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Irish Republican Movement

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THE KEY TO TRUE FREEDOM - SOCIALISM

A BULLETIN OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, LONG KESH

THE KEY TO TRUE FREEDOM -
SOCIALISM



Number 3

SEPTEMBER, 1973.

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TO THE READER

This paper is totally written by Republican prisoners in Long Kesh - both sentenced and interned - and represents their views as seen from the world of the prison cell and barbed-wire cage. If you, the reader wish to comment on the paper, its contents, lay-out, etc., write to . . . Kitty O'Kane, 14 Ton St., Belfast, or Malachy McGurran, 56 Brownlow Ter., Lurgan, Craigavon, Co. Armagh. The profits, if any, from this paper go directly to the prisoners themselves, in Long Kesh to help finance their co-operative and other activities.

BRITISH JUSTICE ?

BRITISH JUSTICE HAS TAKEN ANOTHER TURN FOR THE WORSE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

First of all we had to contend with Internment without trial.

Next we had forced upon us, the spectacle of a hooded "bogey man" sitting behind a screen condemning us out of hand.

But now the British Judiciary has reached an all time low.

If a policeman or British soldier takes a dislike to anyone, all he has to do is charge the victim of his dislike with, say, riotous behaviour and that unfortunate will immediately be thrown into prison to await trial.

It is true that he or she may be granted bail in the high court but the list of appellants app'ving to this court will be so long that many people will have been tried and acquitted before their bail application can be heard.

It goes without saying that these innocent people will have no claim to recompense for loss of earnings during their time or wrongful imprisonment. Anyway, what compensation can there be for a family to have a loved one imprisoned just to satisfy the whim of a sadist?

This, then is a facet of British Justice, the justice which the English proclaim to be the finest in the world. I think it would be advisable to forewarn the people of Scotland, Wales and England herself, that these repressive laws being used in their name against the people of Northern Ireland to-day, can, and most likely will be directed against them to-morrow.



Every new set of circumstances is another serious test to a radical movement in its work to being about a Socialist society. It is through this perspective that we of the Republican Movement must view our progress in a somewhat flexible situation, such as we have at the moment — more flexible than for some time — when old alliances are breaking down leaving a cauldron from which it is possible for any sort of new political alliances to emerge.

Since it is our object to build a just society through implementing Socialism, we must reach the minds of the people so that they can understand what socialism is, otherwise, we can be misunderstood. To bring about understanding we find it necessary to use many platforms and mediums. Of course, we must contend with the shut doors of the establishment institutions — especially the news media, which is representative of shut minds or ruled by the ideas of knaves.

Through the pressures in a flexible political situation, people do a deeper analysis of political ideologies, both their own and those presented around them. At such a point it is very important for a radical movement, such as ours, to present our views intelligibly and determinably. People will then rationalise about the radical movements motives and in their doing so such disparagements as the Reds under the bed scare will disappear. They will understand that the radicals are only trying to bring about justice and a happier society.

We in prison often debate and discuss the difficulties of building Socialism to some extent within the framework of a Capitalist society before total radical change would take place. It is understandable that in this circumstance any Socialist base in society would have difficulties while Capitalists rule.

But interesting ideas have been mooted. For instance, two different types of co-ops, a consumers and a producers, could work together for their mutual benefit.

The producers co-op could consist of small farmers and horticulturists who could supply the consumers co-op with fresh vegetables, fruit, potatoes, fresh meat and eggs, milk and many other items useful to the consumer.

Such a combination would be based largely on a rural-urban axis, and would benefit both farmer and housewife.

A national bank for credit unions could be established for the purpose of financing the setting up of co-ops.

Another type of base could be the establishment of communes of families interested in the practice of Socialism. Such a commune, while having its own housing, could establish and control its own school, marketing centre and have a community centre for recreational, cultural sporting and other community activities.

In building Socialism, a radical movement must be careful whether its involvement in constitutional politics will change the system or not. It would be dangerous to lay too much stress on the role of Parliamentary politics as means of change. They could prove merely a distraction on the way to the objective.

As yet very little radical change has been effected anywhere in the world by purely parliamentary means. Always the real work is done at grass root level among the ordinary people and the key to success at this level is a capable local leadership. A badly led movement at the local level can bring genuine policies and the movement into disrepute. But parliamentary politics can be a useful platform for exposing the enemy.

