fired a burst of high-velocity shots at them near the Waterside barracks in Spencer Road.

The RUC men had parked their car and were walking to the barracks when they came under fire from a concealed ambush position in a nearby yard. The shots missed their target, but enemy fire was not returned, and the active service unit returned safely to base.

## TYRONE

### RUC MAN WOUNDED

An RUC man was shot and seriously wounded by the IRA in County Tyrone on Friday evening, September 18th.

The part-time Reservist was shot in Ballygawley. Four shots were fired at him by Volunteers, from a commandeered car, as he walked along the road.

He was hit once and was later said to be 'very critically ill'. Despite RUC road-blocks being thrown up shortly afterwards the active service unit returned safely to base.

The IRA ambush took place only about eight miles away from where two RUC men were killed by an IRA landmine near Cappagh, the previous week on Monday, 7th September.

## BELFAST

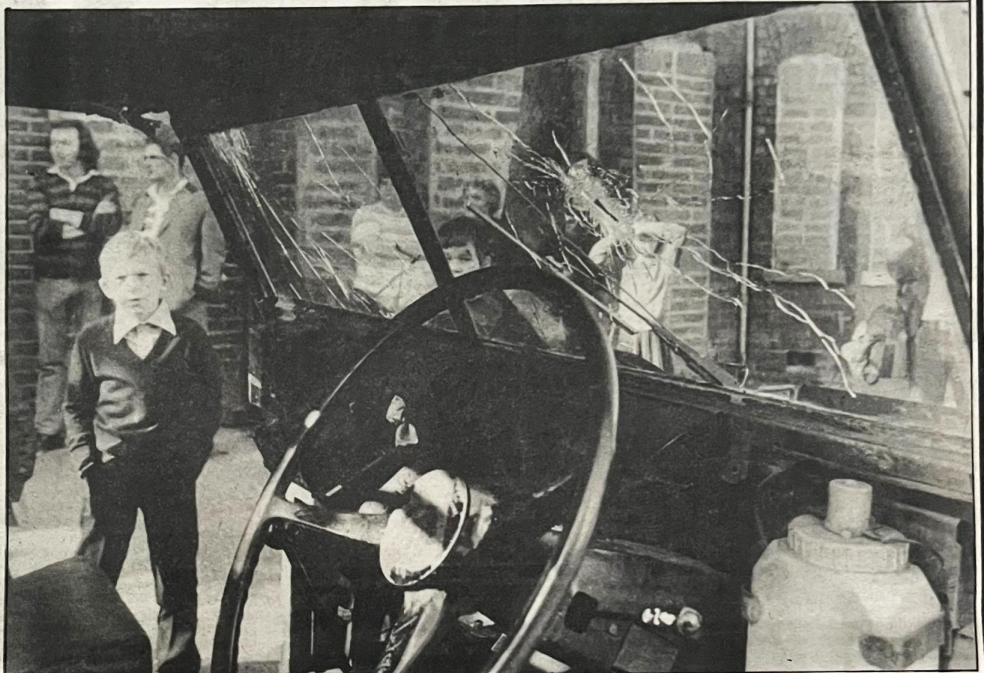
### BLAST BOMB ATTACK

The IRA mounted a blast bomb attack on an RUC mobile patrol in the Cupar Street area of west Belfast on Saturday evening, September 19th. No injuries were claimed.

## BELFAST

### SINGLE SHOT FIRED

A single shot was fired by an IRA sniper, on Sunday evening, September 20th, at



● The windscreen of the Brit landrover shattered in an IRA ambush, on Belfast's Springfield Road on Tuesday, that left two soldiers seriously injured

a British army mobile patrol in the Stewartstown Road area of west Belfast. No hit was claimed.

## BELFAST

### BARRACK BOMB

An active service unit of Belfast Brigade IRA Volunteers successfully penetrated the tight security surrounding Musgrave Street RUC barracks in Belfast city centre on Monday morning, September 21st, and planted a 10 lb. bomb under an official car belonging to the RUC.

Unfortunately the bomb was accidentally spotted at 8.45 a.m. and British army bomb disposal experts rushed to the scene whilst the yard was evacuated.

One hour later the bomb exploded only narrowly failing to catch at least one soldier in the blast. Parts of the Austin Maxi car were hurled one hundred feet into the air, and the bulk of the wreckage was set on fire by the explosion, which also blew windows out of the overlooking barracks and damaged other RUC vehicles.

The car was an official transport vehicle for the barracks; and it is the RUC who have responsibility for — unsuccessfully — guarding and controlling access to the area where it was parked. Security around barracks is being reviewed after this daring IRA



● Fire returned by British soldiers, and further British soldiers and RUC gunmen quickly at the scene of Tuesday's Springfield Road ambush in Belfast failed to prevent the IRA's active service unit making good their escape and returning safely to base

operation in the heart of a Belfast city centre RUC complex.

## BELFAST

### BRITS AMBUSHED

Two British soldiers were very seriously injured when three IRA Volunteers armed with high velocity weapons fired into the back of a military landrover in west

Belfast on Tuesday, September 22nd.

One soldier was shot in the head, the other in the stomach.

The successful ambush was launched from a house in Springfield Road which the Volunteers had commandeered seventeen hours earlier.

The Volunteers took over the house at 9 p.m. on Monday evening and patiently

waited until 2 p.m. on Tuesday afternoon when they opened fire.

The British army landrover had just swung into Ainsworth Avenue from Springfield Road when fire was opened. Two soldiers were hit, but others returned fire.

Despite the enemy fire, the Volunteers made good their escape in a commandeered car.

—WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS—



# TUAM SUGAR COMPANY CLOSURE THREAT REMAINS

## Coalition backs off but union flounders

BY KEVIN BURKE

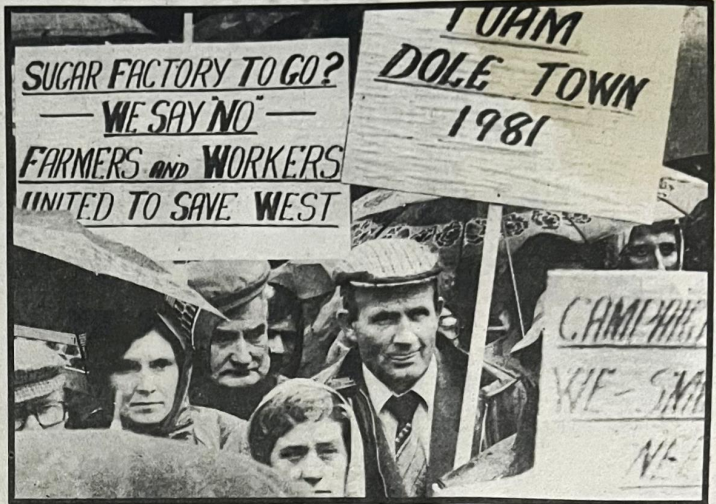
THE closure of the state-owned Irish Sugar Company's operation in Tuam, County Galway, which last Wednesday night was postponed by the Coalition government for one year, remains a threat hanging over the two hundred and eighty full-time workers, the two hundred or so seasonal workers, and their dependants, facing the hardships of redundancy.

But it is one closure which has far wider implications than a 'normal' redundancy threat and, as it turned out, casts major doubts on the ability of the present Coalition government to survive.

The outcry caused by the closure announcement appears to have surprised the government in Dublin by its strength and unity and once again reinforces the argument in the Fine Gael party, since the Coalition cabinet was announced, that the composition of the new cabinet is hopelessly biased in favour of Dublin, and completely out of touch with the country.

The two Fine Gael Galway deputies, John Donnellan and Paul Connaughton, already smarting at being passed over in the ministerial stakes, have been loud in protest at their leadership's decision, as have several other country deputies.

The Coalition's other deputy in Galway, the Labour Party chairman Michael D. Higgins, already critical of his party's complete loss of



● The decision to close Tuam's sugar factory united five thousand people in opposition on the streets of the County Galway town on Thursday, 17th September

identity since July, would have found the day of reckoning for his socialist conscience even closer if the Tuam closure had been put to a vote when Leinster House convenes.

### REGULAR

It would seem that the government assessment of the closure was to rate it only as important as the regular toll which now passes almost without comment.

The increase in unemployment in the year to August 1981, for the west, has been over 25%, and the Tuam closure could be seen by the uninformed eye as just more of the same. After all, the Irish Sugar Company's decision to close its Carlow vegetable plant has passed without too much fuss, as has its closure of Fastnet Foods in Skibbereen.

In Galway itself, even in the last two months, closures have mounted without any major outcry, including fifty-two jobs lost at Wilson Sports Equipment in Galway city, fifty jobs at Conte Teo in Carraroe, sixteen jobs at Medical Mouldings in Galway city, and so on.

And, of course, redundancies

forecast elsewhere include over five hundred B. and L. workers in Cork, five hundred and fifty employees of RTE, and a massive eleven hundred job losses at Guinness in Dublin. So two hundred and eighty jobs in Tuam may not look like much in comparison.

### SIGNIFICANCE

But the Irish Sugar factory in Tuam is of much more significance than the jobs it provides and the outlet it provides to beet-growing farmers in the area.

The factory was deliberately set up in the west in 1934 for social, as well as economic reasons, and served at that time to give some confidence to a demoralised western population in the spin-off from its inception. It has been viewed in the same way since.

That is the reason that five thousand marched in Tuam; that, for the present anyway, there is unusual unity of opposition to its closure in the Galway area; and that it has become such a major issue.

But just as the Coalition has shown itself to be out of touch with feelings on the ground, so the trade union movement has been

found woefully wanting in providing a response.

It is almost unbelievable that the general secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Ruairi Roberts, in his role as a director of Irish Sugar, voted against the worker-directors and in favour of the closure.

### IGNORED

The call by the ITGWU's national committee of shop stewards and branch officers to Irish Sugar workers in Mallow and Carlow to delay the start of the beet operations last Monday in protest at the Tuam closure was unanimously ignored by the workers concerned.

It showed the extent to which the union leadership were out of tune with the attitudes of their members on the ground.

The situation, therefore, is one where the trade union is floundering, unable to find any real response to the continuing tide of redundancies.

It is inevitable, under the present system, that a government in Dublin fails to meet the needs of the people. It is a tragedy that the trade union movement is showing itself to be in the same position.

# Foréigean sna sé chontae fichead

LE RÓISÍN NÍ RIAIN

ANOIS is arís tálaíonn rudaí chuireann i gcuimhne dúinn nach ar mhaithe lenár muintir na tuisceart amháin ba cheart dúinn a bheith ag obair ar son saoirse ár dtíre. Gan dabht tá leatrom agus éagcóir á dhéanamh ar an bpobal náisiúnta i dtuisceart na h-Eireann.

Tá sé seo le feiscint go soiléar ós na staitisticí maidir le dí-fhostaíocht, tithíocht agus go h-áirithe le déanaí maidir leis an méid daoine, páistí ina measc, atá gortaithe go dona nó marbh ag pléirí plaisteacha.

Bíodh sin mar atá is mó leatrom atá á dhéanamh ar dhaoine, go háirithe poblaíochtaí, sa Saorstát leis. Is deacair an foréigean seo a fheiscint, uaireanta, ós rud é nach dtugann na meáin cumarsáide, agus da, bhí sin fúmhóir muintir na h-Eireann, aon aird air.

Mar sin féin, titheann sé amach mar is eol go ró-mhaith do éinne a bhíonn ag obair ar son an Phoblachtánachais, nó ar son na stailceoirí ocras nua H-Bhoic.

### TAMHLACHT

Chonacthas sampla de i Tamhlacht an tseachtain seo chaite ag máirseál ag tacu leis na príosúnaigh sa Cheis Fhada. Shíúil timpeall ar 100 duine go dtí leacht i gcuimhne na bhFínní atá i lár an

tsráid bhaile. Bhí an chéad cainteoir ar tí tosú nuair a tháinig na Gárdaí a d'orduightheadar dos na léirseoirí imeacht den mbóthar.

Nuair a dhiúltaíodar é sin a dhéanamh, dhein na Gárdaí iarracht an-gharbh iad a bhaint de'n mbóthar. Bhí idir fearaibh, mnáibh agus páistí an-óg i láthair agus bhí sé soiléar nach raibh aon ghá in aon chor le iompar bharbartha na nGárdaí.

Pé scéal é seachas méid mór Gárdaí a bheith tugtha isteach roimh deire an chrúnnithe, d'éirigh leis an bheirt cainteoirí labhairt agus d'fhan gach éinne go deire an chrúnnithe. Ní dócha go mbeidh aon fhocal gearáin sna páipéirí mar gheall ar seo ach cuimhnigh ar an

raic a bheadh ann dá ndéanfaí iarracht stop a chuir le cruinníod P.A.Y.E. nó a leithéid.

### PÓILINÍ

Is mó sampla eile den saghas seo meoin atá le feiscint againn. Féach ar an súmóir scannalach in R.T.E. nuair nach féidir le feisirí, atá toghtha ag muintir na hEireann ar a son, labhairt ar an Radio nó ar an Teilifís. Ag an am céanna tá Aire Gnóthaí Eachtracha ainmnithe againn ná fuair vóta riamh ó éinne.

