

0 AN EOCHAIR

THE KEY TO TRUE FREEDOM -
SOCIALISM

Number **8**

Price: 5p



A BULLETIN OF THE
IRISH REPUBLICAN
MOVEMENT,
LONG KESH

inside

Page 2 - Torture and Brutality
Page 3 - England's Shame
Page 4 - Conditions Protest
that brought Unity
Page 5 - Enoch: The Fourth
Reich?
Page 6 - Capitalist Torture
in Chile
Page 7 - The Ard Fheis that
Wasn't
Page 8 - The Frelimo

BATTLE OF LONG KESH



“THEY CAME AT US WITH BATONS
WHILE HELICOPTERS DROPPED
POISON GAS”

THE BRUTAL FACTS - PAGE 3

Why Long Kesh Burned...

TORTURE & BRUTALITY -THE BLOW BY BLOW ACCOUNT

On Tuesday night last the Provisionals threatened to burn Long Kesh if Commandant Truesdale broke the agreements made during the recent negotiations between him and the four Officers Commanding different political groups in the camp.

The particular point of issue of Tuesday night was that Commandant Truesdale did not allow inter-cage travel for the OC of the Provisionals to find out what had happened in C13 where some Provisionals

had beaten up two warders. The prison staff wanted those responsible out of the cage for punishment.

But since Truesdale did not keep the agreement relating to such matters we agreed to go along with burning the camp if the British were brought in.

We understand the Loyalists were going along the same lines but we had no direct contact with them.

Shortly after 9 p.m. the Provos started going over the wire and seized the keys of the gates of the cages. The Loyalists did the same.

The camp staff had fled.

Immediately the place was set on fire — the cage huts, Prison Officers bunks, the sentry boxes outside the gates, administration and medical offices, the tuck shop oil tanks, power generators, all internal guard towers, cookhouse, writing facilities, some damage to the hospital, the dog kennels and fences and various other items were all burned and damaged.

Most of the prison was thoroughly destroyed. The reception area survived being massively protected by British troops. As well two cages survived as they contained all the Loyalist prisoners including those who made their way there from other cages — some 400 altogether.

They did not take part in the burning as they did not want to get involved in a Provo war. However they set up a first aid post in C14 to look after injured Republicans.

They kept three of our sick during all the trouble. We left our cage by breaking through the fence after the buildings were fired. We went to the football pitch, breaking through other fences on the way. Provos and Loyalists were marching in all directions, nobody seemed to know what was next. We used one of the football pitches as our command areas it was relatively free of smoke away from the fires and from the dangers of exploding gas

and oil. As the night wore on sent ponagirf parties back to our cage to gather up blankets, clothing food and other items thrown out of the huts before they were fired. We also picked the cream of our books, perhaps £1,000 worth.

All this was burned by the Brits after they took over. The Provos made an attempt to put under their command, but we played independence to their annoyance. Otherwise they were very chummy, but some bastards did some looting on us, as they also did on the Loyalists abandoned cages which they fired.

Things came to a head at around 9 a.m. Wednesday morning as the Brits started pushing the internees back towards the upper end of the camp. The internees had taken

outside the cages, the other party was trapped on the football pitches where gas and rubber bullets were poured on them even when they had collapsed in clouds of gas. They were then batoned and kicked and assaulted in various vicious ways. The prisoners trapped in the alleyways had gas fired at them from the helicopters and by the troops. The whole position was helpless and without mercy. I was in contact with Spence who suggested that he act as intermeddary between the Brits and the Republicans by approaching a perimeter gun tower where he had been in contact with the Brits the previous night, or early morning. I agreed though it was impossible to contact Morley as he was trapped on the football pitch. After Spence and McKeague approached them.

were on for about seven hours.

During that time we received a bit of bread and a drink of milk

Monday 21st October.

I asked the officer in charge to allow us into the canteen for the night. It had not burned as it should have and was largely intact, and proves a lifesaver now. At last we were moved into it, pushed burnt rubbish to one side and lay down.

We were exhausted and sore. Before we went into the canteen an army bulldozer came into the cafe and pushed the remains of the burnt out huts into a pile. The army also had repaired our fence.

During the night we received one blanket each. The following day

man. Reports of delegations coming on Saturday did not materialise.

These are various reports, rumours, and speculations on our future, but nobody knows. Various parties have been into see things but only one of these made contact with prisoners, the Board of Visitors

We Want

(1) Sack Truesdale. (2) Introduction of proper conditions for prisoners. (3) The ending of internment (4) An amnesty for political prisoners in this respect we will be stressing our ceasefire.

We are totally opposed to concentration camps, if they are rebuilt without an attempt, one move to implement our demands, we will burn them down again. All political prisoners should be released to take part in the Convention, allegedly a democratic process. If there is something refused and healed and prisoners denied the right to have their voice heard in it, then it will be a farce. They will have been denied the chance of taking part in a 'democratic process'

Instant concern for the public is the present state of prisoners, lying on tarmac, under sheets of tin. This is the position of most of the Provos, we have been lucky that our canteen survived. We need immediate change of underclothing and socks, also our food parcels restored.

Word has been sent out twice on this matter. The compounds have no washing facilities, power or heating. Toilet facilities have also been destroyed. The Brits keep walking around the cages at night, periodically shouting and yelling and beating sheets of iron, to keep the prisoners awake.

Warders are on duty at the cage gates, but they are not very co-operative.

All Provos removed from Belfast Prison into Long Kesh cages. All our co-op library and personal gear destroyed.

Ceanfort
(P. G. M.)

Below is a report which was smuggled out of Long Kesh and it tells in vivid detail the story of the Battle of Long Kesh on the night of Sunday October 20 when the camp was set alight by Republican prisoners and the British troops moved in to quell the uprising using batons, vicious dogs, poison gas and even low flying helicopters in what proved to be one of the most horrific events in the sordid story of Europe's only Concentration Camp.

the brunt of the fighting during the night. Up to this we scarcely saw the Brits but now they came in hordes attacking from two directions catching the internees in a pincer which left them no way out except to come into our football pitch. Before the Brits attacked helicopters firing CS and CR gas swooped on the internees and even hit a section of our men engaged in sealing up a gateway. The Brits plan was to force all the prisoners into the two football pitches. The Provos were concentrated in the other football pitch adjoining us. The Brits plan succeeded and this left them free to pour gas on the prisoners from the air with helicopters and from the ground by the troops. Showers of rubber bullets were being fired too, and one helicopter tried to injure on hill prisoners by diving among them to a few feet off the ground. Sticks and stones rained off it as it went up and away again. Both pitches were now filled with gas and loads of prisoners ran all over the place trying to avoid it, screaming, choking and collapsing. They fought bravely, as best they could in the circumstances, but the Brits broke through the fences surrounding the pitches, led by Saracens. The prisoners became split, part retreating along the alleyway routes

the Brits said they would call a halt to allow the prisoners time to get back into their cages. To prevent even greater suffering and maybe death, we agreed, but Morely was still not contacted.. Spence and McKeague set off to contact him. The provos did not seem to know what to do, however we formed our men into ranks and marched them back to our cage. This seemed to make up the Provos, who also went back to their cages. Our men threw down their weapons and awaited the Brits who sought a head count. They came in shortly. A number of our men were missing by our check. After the Brit check we were told to line up against the cage wire. Then we were searched after prison staff checked us with their files. Then the exercises started, first we were made to lean with our fingertips against the wire and shuffle our feet backwards until our fingers bearing the brunt of the weight of our bodies. Press-ups, squatting with out hands clasped behind our necks, and various other torturous exercises were used. Anybody who failed to do them were beaten with batons. Many of the prisoners had been injured and others had previously been receiving medical treatment but it did not matter, the exercises

Thursday, we received one meal of bread and milk. We were told by a medical orderly at the cage that medical treatment was being allowed into cages. We had about 20 men injured, four of them needing hospitalisation. Brendan O'Hagan, three stitches in his head, Colin Wisdom who was in the hospital owing to an attack of asthma and threatened pneumonia and had to escape from it with the help of Loyalists who broke into it, he received gassing, which aggravated his problem.

Peter McFarlane, who had been made do exercises with an injured back, and Frank Weir who had been ill from a stomach complaint for some time and who was badly affected by gas. All our men were gassed, a number were knocked unconscious from it and from blows of batons.

Some were bitten by dogs.

By Friday, the prison doctor arrived to examine men, but he had not a thing to work with however, he got two of them to an outside hospital. Peter McFarlane and Brendan Mackin. They returned after a check and treatment.