Ireland's trade union movement has largely a false leadership which is continually compromising with the Capitalists to the detriment of the workers and to the advantage of these vampires who feast on the backs of workers. Our movement could do a lot to improve the worthiness of the trade union movement.

Then we have the small farmers and fishermen who should be organised into structures to protect them from the monopoly capitalists in Brussels and their agents at home. As yet, the full weight of oppressive

Editorial

Working towards a Socialist Ireland



E.E.C. policies has not fallen on them.

There are also the tenants organisations and kindred organisations that protect the ordinary people and help them to resist the inroads of an oppressive system. With the creation of new dimensions in social, economic, political and military spheres of our society's life, it may always be necessary to set up new organisations in the defence of the working class.

In the struggle towards a Socialist society in our own land, it is very important to have the sympathy of friendly nations and radical movements abroad. A victory by another oppressed people is a victory for us all. The sorrow of another oppressed people shared is a sorrow halved. In reverse it is the same for us.

It is only from democratic organisations of the people that true freedom and justice can come. Our present system of political parties contesting Parliamentary elections has nothing in common with democracy, although all the confidence tricksters of our present establishment and professional politicians will tell us that this is democracy.

They do not even understand the simple dictionary definition — state practising Government by the people. It does not say government by a political party. What right has any political party to lord over all the people of a country as a government when it only represents part of the people. Often these political party governments are only minority governments.

We have a great example in our own country. Consider that during the southern elections little over two thirds of the people vote. The voting itself is divided nearly in equal parts in support of the opposing political factions. Results from this type of election has left Southern Ireland ruled by minority governments decades of years.

The task of achieving a Socialist system in Ireland will not be easy. It will take a strong well disciplined movement to act as the vanguard of the peoples' organisations, inspiring them and having a clear-headed leadership.

The main task of the moment is to raise the levels of consciousness of the masses concerning the rights and wrongs affecting them and how their wrongs can be redressed.

In the final analysis, it will take men and women with minds of steel and the hearts of lions to initiate, conduct and carry out the plan towards radical change and bring to a close the final, inglorious chapter of our present unjust and corrupt establishment.

The comments in this editorial are not a final word on the building of socialism in Ireland. They are meant to activate thought on the subject to extend existing ideas and even present new angles and so to help the task of achieving a just society easier.

Prisoners' Roll Call

Some names were unpublished in the last issue of our paper. New prisoners have joined us:

Patsy Morgan; Danny McIlwaine; Tony Smyth; Gerald Campbell; Jim Grimley; Joe Cush; Roger Torney; Sean Curry; Brendan Turley; Jim McVeigh and Jim McLoughlin.



"MURPHY - I TOLD YOU ABOUT CLIMBING THAT WIRE!"

Meditation

My heart is laden — it will burst
With love to set a stone on fire!
Creation is my only thirst,
A child's caress my one desire . . .

How can I? . . . Look: the hamlets burn
With infants murdered in their cradles
And who will blame me if in turn
I'm hounding, wrecking, striking, deadly?

I know that in this hatred may
My youthful life in ashes perish.
But is there any other way
To save the only things I cherish?
. . . A Bulgarian Partisan.



THE PRISONERS' HANDICRAFT CO-OP

WHEN political status was first granted in June, 1972, the members of the OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN Movement, decided to set-up a Prisoners' Co-Op. We are now in Cage 9, Long Kesh, despite our ups and downs the Co-op is still operating successfully.

There are two main reasons for starting the Co-op. It would serve as a prime example of Socialism in action, and it would help subsidise our own welfare without putting any added strain on our families.

Most of the prisoners here in this Cage are engaged in producing something for the Co-op. The normal hours for working are between 10 a.m. and 12 noon, and between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m. This way we can divide our day and feel as though we are doing something useful for ourselves.

In manufacturing the various articles, only the finest materials are used and we always try to ensure that the work is of the highest quality. Since the introduction of S.E.T. however, we have had to increase the price of our leather goods as there is a 50% in the cost price and a further 100% on carriage. Other materials have risen in price though not on such a scale. The items we produce are mainly sold in Ireland, although quite a lot are sent to England, Canada and the United States. Some of the items produced are . . . Celtic Crosses, Irish Harps, Wall plaques, Men's wallets, Ladies wallet-purses and framed decorated hankies.

Anyone making enquiries regarding prices etc. should write to our manager: PAUL HEMSWORTH, Cage 9, Long Kesh, Lisburn. We can assure you that we will give every inquiry our fullest attention.