Cuir ceist ar dhaoine a bhíonn i mbun bailiúcháin, nó díol litríocht poblachtánach, nó cuir suas postéirí. Beidh a scéal féin maidir le Gárdaí le h-inisint ag gach duine acu. Dáiríreacht seomraí poiblí - scoilleana etc. - a fháil ar cíos i gceir cruinnithe H-Bhoic agus i gcuimhne díobh ní bhfaighfidh tú ach leithscéal, ach ag an am céanna beidh siad ar fáil do gach eagraíocht eile.

Tá an saghas meon Sasanach ag teacht i réim sa tír seo, a deir gur cuma cé'n saghas cos ar bolg a imríotar ar an mionlach an bhois is



● Tá na Gárdaí sásta foréigean a úsáid ar mhaithe le daoine a choimeád faoi chóis

nach gcuireann sé isteach ar chompóird lucht an rachmais, agus an fhaid is go gcoimeádtar na gná dhaoine in eitiareacht maidir leis.

### CARRON

Tá Roinnt eisceachtaí ar mar sin féin - is cosúil go bhfuil an Rialtas an - bhuartha mar gheall ar triúr príosúnach U.D.A. i bpríosún Mhuinseigh - ach ag an am céanna ní labharfaidh siad leis an bheisire

Owen Carron, a toghadh ag breis is triocha míle duine.

Ní bheidh saoirse riamh againn sa tír seo, ní amháin go n-imeoidh na Sasanáigh as, ach go dtí go mbeidh cearta daonna agus sibhialta ionlán, mar cheart bunúsach, ag gach saoránach den tír seo-pé an fear, bean nó páiste atá ann, pé an poblachtánach é nó duine bocht, nó duine den lucht taistíl nó príosúnach.



# UDA assassins kill Ormeau Road Catholic

BY PETER HAYES

THE chilling sectarian murder of twenty-five-year-old Catholic, Eugene Mulholland, on Belfast's Ormeau Road last weekend, has led to renewed fears that nationalists — particularly those living in fringe ghetto areas — may once again be subjected to an intensive campaign of loyalist attacks, in 'retaliation' for the continuing hunger-strike and as a frustrated sectarian 'response' to escalated IRA attacks on British military forces.

Eugene Mulholland, who worked as a hairdresser in a city centre salon, and who had earlier spent the evening having a drink at the home of a friend in west Belfast, was shot and killed around 1 a.m. last Saturday as he walked home along the Ormeau Road in south Belfast.

As he crossed a bridge, just past the Ulster Television studios at Havelock House, on the fringe of the predominantly nationalist stretch of the lower Ormeau Road, a car — believed to have been a red Ford Cortina — pulled alongside, and three shots were fired. One of the shots hit Eugene Mulholland in the head, killing him almost instantly.

Within hours, the RUC's 'line of investigation' was to attempt to blur the sectarian motivation of the attack by revealing that a red Cortina — similar to the one believed to have been used in the attack — had been found in a field adjacent to the staunchly nationalist Lenadon estate in west Belfast, implying the involvement of a republican organisation in the killing.

## RESPONSIBILITY

However on Monday, two days after the killing, and after responsibility had been claimed by 'Captain White' of the Ulster Freedom Fighters (a front name for the UDA), the RUC admitted that they were 'not totally convinced' that the car found near Lenadon was the one used in the attack.

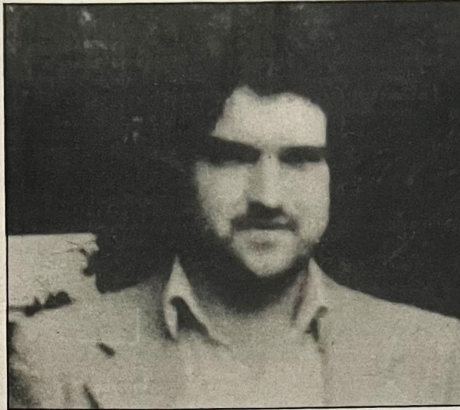
The UFF statement claiming Eugene Mulholland's killing went on to assert that he was an 'IRA informer', and also that he was killed 'because of the latest murder campaign against the security forces by the IRA'. The use by the UFF of the 'IRA informer' claim, while inaccurate, suggests that Eugene Mulholland was not, as is usually the case, a random assassination victim but was deliberately earmarked as a potential target and then killed when the opportunity conveniently presented itself.

However the circumstances which prompted the killing at that time are probably related to recent IRA successes against the Brits and RUC, which made an identifiable Catholic 'fair game' for loyalist assassins on the prowl.

## PREDOMINANTLY

Eugene Mulholland lived with his wife Mona, and their two children, Tony (aged seven), and Jacqueline (aged five), in Walmer Street in south Belfast, in a predominantly loyalist area of the upper Ormeau Road district where there have been — particularly recently — a series of attacks and threats made against the extremely few Catholic families who live there.

However, both Eugene and his wife come from the predominantly Protestant town of Ballynahinch in South Down, where they mixed freely with Protestants, and it appears that they got on well too with neighbours in their Ormeau Road neighbourhood.



● Eugene Mulholland — another Catholic victim of a chilling assassination

The bulk of loyalist sectarian attacks over the past few years, including pub bombs, fatal shootings, and the killing by an RUC gunman of sixteen-year-old Michael McCartan in July of last year, have taken place on the other side of the Ormeau Bridge to where Eugene Mulholland lived, in the half-mile stretch of the lower Ormeau Road which has been increasingly populated by Catholics over the last ten years. This, in turn, has led to sporadic attempts by loyalists to halt the Catholic expansion in the area, through random sectarian attacks and killings.

## PSYCHOLOGY

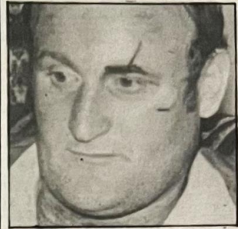
The killing of a Catholic living in the loyalist upper Ormeau district, and his subsequent description as an 'IRA informer', gives an interesting insight into loyalist psychology which views all Catholics as being members of, or sympathetic to, the IRA.

Also, if, as likelihood suggests, Eugene Mulholland was not a random victim, who had been identified as a Catholic solely because he was walking towards the nationalist lower Ormeau ghetto, but was a recognised, selected victim, his killing demonstrates that at a time when loyalist frustration is at a peak (because of IRA successes, for example), any Catholic living in a Protestant area becomes suspect as a source or potential source of information to the IRA.

It also demonstrates the emptiness of repeated UDA boasts that its campaign of assassination is aimed not at Catholics but at 'republican activists'.

The killing of Eugene Mulholland indicated the continuing threat to nationalist people from UDA/UFF sectarian attacks, both random and selective, a threat made all the more real by the UFF claim that a death list of similar 'IRA informers' has been drawn up!

## Westrock victim



A WEST BELFAST man received cuts and severe bruising to his back after a raid on his home by the Marine Commandos last week, which followed only hours after soldiers from the same regiment had carried out an 'illegal' census-taking exercise at his house and at others in the area.

The raid on thirty-one-year-old Peter Campbell's home at Westrock Parade, close to the Brit's Fort Pegasus base, began just after 2 a.m. on Wednesday week, September 16th.

Peter, a former internee, was not at home at the time, but after the door was answered to the Brits by his wife Helen, aged thirty-two, the Marines entered and carried out an hour-and-a-half search of the house, in the process waking and getting out of bed three of the Campbell's four children: Elizabeth, aged eleven; Martina, aged ten; and Peter, aged nine. Only the youngest, two-year-old Kieran, was allowed to remain sleeping.

The Brits had finally left, when Peter arrived home in his van shortly after, but no sooner had he got indoors than the Brits returned, this time demanding that Peter open up his van to be searched.

However when Peter attempted to push out the leading one of four Brits who had walked — unasked — into his home, one of the Marines snapped: 'Right mate, that's it', and all four Brits jumped on Peter, dragged him outdoors as one of them struck him repeatedly in the face with a flashlight, and — under the horrified and distraught gaze of his children — began to kick him on the ground outside.

Eventually, the Marines got hold of the keys to Peter's van, but on searching it found nothing more 'offensive' than gaelic football jerseys. He was then flung into a jeep on his stomach, and driven to Springfield Road barracks while soldiers stamped on his back, en route.

Once in the barracks, Peter was photographed, before being turned over to the RUC who transferred him to Townhall Street barracks for a medical examination, and then took him to the Royal Victoria Hospital.

## Turf Lodge victim



GERARD BROWNLEE, from Turf Lodge in west Belfast, was one of several people who fell victim to Marine Commando revenge brutality within hours of two members of their regiment being seriously wounded in an IRA sniping attack last Tuesday afternoon.

Twenty-two-year-old Gerard was on his way along the Falls Road, at around 11.30 p.m., to visit his girl friend at Divis Flats, when he was stopped by Marines at the junction of Linden Street.

After being asked his name and address, one of the Brits asked him what he thought of the shooting attack that afternoon, and when he knew about it. When Gerard replied that he knew nothing about it and wasn't interested in it, the Marine replied, 'I don't believe you', and became verbally abusive.

As the patrol allowed Gerard to walk off, the belligerent Marine struck him on the upper lip with his rifle butt. Gerard needed three stitches following this assault.

# Loyalist gun attack on Ardoyne H-Block protestors

IN the latest of a series of loyalist shooting attacks in the Ardoyne ghetto in north Belfast, a would-be loyalist assassin, last Sunday night, fired seven shots into a mock H-Block cell, but failed to hit anyone, before escaping on the back of a motorbike into an adjoining loyalist area.

The attack took place in Elmfield Street, on the edge of Ardoyne, directly outside the Saunders' club where a token fast, in support of the H-Block hunger-strikers, was underway. (Token fasts, outside various social clubs in the area, have been taking place in Ardoyne for the past three weeks.)

## HALTED

Shortly after 9 p.m. on Sunday, a motorbike carrying two men, which had been seen cruising around adjoining streets for several minutes, halted at the junction of Elmfield Street and Butler Street, about twelve yards from the wooden H-Block mock cell.

The pillion passenger then dismounted, and without approaching



● The Ardoyne H-Block protest in Elmfield Street — where the shooting took place

closer to the cell, fired seven times in its direction. His apparent nervousness was mirrored by the motorbike's driver who stalled momentarily as the pair made their getaway along Elmfield Street, and as local people in the Saunders' club ran out on hearing the shooting.

The gunman and his accomplice then drove through the 'dragon's teeth' at the bottom of Kerrera Street — allowing access to bikes but not to cars — on to the Crumlin

Road and into a neighbouring loyalist district.

## PRECAUTION

Only minutes before the attack, at 9 p.m., those people taking part in the token fast had left the hut, to continue their fast in the Saunders' club overnight, a sensible — and as it was to turn out, vital — security precaution. Had they not done so it is almost certain that the attack would have led to injuries or even death.

Local people say that this is the

seventh shooting attack in the district in recent weeks.

In one such attack, a loyalist fired rifle shots from a building overlooking the Ardoyne into the local GAA club. And on Friday, 11th September, a local man walking along Chatham Street, which runs parallel to Elmfield Street, was fired on three times by motorbike-mounted loyalists who had also entered and left the area via Kerrera Street.



## BRITISH LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE: 53 RESOLUTIONS ON IRELAND

# An issue at last

BY HELEN STEVENS

THIS YEAR Ireland will, at last, be a major issue at the annual conference of the British Labour Party. There are fifty-three resolutions on the agenda: more than on any other issue except nuclear disarmament.

Though none of the progressive resolutions are likely to get through, the chances are that next week's conference will abandon bi-partisanship — the policy under which Labour governments slavishly follow the Tory line on Ireland.

Labour may well adopt a policy document approved by the National Executive Committee, which would commit the party to the concept of Irish unity. But the document is so hedged about with qualifications on how Irish unity will be achieved that in practice it could prove meaningless.

From as far back as 1971, opinion polls have consistently indicated that a majority of British people favour British withdrawal, or at least troop withdrawal. However, until recently this sentiment has not been widely reflected in influential organisations, such as the major political parties or the trade union movement.

After the entry of British troops, with the change of focus from civil rights to a war of national liberation, Ireland soon became a taboo subject in Britain. This process was consolidated by the introduction of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1974, which silenced the Irish community, traditionally active in the labour movement.

For years effective campaigning in the labour movement was hampered by the fact that a Labour government was in office. Labour was strongly committed to unionism — partly for the opportunist reason that it needed unionist votes to stay in office — and to trying to stabilise the six-county statelet by extreme repressive measures.

But the Castlereagh revelations, the resistance in the H-Blocks and Armagh, and the continuing struggle of the IRA signalled the abject failure of Roy Mason's policies. Disenchantment grew in Britain, and the exposure of torture particularly demoralised Labour's grassroots.

### OPENED

Then in 1979 the Labour government collapsed.

That this was due to its Irish policy, through the abstentions in the vote of confidence by Frank Marlowe and Gerry Fitt, did not seem to register with many party members. But it opened up the possibility for campaigning in the Labour Party, which is always more militant when in opposition.

This process was also helped by the growing grassroots campaign led by Tony Benn for Labour MPs to be forced to carry out the wishes of the membership. It helped too that Labour's failed Irish policy was associated with the despised right-wing of the party.