At mid-day Friday, we received hot stew. A mattress per man was provided, also two blankets per

Long Kesh Concentration Camp, Britain's shame on Ireland soil and the only concentration camp in Western Europe has now reached three years of age since its inception. Formerly a Work Two airfield, its runways were expanded to provide sites for wired in cages containing prisoner accommodation in the form of corrugated iron Nissen huts.

The Camp altogether contains about 1,600 prisoners of varying political and incarceration categories. Of upwards on 600 internees in the camp, 40 Loyalist, the rest being Provo, Republican or just neutral. There are roughly around 100 YPs (17-21 age group), and star class sentenced who are non-political. These do camp skivvy duties at the direction of the prison establishment. The other 900 prisoners are divided roughly between over 700 political status sentenced prisoners and under 200 on remand awaiting trial.

These sentenced and remanded prisoners are composed of the following political affiliations UDA, UVF, Provo and Republicans. Each political groupings has its own commanding officer and para-military staff structure. A cage can contain anything between 60 to 100 men. From the imprisoned political partisan's point of view, a para-military structure is necessary and ideal for maintaining an order comprised of regulations of both a social and an authoritarian nature. These are based on the premises that they must be for the common good of all the men in the cage while at the same time related to the men's political objectives.

From the camp authorities point of view, this order built up by the prisoners, while ideal for them in one sense, is a threat to them in another sense. If there were no organisational structure

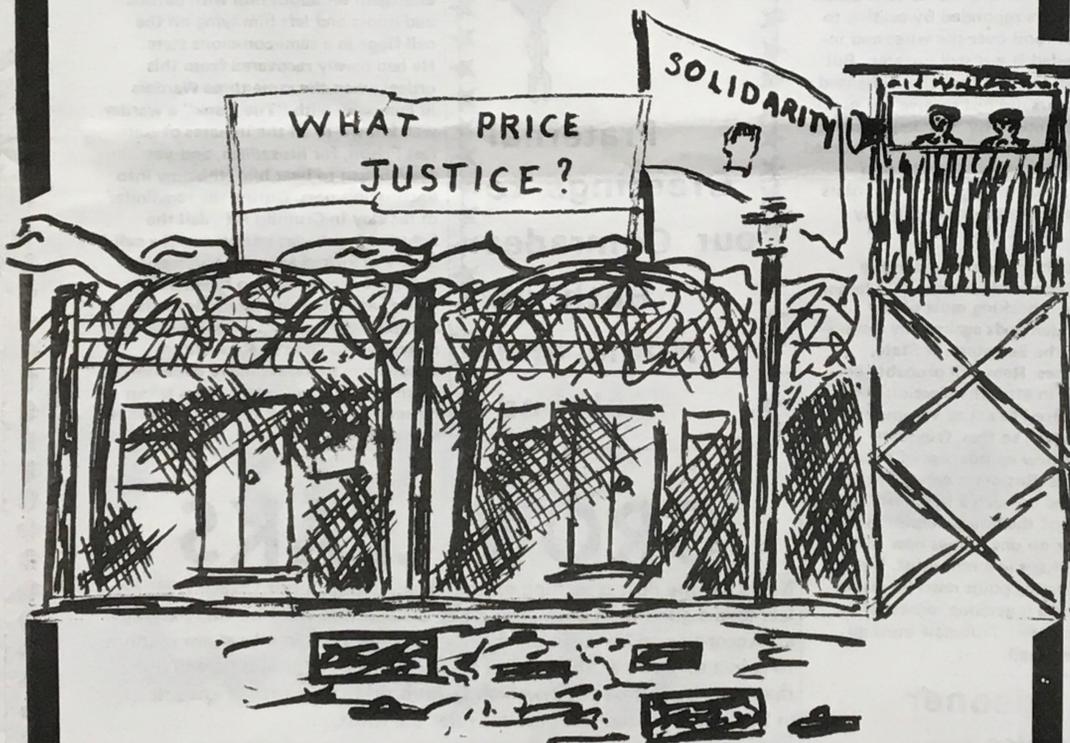
LONG KESH: ENGLANDS SHAME — IRELANDS SORROW

The O/C's meeting the Governor grades on behalf of their men suits the camp authorities excellently. The Governor meeting one man about 80 men's problems which are largely duplicated, is a tremendous cutdown on prison administration duties. But on the other hand the camp authorities are resentful of a direct authority they have ad

However, there are signs within the camp that its authorities are attempting to reverse their abdication of direct authority. They have devised a system of petty everyday harassment of prisoners, forcing them to be continuously aware of who holds the whip hand. The prisoners themselves see this policy as a continual attack on political status which was achieved in 1972 by mass hunger strike. They believe the authorities are trying to reduce it to a little more than a symbolic title. For every right gained by political status, two others have been taken away.

It is natural in such circumstances as pertains in the prison camp that a continual battle of wits had developed between the prisoners and the camp authorities, which sometimes erupts in bloody violence. Suffering from a common oppression, as strange though informal state of unity exists between all the political factions. It is not coinci-

LONG KESH IN PROTEST



and routine organised by the men in the cages anarchy would prevail. The situations would be both intolerable for the men, most of whom are doing fairly long sentences, and for the camp authorities in carrying out their everyday functions related directly to the prisoners.

However, this situation is exploited by both the prisoners and the camp authorities towards their respective advantages. The discipline and order built by the prisoners is a barrier which the camp staff find disconcerting. They would like to be in a position to influence and woo the prisoners away from their political beliefs and to assess the mood of the individual prisoners, especially when he is due for release. Recognising they have little personal contact with the prisoners, the prison staff are always trying to encroach upon the prisoners' order and daily life by any means they can use, including belligerency and the velvet glove approach. The prisoner purposefully resist all these approaches; they do not socialise with warders and business on behalf of the prisoner rank and file is carried out by their respective para-military staff who represent their problems to the camp authorities. The O/C's regularly meet the Governor grade officials about general problems, some of which are outstanding and chronic.

dental that they carry out protests timed together to put on the maximum pressure to gain their objectives. And they have been pushing for a Camp Council or welfare committee which would meet the Governor as a group about conditions. Yet until recently, these same groups were intransigent opponents of each other outside the camp.

Britain's shame on Ireland's soil is often said to be an academy of revolution. In it hundreds of prisoners have been studying and analysing the Northern Irish situation. They have also been studying radical tactics and getting political education, most of it of a left wing nature from Marxist socialism to social democracy. Some think in terms of socialist revolution and others in terms of socialist evolution to build a new society.

Long Kesh concentration camp may yet prove to be Britain's Pandora's box in Ireland for from the ranks of its thousands of prisoners who spent time there can emerge Ulster's future. Both Loyalist and Republican may find a common identity behind the wire that could last into the future.

It may take at least a decade to assess the real effects of Long Kesh on the overall political situation.

BRITISH ARMY JUNTA'S TERROR RULE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Being done gradually so that people would not recognise it, like a thief in the night, British Army rule has taken over the life of the people of the North of Ireland. An Army junta rule decides the running of all affairs in every institution of Northern Irish society. Politics and politicians are in cold storage leaving a political vacuum. The Northern Irish people as a whole have no say any longer, the British Army decides all using every repressive measure and terror tactic to gain its way.

There seems a general unawareness of this position, internationally it is unrecognised, at home people are unaware of it in the sense that they accept it as a way of life. On the sidelines politicians stand like fish out of water, occasionally dashing hither and thither seeking something to latch onto that would give them political credibility. But the pathetic foolishness of their actions and statements only discredit them further, for they are not standing up to be counted by facing reality that Army dictatorship and terror is being exercised.

Another fact obfuscated by the political waffling of the British pseudo-Labour government is that there is a Right wing Army junta in power in Northern Ireland, an extension of the rising Right Wing in Britain. This Right wing Army junta is not only an extension of the rising Right wing in Britain, but also there is evidence that it has been conniving with extreme Right wing elements in Northern Ireland.

In this conspiracy against democratic order all forms of terror are being used. In County Tyrone recently, three men had been cold blooded murdered by the security forces, SAS gangs and other special Army groups sally forth from Hollywood, or are directed from this place of infamy. Since 1970 statistics show that the British Army deliberately murdered over 100 people. In this year their murders are of a more open and callous nature.

One of the aspects of this campaign of terror is that most of its victims are innocent people not engaged in political activity. The British Army does not make selective assaults, anybody can be a victim.

As Army duck squads meet people on the roads and streets of Ulster, they carry out all sorts of vicious assaults and provocations on them. If they protest further assault is carried out on them. If legal action is taken the troops carry out a campaign of harassment against the complainant making life hell for him or her.

A favourite tactic is to lift juveniles and threaten to charge them with some petty criminal act that has taken place in their area if they do not co-operate in acting as touts for the Army. The interrogators always stress the great shame they can bring on the young people's families by putting fake charges against them.