The Pitiful Story of the Prisoner and His Visits

To the majority of people the weekend is the pinnacle of the week because its their time for tranquility, enjoyment and relaxation. The strains and anxieties of work are forgotten — until Monday morning comes.

The weekend for some means a picnic, a visit to the zoo, or cleaning the car. For others less fortunate, it consists of a long arduous journey to Long Kesh Concentration Camp. The visit takes precedence over these peoples weekend activities.

Husbands, fathers, sons and brothers are all remembered, loved and missed by those left at home who faithfully share their loved ones plight, deprivation, hardship and harrassment that compose life in Long Kesh.

The daily life of the camp is marked by a combination of tension and resignation. A state of ennui caused by a lack of living facilities and an absence of recreational activities affects its entire population.

Building site conditions, high barbed wire, fences, ferocious alsatian dogs and armed guards are not everybody concept of visual attractions. But to prisoners expecting visits all these monstrosities are ignored. This is a time when external contact is made.

For one half hour prison life is forgotten. One then is immune to internal automation. A 'good' visit is a tonic for the long term prisoner and boosts his morale to the highest point during the week; a 'bad' one can leave him deeply depressed for a considerable period afterwards. Domestic problems are often the cause of bad visits. Problems at home affect nearly every prisoner.

Preparing for the visit is a welcome change from the usual monotony of prison life. The individual expecting a visit is oblivious to the sombre atmosphere that permeates his hut. A new kind of enthusiasm shows in his preparations. Considerable time is spent in the ablutions having the inevitable shower, a closer than usual shave and paying greater attention to the cleaning of teeth.

This extra personal attention is meant to help the atmosphere of the visit itself. Well polished shoes and clothing particularly well washed and pressed replace

thick soled boots and heavy denims which are constantly worn to combat the cold and damp climate.

Handy Crafts are then got ready, a handbag or purse for the wife, a wallet or plaque for the mate, a harp for the helpful neighbour, all laboriously created with meticulous care. Oh, yes, and some chocolates bought from the prison shop for the children. Now he is ready, spick and span. He must reassure his visitors and his loved ones which could be wife and children or girlfriend.

A 'screw' escort arrives to take the prisoner to the prisons-visiting section. The screw can be English or Scots lured over here by the high bounty obtainable. Going out on the visit the prisoner is screened at the compound gates for security reasons which includes checking him with his prison photograph, his time of visit and the number of his visitors. Only three visitors are allowed on a visit.

Two steel mesh wire gates are opened and the prisoner steps out of the compound walks past high guard towers and then is taken to the visitors compound. On reaching it he goes through the screening procedure again. Then he walks through a gate towards the chalet type visiting boxes constructed so that there is no privacy whatsoever on a visit.

The prisoner, on going up four wooden steps is taken into the 'dehumanising chamber,' a security room where he is systematically searched from head to foot.

The contents of his pocket are emptied on to a table, shoes removed, handicrafts scrutinised and lastly a personal search of the body. Calculated patience must be maintained by the prisoner during this assault on his dignity. The screw himself possesses the look of an automaton during these searches.

It's another dull job on another dull day but his wage packet compensates him for its tediousness. After these irritations, the prisoner is ushered along a long narrow passage to enter one of the several decadent visiting kennels.

There is a claustrophobic feeling inside these graffiti covered walls of a visiting

box measuring eight foot by six. Cigarette ash from an overflowing ash tray covers the table. The floor is covered with sweet wrappers and other rubbish. The box is unwashed and filthy, indeed, a clean visiting box would be a luxury.

The visitors arrive, usually having waited for hours in a stuffy waiting room. Wives and girl-friends are kissed, mothers embraced, young children jump playfully into their fathers arms to be hugged and kissed and given their chocolate

Non-events are talked about, laughed at and discussed at length. The children are scolded to keep their voices down. Then an air of uneasiness fills the air of the smoke filled room as domestic and money problems are brought into discussion.

General education and religious overtones

Organised education in our schools to-day is in great need of a radical change, especially regarding the approach in the religious sector. Starting at primary school level, children are forced into acknowledging that they belong to one particular form of organised religion.

Children of an immature age are indoctrinated into taking sacraments which they are incapable of understanding. For instance, at the age of nine or ten a child receives the sacrament of confirmation which is supposed to imply that it gives certain approval that it wishes to remain a member of its church and faith.

The process is based on the ruling that a child of this undeveloped age has fully reached the age of reason.