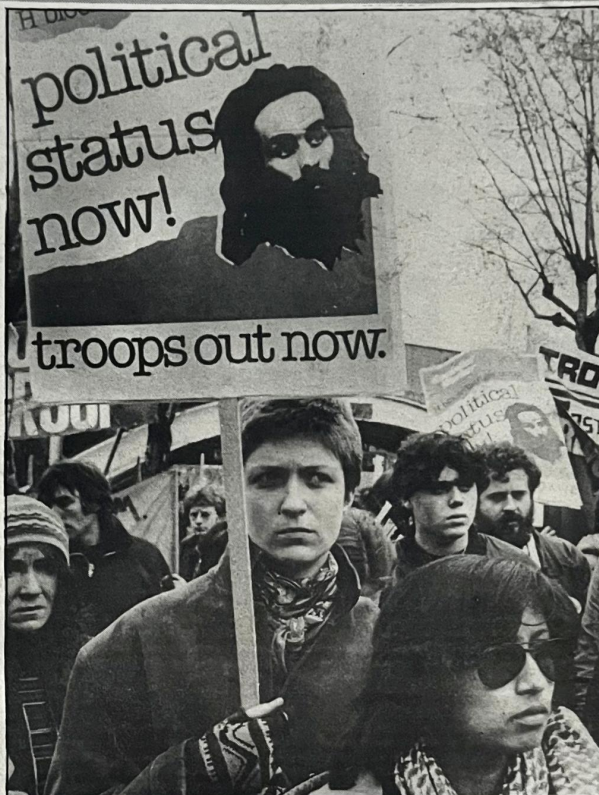
1979 also saw the tenth anniversary of British troops on Irish streets, which (compounded by the execution of Mountbatten and the Narrow Water ambush) was to prove a psychological crisis. It was clear that in ten years Britain had only succeeded in worsening the situation.

Now for the first time in years support for withdrawal began to grow. The fairly broad-based Committee for Withdrawal from Ireland held a ten-thousand-strong demonstration, the largest on Ireland for several years.

### CONCERN

Concern about Ireland was at last filtering through to the Labour Party's rank-and-file. The leadership had tried to ensure that there would be no debate on Ireland at the annual conference in October 1979, when there were four resolutions on the agenda. Hard lobbying by Troops Out activists and a few MPs won the delegates' support for an emergency resolution calling for a debate.

The party leadership insisted on the briefest of debates. The withdrawal motions were voted out, and the conference instead



● Concerted opposition to Westminster's policies in Ireland is moving from the streets to the very heart of the British Labour Party

supported the setting up of a special study group to examine the party's Irish policies.

In January 1980 Tony Benn spoke out, very quietly, for the first time: he said in an RTE radio interview that partition was wrong and a 'real debate' was needed in Britain. Then in March the Greater London Regional Council of the Labour Party passed a resolution, calling for the party to commit itself to a policy of withdrawal and an end to bi-partisanship. The majority in favour was massive: 1,012 to 101.

This was followed by the launching, in April, of the Labour Committee on Ireland, comprised of party members and dedicated to the same policy.

The Haughey/Thatcher summit in May — the first admission for years by a British government that the Northern crisis is not simply an 'internal' matter — helped to open up the debate.

The Labour left was now beginning to take Ireland seriously.

At the party conference in October, Tony Benn, speaking at a fringe meeting, called for a united Ireland and an end to bi-partisanship.

That year there were nine resolutions on Ireland, and the leadership did not attempt to avoid a debate. The demand for withdrawal won considerable support from constituency delegates, but the trade unions — many of whom have loyalist members in the North — ensured that it was rejected.

### SHIFTED

This year the situation has shifted dramatically. There has been a staggering increase in the number of resolutions on Ireland for the Labour Party conference: from nine to fifty-three.

This major change is due almost entirely to the election of Bobby Sands. Labour Party members, along with most British people, have a great, if misplaced, faith in the parliamentary system.

That, over thirty thousand people could

vote for an IRA hunger-striker shook them to the core. It made them radically rethink their attitudes to Ireland. No longer could anyone accept the analysis that a 'handful of terrorists' was responsible for 'the troubles'.

The conclusion many British people drew from Bobby Sands' election was not so much that the prisoners' demands were just, but that the present set-up in the North is unworkable.

The point that had been made so often by activists in the past, that the partition of Ireland was the root of the problem, finally began to sink in.

For the left of the Labour Party, the straw that broke the camel's back was Don Concannon's cruel visit to Bobby Sands on his deathbed to tell him the Labour Party did not support him.

On the day Bobby Sands died, moderate Labour MP, Pat Duffy, made a passionate speech in Westminster denouncing Thatcher's intransigence and the 'me-tooism' of the Labour leadership.

The revolt had begun in earnest. A few days later Tony Benn made a widely publicised call for troop withdrawal.

In June the annual conference of trades councils voted — directly against the wishes of TUC leader Len Murray — for a resolution which included demands for British withdrawal and for the restoration of special category status. By July even former Labour premier James Callaghan was calling for withdrawal — albeit with an 'independent Ulster'. His call was soon to be echoed by the 'Sunday Times'.

### HIGHLIGHT

A look at the resolutions down for this year's Labour Party conference shows the extent to which constituency Labour Parties spontaneously chose to highlight Ireland.

Of the fifty-three resolutions on the

agenda, forty-four call either for withdrawal and Irish unity, or for an end to bi-partisanship and to the unionist veto, or for both. A minority also call for support for the prisoners' demands: some did not include this because they thought the issue would be resolved before the conference took place.

The other nine resolutions reflect the backward position of the Militant group, which is active in the Labour Party, and call for the building of a 'trade-union-based Labour Party in Northern Ireland' — an absurd idea given the inbuilt sectarianism of the labour movement in the six counties.

Of the forty-four progressive resolutions, about a quarter have been directly inspired by the Labour Committee on Ireland, while the rest have been formulated independently.

Support for withdrawal is not limited to the constituency parties with resolutions down. Each is allowed just one conference resolution — so there are more who have passed similar resolutions but who have chosen to send one forward on a different issue.

But this upsurge in sympathy does not, unfortunately, mean that Labour will necessarily do anything whether in or out of government. For the party leadership is engaged in an outflanking manoeuvre.

The study group set up by the 1979 conference — which includes such loyalists as Roy Mason as well as withdrawal supporters such as Joan Maynard — recently produced its report. It has been forced to make considerable concessions to pro-Irish unity feeling in the party.

### FORCED

In January this year the group issued a consultative paper seeking the party membership's views on various policy options: direct rule, devolution, withdrawal, etc. The paper was framed to suggest that the best option was for Britain to stay, and for the Labour Party to organise in the six counties.

A majority on the study group intended to recommend that option. But the great majority of submissions from local parties were in favour of withdrawal and Irish unity. What finally forced them to rework their position was the great wave of feeling inspired by the election, and death, of Bobby Sands.

As a result the study group's report recommends that Labour be committed 'ultimately to achieve reconciliation between the two parts of Ireland'. The National Executive Committee approved the report — and rejected an attempt by two influential committees to make withdrawal conditional on a referendum in the six counties — and it will now be presented to the conference.

The acceptance of reunification in principle is very important, and cuts a lot of ground from the unionist lobby. But the document makes reunification dependent upon a number of impossible conditions, such as 'reconciliation between the two communities' prior to withdrawal, and an interim devolved power-sharing Stormont administration.

It also, in practice, perpetuates the unionist veto by saying, 'Before any constitutional change is made ... we would seek to obtain the consent of the people of Northern Ireland'.

While it makes the welcome recommendation that the Prevention of Terrorism Act be repealed, it also completely rules out political status.

In all, the document is a muddle: the concessions to progressive opinion are made all more meaningless by the concessions to the loyalist lobby and the trade unions in the six counties.

With the weight of the Labour leadership behind it, the document is likely to be ratified by the conference at the expense of the many more progressive resolutions.

If this happens, it will be a case of two steps forward, one step back. But the fact that some advance has been made, and that Ireland will at last be a major issue at a Labour conference, is due to Bobby Sands and his fellow hunger-strikers, and to the staunch support of the nationalist people, for they have shaken up British attitudes to Ireland

as never before in the last twelve years.



# BIG QUESTIONS ABOUT LITTLEJOHNS

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

IF there is a case to be made for the release on humanitarian grounds of the self-confessed 'licensed-to-kill' British agents, the Littlejohn brothers, with only a fraction of their prison sentences served, then the Dublin government is hardly in a position to make it.

The big-hearted gesture of the Coalition, even overlooking an escape attempt in progress at the time of their release, can be measured against that government's refusal to extend its 'humanitarianism' to a public call, not for the release, but for a basic tolerable level of conditions of imprisonment for the republican prisoners in H-Block and Armagh.

It is no surprise, of course, in the Irish struggle, to find the Dublin authorities once again coming down on the side of the oppressor, but the release of the Littlejohns also opens up once again the murky area of British intelligence activities in Ireland and the Dublin government's connivance with it.

Keith and Kenneth Littlejohn were apparently recruited to work for the British intelligence services via a woman friend of the present British Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington. They met a Junior Minister for Defence, Geoffrey Johnson-Smith, and were then handed on to their 'control', whom they knew as Douglas Smythe but who later turned out to be Defence Ministry 'civil servant' John Wyman.

## OPERATIONS

The role of the brothers in Ireland was to provoke and carry out operations in the twenty-six counties which would look like the work of republicans and thus cause the Dublin government to crack down on them.

To this end they were involved in several incidents, including petrol-bombing garda stations at Louth and Castlebellingham, 'setting-up' at least one republican for capture across the border, and a number of armed bank-robberies; and successfully infiltrated the 'Official' IRA, or the 'Sticks', as they are more popularly known.

Their activities culminated in a £67,000 bank-robbery/kidnapping in Dublin's Grafton Street on October 12th, 1972. (Just over £30,000 is still unaccounted for and it is uncertain whether it went to the 'Sticks' or was retained by the Littlejohns.)

The two were arrested a week later in London and held for extradition, but only when gardai had supplied their London addresses to the British police and demanded that they be taken into custody.

## PROVOCATEUR

How successful their 'agent provocateur' activities were is difficult to quantify, but they must have contributed in some part to the introduction by Fianna Fáil's Minister for Justice, Des O'Malley, of the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act at the end of 1972, aimed at breaking the growing support for the IRA in the twenty-six counties.

There is no doubt, however, that that Act was in obvious danger of defeat on the evening of Friday, December 1st, when Fianna Fáil defectors and the Labour and Fine Gael opposition were set to vote it down.

With deadly timing, two bombs went off in Dublin killing two people and injuring many more. The Leinster House opposition, at 4 a.m. the following morning, were



● KEITH LITTLEJOHN



● KENNETH LITTLEJOHN



● As everyone (except British Intelligence) wonders about the full extent of the mysterious activities of the Littlejohn brothers, both Keith and Kenneth are less than pleased about being 'left out in the cold' by the British. Indeed, Kenneth must be wishing that he'd stuck to building his 'hot pants' industry in the west of Ireland, where he operated under the alias of Austin, in 1971. He is pictured here during happier times in one of many promotional shots for his 'Whizz Kids' hot pants

carried, by the shock-waves, from the members' bar through the division lobbies on the government side.

A few weeks later, John Wyman was arrested in Dublin and charged, along with Garda Special Branchman Patrick Crinnion, with 'passing information prejudicial to the safety of the state'.

Once again, the murky world of British spy intrigue takes over, but it appears that Britain had two sides to weigh in the balance. Wyman and Crinnion far out-weighed the two Littlejohns.

## BOMBS

Britain's 'spy-chief' in the twenty-six counties, John Wyman, was in custody, as was one of their garda recruits. Wyman was obviously of more value than the Littlejohn 'cannon-fodder', and other garda 'spy recruits', still operating in the Special Branch, needed the reassurance that they would be

looked after if uncovered.

But much more importantly, it is believed that Wyman was responsible for directly organising the December 1st Dublin bombs, and both the British and Dublin governments feared that some enthusiastic gardai would pursue this line. For Britain it would be a major international embarrassment, for Dublin it could have meant disaster if it became public that both government and opposition parties had been duped in such bloody fashion into anti-Irish oppressive legislation by the old enemy, Britain.

In early January 1973, therefore, Britain informed Dublin that the Littlejohn brothers were indeed involved in British intelligence activities and apparently offered a deal. (It was about this communication which Jack Lynch later was to claim his famous 'lapse of memory'.)

At the beginning of February the Littlejohns were returned from London to Dublin. At the end of the month Wyman and

Crinnion were brought before the Special Criminal Court. The charge was reduced to one of 'communicating secret information about the operations of the gardai', they were given 'back-dated' sentences of four months, and immediately released and whisked away by the British authorities.

## BIRMINGHAM

But the Littlejohn mystery does not end there. Kenneth Littlejohn successfully escaped from Mountjoy prison (where he was serving twenty years and Keith fifteen) in March 1974 and remained at liberty in England until the end of the year, when he was arrested in the home of a Thomas Watt in Birmingham.

The Birmingham pub-bombings, which killed twenty-one people, had just taken place three weeks previously and Watt was to be deeply involved in the subsequent trial of the six innocent Irishmen later to be sentenced to life imprisonment for the bombings.

At the trial Watt, a police informer and a member of the fascist National Front, said that he had deliberately made friends with Irishmen whom he thought might be republican sympathisers. He claimed that some of those charged had made incriminating statements to him and his evidence proved useful to the prosecution, which relied on confessions beaten out of the six, and forensic evidence which has since been totally discredited.

Watt was never charged with harbouring Littlejohn.

So the full story of the Littlejohn brothers is unlikely to be ever convincingly told — Kenneth Littlejohn's forthcoming book will no doubt confuse further by sensationalism. But more interesting is the renewed interest in how British intelligence operations in the twenty-six counties are faring now.