Another tactic is to continue constant house searches, week after week, the inhabitants of which are harassed with uncouth and offensive Army members. Homes are often wrecked and when a compensation claim is made for the damage, the claim is turned down.

It is not the intention here to chronologise British Army terror in Northern Ireland. It would take volumes of written material to cover this activity which is comparable to the activity of the Nazi occupation forces during the Second World War, but I would like to comment for the interest of the reader how British Army policy affects the prisoners in the cages in Long Kesh:—

BRITISH ARMY POLICY IN LONG KESH

The British Army is always on the alert for the opportunity to enter the cages, smash the skulls and bones of the prisoners, throw gas in on them, let loose viciously trained wardogs, to savage the prisoners, destroy and steal handicrafts and personal property and create a reign of terror. The opportunities to carry out this brutality and destruction on prisoners is always provided by the camp authorities who are actually tools of the Army junta in carrying out a prison policy as dictated by the Army Officers. It is well known that Mr. Truesdale, the Camp Governor, and certain assistant governors regularly meet Army officers to take orders from them as to how the prison camp should be run.

Many of the assistant governors are ex-Army officers.

Outside the cages, British troops now patrol 24 hours per day accompanied by wardogs. Gun towers loom all around the camp. Army exercises are carried out on the perimeter of the prisoners cages, the policy here being that to show strength is another way of using strength. On one of these exercises, it was noted that a helicopter was dropping canisters of tear gas which choked both prisoners and warders in the cages. There is speculation that if the prisoners carry out further protest in the cages, helicopters will fly over dropping gas, directly down to neutralise protest making it comparatively easy for the Army to move in to 'chastise' the prisoners.

Prisoners paroles are decided by a combination of Army Intelligence and Special Branch in a manner of most calculated to harass the prisoners.

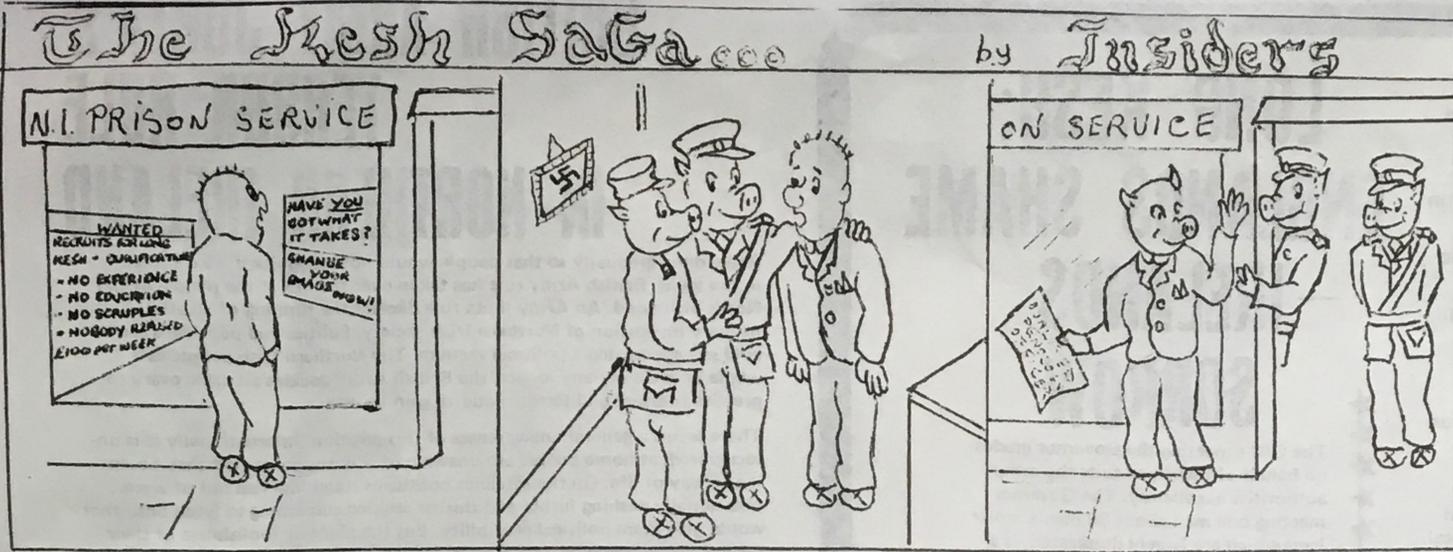
Every department of the prison staff is subject to approaches from Army intelligence and Special Branch to spy on the prisoners and their outside associates. These approaches are not always without success, in fact such departments as the prison censor's and the prison visiting permits office facilitate this work. There is concrete evidence to substantiate the claim of this facilitating.

Long Kesh Prison camp is no different from any other institution in Northern Irish society, in the extent of its domination by the British Army except in a sense it is more constant visibly and invisibly.

The people of Britain are not aware of the British Army coup in Northern Ireland, its campaign of terror and underdeclared Martial Law which is in full effect for curfew, and the total constipating of political activity. A Labour M.P. visiting Northern Ireland recently, stated, "I dare not mention what is going on here when I am in Westminster Parliament, first of all many people would not believe it and then I run a good chance of losing my seat in the next election for bringing it up."

The British Government's tool, the British Army has created the political vacuum in Northern Ireland with a purpose. The coming convention must produce a solution, a British inspired solution, so towards this end politics are taken away and then given back to the people under the guise of a convention giving justice and so back to square one. The people, if they allow themselves to be deceived, will grab at the return of politics thinking they are getting something. As an end to this deception, the British 'solution', British Government Ministers and agents have been secretly canvassing and trying to influence political leaders and political groups to obtain their help in producing the desired result for Britain from the convention.

Right wing British Army junta terror rule in Northern Ireland is only an extension of British Imperialist politics. Both are working hand in hand at this moment to bring about a new deception against the people in the North of Ireland. Let these people, whatever their creed, be warned, do not be stampeded by terror rule or a conniving convention into accepting old wine in new bottles, Britain's solution for Ireland, 1974.



Belfast Prison More Brutality

One often hears through the press media of vicious attacks by Republican and Loyalist prisoners on Her Majesty's Prison Officers. However assaults on prison warders are few and far between, and are always over dramatized.

On the other hand attacks on Political prisoners by warders, soldiers and war dogs, are common place. Recently a Republican was sentenced to life imprisonment. He was held in Belfast Prison from Friday until Monday awaiting transportation to Long Kesh. During his stay in Crumlin Rd., he was constantly harassed by Prison Officers. He was put into a cell in the now notorious "B" wing. Within a few minutes Warder McIlveen accompanied by three others, entered the cell and began beating him with batons and boots, as a result of which his body was covered in bruises and his lower lip was split. On the afternoon of this attack, the unfortunate man had a visit with his wife and infant son. On the way back to the visiting area, he was promised that the beating he had received was only a taste of things to come, and a Religious cross and chain was torn from his neck. One can readily imagine the feelings of the man's wife on seeing her husband (for the first time since his life sentence) in such a battered condition. The poor woman broke down and was led away sobbing bitterly, by relatives, and on returning home had to be attended by the family doctor. The prisoner, in the meantime, was brought back to his cell and within minutes, Warders McIlveen, Watson and Wilson entered and again set about him with batons and boots and left him lying on the cell floor in a semi-conscious state. He had barely recovered from this ordeal when the same three Warders in company with "The Yank" a warder well known to all the inmates of Belfast Prison, for his sadism, and yet again began to beat him, this time into unconsciousness. During the remainder of his stay in Crumlin Rd., Jail the light in his cell was left on and the cell door was kicked at regular intervals to ensure that he got no sleep. The above case is but one example of the brutality and harassment continually meted out to Official Republican Prisoners in Belfast Jail. We demand to know why the Governor has taken no action against the Warders mentioned above.

CONDITIONS PROTEST THAT BROUGHT UNITY

On Friday, 6th September, a united protest seeking proper conditions was launched in Long Kesh Concentration Camp by all four political factions of sentenced and remand prisoners. Later, the camp's internees joined the protest, leaving some 1,500 prisoners involved. On the first day, the protest began at 3 p.m. when all bedsheets were hung unceremoniously on the camp's wire fences. In about another hour's time cookhouse food for the evening time tea went over the wires.

All the prisoners felt elated and there was swelling rise in morale; the strength of unity derived from a common suffering was a healing balm. Outside a politician stated the prisoners were in a state of revolt, and this was true.

The Lord Governor of the Camp? himself, Herr Truesdale refused to condescend to give the four representatives of the UDA, UVF, Provisional and Official Republicans interviews to examine redress of grievances despite repeated requests for such. The Camp Prison Officers abhorred Truesdale's attitude towards a situation with which they themselves had to contend with directly, so they themselves threatened a prison staff rebellion.