Naturally at such an early age, a child will accept what it is taught in religion as dogma. Therefore, this child will reject what a child of another religion might say on a question of a religious nature, i.e. The Mother of Christ, which is a continuous controversy between the Catholic church and certain Protestant faiths.

A family without a breadwinner finds it difficult to make ends meet. Expenses, electricity, gas, food, clothing for the children have still to be paid. With the ever increasing cost of living, life is a hard struggle for a wife who is husbandless.

And so the half hour passes so quickly that the visits is over before it seems to have begun. Most of the things planned for discussion have not been mentioned, you can't say a lot in thirty minutes.

The farewells are closely monitored by the ever watchful screw, so security conscious, and an extra couple of minutes have been stolen.

As the visitors are led out, a final wave signals the end of a family reunion. Feeling depressed at his visitors departure, the prisoner goes through the same procedure as before the visit till he reaches his compound. The visit is over for another week.

BY JIMMY DOG

It is largely at this point that sectarianism develops and continues to grow into the stage of youth and indeed, may last the full generations of life.

There must be a rethinking on the teaching of religion at school by those who are responsible for it so that the evil of sectarianism might be nipped in the bud.

The eleven plus examination is another abomination in the education system. Making the passing of this examination a decisive factor towards the whole of the child's education, and indeed a pointer to its position in society for the rest of its life is a step backwards from progress. If a child fails this examination, he suffers a grave psychological blow at a very tender age.

It is well known that children who fail the 11 plus and received a full education by other means succeeded later in life while the successful ones failed. It is reprehensible that working class children who fail the 11 plus should be despatched automatically to a secondary school without receiving an opportunity towards a better education

Within the notoriety Northern Ireland has achieved over the years there is one institution which strangely has escaped the banner headlines of the press that this country seems to attract. Strangely it transcends the traditional sectarian barriers because it is only in Belfast unemployment exchange that Irish Protestant and Catholic workers are joined . . . though certainly not for their common good.

Known familiarly to its patrons as the "Buroo," it is the largest unemployment exchange in the British Isles and as such is a grim indictment to a Tory-Unionist Government which for over fifty years has deceived and exploited workers on the artificial basis of different religions. It is also an indictment to the Trade Unions and other workers organisations which have seemingly accepted forty thousand unemployed workers as an inevitable facet of life here.

Every Friday the legions of unemployed march from the narrow little streets of the ghettos and housing estates to Corporation Street, that sprawling red and white brick building that is the Baroo. They march from areas like Turf Lodge where a survey taken in 1971 by Queen's University students revealed that 90% of male parents were out of work.

Forming into thick struggling lines along

THE "BUROO" AND THE WORKERS

the pavement they wait patiently under the shadow of the gentries that reach up into the polluted air and within easy hearing distance of the discordant horns of ships filled with cargo and Irelands other export . . . people, to perform the familiar ritual of signing on for the weekly dole. The doors open and the men shuffle inside, occasionally displaying the irrespressible boisterous good

humour that Belfast people possess, but always overshadowed by the degradation poverty and life at subsistence

level brings. Ostensibly to the casual observer these people are mere statistics that flash up every so often on T.V. screens or are ticked off on the computers of our beauracrat system. In actual fact real flesh and blood people must live with the ugly spectre of unemployment and face all the manifest problems that go with it.

Through careful observation of all aspects of the whole situation it can be plainly seen that unemployment is the resultant product of a social and economic system which is a morality based on maximum individual gain. For while the big financiers revel in the surplus profit which is produced by the workers . . . the unemployed, having been denied the basic human right to work, languish in the dole queues.

It is obvious that such a system of production is not organised to suit the needs of ordinary people. If it were organised on such a scale unemployment would not be possible. Production is determined by the fact that 1% of the population controls 80% of the industrial wealth plus the machinery, factories, raw materials etc., without which no goods can be produced.

This minority is interested in one thing only . . . profit. If they cannot make profit or if the profit they are making is too low then production will not take place at all. It is interesting to note that one of the major reasons given by bosses



when carrying out sackings is that "no-body wants to buy the goods you are producing." After all, many people including the thousands of unemployed would love to buy more if only they had the money. The present British Tory governments policy of forcing unemployment up and the living standards of workers down has met with no greater success than in Northern Ireland, which has the lowest paid labour force in Britain and the lowest strike record and probably the lowest militant workers.