## INTRIGUING

The total transfer of the gardai's computerised information on republicans to the RUC is now standard procedure and may at first sight appear to make redundant the Crinnions who remain in Dublin Castle. But verification of that information is important and internal information now transferred is also of vital importance to aid Britain's reading of Dublin's attitudes.

The role of 'agents provocateurs' in the South is equally intriguing. It has been claimed that the supposed left-wing organisation linked to the killing of the Roscommon gardai were engaged not only in armed financing of their own funds but deliberately chose areas where they believed saturation garda activity in the wake of a bank-raid might uncover IRA arms dumps, movements of supplies, or training camps.

It is also believed that a well-financed miniscule ultra-left group has operated in the H-Block campaign to discredit it by several actions including the shooting of a British businessman at Trinity College and agitation to riot during marches.

Whether such acts can be truly attributed to British intelligence infiltration, or motivation, of such groups has never been conclusively proven. Without becoming neurotic on the subject, it can be acknowledged that such strategy would match the known activities of the Littlejohns.

For the time being, at any rate, it remains clouded in fascinating obscurity. But there is no doubt that the release of the Littlejohns only ends one chapter in the long record of British intelligence operations in Ireland.



# Bernard Fox

BY PETER ARNLIS

**THIRTY-YEAR-OLD BERNARD FOX**, who completed thirty days on hunger-strike last Wednesday, is a single man from the St. James' area of west Belfast.

Bernard is serving a maximum twelve-year sentence on explosives charges and this is his third period in prison. He was interned twice before 1975 and has been in prison this time since November 1977, having spent a total of six years and three months in prison.

Both Bernard's parents are elderly and have pledged to support his hunger-strike by not intervening should he lapse into unconsciousness. Bernard does not come from a republican background and derives his politics from the street barricades of August 1969.

Bernard's mother, Margaret Lynn, now aged sixty-eight, was born in Lurgan in 1913. She was one-year-old when she came to live in Belfast's Fane Street, off Tate's Avenue. Her father was a 'ganger' on the Great Northern Railway. Margaret worked as a stitcher in McClelland & Rainey's in Bankmore Street after leaving school at sixteen.

Her father, George Lynn, was chased off his work in 1930 and the family went back to live in Lurgan for a year.

"We had the best neighbours in Fane Street, and we were the only Catholics in the street. It was Sandy Row and Shankill Road boys that put him out of his work," says Mrs. Fox. "I remember, as well, seeing him coming down the railways that day. They chased him with pick-axes and everything. His own workmates were too."

The family returned to Tate's Avenue after the riots, but in April 1932 Mrs. Fox's father was killed while working on the railway.

There was no republican influence in the family at all, "We were all nationalist," says Mrs. Fox. "We were for Joe Devlin."

Margaret Lynn met her future husband, Cornelius (Neely) Fox, while walking in the Falls Park. Her Protestant chum was going out with Neely's friend. She recalls, "The first time I met him I said to my friend, 'Sure that's an aul' lad, don't be looking at him... He's still an aul' lad!' (Mr. Fox is only two years her senior!)"

## TENUOUS

Mr. Fox was born in 1911 in Ardmoilin Street. His father was from Mullin and his mother from Derry city.

Mr. Fox's uncle, Conn Fox, was a republican interned on the prison ship, 'Argenta', but this is Bernard's only tenuous connection with distant family involvement in the Republican Movement, represents no tradition and, the family agrees, bore no influence on his decision to join the IRA.

The politics in Mr. Fox's parents' house were also nationalist.

West Belfast had little tradition of republicanism and de Valera supporters who put posters in their windows, when he stood against Devlin in an election for the Falls ward, were attacked and had their windows broken. (Joe Devlin was a constitutional nationalist and felt robbed by the 1916 Rising and by republicans, of parliamentary power and the autonomy which Home Rule would have given middle-class Catholics. He had warned the electorate that Sinn Féin stood for 'a hopeless fight for an Irish Republic'.)

Neely Fox left school in 1925 at the age of fourteen and worked as a wood-turner in Hastings Street making bobbins for Greeve's Mill which was in Conway Street (until being burned down during the pogroms of August 1969).

Mr. and Mrs. Fox are a very attached couple as can be seen from the friendly banter between them. He remembers the day he met her in the Falls Park and claims a certain amount of deception was used to net him! "She said she was Jack Mahood's sister! The famous Celtic player!"

"We were going together about six years before we got married. I think people were fed up looking at us..."

"Darby and Joans," adds Mr. Fox.

## RODNEY

The couple married in St. Paul's chapel on December 26th 1938. (Bernard, whilst an internee in 1973, carved and decorated a miniature piano in honour of their thirty-fifth wedding anniversary.)

They went to live in Margaret's mother's house in Beechmount Parade but on the day that the Second World War was declared they moved into a three-bedroomed kitchen house in the Rodney area of west Belfast where their children were born and reared and where Mr. and Mrs. Fox live, in St. James' Crescent to this day. Their first born, George, was born in February 1940, Cornelius was born in 1943, Gerard in July 1949, followed by Bernard, the youngest, in January 1951.

In 1945 Mr. Fox took up employment in the shipyard, as a fitter's helper. Despite this being a bastion of loyalist employment Mr. Fox said that he never had any trouble with his fellow-workers.

Mr. Fox retired in 1977 but during the early years of Bernard's first imprisonment in 1973, and when loyalist assassinations were a daily occurrence, he asked his father not to visit him in Long Kesh for fear of identification. Only on one occasion did his father break this rule and on that occasion a loyalist work-mate, also visiting the prison, spotted him. But, says Mr. Fox, "He never mentioned it when he saw me back at work and never said to anyone."

As a baby Bernard cried non-stop for the first year, according to his mother. But after that he was always pleasant, and always with a smile on his face. He and Gerard were like twins, playing together and sleeping together in the same double bed.

During the summer the children often returned to relatives in Lurgan for their holidays. They stayed in Grattan Street and in later years, when on the run,

Bernard billeted in Lurgan. When interned in Long Kesh he befriended John Green, a fellow republican who also came from the north Armagh town and whom he helped to escape from the internment camp.

## SOCCER

"The door never stopped knocking for Bernard," says his eldest brother George, attesting to his popularity.

Bernard was mad about soccer (and often played it in the living room with his brothers!) but his intimate knowledge of the game was not matched by a corresponding skill in play. "If there was a pool of mud in the middle of a field, he would have fallen into it," says Gerard. "He was a terrible player," says Martin Lawlor, who spent some time with Bernard as a remand prisoner in the H-Blocks. So addicted is Bernard to football that he has even got his brother George placing a bet for him in this soccer season!

Bernard went to St. Kevin's primary school and when he made his first Holy Communion in 1959, complete with two missing front teeth, he wrote a short poem about receiving the blessed sacrament.

All the Fox brothers were brought up as devout Catholics and attended Confraternity in Clonard Monastery every Friday night. They were very obedient children and were also pioneers, declares Mrs. Fox, until either they reached their late teens or got married. Only Neely, Bernard's older brother, is still a pioneer.

After primary school Bernard went to St. Thomas' secondary school but left as soon as he was old enough.

In 1967 he started work in Clarence Engineering Works, which is only several hundred yards from his home, close to the entrance to the M1 motorway. He began as an apprentice coach builder and his brother Gerard had started as a sheet metal worker. At night Bernard spent a lot of his time with St. John's youth club.

The civil rights movement and the violent reaction of the RUC to the street protests appeared to have made little impact on Bernard. It was the pogroms of August 1969 which drew him out of his shell and it was from the barricades that he got his republicanism.

After the loyalist pogroms of August 1969, barricades were built in nationalist areas. The district of Rodney, which was separated from the loyalist 'Village' area by the M1, was no different.

## COACH-BUILDER

When Clarence's closed down Bernard moved to Alexander's of Alexander Park Avenue off the Antrim Road. When it was destroyed in a bomb attack the firm moved to Newtownabbey and it was here that he met seventeen-



● Nine-month-old Bernard eyes the camera curiously in St. James' Crescent, 1951



● Bernard (left) and his elder brother Gerard in St. Helen's Bay, 1955. 'He and Gerard were like twins...'

year-old Bobby Sands from Rathcoole who was also an apprentice coach-builder, and whom he was to meet again in more fateful circumstances nine years later. But as loyalist assassinations intensified, and as Bernard's involvement with the Republican Movement deepened, he left work and became a full time IRA Volunteer.

Bernard's family find his involvement with the Republican Movement almost impossible to understand. There was no discernible change in his attitude after 1969 and his other brothers had also been required to do vigilante duties at the barricades, but they didn't follow the republican path. The family were very Catholic, more nationalist than republican and Bernard, obsessed with soccer and the fortunes of his favourite team, Celtic, showed no great interest in history.

Yet some change had come over Bernard and after the republican split he joined the IRA in 1970. The family guess that harassment played its part in his decision, although all incidents of British soldiers roughing him up came after his secret involvement.

However, when he was being stopped and beaten up on the street (often for giving back cheek

to the Brits) it was not because the Brits had knowledge that he was a republican, it was more routine harassment. Mrs. Fox can recall seeing the mark of a soldier's boot on his neck after one incident when he was flung to the ground and held.

## COMPANY

Bernard joined the local company, 'D' Company, which, despite St. James' being in the Falls area, was actually under the jurisdiction of the 1st Battalion in Andersonstown. He was on active service, where 'he could handle himself', says one comrade.

When the July 1972 IRA/Brit truce broke down he was based in Lenadoun during the fiercest gun battles which followed. That summer he became the 1st Battalion's training officer, and despite a rule at this time that staff officers were not supposed to operate, Bernard went out on active service and was charged with disobeying an order and actually court-martialled!

Bernard had a number of close shaves whilst evading arrest for fear of internment. He was driving a car through Gransha Way in Andersonstown, accompanied by a comrade, when they suddenly came upon a check-point. He

drove straight through the point and the Brits hitting everything in his way. On another occasion at the White Fort check-point, he was chased by a Whippet which opened the way for him to escape. Before his second term in the Falls in Rodney Parade, he and despite his efforts, he escaped through to a roof and away.

Amongst the boys was extremely popular. He appeared to be a fair minded, but his fair mindedness was through the Dunphy of the Jackets was a comrade and came upon him. Bernard was then snapped when your own head was in the In November 1978 he was arrested and



# A strong and confident republican whose politics are born from the barricades



Bernard (looking very pleased) and Neely with Santa Claus in 1955



● The Fox family pictured in 1970 (from left to right) Mr. and Mrs. Fox, George and Neely and (front) Bernard and Gerard



during his 'active service days' in 1977



● Bernard, following his first holy communion, 1959



● Gerard Fox, during the relatives' delegation to London last week



his face and say, 'Mammy, could you give me your odds (loose change). He would never hold spite. If I saw him coming in drunk now I wouldn't shake him. No.'

After being remanded in Crumlin Road jail, and then in the H-Blocks, Bernard was sentenced on February 21st 1979 to twelve years for the hotel bombing and five years concurrent for IRA membership. In April he was in the dock again on the charge related to the materials found in the car.

Despite accepting responsibility in order to clear the girl passenger she was given an eighteen months' suspended sentence (she had already spent six months in Armagh jail) and he was given another twelve years.

## BLANKET

Bernard immediately went on the blanket and no-wash protest. Mrs. Fox visited him throughout this period and whatever her reservations about the IRA she has stood by Bernard.

"I never went against anything that Bernard believed in. Years ago I said to him one day when he was arguing with me, 'If you get yourself into trouble, not outside that door will I go to see you.' He said, 'Would you not, mammy?' and I said, 'No. If you get yourself into trouble you'll get yourself out of trouble.'

"A couple of days later he said to me, 'Come here, I want you. Do you remember what you said to me the other day?' I couldn't remember, but he reminded me. 'You said if I got into trouble you wouldn't go outside the door to look at me. Did you mean it?'

"I said, 'No, Bernard son, you are always my son,' and he threw his arms around me."

Once during the no-wash protest Mrs. Fox asked him to come off the protest, do his time, and get out. Bernard told her she should not have come up if she was going to ask him to do that.

"That's that, I said, I'll never mention it again to him and if he hadn't have made me promise before he went on hunger-strike

not to intervene I'm sure I would have signed something.

"But he said to me, three weeks before going on hunger-strike, 'Mammy, I'll be going on hunger-strike, you don't know what it's like in here. I don't want you to do anything. Would you promise me that?' 'Yes Bernard,' I said, 'It's your life and whatever you want is alright with us.'"

## STRENGTH

Since Bernard Fox went on hunger-strike his home has been constantly visited by friends and neighbours offering their sympathy. Mass cards for their intentions bedeck a small table in the corner and the Foxes have drawn great strength from kind friends. (Simultaneously, British soldiers have intensified their patrolling of the neighbourhood. While Mrs. Fox was being interviewed for this article a Royal Marine Commando ran up to her gate and kicked it open, breaking the lock, before running off.)

Mrs. Margaret Doherty, mother of the late Kieran Doherty who died on hunger-strike in August, visited Mrs. Fox last week.

"I was sitting crying," says Mrs. Fox, "because I had heard that Bernard was having problems holding down the drinking water, when Mrs. Doherty came into the house and introduced herself. I said to her, 'Mrs. Doherty when I look at you I'm really ashamed of myself, for you have lost your son and I still have mine.' And I said, 'Look at the state I'm in.' "And she said, 'You wouldn't be a mother if you weren't in that state. Bernard will give you all the confidence you need. For our Kieran gave it to us. Where them boys get the courage from is beyond me.'"