On Monday 9th Assistant Governor Compton informed the four prisoners representatives that all food parcels and the prison tuck shop were being stopped from prisoners. But the protest went on as the Camp went into a state of deterioration. Flocks of scavenger wild birds and numerous rats had a Carrion's field day on the outreflying body that was Long Kesh. Travellers on the M.1 Motorway were surprised at the change of scenery that overcame the dismal Camp; seeing the sheets on the wire they did not know whether to start counting sheep or decide that a premature snowfall had come down. Long Kesh now made the popular press headlines. i.e. Belfast Telegraph 11/9/74 Prisoners Unite and the front page ran a joint statement from the four political factions; The Irish News, 12/9/74 Maze Men Threaten Trouble Unless - Irish Independent 12/9/64 Prison Stormed in Prison Food Row, News Letter: Camp Council Call At Long Kesh, The Irish News 17/9/74: Long Kesh The Main Issue In Election.

People, Republican and Loyalist, took to the streets in both spontaneous and organised demonstrations in support of the prisoners. Organisations, politicians and various prominent people spoke out on behalf of their behalf. Unity is a wonderful thing; when people unite on common issues they will certainly get taken heed of. The outside and inside unity of protest forced Lord Long Kesh to capitulate; he would see the prisoners representatives on Thursday 12th.

By this time, the prisoners were in a state of semi-starvation. No bedsheets were available, no prison food was being eaten as part of the protest, but Truesdale had also cut off the tuck shop, food parcels and visits. No cigarettes and tobacco were available either. But the cages that were the haves shared

with those cages that were the have-nots. True human consideration for each other was shown by every side and creed; what one Loyalist leader called the Ho Chi Minh Trail was erected in the form of a lines from rooftops and water tanks interconnecting all the cages in Long Kesh prison camp. Along these lines went food and cigarettes, shared by all whether Loyalist or Republican, whether sentenced or internee.

Banners were hoisted all over the camp with 'Unity', 'Solidarity', 'What Price Justice? 'United We Stand, Divided We Fall', and such inscribed on them.

Visitors and friends of the prisoners started demonstrating outside the prison, naturally they were worried about the health and well being of their loved ones who were callously disregarded by Herr Truesdale, however, he was still meeting the representatives of the prisoners in sterile discussions, and allowed visits between these representatives and the outside representatives of the respective groupings.

Truesdale hedged, procrastinated, threatened, pleaded and twisted, he did everything but take steps to relieve the prisoner's hardships. He just refused to implement redress of grievances, his total interest was in getting the protest stopped. Nobody ever believes the Lord of Long Kesh, such is his record of lying, cheating and deceiving in matters concerning the prisoners in the prison camp. Not even prison staff trust him so the prisoners wisely held out for the eating of the pudding as the proof of it.

By the 14th the Prison Staff had taken a decision to walk out, but Truesdale rallied them again through some black-leg friends he has among them. The prisoners food was now only four slices of bread, ubbuttered, and four cups of unsweetened tea per day. The Ho Chi Minh Trail was defunct. Pale wane faces, day after day, waited with visions of hope in their eyes, their hearts and minds filled with bitterness against this rarity unknown in the Western World since Hitler's days, the commandant of a concentration camp.

As a ploy and deception, on Friday 20th September, the ill-historied image of feudalism appeared from some ministerial cupboard to haunt the prisoners representatives in a meeting when Lord Donaldson arrived in the Camp. The prisoners were left with lordly obfuscations seconded by Lord of Long Kesh and nothing changed but the number of rats and scavenging birds, and the stink; all of which became greater.

Truesdale issued a lying statement to the news media saying the prisoners were eating the cookhouse food; only half of it was coming over the wire. Actually only half the food was coming to the cages from the cookhouse after the protest started. Prison officers witnessed this half quota coming through the cage's gates before it was thrown over the wires.

After fires and demonstrations outside the prison camp on Wednesday October 2nd, Truesdale met the prisoners representatives and stated he was willing to allow tuckshop, visits and food parcels to the prisoners in exchange for an act of goodwill from the prisoners... further progress then could take place. The prisoners responded by ceasing to throw the food over the wires and instead handed it out still uneaten. But Truesdale, true to form short-changed the prisoners did not receive the tuckshop as promised by him, kept getting half food for the cages, and had erected in the visiting boxes partitions of wooden strips through which warders could watch visits, destroying any privacy.

The latest irony is a report in the Sunday Independent saying Governor Truesdale is backing most of the prisoners demands against the intransigence of the Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees. Rees will probably be packing it in after the election and so he is prepared to act as a scapegoat for Truesdale, so that Truesdale can make new approaches of deceit to prisoners. But never can the prisoners be deceived by such a hypocrite. At this stage of the latest chapter in the Kesh saga, no one knows how it will end - perhaps in a holocaust. But an outstanding point must be made; before there is genuine redress of grievances, Herr Truesdale must go and be replaced.

A Prisoner Speaks

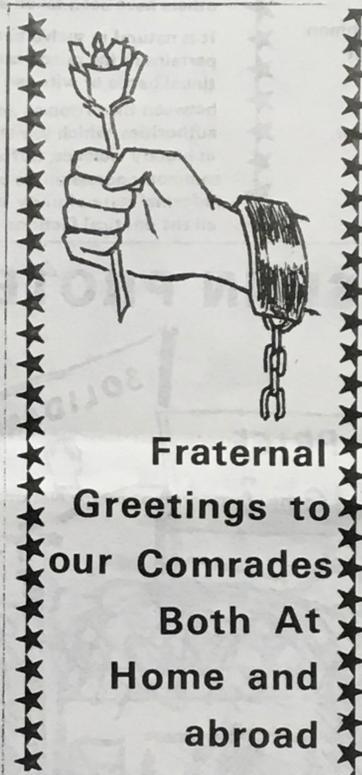
The Way Forward

'Iron bars, do not a prison make, Nor stone walls a cell'.

The above quotation will familiar to many, too many, but in our case not necessarily unfortunately, for we, the Official Republican prisoners in Long Kesh intend to live up to that quotation.

We believe that it is our duty, in fact our birthright, to hit back at the establishment that has been fit to throw us, and many others in here.

The establishment thinks that it has the answer to its problems, the more people it throws into Long Kesh the less of a problem they have. The fools. The majority of us came here with only a vague idea of what we were fighting for, we saw things only in general terms of right and wrong, the haves and the have-nots. Had we not been caught, most of us would have fizzled out thro' frustration and disillusionment. But everyday now thro' the rearing and understanding of Marx, Connolly Ergels and Lenin, we see that we have a historical part to play in the evolutionary process of man.



Fraternal
Greetings to
our Comrades
Both At
Home and
abroad

GROW LEAKS

Now that the dust is settling on the "leak" from Conor Cruise O'Brien, lets take a good look at in attempt to discern just what he was playing at. According to Mr. O'Brien the loyalist politicians in Ulster are planning to gain a majority at the coming convention elections and having done the minority in true Cromwellian fashion till the country is knee deep in blood and puritanical Fascism rules the roost.

Ireland would be composed entirely of queues, soup queues, dole queues, emigration queues, let us into the Free State queues - and queues to the cemeteries to bury the victims of malnutrition.

Conor Cruise O'Brien has said a lot of daft things in his day but they all conformed to his own peculiar brand of warped logic. We should ask why he is trying to further polarize sections of our community by driving people to seek the safety of the herd in the dread of a terrible holocaust.

Can it be that by spreading bysteria over what will happen in the event of a loyalist majority at the convention elections he can influence the way electors cast their vote? Or perhaps if he can create enough fear then Britain will reconsider and not hold any elections at all? That would mean another period of direct rule of course and maybe Northern Ireland could become really apart of the U.K. or something. In that event, at least Ireland would be rid of the burden of articles 2 and 3 in the constitution.

In any event whether it was to influence voters or prevent a general election. Mr O'Brien should be taken thoroughly to taks for producing one of the most monstrous ideas in the history of our province.

A possibility I leave as an afterthought, it may well be that some politicians see the possibility of a united working class emerging despite the troubles. Our protesting visitors and friends over the last four weeks have shown the world that

when workers and their families here identify a common enemy then they will unite to face that enemy. I'm quite certain the lessons to be learned from that were not wasted on O'Brien and his cohorts who recognise the possible danger of their privileged position and they would go to any lengths to destroy the dange even if it meant the lives of innocent people as the price.

As for myself, I think Conor Cruise O'Brien has finally flipped his lid and when you take a good look at his 'leak' you could believe it was the ravings of a lunatic mind.