It is abundantly clear then, that the big business interests cannot get into the workers interests and so the short term solution must be to organise the unemployed and link them to the trade unions, to resist means tests and to nationalise under workers control any firm which deprives its workers of their jobs. The long term and the only permanent solution is to work for the right of man to control his own destiny and resources in a workers socialist republic.

BY SEAN HANNA

Our personal column

Happy Birthday, Patricia Leo, Unity Flats.
See you soon, Mum Jim, Twinbrook.
Get well soon, Love Sean C., Lower Falls.
Happy Birthday, Teresa Patsy, Rostrevor.
Happy First Wedding Anniversary, Liam and Maureen . . . Artie, The Markets.
Happy Birthday Anne Brother Frank, Lr. Falls.
Much happiness on your Birthday Susie, Mary, Annemarie: Daddy, Lr. Falls.
Love on our 12th Wedding Anniversary, Anne, Seamus, Derrybeg.
Happy Birthday, Anne and all my love Mick, Glenveagh.
Best Wishes on your Birthday, Patrick Daddy, Markets.
Happy Birthday, Noleen, Gerard and Paul Frankie, St. James'
Happy Wedding Anniversary, Belle Gerry, Unity Flats.
Congrats on your freedom, George. Maxie and Leo, Stanhope Drive, Unity Flats.
Happy 6th anniversary Love Sean, Dermot Hill.
Get well soon, Mother Eddie, Andersonstown.
See you on Christmas Day, Mum Skin, Ardoyne.
Be with you, soon, Jimmy, Adam, Marty, Brendan, Stewartie, Turf Lodge.
Coming home soon, Dad and sisters Martin, Jockey, Derrybeg.
Congrats to Patsy and Shelia, and Baby Grace Soup, Freecroy.
All my love to Margaret and kids Pat, Gweedore.
To Breige and Geordie wishing you wedded bliss. From Sinbad.

Political Amnesty a Century Ago

Since it is a time when amnesty for political prisoners is becoming a strong issue it is of interest to look back into history to see what were the circumstances surrounding a past amnesty of Irish political prisoners over one hundred years ago. This is the one granted to imprisoned Fenians which started in the year of 1871.

After the failure of the 1867 Fenian rising, many members and a number of important leaders of the Fenian movement were imprisoned getting severe sentences. Prison conditions in those times were harsh and inhuman.

To rescue these Irish revolutionaries from their plight of being left to the mercies of British Imperialism an amnesty movement was founded in 1869 by George Henry Moore, Isaac Butt and a Fenian John Nolan

In that year, the people of Tipperary demonstrated their support for amnesty by electing O'Donovan Rossa as a member of parliament.

But the most remarkable support of all was given by British workers and a remarkable man, Karl Marx, was instrumental in building up this support through the International Working Mens Association which had its headquarters in London.

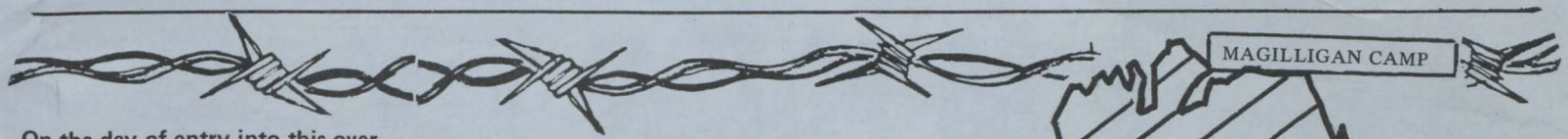
On October 24th 1869, a mass demonstration was held in London demanding an amnesty for all Irish prisoners. Organised by the Reform League, this highly successful demonstration had the support of the General Council of the International. Commenting on a feature of the demonstration, Marx said, "A large part of the English working class has lost its prejudice against the Irish."

Thousands marched through Trafalgar Square to a meeting of 200,000 in Hyde Park. Under the guidance of Karl Marx, the General Council of the International won one hundred per cent support for the Irish prisoners and their cause from all the trade unions affiliated to the International. Here we had the solidarity of the working class of one country with that of another country whose right to independence it recognised.

The campaign for the release of the Fenian prisoners continued for several years and reached anew level on November 3rd 1872. A giant demonstration took place in Hyde Park and was organised by Irish members of the International along with British and other members. The attendance was estimated at 30,000 and an observer estimated it was combined of equal parts of Irish and British people.