When Mrs. Fox saw Bernard on hunger-strike she was struck and surprised by his serenity. "He was so strong, confident and positive that he was going to see it through... Bernard is our youngest but there was always something special about him," said the proud mother of a courageous son.

Kesh, where in Cage 3 he became a member of the staff and was on the escapes' committee; he became quarter-master and then adjutant. One of those who successfully escaped from Long Kesh was his friend John Green, a Lurgan man. John, disguised as a priest, walked out through the front gate; however two years later he was found murdered close to the border, believed to have been assassinated by the SAS.

Bernard was released from internment in March 1974 and immediately reported back to the IRA. This time he operated exclusively out of Andersonstown as a section leader over a squad of five active service Volunteers (the precursors of the cell system).

Again Bernard's republicanism expressed itself militarily. He rarely stayed at home, which was now often raided, and only a few months later, in October 1974, he was arrested from a friend's house in Rodney Drive.

Whilst he was being interrogated in Castlereagh republican prisoners had rioted and burned down Long Kesh, so Bernard and two others were kept in Castlereagh for nine days and during this time they went on hunger-and-thirst strike for visits and parcels which they actually won after a few days!

He was interned in Cage 4 where one fellow inmate states that 'doing time didn't annoy him'.

Because of his easy-going nature (at least in all relationships except his IRA commitment) and the fact that he rarely complains, Bernard's family, friends and even comrades had concluded that he was a highly unlikely candidate for hunger-strike. But he is a very loyal person and some of his comrades state that he would not allow others to carry the burden of hunger-strike without sharing it.

Bernard was released on the last day of internment in December 1975 and again reported back to the IRA's 1st Battalion.

When not working for the movement he would revert to a social life sometimes with his brothers, with whom he shares a very strong bond, or with not a few republican friends. He necessarily republican friends. He didn't smoke and would be quiet until he took a drink and then he would become boisterous and would serenade the stars before taking on the RUC single-handed.

## BARRACKS

In November 1977 Bernard's freedom came to an end.

On November 12th he was driving down the Whiterock Road

when the car failed at the junction with the Falls Road. A British army patrol rushed up to the car but Bernard escaped. A girl passenger in the car was charged with possessing detonators, fuse wire and incendiaries and she was remanded in custody.

Two weeks later soldiers raided a community centre in Beechmount during a darts tournament and arrested Bernard who gave a false name and address. He was taken to Springfield Road barracks then to Castlereagh and finally to Dunmurry barracks where, on the strength of an alleged verbal statement, he was charged with planning an attack on the Greenan Lodge Hotel on October 25th 1977 when eight armed and masked IRA Volunteers planted three bombs which destroyed the building. He was also charged with possession of the explosive materials found in the car a fortnight earlier.

When Mrs. Fox saw Bernard in Dunmurry he had a black eye and swollen nose, but true to character he made no complaint.

"Nothing would ever get him down," says his mother. Reminiscing she says, "Years ago I used to trail the hair off him for coming in drunk. He used to get up next morning with a big smile on



# hunger-strike....hunger-strike....hunger-strike.... hunger-strike

## South

THE continued development of the hunger-strike campaign was a feature of the last week in the twenty-six counties, during which activity on the street was mainly restricted to the now regular maintenance of pickets, information stalls, and vigils.

A new county action committee has been formed in County Wicklow which is now producing a newsletter and beginning a county-wide publicity campaign. As well as action groups in Bray and Wicklow town, another local group is being formed in Rathnew.

Galway's county committee has also brought together its local action groups from all over the county to a recent co-ordinating meeting which was addressed by Galway county councillor Frank Glynn.

In County Longford new local action groups have been formed in Mostrim and Ballinalee.

In Sligo a new group has been formed in Ballisodare.

In County Wexford a petition aimed at elected representatives in the county was formally launched on Saturday, 19th September, calling on them to urge the Coalition government to break off diplomatic relations with Britain. Already Wexford's county council and four local authorities have passed motions supporting the prisoners' five demands.

Longford county council, at its meeting last Monday, September 21st, unanimously passed a motion in support of the five demands.

Cavan county council, the previous week, passed a motion of sympathy to the family of Kieran Doherty, TD, and went on to pass a second resolution condemning the Dublin government for not

being represented at his funeral.

In Monaghan town a petition circulated in the Mullaghmat estate, seeking its re-naming as Kieran Doherty Park/Paice Ciaran O'Dochartaigh, has received overwhelming support from the residents in the nearly two hundred houses. The re-naming is to be proposed by local councillor Jim Lynagh at the next meeting of Monaghan UDC.

A door-to-door canvass is currently underway in Sligo town informing people of the up-to-date situation on the hunger-strike. Canvassers are reporting strong criticism of the Dublin government for its inaction on the issue.

There have also been reports of an increase in harassment of hunger-strike campaigners from the gardai. With another five men charged in the Special Criminal Court on Wednesday, 16th September, there are now nineteen people charged following the British embassy riot in July.

In County Donegal a large number of summonses have been issued to hunger-strike activists, mainly for slogan-painting, and local action groups have complained of an upsurge in general harassment from gardai.

In Sligo gardai have, for the second time, removed one hundred and fifty black flags which had been attached to telegraph poles by local campaigners.

Protest activity last weekend included a 'white-line' picket by thirty people in Monaghan town last Saturday, September 19th, and a similar picket the following day by fifty people at Castleblayney on the main Derry to Dublin road as fans travelled to Dublin for the All-Ireland football finals.

At Leixlip, in County Kildare, on Sunday a picket lined the main road from the west as fans travelled inwards and outwards.

Dublin campaigners handed out leaflets in Croke Park and took up a collect-



● Black flag vigil in Darrdale, Dublin, last Monday

ion. There were a number of hunger-strike banners around the ground during the match with one group taking up a temporary position in the VIP section, with hunger-strike posters. There was also a brief intervention on the pitch during half-time in support of the hunger-strikers.

Last Saturday, September 19th, about two hundred people attended an indoor public meeting in Navan, County Meath, which was addressed by Owen Carron.

In Donegal town, on the same day, local councillors Eddie Fullerton and Anthony O'Malley Dely addressed a rally which followed a march through the town.

In County Kildare a twelve-hour token fast was held outside Naas town hall.



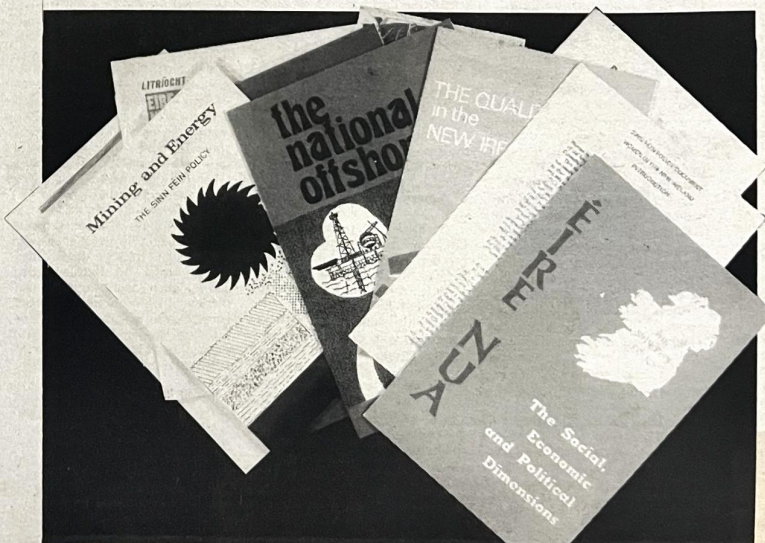
● The H-Block information stall outside the GPO, in Dublin, has attracted considerable attention from both Dubliners and tourists. The relay token hunger-strikes ensure that the stall is manned twenty-four hours a day



● One of the now familiar roadside pickets. This one was held in Drumcondra, Dublin, last Tuesday

## SINN FEIN for a Democratic Socialist Republic

TO JOIN Sinn Fein or to obtain Sinn Fein publications such as the recently produced 'Eire Nua: The Social, Economic and Political Dimensions' and 'Women in the New Ireland', contact your local cumann or head office, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, telephone: Dublin 726932.





## hunger-strike....hunger-strike....hunger-strike....

## North

THE past week has seen protests across the six counties maintaining broadly the same level as in previous weeks, though there is an increasing tendency for numbers to be successively depleted, a tendency which can be reversed, given hard work and — where possible — original forms of protest.

In two areas, at opposite ends of the six counties, there are in the coming week two separate and very different focal points around which sound and heartening H-Block campaign work can be done.

The first is the campaign, in South Armagh, to secure the election of Mr. James McCreesh, father of the dead hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh, to Newry and Mourne district council.

The second focal point is in Derry city where such work, and support from both within Derry and beyond, is needed to ensure a positive turn-out on two simultaneous marches being held to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of one of the first civil rights marches: in Derry on October 5th, 1968.

Derry activists have already produced an eight-page paper, 'Threshold', which covers the story of Derry's repression and resistance from 1968 to the present day.

On Thursday week, September 17th, ten members of the Derry hunger-strike committee held a collection at William Street/Waterloo Square. This collection was repeated the following day.

The money raised is to be used to help finance forthcoming marches in Derry. These include, in particular, the two demonstrations being held simultaneously in the city on Sunday, October 4th.

The first demonstration on October 4th will be the National Women's Assembly and cross-border march, with buses leaving the Bogside in Derry at 1 p.m. to ferry supporters to the Muff border. The march moves off at 1.30 p.m. towards the city, past Fort George and Strand Road interrogation centre, and meets up with the second demonstration on the Craigavon bridge shortly after 3 p.m.

The second demonstration assembles at the Waterside station in Duke Street and follows the route of the 1968 demonstration, to the Diamond, where speakers will include Eamonn McCann (who was on the original march) and Owen Carron. The organisers have appealed for as much support as possible, from outside Derry, as well as from the city itself.

Also on Thursday week, September 17th, in Toome, County Antrim, a twelve-hour vigil was held outside the O'Neill Arms hotel. Fifty people maintained the vigil throughout and their numbers were swollen by several hundred more as the vigil came to a close.

In Dungannon, County Tyrone, Rosaries continued to be held three days a week, and in Coalisland, also in the county, nightly protests outside the local barracks, which have been maintained for a considerable time, continued.

Last Saturday, in Belfast, a twenty-four-hour vigil was held on the Ander-



● The twenty-four-hour vigil held on the Andersonstown Road last Saturday which was physically attacked by Brits. Maurice McMullan, brother of hunger-striker Jackie, is on the left

sonstown Road — near the home of hunger-striker Jackie McMullan — by three members of the local action committee, including Jackie's brother, Maurice McMullan. On Saturday morning the protesters came under a barrage of insults from British soldiers who kicked over a mock coffin and snatched a tricolour.

On Saturday also, in the Kilwilkie and Teghnewan estates in Lurgan, County Armagh, about twenty members of the two local H-Block committees gave out leaflets from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Signatures were also collected on a petition in support of the five demands.

In Toome, on the County Derry side, the weekly vigil, lasting twelve hours, outside the Elk bar, continued. Fifty people were involved.

In Derry city, the Youth against Oppression group held a token hunger-strike from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. Also in Derry city, the Felons' Association held a car cavalcade through all the nationalist areas of the city, starting at 3 p.m., ending up where the Derry youths were staging their token hunger-strike. At 4 p.m. a rally was held in front of the monument commemorating Bloody Sunday, attended by one hundred people.

Also on Saturday, members of the Twinbrook action committee in west Belfast staged a 'white-line' protest at the entrance to the estate. In South Armagh, last Sunday, several meetings were held outside fifteen chapels as part of the campaign to secure the election of Mr. James McCreesh, father of dead hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh, to Newry and Mourne district council. Speakers included Jim Gibney, Joe Austin, Bernadette McAliskey, Aidan Corrigan and Kieran Nugent. Canvassing has taken place throughout the past week, aided by local H-Block action committees.

In Derry, canvassing was also taking place, in the Creggan estate, where about twenty members of the local action group went from door to door.

In the Waterside area of Derry,



● Members of the New Lodge action committee hand in a protest letter to Bishop Philbin's residence last week

several hundred people turned out to a torchlight procession and rally which ended at Hollymount. In the Bogside, at the same time, another torchlight procession was leaving the Bloody Sunday monument, ending at Our Lady's Grotto in Brandywell.

Meanwhile in Belfast, the following areas were picketing chapels and handing out leaflets: Divis Flats, Poleglass, Beechmount, Twinbrook, Turf Lodge and St. James'. At the same time, ten members of the New Lodge hunger-strike action committee went to the Somerton Road house of Bishop Philbin to hand in a letter of protest at the attitude of the Irish Catholic hierarchy to the hunger-strikers. The bishop was not available, and a priest received the letter in his place.

Ten members of the Newington action committee in north Belfast held a twelve-hour vigil and fast, on Sunday, outside the Holy Child chapel, after

which they handed in a letter of protest to the local priest who said, however, that he would not pray for the hunger-strikers.

The Springfield action committee, in west Belfast, also held a vigil outside Clonard monastery. During the vigil a 'white-line' picket took place.

On Monday, in Antrim, a public meeting was held in the Loughkill area from 8 p.m. to 9 p.m., attended by about fifty people.