WE ARE TARGETS

Standing naked
Where they have placed me,
Nailed to the target
By their first arrows.

Again a bow is drawn,
Again an arrow flies - and misses.
Are they pretending?
Did a hand shake,
Or was it the wind?

What have I to fear?
If their arrows hit,
If their arrows kill,
What is there in that to cry about?
Others have gone before,
Others will follow.

ENOCH - A FOURTH REICH?

To understand the reason why, Enoch Powell has joined forces with the Craig, Paisley and West coalition, the overall political, social and economic spectrum of Britain must be taken into account along with the sectarian divisions of Ulster politicians. Initial reaction to Powell on the part of Craig and Paisley has been obviously lukewarm as they recognise in Enoch a more formidable foe than West in the struggle for the loyalist leadership at Westminster.

Even though they share with Powell the reactionary philosophy for fascism, the trepidations of Craig and Paisley are not without foundations. They rightly suspect that Powell is using the U.U.U.C. as a means to further his own ambitions, forces of fascism that Unionism has fostered in N. Ireland over the past 50 years and which if harnessed to the upsurge of right wing reaction in Britain would leave the parochial aspirations of Ulster politicians sadly amiss.

History shows that the rise of fascism is a political phenomena peculiar to capitalist countries in times of crisis.

Britain is now in the midst of a growing economic crisis. A crisis which according to all economic forecasts has no short-term solution and which will get worse in the coming years.

Recently the Sunday Times published a special economic analysis prepared by the London Business School, one of Britains most influential economic institutions. In the report they forecasted that by the end of 1975 at least 2 million people in Britain would be unemployed, the balance of payments deficit would be £4,000 million; industrial growth would be nil and inflation would be running at a rate of 20% per year.

Attempts have been made by successive governments to counteract this by borrowing heavily from other sources, particularly the Arab countries. Reactionary Arab states with their vast profits from oil represent the new imperialism. Increasingly they are becoming the pawnbrokers for Britains industry, economy and government. This year the Arabs have 50 billion for investment purposes, rising to 80 billion by 1976. thus giving relevance to the possibility that in such an economic shambles, "Brown Faced" overlords may appear at the head of some of Britains leading industries.

Within this situation the importance of North Sea Oil stands out like an oasis in the desert. The effect of the rising tide of Scottish Nationalism can be seen in the frantic scramble of the establishment parties, Labour, Tories and Liberals, to push forth the carrot of regional government. Each realising that as the economic crisis deepens the pressure for an independent Scotland with full control of her oil-fields will grow.

Traditionally, in times of crisis, it is always the workers who have to take the blame. Wages and the activities of Trade Unions are, according to the capitalist employers and media, the sole causes of inflation.

It is inflation, the intrinsic sickness of capitalist economics that is the centre of the economic crisis. To divert attention away from the system, the forces of the right have been leashed. Brought forth are the emotive somescreens of racialism and communism. To create the necessary reaction the National Front backed by the right wing conservative Monday Club, are given respectability to hold marches and demonstrations.

In response to the engineered reaction of the National Front marches, the Col.

Blimps with their private armies have emerged as the national saviours. Prominent among them are General Walter Walker, retired commander of the British forces in Germany, and Col. Stirlin, the founder of the S.A.S. the organisation, which has murdered many people in Ireland.

But the most sinister element of all is the increasingly threatening presence of the British Army. In line with Kitsonian tactics the army is being used almost daily in matters that are usually civil matters, and in the national press there is growing speculation as to a possible coup.

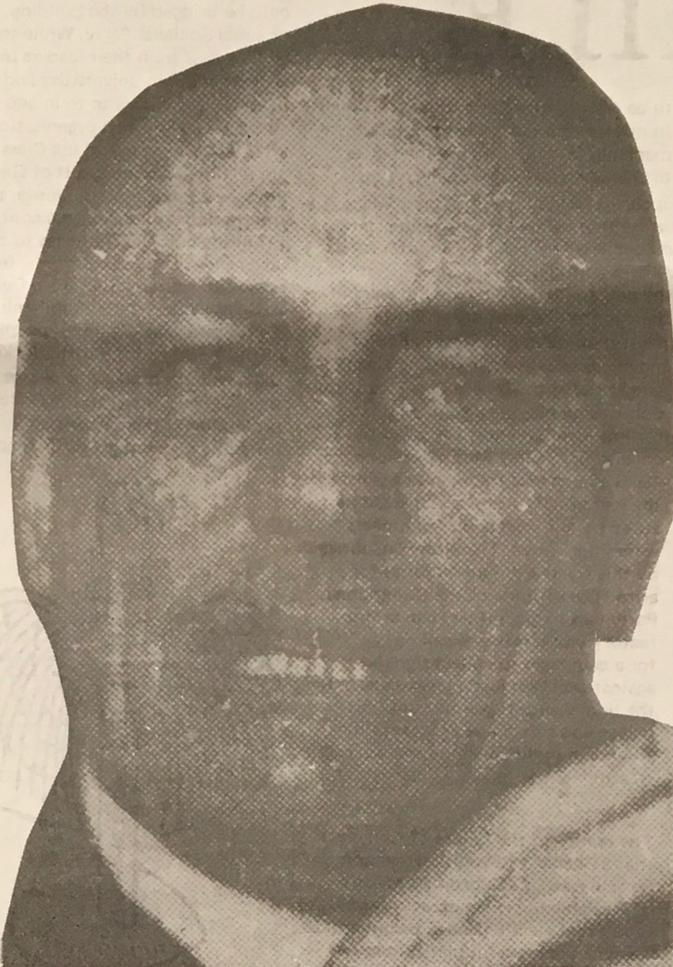
On the political front, the October elections have exposed even more fully the confusion, the ineptitude and the superficiality of all the established parties. Hysterical defections from the Labour Party plus the coalitionary romance of the Liberal and Conservative parties have been the sum election effect.

It is within the context of this situation that Enoch Powell's return to Westminster as a Unionist must be viewed. Along with the other Unionist M.P.'s would have the nucleus of a right wing fascist party. Free from the usual party restrictions he would be free to attack the policies of the other parties and politicians, especially Heath and the Conservative party. It is from the Conservatives that Powell would attract further parliamentary support. From such a position Powell could emerge as the leader of the right, the figure to unite all shades of reactionary groups. Powell has the necessary respectability to unite not only the common fodder of the private armies and the National Front, but also the higher orders of the right, the dissident Tories, the financiers, plus the muscle of the army generals.

It is also within this context that Powell's plan for N. Ireland full integration with Britain becomes clear. Fully integrated, the Six Counties would be a constant source of reactionary support. In the event of social disturbances in Britain, the tentacles of the Orange institutions would be invaluable to ferment divisionary unrest, especially in Scotland, as a supplement to National Front racialism. Sectarian and racial disturbances would allow for the Army generals to emerge as the legitimate means of law and order. All forms of protest, Trade Union activities and the national aspirations of Ireland Scotland and Wales would be forcibly suppressed, thus laying the ground for a right wing take-over.

It is almost a century since Randolph Churchill played the Orange Card in an attempt to realise his political ambitions, "Please God", he wrote, "It may turn out to be the ace of trumps and not the two", - politically he got the two.

Will Enoch Powell get the ace?



WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS?

On Monday 16th September, a great cry of horror arose from all sections of the community in N. Ireland, bishops and ministers, politicians and workers, joined together in condemning the killings of judges McBirney and Conaghan, by terrorists.

Yet I, an aspiring Marxist, could not help but think of the other side of the coin. Just who are the real terrorists in this country? Is it the men who are prepared to shoot their enemy on the spot, or is it, the men, who using their state power can have people locked away for years, slowly grinding them down, until they become little more than the living dead.

I personally have seen judges passing long sentences on people, and later going home cheerfully to their wives, believing that they have saved society from another great evil. Yet do these respected members of the judiciary really know or care what happens to the poor bastards they have just sent down the river.

I was in Crumlin Rd. Jail for a few weeks awaiting trial, and I saw young kids of 15, 16 years, little more than children being locked up for 23 hours per day. I saw a mentally deranged deaf mute being locked up for 24 hours per day. I've also seen men, who some would call society's drags, getting released in the morning and being brought back again that night, because the society to which they had just paid their debt to didn't give a damn.

In all my time spent in prison, the only middle-class accent I ever heard belonged to the Governor, strange isn't it? Or maybe it's just that the working-class are the only ones who commit crime in this society.

For how long are the workers to be duped? For how long are we going to accept this Imperial terrorism, this Colonial terrorism, this Capitalist terrorism and this bourgeoisie justice? Workers it is up to you.