These popular demonstrations along with other support brought enough pressure to gain amnesty for the Fenian prisoners. From 1871 onwards gradual releases took place. However, many of the leaders had certain conditions attached to their amnesty. They would have to go into exile and not return to their native land. Many of them went to the U.S.A. where they continued to work as earnestly as ever in the cause of their motherland. The lesson from this period in history is what can be gained through the solidarity of the British and Irish workers. To-day, such a solidarity of workers could succeed once again, this time, to smash internment, to bring about the release of political prisoners and eventually bring about the unity of our sundered country.

P.J.M.



On the day of entry into this overgrown Sardine can namely Long Kesh, a prisoner is psychologically attacked by the environment. He is stripped of his identity and given a number in return.

He undergoes interrogation which involves being asked about matters which are very personal to him, questions about his domestic and private life. This the authorities pass off as usual procedure for convicted men.

He is then taken to his cage and squashed in with the present prisoners who are already living in very overcrowded conditions. This imprisonment means that the 80 or 90 men in the cage will have to re-organise all the bedding and personal belongings in order to make room for the new arrival who is yet another man who has been stripped of the thing that is most dear to him — personal freedom.

And so from the first day of arrival to this hell hole, a man is forced to walk a tightrope — a tightrope between sanity and insanity, for a step in the wrong direction can prove fatal.

From the day a prisoner enters these cages he has to get down to the job of settling in, as we call it. This period of adjustment is not as easy as one might imagine, it doesn't just mean getting used to the daily routine of the cage. It also involves getting to know everyone else in the cage, their temperment, habits, needs etc.

As there is no privacy whatsoever he has to be careful in his actions and what he says so that he may avoid unnecessary harassment of others. We are forced to live with each other in the most unnatural conditions imaginable, 24 hours per day . . . this in itself can cause great nervous strain.

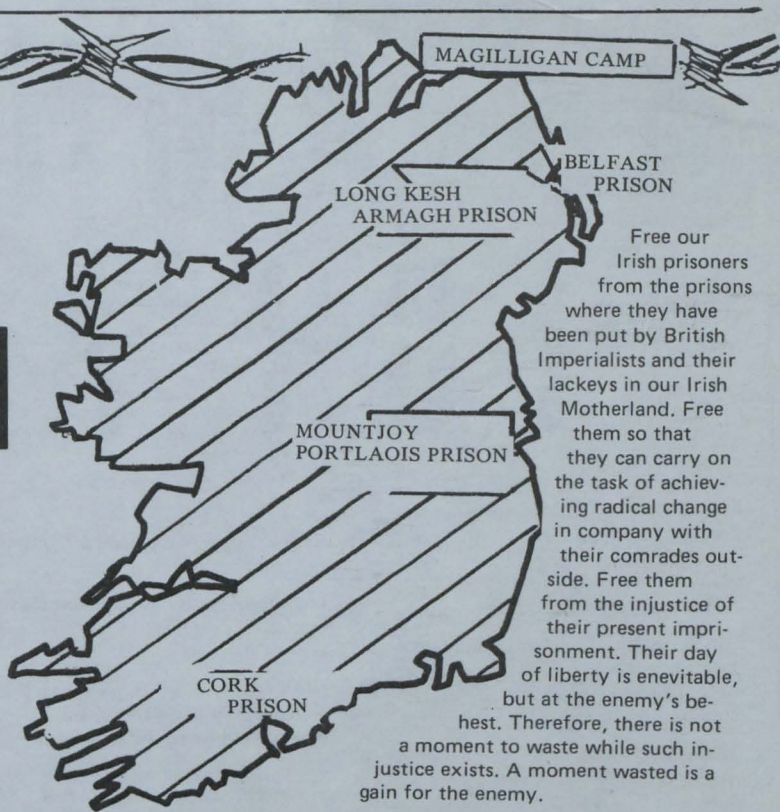
A fall out with a close friend can mean an awful lot to a man doing time. It is a step in the wrong direction, a step, which one just can't afford to take in such crushing surroundings, a step which one mustn't take in a place that was built for the sole purpose of destroying a man both mentally and physically, leaving him a vegetable for the remainder of his life.

With 40 men living, eating, and sleeping with you in the same hut the stress can be almost unbearable. There is always a constant strain on our minds . . . something which cannot be expressed in words. So psychological survival behind the wire means a constant struggle to maintain sanity.