Throughout the last week, in Belfast, all areas have been out collecting thousands of signatures on a petition calling on the SDLP to withdraw from local councils and to stop talking to the British government until the latter grant the prisoners' five demands. Also in Belfast last week, the youth committee organised five days of pickets outside secondary schools, and asked students to sign a petition in support of the prisoners.

## McCreesh or Thatcher?

NEXT Wednesday, September 30th, an important by-election is to take place in Area E of the Newry and Mourne district, to the district council, which will partially act as a barometer of nationalist feeling on the hunger-strike crisis, especially as to whether the nationalist electorate in that area are critical of the SDLP's failure to act decisively to end the hunger-strike.

Following the resignation of Tommy Lynch, who was elected to the district council as an independent anti-H-Block candidate, the SDLP forced a by-election in Area E by refusing to accept, as a co-option to fill

the vacant seat, Mr. James McCreesh from Camlough, father of the dead hunger-striker Raymond McCreesh. The forthcoming election, therefore, is a straight contest between SDLP candidate, Jack Mahon, and independent anti-H-Block/Armagh candidate, James McCreesh.

Area E is the main electoral ward in South Armagh, and includes villages such as Camlough, Crossmaglen, Forkhill and Silverbridge. The slogan of James McCreesh's campaign, which has been actively supported by individual members of the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, is 'People of South Armagh, McCreesh or Thatcher — the choice is yours'.

James McCreesh is standing for election on the

same basis — the prisoners' five just demands — as other elected prisoners' representatives: the late Bobby Sands and Kieran Doherty; Paddy Agnew and Owen Carron. His election agent, Joseph McElhew, chaired the graveside proceedings at the funeral of Raymond McCreesh, in Camlough, last May.

Help is needed urgently for canvassing and for car cavalcades, to ensure a prisoners' victory in this important by-election. Car cavalcades will be taking place from this Saturday until next Tuesday, inclusively. Those wishing to help in any way should contact James McCreesh's election workers at Beesbrook 838092, or (between 9 a.m. and midnight) his election office in Main Street, Camlough.

## WHAT'S ON

**HUNGER-STRIKE FUND-RAISING CONCERT**  
Music by Christy Moore & friends  
8 p.m. Friday 25th September  
Town Hall  
DUNDALK  
Admission £2.50

**HUNGER-STRIKE STUDENTS MEETING**  
All colleges invited to send representatives  
1 p.m. Saturday 26th September  
Students Union  
Trinity College  
DUBLIN  
Enquiries to Dublin 747200  
Organised by  
Students against H-Block/Armagh

**HUNGER-STRIKE MARCH & RALLY**  
2.30 p.m. Saturday 26th September  
The Glen  
WATERFORD CITY

**HUNGER-STRIKE YOUTH MARCH**  
2.30 p.m. Saturday 26th September  
St. Stephen's Green  
DUBLIN  
March to GPO for rally

**HUNGER-STRIKE TORCHLIGHT MARCH**  
8 p.m. Saturday 26th September  
Church Square  
MONAGHAN

**HUNGER-STRIKE FUND-RAISING SOCIAL**  
8 p.m. Saturday 26th September  
Ryan's Pub  
Parnell St.  
DUBLIN

**HUNGER-STRIKE FUND-RAISING SOCIAL**  
Music: Breige & River Road  
plus guest artists Patsy Farrell  
Saturday 26th September  
Crownstown Inn  
DELVIN  
Co. Westmeath

**SOCIAL NIGHT**  
Saturday 26th September  
Brehony's Lounge  
CLONRA  
County Longford  
Proceeds to Owen Carron election fund

**SINN FEIN MEETING COMRAIRE CUIGE MUNHAN**  
2.30 p.m. Sunday 27th September  
CASHLE  
Co. Tipperary  
Two delegates to attend from each comraire ceantar.

**HUNGER-STRIKE MARCH**  
7 p.m. Sunday 27th September  
ANNAGRY  
Co. Donegal

**H-BLOCK CONCERT**  
Speakers include  
Ruairi O'Bradaigh & prisoners' relatives  
Sunday 27th September  
LISDOONVARNA  
Co. Clare

**HUNGER-STRIKE MEETING**  
8 p.m. Wednesday 30th September  
GAA Hall  
RATHCOFFEY  
North Kildare

**CEILI IN AGHAIDH H-BLOCK**  
9 p.m. Friday 2nd October  
St. McCartan's Hall  
MONAGHAN

**HUNGER-STRIKE MARCH & RALLY**  
2 p.m. Saturday 3rd October  
Assemble Balrothery Roundabout  
Note change of assembly point  
March to Fenian Plaque  
TALLAGHT  
Dublin

**CHARITY CONCERT**  
Featuring the Freeman  
Monday 5th October  
St. Patrick's Hall  
DUNGANNON  
Co. Tyrone  
Admission £1.50  
Organised by Sinn Fein

**TRADITIONAL NIGHT**  
Music by Oul' Hand  
8 p.m. Thursday 8th October  
Pound Loney Club  
BELFAST  
Admission £1  
Organised by  
Lower Falls Commemoration Committee

**Thirteenth Anniversary of First Civil Rights March**

**Smash H-Block! Support the hunger-strikers!**  
Sunday 4th October  
Derry City  
Dublin Bus leaves Parnell Sq. 9 a.m.

**Women's Cross-border March**  
Assemble 1.30 p.m. Muff border  
March to join main march  
Buses to assembly point leave 1 p.m. Pilot's Row Centre, Bogside

**Main March**  
Assemble 3 p.m. Duke Street  
March over original route to rally in the Diamond  
Speakers include  
Owen Carron and Eamonn McCann



# hunger-strike...hunger-strike...hunger-strike... hunger-strike

## Abroad

THE hunger-strike campaign abroad received a major publicity boost this week in the form of long feature articles in the most widely selling American magazines, 'TV Guide' and 'Life'.

The cover story of 'TV Guide', which sells approximately forty million copies each week, was entitled 'The Battle for Northern Ireland — how television tips the balance'. The article itself was a thirteen-page treatment of international media coverage of the hunger-strike.

It included a statement by a British government spokesman in the United States: "I am very much aware that the opinion in the United States is severely against us. We have not enough resources to cancel this very skillful programme. American public opinion is very important to us, but there is no real interest in our side of the story in the United States in general. American politicians are for the North's reunification with the South of Ireland."

The prestigious 'Life' magazine did an eight-page feature story interviewing the families of the hunger-strikers.

The daily demonstrations in front of the British consulate in New York reached one hundred and sixty-five consecutive days last Wednesday, September 23rd. The previous Saturday about one thousand demonstrators were addressed by former blanket man John Deery and state assemblyman Sean Patrick Walsh.

Chicago and Boston also continue their campaign of weekly protests in front of the British consulates in those cities.

Other demonstrations last weekend were held in Detroit and San Francisco, and a memorial Mass for the deceased hunger-strikers in Connecticut received television coverage.

Also in Connecticut, the Great Hartford Labour Council and the Great Hartford Construction Trades Council have initiated a boycott against British goods and services, and have expressed their full support for the hunger-strikers.

Also in the United States, Belfast republican Desmond Mackin, who was arrested almost one year ago, whilst campaigning there on behalf of the



● Outdoor display of hunger-strike coverage in the French newspaper, L'Humanité, in Paris earlier this month

H-Block/Armagh prisoners, has been refused bail by Supreme Justice Thurgood Marshall.

Mackin is fighting an extradition attempt by Britain and some weeks ago

appeared on the point of freedom when federal magistrate Naomi Buchwald ruled that the actions for which he is wanted in Belfast are exempt from the extradition treaty with Britain under

the 'political offences exception'.

In spite of this success, Mackin has remained in prison whilst the United States government appeals on behalf of Britain.

The federal court decision has caused major embarrassment to the British government which is seen as allowing ten prisoners to die on the very issue of political status.

## Geneva conference

A CONFERENCE of three hundred delegates of non-governmental organisations representing indigenous nations from around the world was held at the United Nations building in Geneva last week.

The conference, the second of its kind at the United Nations, was concerned with the problems of historic peoples and cultural groups in resisting oppression and retaining their identities.

Among those taking part were Indian nations in North, Central, and South America, groups from Africa, Maoris, Aborigines, Lapps, Carribean islanders and Celtic peoples.

The conference condemned the systematic repression and genocide practised against indigenous peoples and pin-pointed the multi-national corporations as the plunderers of their lands and natural resources.

Richard Behal of Sinn Féin's Foreign Affairs Bureau was in attendance at the conference and received many expressions of support for the H-Block hunger-strikers from the international delegations.

At the end of the conference Behal was arrested by Swiss police and deported from the 'neutral' city. In spite of a number of visits by him to Switzerland in recent years, he was informed that there had been a ban on his entry to the country for the last six years.

The deportation follows the recent attempt by Spanish authorities to prevent Bernadette McAliskey from entering that country and is being interpreted as a response to major British pressure to counteract the international propaganda effects of the H-Block hunger-strike.



● Indigenous people from around the world march from their conference in Geneva to the United Nations buildings, led by Indian chiefs and medicine men



# hunger-strike....hunger-strike....hunger-strike.... hunger-strike

## Britain

**DOMINATING** hunger-strike activity in Britain last weekend was the visit to London by the one-hundred-strong delegation of relatives of H-Block and Armagh protesting prisoners led by Owen Carron, MP.

The delegation arrived in London on Thursday week, September 17th, and at Heathrow airport three of its members were arrested but were released twenty minutes later after Owen Carron had refused to go through the entry procedures until they were freed.

A press conference on Thursday afternoon at the Conway Hall in the centre of London drew major attention from the media. The conference was chaired by Lord Gifford and speakers included Francis Hurson, a brother of the dead hunger-striker Martin Hurson, Michael McCloskey, whose brother Liam is the leading hunger-striker, and the mother of plastic-bullet victim Julie Livingstone who also has two sons in the H-Blocks. Owen Carron also spoke.

On Thursday evening, a rally followed by a social was held at Camden Irish Centre in north London and attracted between six and seven hundred people. The meeting was chaired by Richard Balfe, Labour Party Euro-MP for London South.

Speakers included Goretti McDonnell, widow of hunger-striker Joe McDonnell; Harry McHugh, a founder member of the Federation of Irish Societies; and a representative of the Pan-African Congress.

Messages of support included ones from Bishop Colin de Winter of Namibia and from Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill.

Friday and Saturday were spent lobbying a variety of groups and individuals in London.

On Friday, a petition signed by the relatives was handed in to No. 10 Downing Street by a small group led by Owen Carron calling on premier Margaret Thatcher to accede to the prisoners' demands. The main deputation were stopped by police at the Whitehall entrance to Downing Street and a few counter-demonstrators shouted abuse and threw an egg at the relatives in a minor incident.

On Friday evening, a meeting was held in Caxton House, where the relatives met representatives of various liberation movements including African, Indonesian, Indian and Iranian contingents. Music was provided by a Chilean solidarity group.

Also on Friday evening, Goretti McDonnell addressed an audience at South Bank Polytechnic which included Labour Party councillors from south London. And a social event in South London Irish Centre was also addressed by relatives.

On Saturday morning, street meetings in Camden and Kilburn were addressed by relatives, and they also took part in a black flag vigil outside Downing Street for two hours in the afternoon.

On Saturday evening, groups of relatives met Camden councillors in north London and Hackney councillors at a social in Hackney Trades Hall in east London. Other relatives were given a good reception when they addressed



● Owen Carron addresses the press conference in central London describing the reasons for, and the aims of, the relatives' visit to London

social functions being held by the Fermanagh Association and the Wicklow Association in the Irish Centre in north London. And a large meeting-cum-social organised by the Namibia support group in Islington town hall was also addressed by relatives.

On Sunday morning, vigils were held outside Westminster Abbey and Westminster Cathedral. About fifty relatives formed a delegation to meet Cardinal Basil Hume, the head of the Catholic church in England and Wales.

However, he merely read to them from a prepared statement in which he offered no support and attempted to link the relatives to responsibility for 'the bloodshed of the last decade'. When he had finished reading the relatives left.

The delegation returned to Ireland on Sunday afternoon.

During the three-day visit, groups of relatives met with a wide variety of organisations and individuals, including Amnesty International, the National Council for Civil Liberties, several trade unions, the Church of England Bishop of London, the chaplain to the House of Commons, Labour Party MP Ernie Roberts, Labour councillors in London, Manchester Coventry and Birmingham, and Lord Fenner Brockway and Lord Longford. They also visited a number of foreign embassies in London and were particularly well received at the Tanzanian, Cuban, Algerian, Iraqi and Swedish embassies.

Owen Carron MP also had what was described as a 'friendly and positive' meeting with the National Executive of the Labour Party.



● Relatives of the hunger-strikers and protesting prisoners mount a black flag vigil outside the residence of British premier Thatcher in Whitehall



● An unusual aerial view of the black flag vigil held by relatives outside Westminster Cathedral



● Some relatives become visibly upset as one mother recounts details of British army brutality



## Andersonstown Martyrs

THE men and women of the 1st Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who gave their lives for Irish freedom during the present war, were remembered at the annual commemoration ceremony in Milltown cemetery last Sunday, September 20th.

As the colour party made its way to the republican plot, followed by the Cathal Brugha band, many local veteran republicans mingled in silent tribute to the fallen Volunteers.