The Truth About Our Sports Facilities

We would like to bring to your attention some facts about the Sports facilities such as they are in Long Kesh Concentration Camp. Concerning Football matches, which we get once a week (sometimes).

Twenty-two men are each given a pair of football boots, which are the only sets of boots in Long Kesh, which means they have to be passed around every compound, Loyalist and Republican alike. Hence these boots are worn by approx. 250 men every week, and as these boots haven't been changed in over six months, you can imagine the condition they're in.

There is also the question of the footballs themselves, they are egg-shaped have you ever tried to play soccer with a rugby-ball, its very hard, even more so considering the state of the football pitch itself. The pitch is supposed to be an all-weather pitch, but this is not so, every time it rains the pitch is like Tyrella beach, only difference being that instead of sand-dunes there are gravel dunes. The pitch is also pock-marked with holes, therefore making the accident rate very high men are constantly coming in with all sorts of sprains broken legs injured arms etc., We have asked the Governor time and time again to get the pitch rolled he says yes but thats all he does, the same is true when we ask for new footballs, boots etc.

Then there is the so-called P.T.I. in charge of the gym, he brings eight men to the gym once a week, locks them up throws away the key and goes for a cup of tea. We have also asked him to mark out the pitch for us, but he says this isn't his job either, what is this man getting paid for? Sitting drinking tea all day. The men who go to the gym have asked for skipping ropes, slippers etc., but are told they have to buy themselves the men did get their own but they were stopped coming in, the men went to the Governor to ask why, he said that the prison was supposed to supply these items, months later the men are still waiting for the ropes and slippers.

As well as this, we find it hard to get our weekly match, when we are supposed to get a match on any given day we are often told that its not our turn or that there is a staff shortage so we have to do without. This ten reader

This then readers is a small insight into the Sports Facilities in Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

In our so-called 'Western democracies' the mass media plays a part in determining our likes and dislikes, our behaviour, our ideas and our ideals. The degree to which newspapers, television & radio are responsible for our tastes is debatable but it seems certain that they have succeed in imposing upon us a 'Pop culture' laying down the rules for dress, music, literature and so on. This has the result of slowly destroying national cultures and replacing them with an 'International culture' which is the creation of the media.

But is this necessarily harmful? Is not internationalism desirable, especially to socialists? After all, was it not nationalism that began the two World Wars of this century and countless others before? These are the questions that come to mind when the importance of culture is raised. But their validity is doubtful.

OUR CULTURE AND THE REVOLUTION

The internationalism which the media has attempted to create is not based on the ideas or changes in opinion and behaviour of society, but upon the dictates of international business in whose interest it lies to maintain this 'Pop culture' and the incessant change in fashion. It is, in essence, a false form of internationalism.

Among the smaller cultural groups which are threatened by 'Pop culture' are those of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and Brittany. Irish culture, especially the Irish language, has long been a

symbol of resistance of British domination. It was the growth of interest in the Irish language which helped keep alive the various independence movements in Ireland at the turn of the century, and the revival in this interest was an essential part of the 1916 rising. Therefore it is important to keep alive our culture as a means of combatting foreign domination as well as for its own intrinsic merits.

Taking into account this important

aspect of our culture it may be a surprise (or may not be so) to find that the government of the 'Irish Republic' has shamefully neglected the development of the Gaeltacht areas, especially those in Donegal and Kerry. Industry is scant and unemployment high, leaving little incentive to the local people to continue in a way of life which dooms them to a perpetually low standard of living. Yet the Gaeltacht areas are of paramount importance in keeping alive a language which reflects a totally, different separate mode of living from that of society in the 'West'.

Irish culture has basically different values from that of our neighbours the English, with infinite less snobbery it places emphasis on human happiness rather than on material gain. With this emphasis in mind, a life devoted to personal and communal happiness is sought after, leading to passions for gaiety in music, song dance and poetry. In the middle ages it was an easy, pleasant way of life that seduced the English sent here to rule and gave us the saying that they "became more Irish than the Irish themselves."

Today we are experiencing a revival in interest in the culture of our country as can be seen from the numbers who packed this years Fleadh Ceoil na h-Eireann in Listowel (this is an example of true culture which must come directly from the people). But without encouragement it will be submerged by the constant flood of 'Pop culture' leashed foreign domination and exploitation and as a symbol of resistance makes it incumbent on us as revolutionaries, socialists and Irishmen, to support it and encourage its growth.

CAPITALISTS TORTURE IN CHILE

In 1970 Salvadore Allende was elected as President of Chile. In 1973 he was shot dead. The ruling class, through the Army had taken its revenge. Thousands of Trade Unionists lay shot dead, thousands more imprisoned and all trade unions and Socialist groups dissolved. The reports of torture increased and the crimes of the Junta grow more savage day by day

They have cut wages, boosted prices and inflicted unemployment on a quarter of the working population. But they have not broken the resistance of the Chilean workers. To do this and to help increase repression the British Labour Government (is honouring a commitment of their Tory predecessors) and delivering Warships valued at £70 million. The British made Frigates are not just for Naval exercises, they will be used against Socialists fighting life and death battle to overthrow the Junta. They will be used just as they were last September during the Coup - to shell the working districts on the coast. Knowing Britain it is not really surprising to find that in her frantic efforts to rescue a tottering economy, she will support the most repressive regimes.

The most relevant questions are, What went wrong? And what are the lessons

to be learnt from the mistakes in Chile? In not smashing the existing state machine, in not curtailing the power of the Generals, Allende always left open the possibility of a Coup. Marx wrote that we must destroy the state machinery because we cannot use it. Allende brought three Generals into the government. Two of them were in the counter Revolutionary Government that killed him. The policy of moving gradually towards Socialism, safe in the knowledge that the constitution was on his side also proved fatal for President Allende. He failed to recognise the Sailors Mutiny of June 1973 as a chance to organise against the reactionary Admirals. Instead he stood by and watched as mutineers were imprisoned. The Army encouraged by this started to raid factories for arms. The attitude of the Communist Party was tragic, rather than arm the factory workers it was calling for a campaign to collect signatures against civil War just a few weeks before the final Coup. It was not until his palace was surrounded by tanks that Allende himself called on the workers to arm.

The reality of the failure of Chile is that a Socialist Revolution cannot be achieved by the ordinary means of Parliamentary democracy. That is not to say that elections need be boycotted. They can be a useful platform as our Bernadette Devlin showed through

being elected she provided a voice for the Irish Working Class in the Imperial parliament and forced even more publicity on the N. Ireland situation. But the gap between what is needed and what exists now in the Working Class movement can only be bridged by the building of a real Socialist Party. While the Ruling class train their leaders in the armed forces, in universities and Public schools, we have to train and struggle in a Socialist organisation. While the Chilean Working Class are reeling from the assault of General Pinochet's fascist military Junta, the International Class struggle continues. From the colonial countries to the advanced Capitalist countries, from Saigon to Mozambique from Derry to Sharpeville, from Phom Penh to Kent State. The exploited peoples of the world and the Irish Working Class will not hesitate to pledge their active support to the Chilean proletariat in their efforts to force the re-conquest of their country.



AN CEOL TRADAISUNTA

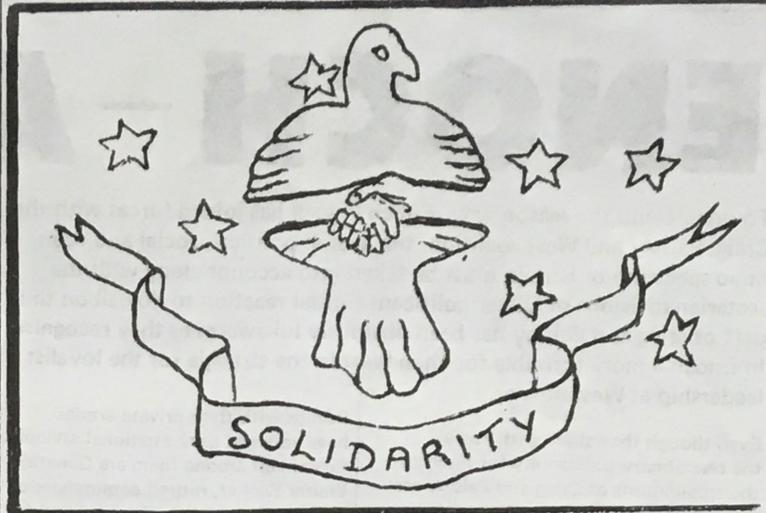
Is léir dúinn gur éirigh suim úr sa cheol na h-Éireann (agus ceol Ceilteach fosta) le sin nocht móran ceoltoirí agus cumadóirí ar na mall-aibh, agus ar na leathéan ta deirneacha seo bíonna na fir óga seo agabogadh thart anseo agus ansúid ag seinm agus ag ceol. Bíonn a goeirinní le fáil sna siopaí ar fud na tíre inniu. Lena chois sin bíonn siad le feicealag ag freastal ar gach fleadh in Éireann. Can aon agó ta níos mó seinnteoirí ann anois ná le fada an lá.