Already this man has lost all his outside contact with family. So from very early in his sentence this prisoner has already started his fight for human survival, especially in the case of a long termer who knows that his fight may last from anything up to 15 years or more. This man must be very determined, he must also have a very strong faith in what he is fighting for and sentenced for. These attributes he must have in order to survive any length of time behind the wire. Having been in a while he gets to know the ways in which his jailors are trying to break him.

Little things which seem a trivial annoyance at the time but amalgamated together they have a nerve wrecking effect. Some of the following examples have proved to be very harmful to the peace of mind of the prisoners.

THEY TRY TO SMASH OUR SANITY



Free our Irish prisoners from the prisons where they have been put by British Imperialists and their lackeys in our Irish Motherland. Free them so that they can carry on the task of achieving radical change in company with their comrades outside. Free them from the injustice of their present imprisonment. Their day of liberty is inevitable, but at the enemy's behest. Therefore, there is not a moment to waste while such injustice exists. A moment wasted is a gain for the enemy.

The with-holding of mail; this is something which is very important to a man as it is a means of contact with his family and the familiar things which are so important to him.

Medical treatment is practically non-existent as we are treated with a selection of useless patent tablets and sedatives. These sedatives in the long term serve only to mentally destroy a person and help him on his way to become a cabbage.

The dental treatment is also sadly lacking with only one dentist who visits the camp twice a week. It must be remembered that the camp has a total population of 1,300 men.

Apart from living in vermin infested huts with the possible outbreak of skin diseases there is also the added strain of

knowing that visitors are subjected to the degrading searches similar to that of the prisoners . . . knowing that they are suffering as much as we.

I could go on listing the things which can only be described as dehumanising; but what I am trying to point out is that when people hear of prisoners being harassed it doesn't necessarily mean that they are being beaten into the ground by the Brits, although quite a lot of that happens when Mr. Truesdale thinks that the men are able to do their time too easily.

It must be remembered that there are other methods of torture which a prisoner is subjected to and which can have a more damaging effect. Only the prisoner himself can know these and only he, himself, can conquer it.

The longer the harassment continues the more hardened and adapted to it the prisoner becomes. He can rise above the psychological torture and emerge as a more useful human being. A useful example for us in the past and from which we can draw strength is the lives of men like Tom Clarke and O'Donovan Rossa who spent a total of 15 years of constant torture.

We, the men of LONG KESH hope to continue in the footsteps of other Revolutionaries and we believe that we have the will and determination to overcome the Facists who think they can inflict their will on the people by giving birth to such monstrosities as LONG KESH.

We shall survive to carry on the struggle for justice and freedom.

BY SAMMY MATTHEWS

WORKERS AND THE COMMON MARKET

"Common Market membership has been a disaster for Britain" unquote. This is the opinion of the team of top civil servants from London who have been attached to the Commission in Brussels for the past few months. These men are from the Treasury and the Department of Trade and Industry concerned among other things, with the level of currencies in Europe.

It is significant that their statement was contained in reports to that Bastion of Imperialism the British Government. Its effect on E. Heath Ltd. and L. Cosgrave (very Ltd.) is to confirm their fears that the super-league financial interests are already starting to gobble up our native Capitalists.

Its effect on the workers in Britain and Ireland is a speedier introduction to forced migration under the Common Market industrial policy of "Mobility of labour." To the small farmer also it means being forced out of their homes and off the land under "Agricultural rationalisation."

Under this policy Dr. Mansholt plans to have 36,000 farms or less of 200 or 300 acres and upwards in Ireland by 1980. This means 252,000 small or medium holding farmers being forced out of homes, some of which have been family possessions for centuries.

To ease the immediate hardship of uprooting his family each small farmer may receive a cash grant from the Government. To get this grant, though, he will have to sign a form which makes it impossible for him to buy another farm.

International Imperialism knows no national frontiers and is completely oblivious to cultural interest and social environment. The quality or even sanctity of life means nothing against the £. M. Jean Monet, a founder figure of the E.E.C. states that "Economic integration is a political process and therefore changes in the social conditions of men are essential." Economic integrat-

ion has cost Britain £3,000,000,000 till now for decimalisation alone.

To combat our common enemy we must strengthen links with the workers in the eight other member countries. We can benefit from the experiences of Bretons in their fight to stem the flow of forced migration. They in turn can learn valuable lessons from the struggles of the people of Northern Ireland these past few years. Rent strikes, use of the news media, urban guerrilla tactics can be used to combat Imperialism.