The graveside ceremonies included a decade of the Rosary in Irish, the reading of the roll of honour, and the laying of wreaths on behalf of the Andersonstown Martyrs Commemoration Committee, the O'Carroll/Tierney Sinn Féin cumann, and relatives and friends of the fallen Volunteers.

The oration was given by Patrick McCotter. He said: 'Tá bród an domhain ormsa bheith anseo indiu chun omós a thabhairt do laochra an cheid chathlain a thug a raibh acu ar son na Poblachta.'

Pat quoted from Pearse's oration at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa and pointed out that the definition of freedom spoken of by Pearse was that same vision for which these Volunteers died, whether inside or outside prison: the thirty-two county socialist republic as proclaimed in 1916.

The 'Last Post' was played by Paul Wilson, brother of blanket man Padraig.

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### KILDARE SINN FÉIN

THE Frank Staggs Sinn Féin cumann in Kildare town has been reorganised, with the following officers elected: chair: Brian McGowan; secretary: Thomas McMahon; treasurer: Brian Finerty; organiser: Martin Carroll; and PRO: John Kenna.

Anyone who wishes to join Sinn Féin in the area should contact Tommy McMahon, 2543 Woodside Park, Kildare, or any other local Sinn Féin member.

### MEATH SINN FÉIN

A NEW Sinn Féin cumann has been formed in the Kentstown/Duleek area of County Meath. It is named the Larry Grogan/Sean South cumann. Anyone wishing to join it should contact Jimmy Lynch of Kentstown.

### SLIGO SINN FÉIN

AT a recent meeting of Sinn Féin in County Sligo, chaired by Sinn Féin vice-president Daithí O'Connell, the following county executive was elected: Gerry Bellew (Sligo); Sean McGoldrick and Paddy Keirns (Riverstown); John Murtagh (Tubbercurry); and Tom Love (Sligo), secretary.

Anyone wishing to join Sinn Féin in the county should contact Tom Love, at 41 St. Edward's Terrace, Sligo, or any other executive member.

### WATERFORD SINN FÉIN

A NEW officer board of the Cathal Brugha Sinn Féin cumann in Waterford city has been elected: chair: Joe Cummings; secretary: Donal Barry; treasurer: David English; PRO: Ray Coady; and election officer: John Dunphy.

### THE BALLAD OF BOBBY SANDS

THE Ballad of Bobby Sands is a single record produced by the Dublin City Ramblers on the Dolphin Records label, which also includes 'Farewell gallant comrades' and 'The woman cried'.

It is available from the Book Bureau, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, at a price, including postage, of £1.75. Bulk and foreign rates are available on request.

### THANKS

THE H-BLOCK APPEAL FUND wish to thank Sinn Féin (Britain) for their regular donations.

### RAFFLE RESULTS

THE result of the raffle at the fundraising social at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin, on Saturday 19th September was:- 1st prize: Christy Byrne, Cabra; 2nd prize: Micky Kelly, Ballymun.

The result of the Belfast H-Block ballot is that the winning ticket was a white one, no. 243, and the winner was Barbara Burns of Beechmount.

**Burke's at the back**  
BY KEVIN BURKE

# MAKING HIS MARK

THE Coalition's Minister for Justice, Jim Mitchell, seems to have made his mark at that office very quickly. His actions so far, however, have had the same flavour about them.

In the short period since taking up control of 'security' in July, Mitchell has had a cosy meeting with the leaders of the UDA and has now released the Littlejohn brothers.

Meanwhile, reporters who gave detailed descriptions of the vicious gardai assaults on helpless victims at the British embassy riot are still waiting to be interviewed with a view to the prosecution of the gardai concerned, along with the nineteen men so far brought before the Special Criminal Court on special charges for which they face maximum sentences of twenty years.

Don't hold your breath.

\*\*\*

And whilst we are on about the Littlejohns, how about these two headlines on the day they were released: the 'Evening Herald': 'Minister Departs Littlejohns'; and the 'Evening Press': 'Littlejohn Spies Set Free'. Well, they say there are two sides to every story.

\*\*\*

A prominent Louth publican, who also holds the contract for emptying the dustbins all over the county, was away from home the other weekend and indulging in a bit of mild boasting.

Apparently the dustbin contract from Louth county council is worth £150,000 to him, plus more money whenever there is a rise in the price of petrol. He only employs twelve men and claims never to have paid more than £1,000 for any of the four trucks used in the collection.

Sounds like the local authority could make a big saving by organising the job themselves.

By the way, he just had one complaint. The twelve men he employs are 'H-Block to a man' and have stopped work for the day for each of the ten funerals. Maybe they will be stopping work soon for a bigger share of the one hundred and fifty grand as well?

\*\*\*

But the public funds spent on the Louth dustbins are chicken-feed when it comes to the profit to be made by individual landowners. Re-zoning of land for housing and industrial use has given the Jones brothers, Gerry and Christopher, profits of £15 million courtesy of a Dublin county council vote.

More re-zoning votes have recently added another £100 million to the value of land in private ownership, most of these in defiance of the views of council planning officials.

The Fianna Fail connection appears to be a strong link in this profiteering. Gerry Jones is a close confidante of Charles Haughey, who himself is reputed to have made his fortune in the same way. Other Fianna Fail backers on this gravy train with Haughey were the other Dublin building brothers, the Gallaghers.

Last year, then Fianna Fail deputy, Liam Lawlor, almost pulled off a similar coup when



● Even at the height of last July's British embassy riot one garda appears to have kept enough presence of mind to collect some useful evidence

his buddies on the Dublin county council rezoned land he owns in Lucan. But the outcry which followed brought a strong possibility that the decision will be reversed, and the bad publicity also contributed to Lawlor losing his seat at the last election.

And don't tell me that Gerry Jones is a regular H-Block marcher and supporter. I know he is. But that's a broad-based single issue campaign; it does not exclude political criticism between those involved - remember?

\*\*\*

Just arrived in the office for review is a book entitled 'Terror in Ireland' by a character with the unbelievable name of Edgar O'Ballance. O'Ballance has apparently churned out some twenty other books as an apologist for imperialism in the Middle East, Korea, Vietnam and so on. This one on Ireland is no exception.

The book is so blatant in its pro-Brit propaganda that it almost becomes farcical. The RUC are 'much-smear'd', the British army have 'conducted themselves magnificently', and the Peace People 'remain a prominent organisation' (although Cairan (sic) McKeown

shows 'marked support for the Republican cause!')

Most amazingly, for a book published in September 1981, the most dynamic issue of the decade - the H-Block crisis - is hardly mentioned.

For error-spotters the book is an absolute delight, with a mistake at least every five pages. O'Ballance is apparently unaware of IRA claims for the executions of Mountbatten and the British ambassador, and for operations on the European continent; and speculates stupidly about who might have done them. Yet he finds no problem attributing the Dublin bombs to the IRA.

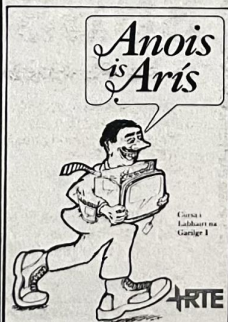
In the press release boosting this hopeless publication, we are told that 'important disclosures' in the book include the naming of the current Chief of Staff of the IRA.

But before your curiosity gets the better of you, balance (or o'balance!) this information against an earlier part of the book where we are repeatedly told that the IRA Chief of Staff from 1926 through the 'thirties was Seamus Twomey.

A precocious infant indeed!

# Spoken Irish course

LE TOMÁS Ó SÉ



AFTER many years of neglect RTE has finally given in to continuous pressure from Irish language groups and will begin in the near future to broadcast a course in spoken Irish. This victory, after many years of protest will encourage Irish speakers to press for a proper service in Irish.

'Anois is Arís' is the title of a first stage course in spoken Irish to be launched in November. The course is intended for those who have never been able to speak Irish, or whose spoken Irish is rusty or almost forgotten. It will be particularly helpful for parents of school-going families.

'Anois is Arís' will comprise three essential parts:

1) A twenty-minute weekly

television series on RTÉ 1, repeated on RTE 2.

2) A complementary radio series on Radio 1, repeated on Radio 2.

3) A fully-illustrated book reinforcing, chapter by chapter, each weekly step of the broadcasts. It is hoped that study groups will be set up. Conradh na Gaeilge, Cumann Luthchleas Gael and Bord na Gaeilge will be co-operating in the establishment of these groups. Many of the evening classes will

be joining in the course.

For advice on study groups in any locality, contact either the local Adult Education Officer or Bord na Gaeilge, 7 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.

The book for the course is now available in some shops. It costs £2.88 and is well worth the money.

'Anois is Arís' will be transmitted on television on RTE 1 every Wednesday at 6.30 p.m. starting on November 11th, and on RTE 2 every Monday at 8.45 p.m. starting on November 16th; and, on radio, on Radio 1 every Sunday at 2 p.m. starting on November 15th, and on Radio 2 every Saturday at 8 p.m. starting on November 21st.



# Solidarity Greetings

**CARVILLE, Gerry.** (H-Block). South Down Comhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin, sends solidarity greetings to Gerry Carville at present on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks.

**DUMMIGAN, Kevin.** (H-Block). Solidarity greetings, Kevin, on completing one year on the blanket on September 22nd. From your loving father, mother and brothers.

**GOUGH, John; MURPHY, Liam; MCKEE, Aidy; PICKERING, John.** (H-Block). Solidarity greetings to John, Liam, birthday wish to the two Johns. "It is not they who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who will conquer." Venceremos. From Patricia and Bernard Downey.

**McCANN, Damien.** (H-Block). Solidarity greetings, Damien, on completing one year on the blanket on September 22nd. From your loving mother, brother and sister.

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). Solidarity greetings to our dear son, Terry, on completing four years on the blanket on September 21st. God bless Ireland's blanket men, make their burden light to bear, the world will know the blanket is the noblest uniform we wear. Dear mother of God, wrap your blue mantle around my son and all his brave comrades in the hell hole of H-Block. Always in the thoughts and prayers of your loving mum and dad.

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Terry, on completing four years on the blanket protest on September 21st. Freedom and justice is hard won but with courage and determination we shall overcome. Blessed

are those who hunger for justice. God bless you and all your brave comrades. From your loving sister Josie. UTP, brother-in-law Martin and family, and your sister Nancy, brother-in-law Charlie and Charlie Junior.

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Terence, on completing four years on the blanket camp. Victory to you and your brave comrades. From the O'Brien family.

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). I am proud of you, my brave comrade, on completing four years on the blanket. Keep up your heart, for victory will be yours. From Seamus

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Terry, on completing four years on the blanket protest on September 21st. You lie in a dungeon dark and bare, and never greatest fear and so the says you have to time. From your loving sister Rosie and

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Terry, on completing four years on the blanket protest on September 21st. "When you are marching men, and your heart starts at the cause." From your brother

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Terry, on completing four years on the blanket protest on September 21st. "I'll wear no convict's uniform, nor meekly serve my time, that Britain might make Ireland's

light eight hundred years of crime." Thinking of you always, and your comrades on hunger-strike. UTP. From your loving sister Margaret, brother-in-law Patsy, nephews, and nieces.

**MCCULLOUGH, Terry 'Pee Wee'.** (H-Block). I am very proud of you today for having completed four years on the blanket. Keep your chin up. From Kevin Montgomery.

**McGOWN, Gerard.** (H-Block). Solidarity greetings to Gerard on completing one year on the blanket on September 22nd. "They may have you in their keeping, but I have you in my heart." Thinking of you always, from your loving fiancée Ann.

**O'BRIEN, Seamus.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Seamus, on completing four years on the blanket. From Mr. and Mrs. McCullough and family.

**O'BRIEN, Seamus.** (H-Block). We salute you, gallant brother, on completing four years on the blanket protest. We stand beside you and all your brave comrades on hunger-strike. From your brothers Sean and Kevin.

**O'BRIEN, Seamus.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Seamus, on completing four years on the blanket. "I will wear no convict's uniform, nor meekly serve my time, that Britain might make Ireland's

light eight hundred years of crime." Thinking of you always. Victory to the gallant hunger-strikers and to your comrades on the blanket. From mother and father.

**O'BRIEN, Seamus.** (H-Block). Congratulations, Seamus, on completing four years on the blanket protest. God bless you and all your comrades. UTP. Love from brother Dermot, Lucy, and family.

**MCKENNA, Brendan.** (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday, Brendan. Lots of love from mum and Carmel.

**MCKENNA, Brendan.** (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday, Brendan. From Eoin and Marian.

**MCKENNA, Brendan.** (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday, Brendan. Wishing you all the best. All our love, from your loving wife Mena, and daughters Deirdre and Rosaleen.

**MCKENNA, Brendan.** (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday, Brendan. Wishing you a very happy return. From Mollie and Joe.

**MCKENNA, Brendan.** (Crumlin Road). Greetings to you on your birthday, Brendan. From Carol, Gerard and family.

**MCKENNA, Laurence.** (Muskerry Park Hospital). Wishing you a very happy birthday. From the Toome/Creggan RAC.

**O'CONNOR, Ellis.** (Armagh). Happy birthday, Ellis. You're getting old, mucker. Hat Ha! We're looking forward to seeing you next month. xxxxx. Geordie, Mick, Eide, George and Kevin

**O'CONNOR, Ellis.** (Armagh). Happy birthday, Ellis. Thank God it's your last inside. See you next month. Patsy, Pat, Seamus, Nancy and Sinead.

## BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). Many happy returns on your birthday, Martin. Keep your spirits up, as victory will be yours. God bless, love mum and dad.

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). All the best to your birthday, Martin. They may lock you away, but your rights, but Ireland's true son will continue to fight. Love Isabel and John.

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). Sincere good wishes to you, Martin on your birthday, and to all your comrades on your resistance to Britain's criminalisation policy. Though separated by three thousand miles of sea we stand by you in your struggle to be free. Love Marie, AJ and Sean, George, USA.

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). All the best to your birthday. Keep the spirits up, Martin. From Joe, Bridie and family, Rita, Liam and family.

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). All the best, Martin, on your birthday. It does not use a special day to bring you to my mind, for a day without a thought of you is very hard to find. Lots of love, from your loving mother and father.

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). All the best, Martin, on your birthday. No-one could be prouder than we are of you today, and this message comes to tell

you we're behind you all the way. Love Helen, Martin, Ronan, Aisling, and Eoin.

**BRADLEY, Martin.** (H-Block). Best wishes on your birthday, Martin. "It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can endure the most who will ultimately triumph." Love Charlie and Margaret.

**BRADY, Martin.** (Long Lartin, England). Many happy returns on your birthday, Martin. You are always in our thoughts and prayers. We will have a drink for you, Victory to the hunger-strikers. UTP. From the McDonnell family.

**BRADY, Martin.** (Long Lartin, England). Happy birthday, Martin. We never forget you and all the POWs in English jails. "They have you in their keeping, we have you in our hearts." Thinking of you today and every day. UTP. All our love, Eileen and Patsy McCullough and family.

**LAVERY, John Henry.** (H-Block). Happy birthday, Sean. From mum, dad, brothers, sisters and all your friends around Toome.

**LAVERY, John Henry.** (H-Block). Wishing you a very happy birthday, Sean. From your brother Seamus (Magilligan).

**MCKENNA, Brendan.** (Crumlin Road). Happy birthday, Brendan. From Mick, Treasa and family.



## MEMORIAM

**BRYSAN, James.** (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. James Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was murdered by renegade Irishmen. Died September 22nd 1973. "Mother Ireland, take him to thy breast, this soldier-son who died for thee." Always remembered by his granny, aunt Joan, and family.

**BRYSAN, James.** (8th Anniversary). In proud memory of our dear uncle, Vol. James Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, murdered by renegade Irishmen. Died September 22nd 1973. Remembered always by his nephews David, John and Billy, and nieces Tracy and Martine.

**BRYSAN, James.** (8th Anniversary). In proud memory of our brother, Vol. James Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was murdered by renegades. Died September 22nd 1973. No words are needed, we'll never forget. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him. Always remembered by his loving sisters, Jean and Margaret, and families.

**BRYSAN, James.** (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother, Vol. James Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was murdered by renegade Irishmen. Died September 22nd 1973. Always remembered by his brothers, Bobby and Albert, and families.

**BRYSAN, James.** (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my uncle, Vol. James Bryson, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who died on September 22nd 1973. Always remembered by his mother and father.

**BRYSAN, James.** (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother, Vol. James Bryson, who died September 22nd 1973, murdered by renegade Irishmen. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always missed and remembered by Teasy, Mick and family, Australia.

**GLYNN, Sean.** (45th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Sean Glynn, who died in Arbour Hill prison 4th September 1936. Remembered with pride by Limerick Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my friend Jim, who died on September 26th 1980. A life springs from death, and from the graves of patriots men and women spring living nations." Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his friend Patsy Hickey (Long Kesh).

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend Jim, who died on September 26th 1980. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his friend Mrs. Hickey and family.

## Sympathy

**BOLAND, The Sean Tracey Sinn Féin** comhairle ceantair, offers most sincere sympathy to the wife and family of the late Andy Boland. Mary Queen of the Gael pray for him.

**HAUGHTON, Dublin Battalion, Na Fianna Eireann,** deeply regrets the tragic death of a young man and a woman, Mary Haughton, mother of Adam, and extends our most heartfelt sympathy to his family and friends.

**HAUGHTON, Na Fianna Eireann** extends its deepest sympathy to our comrade and friend Adam on the death of his mother Mrs. Mary Haughton. Ar dheis Dé go raib a h-anam dílis.

**HAUGHTON, Comhairle Átha Cliath, Sinn Féin,** extends deepest sympathy to Adam Haughton on the death of his mother.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). The committee and members of the Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair in west Hertfordshire remember with pride the late Jim Reilly, former chairman of Luton Sinn Féin, whose anniversary occurs on September 26th. Go ndámna Dia tróscáir a a nam.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear friend Jim, who died on September 26th 1980. Always remembered and sadly missed by Eilish Carlisle.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of our friend and comrade Jim, "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by Fiamh Higgins (H5) and Gerald Rooney (Portlaoise).

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of our good friend Jim. Mary Queen of the Gael intercede in his behalf. Never forgotten by the Higgins family circle.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). The Sinn Féin POW Department in Britain remember with pride their comrade and friend, Jim. We continue to strive for the goal to which you tirelessly dedicated your life. United we will succeed.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Jim Reilly, Luton Sinn Féin, and Home Counties organiser, who died in hospital on Friday 26th September 1980. Jim was a life-long revolutionary republican fighter who worked right up to the moment of his death. Jim was a great loss to both the Republican Movement and to the British working class. He will be missed. Jim was a dedicated republican and convinced socialist. The RCG, London, salutes his memory.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Jim Reilly, Sinn Féin (Belfast), who died on September 26th 1980. Jim was a great loss to ag abair ar son saoirse multir na hEireann. Always remembered by the workers of Green Cross '73.

**REILLY, Jim.** (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of a loyal and true friend, Jim. Always missed and remembered with pride and affection by all the members of the Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin cumann, west London.

**QUIGLEY, Jimmy.** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Jimmy Quigley, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot dead while on active service duty on September 26th 1972. Thus he was a great loss to agas abair ar son saoirse multir na hEireann. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

**QUIGLEY, Michael.** (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Michael Quigley, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hEireann, who was shot dead on September 17th 1972. Always remembered by Derry Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair and cumann. They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution."

**HAUGHTON, The Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin** cumann extends deepest sympathy to Adam Haughton on the death of his mother.

**HAUGHTON.** The members of the Dorothy Maguire Sinn Féin cumann, the Billy Reid slua of Na Fianna Eireann, and an Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown, extend our most sincere sympathy to our friend and comrade Adam, and his family, on the recent death of his mother. May she rest in peace.

**O'BRIEN, Limerick Sinn Féin Comhairle** Ceantair extends deepest sympathy to Johnny O'Brien on the recent death of his sister.

**THE IRISH NORTHERN AID COMMITTEE** extends sympathy to the families and comrades of the deceased hunger-strikers and pledges continued support for the participating hunger-strikers in their sacrifice and the validity of their struggle.

**QUIRKE.** The family of the late Catherine Quirke wish to express their sincerest thanks to all the republican families for the kind messages of sympathy in their recent sad bereavement and in particular for their kindness to Kevin McCroan (Portlaoise). Trusting this will be accepted by all in grateful appreciation. The holy sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for their intentions.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

**HUGHES.** The family of the late Ned Hughes wish to sincerely thank Monaghan Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair, the John Green Sinn Féin cumann Castleblayney, Monaghan H-Block/Armagh co-ordinating committee, Carrickmacross and Castleblayney H-Block/Armagh committees, the republican guard of honour and comrades in Long Kesh for their Mass cards and floral tributes. The holy sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for all their intentions.

**LYNCH.** The father, mother, brothers and sisters of the late Kevin Martin Lynch, R.I.P., wish to sincerely thank all his comrades in Long Kesh, Armagh,

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# THATCHER BOOSTS IRA

## SDLP hypocrisy exposed as secret meetings revealed

BY PETER ARNLIS

THE path well-trodden by assistant Long Kesh prison chaplain, Fr. Denis Faul, of attacking the hunger-strike and spreading demoralisation and defeatism has opened up, as predicted, a gap for the cornered SDLP leadership to escape through.

After a party think-in held in Donegal last weekend, SDLP leader John Hume launched a vicious attack on the National H-Block/Armagh Committee.

To date all nationalist critics of the hunger-strike, be they in the South or the North, have expediently held the prisoners above criticism as they are unassailable in the eyes of the nationalist people who recognise them as courageous heroes.

Instead critics have attempted to undermine the hunger-strike by attacking the IRA or Sinn Féin, by upholding the myth that the hunger-strike is somehow directed and manipulated from outside the prison.

Then came the moral assault on distressed relatives by Bishop Daly and a host of clerics who were so fulsome in their praise of Mrs. Catherine Quinn (who sanctioned medical intervention for her son Paddy) that by implication they were dangerously close to creating a new 'mortal sin' on the souls of those relatives who withstood the moral blackmail and did not sanction intervention for their sons or husbands.

### LULL

Since Pat McKeown was taken off hunger-strike on August 20th there has been a lull in the hunger-strike campaign as it has been some weeks before Liam McCloskey has come close to death, followed by the weekly threat of further hunger-strikers' deaths.

In this period the Irish establishment has consolidated its resistance to putting effective diplomatic, political and moral pressure on the British, in the hope that the hunger-strike will collapse.

Thus, Free State premier Garret FitzGerald refused to meet Owen Carron, MP, and the SDLP refused to withdraw from the council chambers. The continued silence of Cardinal O Fiaich on the issue has been made more deafening given his hypocritical outbursts attacking recent IRA operations, while the plastic bullet war of the Brits and RUC goes unchallenged as does the sectarian assassinations of innocent Catholics by the legal loyalist paramilitary body, the UDA.

### MIRROR

John Hume must have been looking in the mirror when he ridiculously described the National H-Block/Armagh Committee as 'lacking in credibility'. But, it was his linking the committee to the IRA and INLA, which he described as being 'constituent parts', which (in view of recent loyalist killings and past assass-



● Owen Carron MP, at Thatcher's Downing Street residence on Friday week, 18th September, followed by Michael McCloskey (left), brother of hunger-striker Liam; Gerard Fox, brother of hunger-striker Bernard; and Francis Hurson (right) brother of one of the dead hunger-strikers, Martin — being informed by one of Thatcher's aides that the Brit premier refuses to see them

inations of committee members) drew a sharp call from the committee for him to substantiate the reckless charge or withdraw.

As the committee pointed out, these objections — raised now to excuse the SDLP from taking action — were never raised by the SDLP, or its leader, before in meetings between them, or by executive member Paddy Duffy who attended the recent Dundalk conference.

Owen Carron, MP, in attacking the SDLP, said: "The SDLP has never, during their existence as a party, stood up to the British government on any issue involving Irish sovereignty. On the contrary they have involved themselves in every British-inspired scheme aimed directly at perpetuating the partition of the country."

### SECRET

Owen went on to say that the SDLP never raised these objections during meetings held with H-Block campaign leaders or with Sinn Féin. The latter reference was to a series of hitherto secret meetings held between republicans and SDLP leaders to discuss nationalist politics in the

last few months of 1980 and other meetings to discuss the hunger-strike.

Joe Austin and Danny Morrison met Seamus Mallon and Sean McEvoy, chairman of Newry and Mourne district council, twice in Dundalk; the two republicans later met Mallon in Belfast in December; and Martin McGuinness and Danny Morrison met party leader John Hume, at his request in Derry on Boxing Day 1980.

However, the SDLP attack on the National H-Block/Armagh Committee and their attempts to put a brave face on the outcome of their weekend conference are, according to reliable sources close to the SDLP, a cover-up for a seriously demoralised party, worried about the republican electoral threat and split over its publicly perceived attitudes to the hunger-strike which some members recognise as contributing to its loss of support.

### PRIOR

The Irish establishment, of which the middle-class SDLP is the Northern political expression, has withstood (but at a cost) all pressures to act



■ SEAMUS MALLON  
deputy SDLP leader, met republicans in Dundalk and Belfast

in a radical fashion against the Brits, in the vain hope that appeals to British rationale would elicit a settlement to the hunger-strike.

Their main hope now lies in the appointment of James Prior as direct-ruler. Last Thursday he descended on the H-Blocks for three hours to see conditions for himself and would make no comment afterwards. Prior has also spent this last week receiving the various native chieftains up at Stormont castle, snoring over their pleas and unwanted remedies.

But Prior has attracted attention for his statement upon being thrust into the Stormont bunker that he would stake his political reputation on achieving 'success' — that is, stabilising the North. He has a reputation as a negotiator, but his exact working, political relationship with Thatcher and his brief on the North are not yet clear.

### PANORAMA

The political and military costs of the hunger-strike to the Brits, Free Staters and SDLP were evaluated in a BBC television documentary 'Panorama', last Monday evening. The team spent six weeks researching the programme and concluded that high calibre IRA recruitment has been doubled, Irish-American sympathy and support for the republican cause has multiplied, and that the Republican Movement has made massive political gains.

Peter Taylor, who presented the programme, examined the IRA's current training manual and said that the IRA emerge as 'an organised and disciplined guerrilla force'. The IRA's strategy — long-term revolutionary war, which was announced in the autumn of 1978 — is now complemented by the necessary, political conversion and alienation of wide sections of the nationalist people.

Loyalists subsequently attacked the programme as 'IRA propaganda', but all that the programme did was paint reality: how the continuation of the British government's criminalisation and inflexibility on the hunger-strike is having the exact opposite effect to that originally intended.