Bíonn ceann acu, darbh ainm Alan Stivell, ag tabhairt a lán inanuú don ghuaiseacht Cheilteach agus ag cuidiú leis an chultúr. Tá sé ar a chumas ceol mílis a dheanamh agus be léir do na daoine a chula a chéad ceirnin, "La Renaissance de la Harpe Celtique", go raibh se in ann a bheith az seinm an claiseach thar a Chechth maith.

D' eimh leis an ceirnin sin ach chuir an dara ceirnin, (l'Olympiad), moran daoine i bponc. Bhí cumas ann, bhí gleaseanna ceoil Ceilteacha ann, - an claiseach, ar ndoigh, an fhídhil, an fheadog stáin agus mar sin de. Ach bhí gleaseanna ceoil leictreacha ann. Dar leat b'fheidir ma chuala tú é, nach raibh aon gleasanna ceoil Ceilteacha, ar bit ann. Ach afach, d' inis Stivell agus é ina bhriot-árch, duinn go dtugann se a chad gra cheol Ceilteach. Ach afach, ta a cheol

fein fite fuaite leis an cheol nua-aimsire agus ar an ábhar sin is mian leis usaid a bhaineadh as gleasanna leic treacha. Creideann seiseann go goebhfaidh an ceol agus an cultúr bas i bpreadh na sul mura bhfuil suim ag na daoine óga iontu. dar leis is fearr leo ceol leistreach.

Mas mar sin ata nior chóir do einne a bheith inni air, mar bhí an ceart aige. de reir cosúlachta. Inniu bíonn moran daoine ag eisteach lena cheol agus le cheolna h-Éireann. Ta suim laidir acu anois sa chultúr agus tá me cinnte gur éirigh an suim seo ur mar ta an ceol agus an cultúr ag dul ar aghaidh, na ag stadadh mar a bhí se ar sblua na marbh



What Sort Of Breed Is Prison Governor

On hearing yesterday that a new assistant governor had arrived to replace the existing one somebody in our cage remarked that it should make a pleasant change and we all laughed. To understand the irony in his humour though I should explain what, (if anything), an assistant governor is and what, (if anything), he does.

one would care what damage he did and nobody would listen to any complaints about him. He did meet with some measure of success though for after four weeks of his presence there were no complaints by the men. This might be explained by the fact that every last one of the men was refusing to speak to him of course. Even the prison screws couldn't stand him and on two separate occasions he was punched by officers serving on the prison staff.

According to the regulations, which they make up as they go along, he is someone who comes here for six months from a prison in Britain to run a section of the camp i.e. he listens to your complaints and requests and conveys them to the deputy governor, who then tells the governor who in turn passes it on to a junior clerk in the ministry who in turn sends it etc. etc. and so ad. infinitum.

Looked at in this light an assistant governor might appear to be a figure of fun but he is hand picked as a very necessary cog in the wheel which is designed to crush the men here into utter subjection. He is the man to whom we must take our grievances and our requests, knowing in advance that he will say no. If a domestic problem should arise and a special compassionate visit is required there is no point in seeing the welfare office because he must ask the assistant governor's permission before he can grant one.

The assistant Governor arrives, generally blank faced with a mind to match, and listens to each request and complaint and after each one he trots out the carefully rehearsed stock phrase which that he doesn't really understand anything about Long Kesh an he has only ever worked in prisons and that was in England. His expression usually says that as soon as his six months are up he'll get the hell back there too and try to forget the whole place. The one rule that he carries with him is that he must say no to everything because if the men aren't rioting then they aren't really serious in their demands. The one rule that the ministry rigidly enforces is that he doesn't stay long enough to understand the problems or the complaints here lest he be tainted by the dread affliction of Christian charity or a sense of justice.

The idea behind it all is to make every prisoner feel that nobody can hear him so that each man feels completely isolated and completely alone. They can then work with clinical efficiency on your frustrations with degrading body searches or by attacking your visits, destroying your mail, Keeping you without clean bedding etc. Food provides them with a list of possibilities like feeding you slops, damaging or destroying your parcel, locking the parcel for forty-eight hours till it can't be eaten, taking things out of it, like meat for instance, or simply by stopping them altogether. As for our throwing their slops over the wire at present. We have been handing food back for three years now and making formal complaints yet it remains largely inedible and nothing much was done to improve it.

Mr. John Robertson is an example of an assistant governor. He is a man of impeccable quality and admirably suited to his station. Coming from a wealthy family in a southern county of England and following ancestral tradition, he entered the military college of Sandhurst where he proved to be a dismal failure. His family were then rash enough to allow him into the world of commerce. Rumour has it that after twelve months of his activity in 'The City' the £ sterling fell to an all time low against the dollar. Since he refused point blank to enter an ecclesiastical order his family decided that the only course left open to them was to put the boy-genius into the prison service. There at least no

These are only a few of the weapons in the psychological war being waged against the men held in this British hell-hole. For it to be effective we must feel isolated and divorced from reality and the say-nothing, do-nothing, assinine assistant governor is the man around whom it revolves. We can defeat their purpose through organs like this paper and the personal involvement of people in the outside world. If we don't defeat their purpose then the psychological scars that they leave, not only on us but our families as well, could easily be felt into the next generation and be expressed in violence.

FROM UNDER THE TIN

The Official Republican Movement, Long Kesh Concentration Camp thank the Tyrone Republican Clubs Executive for the sum of money they raised through a draw they held recently for our prisoners. There will be a personal acknowledgement by our P.O. to the Executive.

The money will be used for improvement of the prisoners co-op and prisoner's welfare. Outside help is needed in these two fields, without our comrades remembering us our position would be hopeless, a position which the enemy wishes to push us into. But the days of Imperialist rule are not the same as they used to be. The prisoners here are determined to advance the policies of the Movement, we know we can succeed with the support of our friends and comrades on the better side of prison wire.

We also wish to thank the Derry Prisoners Welfare Committee whose generosity was among the first we benefitted from after our imprisonment and has always been available over our dreary years to lighten our burden.

Certainly not the least due for thanks is the group of ladies in the U.S.A. who have generously befriended the prisoners. There is one in particular whose name we can't publish because she is receiving attention from the enemies of the people both in the U.S.A. and in Ireland. To this lady and the others in her group we send our kind regards.

PERSONAL COLUMN

- Happy birthday, David - Daddy, Ballymurphy.
- Happy Silver wedding anniversary, Mum and Dad - Davy and Tomboy.
- Congratulations, Mary and Phil - The lads, the Markets.
- Happy birthday, Carol Ann - Daddy, Markets.
- Happy Wedding anniversary, Belle - Gerry, Twinbrook.
- Belated wedding greetings, Danny and Margaret - Mano, Falls
- Happy birthday, Sean Og - Daddy, Falls
- Best wishes on your birthday, sweetheart - J.J. Falls.
- Happy birthday, Love - J.D. Markets
- Happy wedding anniversary, Mary - Tony, Lenadoon
- Happy birthday, Anne Bro. Falls.
- Congratulations Gerard and Kate - Jarby, Jake, Zac and Vinty, Beechmount and Colin.
- Congratulations Pat on your engagement - Rabby, Markets.
- Martin and Marion Congratulations on happy event - Gerry Lisburn
- Belated greetings, Jason - Daddy, Twinbrook.
- Happy birthday, Esther, and all my love - From Tim, Beechmount
- Congratulations Liam and Kathleen - Bro. James, Newry.

The Irish Small Farmer

The long term aim of the Republican Movement is to establish a Thirty-two county Workers and Small Farmers Socialist Republic. This objective includes everybody having a role to play.

★★★★

One of the leading roles must be played by the small farmers as they account for a large percentage of our population and are an important social and economic factor. At the moment, the life of the small farmer is becoming gradually extinct and it is only a matter of years they become non-existent. To most urban workers the small farmers are just people who live outside their cities and produce various agricultural goods for their consumption. However, if we look more closely at these people

we will find that their problems run parallel with those of the urban workers.

Down through the years, poverty exploitation and neglect have become well known to these people, and now due to our entry into the E.E.C. the whole programme of neglect and exploitation has been speeded up. The reason for all this comes from the Mansholt Plan which is the agricultural policy of countries within the E.E.C. The aim of this policy is to create two to three hundred acre farms. In effect by 1980 the number of farms in Ireland would be reduced to around forty thousand, these

figures are staggering since sixty per cent of the land is cared by farmers with less than thirty acres.