Some steps have already been taken in this direction with supra national Trade Unions and the strike against redundancies on the Continent and in Britain resulting from the merger of Pirelli and Dunlop. Much remains to be done however to cement the natural alliance of workers so that they can effectively fight International Imperialism and move towards a Socialist Europe.

AN AMNESTY FOR ALL

The question of an amnesty for political hostages has been cropping up of late. Is an amnesty justified? . . . Mr. White-law says 'No,' the S.D.L.P. say 'Yes,' while other political parties and individual politicians are undecided.

British justice which has been examined in another article in this paper boasts that 'justice must not only be done but must be seen to be done.'

I doubt very much if there are many people in Northern Ireland who will agree that this is so . . . in fact, it is my firm belief that most people here will refute this.

They will recall the Tynan murder squad and the beating to death of Samuel Devenney, in his own home and in front of his own children. They will also recall that a senior Scotland Yard detective was sent over to investigate and in his own words was "met with a conspiracy of silence within the ranks of the R.U.C.

Was justice seen to be done here?

The people of Ardoyne and the Falls Road well remember the night of August 15th 1969, when the R.U.C. and the now disbanded "B" Specials toured their areas in armoured cars firing machine guns indiscriminately into side streets.

Was this an example of British justice? If the Stormont government was a fair and just one, why then was it prorogued?

Has the British Army acted in a fair and impartial manner in this unhappy Province?

Could it be that they were less than fair in Derry City on Bloody Sunday when they murdered 13 innocent people?

Were they fair and just when on two occasions alone in Ballymurphy they murdered 10 men, women and children and then in cold blood shot down two

BY MICHAEL DONNELLY

Catholic priests who went to administer the last rites to the dying?

Were they acting fairly when they murdered a 13 year old boy in the Clonard area of Belfast?

Did they seriously think that by murdering two people on the Shankill Road they would prove to be impartial?

Are all the people who complain about inhuman treatment telling lies?

When one considers that these complaints have come from a very wide area including Derry, Newry, East Belfast, Shankill Road, Falls Road, Andersonstown and many other working class areas, then the only logical conclusion is that there must be a large degree of truth in these allegations.

Therefore it can be deduced that justice is neither being done nor is it being seen to be done. How then can any government — especially one which claims to be democratic — imprison those whose only crime was to fight against (A) a hopelessly corrupt and discredited government and (B) that they defend their homes and families against a brutal military force.

The Westminster government refuses to bring the murderers within the ranks of the R.U.C. and the British Army to justice while at the same time it introduces a more repressive bill to replace the notorious Special Powers Act so that they can imprison men, women and children who dare oppose these injustices . . .

There can be no return to stability until the 2,000 political hostages have been released. An amnesty cannot be one sided . . . after all, justice must be seen to be done.



THE PRISONER

Why am I a prisoner in a lonely prison cell?
Why must I become a human shell?
No happy faces do I see; just my mates faces in pain
And grim black uniformed warders full of authority.
The years go by.
The world outside goes on just the same.

This vacuum in which I live is called life,
Not so I know only too well,
It is the graveyard of the human soul
Inspired by influences of hell.
It is oppression, not justice, nor reform —
I'm expected by their rules to conform
And accept their evil system,
It was not for this that men were born.

Never a change in the dreary scene,
Just grey prison walls, iron bars: sound, the warders key,
The prisoner weeps and drops a tear
And prays for the day,
When society will recognise the knave
Who is the real criminal because of his inhumanity to man,
And punish him accordingly.
But punishment will be different in our new society,
For human feeling for our fellow man
Will be the spirit of the day.

God, I will dedicate my suffering to that time,
When human suffering make us conscious
That human deficiency is not crime.

P.J.M.

U.S. Imperialists Go Home

What a myth the good American, the saviour of small nations from communism as extolled in the publication, "The Readers Digest," published with the unobtrusive backing of the C.I.A. and other extreme reactionary institutions in the U.S.A.

Yes, we see a great White Father in Washington whose first job was to preside over the wiping out of the Indian Nations to preside over the enslavement and discrimination of Negroes, to preside over the massacre of 1,000,000 people in the Philippine Islands in 1901, then preside over the dropping of the atoms bombs on Japan, and to preside over the killing of 1,000,000 people in Vietnam.

It has been all a natural road to Watergate. It is time for the Americans to remove their C.I.A. and nuclear bases out of Ireland, we do not need the addition of such evils to the evil of British Imperialism.