At the moment, his Mansholt Plan is being carried out by both the Northern and Southern Governments in Ireland and the migration of the small farmer from the land is steadily increasing. There have been various means tests carried out by both governments to identify the small farmer and a widely used method called the Standard-Man-Day. This system puts farms into three categories. (1) Commercial (2) Viable (3) Non-viable.

★★★★

If a farm employs at least two full-time workers then it is termed as a commercial farm. Those farms whose annual produce could be obtained by a full time yearly labour of between one and two men are known as viable farms.

A farm which demands less than a full years work for one man is regarded as a non-viable farm. The whole concept of this method is heavily biased in Ireland since it was deprived from a study of large capital farms.

From this you can see that the commercial farms are in general capitalist enterprises. These farms receive the bulk of agricultural grants, loans and subsidies, as well as plenty of advice from various government agencies, yet these farms represent only a small percentage of the farms in Ireland. Under the Mansholt Plan, these farms will become economically sufficient

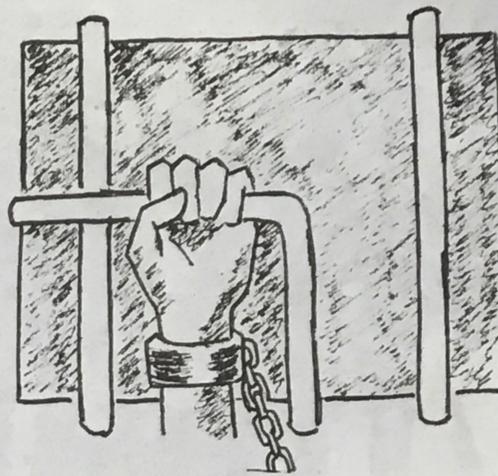
and their owners will possess sufficient wealth to compete on foreign markets.

The viable farms, which are run by farmers themselves, with, say a wife and son are at the moment acceptable, and maybe through practising austerity and accumulating some more and they will be able to survive for a while, but due to various changes and influences and changing techniques the majority of these will be swallowed up by the commercial farms.

The non-viable farms present no real problem to both governments as by a subtle mixture of positive action and neglect the small farm will soon become obsolete. The selective withdrawals of grants and technical advice, as well as inaction over rising prices of feeding stuffs is already affecting the small farmer and causing him to migrate from the farms.

Since the small farms are being exploited by monopoly divisions of the system and being cynically neglected by the two governments, it is only natural that the revolutionary movement associate with their struggle. The urban workers and the small farmers have a common cause since both experienced neglect from government as well as from exploitation by monopoly suppliers.

Therefore, in conclusion, the organising of the small farmers is essential while co-ordination between urban workers and small farmers is imperative, for it would bring about a more aware people who would be able to identify the common enemy and go forward together to destroy it.



REALITY

Working man Labouring all the Long Day,
The prisoner tripping through the slush of a Long Kesh Cage,
Correctly The soldier marching upon the barrack yard;
Everywhere is man in all his rage,
A rage calculated by the Hypocrite,
The manager behind the stage,
It is the age old story,
Unfolded our life has been decided,
Long before you or I were born:
Of how reality has been derided,
And by falsity our future sworn ; . . .
Those who sought to propose the truth,
Have been held to ignorant scorn,
The myth must be propagated,
Everything else is labelled foreign,
Politician, capitalist and clergyman
Will one and all seek to subdue,
So that they won't have any trouble
In manipulating me and you:
We must not recognise the truth,
But perform their act upon their stage,
Where you and I will act ignorant,
So that they might appear sage,

Prisoners Thoughts

What? Long Kesh a Prison,
A maze of light and wire,
Cages, cages, full with men,
Men in jail for special reasons,
Reasons for which they are willing to die,
Fighting for what they believe,
Fighting for the kind of peace,
Place they want to live in,
Yet the system fights against the majority,
And sides with the minority capitalist,
Why? Why?
This question hundreds, thousands, millions, ask
themselves every day.

THE ARD FHEIS THAT WASN'T

In terms of nonevents the Ard-fheis recently held by the Provos in Dublins Mansion house must rate as the non-event of the year. The multiplicity of opinion held amongst the rank and file membership illustrates more than anything else the lack of agreed policy in their political wing (I refuse to call their political wing Sinn Fein).

That they are an alliance of contradictory, political ideologies has never been more apparent. Rather than debate controversial motions proposed and seconded - by the various local branches it was felt necessary to refer any contentious motions to be dealt with by the Ard Comhairle. One wonders whether this was before or after this agust body had been elected for the next year.

It is interesting to note that the issues which would have caused controversy were all from the Six County area. A

typical example is the motion from the Jim Bryson Cumann in Long Kesh which decried the fact that their movement was pervaded by right wing reactionaries and called for a genuine move to the left. This is a far cry from the days when the Provo movement as a whole castigating us in the Official movement for being too far to the left. We hope it is not considered fashionable by the Provos to be just trendy leftists. Or could it just be possible that many of the rank and file members recognise the shallowness of Provo policies and are attempting to rectify this from within their movement? If this is the case then those members who are trying to initiate change from within will soon find themselves cut off from the main stream within the Provos and isolated by the self-same right wing reactionaries they seek to remove.

A resolution from the McAuley Cumann (Belfast) criticized the Eire Nua programme as 'reformist and a distraction of the movement from the necessity of peoples

ownership of the economy'. The same resolution suggested that federalism was simply another name for partition. These charges were denied by the Ard Comhairle but were not debated, a sure sign that they (Ard Comhairle) fear the results of such a debate and subsequent vote.

In an effort (successfully as it turned out) to distract from - these matters Maire Drumm raised the emotive issue of the tense situation at Long Kesh and prophesied dire happenings there in the near future. The red herring worked and here at least the Ard Comhairle were on surer ground. As an exercise on how to run a meeting and the need to divert argument, it was very professionally done. The ideological cracks in their movement were papered over and on the surface this political machine remains intact for another term of office.

It now remains to be seen whether the progressives within the Provo movement accept this fait accompli or whether they will push on with their newly found left wing aspirations.

LETTER

Dear Sir,

I would like space in your paper to complain about the lack of playing facilities for children and youths in the Ardoyne district. This area has a population of 13,000, yet no serious effort has been made to provide any type of recreation for the young people.

I realise however, that this is not the only area with this problem but many other working class areas such as Tiger's Bay, Markets, New Lodge, and Shankill also suffer while the bourgeois districts like the Malone and Antrim roads are well catered for with parks and pitches. I would urge either the department of the environment or the people of the areas themselves to rectify the situation before the young people find less healthy ways of amusing themselves. That would be all our faults.

Signed: Gerald Burns,
Rossa Carran
Martin McAfee.

SHADOWS

Dear Shadows, now you know it all,
All the folly of a fight.
With a common wrong or right.
The innocent and the beautiful
Have no enemy but time.

Arise and bid me strike a match
And strike another till time catch
Should the conflagration climb,
Run till the sages know.
We the great Gazebo built,
They convicted us of guilt
Bid me strike a match
And blow.

Heart Ache

It makes ones heart ache when one sees that a man has staked his soul upon some end, the hopeless imperfection and futility of which is immediately obvious to everyone but himself. But isn't this after all, merely a matter of degree? Isn't the pathetic grandeur of human existence in some way bound up with the eternal disproportion in this world, where self-delusion is necessary to life, between the honesty of the striving and the mullity of the result? That we all - everyone of us - take ourselves seriously is not merely ridiculous.

INSIDE THOUGHTS

(1) The 'men of the hour', the self assured who strut about among us in the jingling harness of their success and importance, how can you let yourself be irritated by them. Let them enjoy their triumph - on the level to which it belongs.

(2) It merely happens to one man and not to others - but he can take no credit to himself for gifts and the responsibility assigned to him - destiny is something not to be desired and not to be avoided - it is a mystery not contrary to reason, for it implies that the world, and the course of human history, have meaning.

(3) Living submerged in this heavy fluidum of the sub-human - sub-human insight, feeling, and energy - beware of a twofold danger - of drowning and of floating - of lowering yourself until this position below the clear surface of the burly human seems to you the natural one, and of upholding your banner in a vacuum of 'superiority'.

POLITICAL CONTENT IN THE OPEN UNIVERSITY

For the first time (1/2/74) in N. Ireland, prisoners were supplied with educational correspondence courses. The strange thing is that these courses were restricted to political prisoners, there is only one prisoner in the Crumlin Rd Jail taking the courses, and he is an ex-inmate of Long Kesh, on a political charge. There are no practical courses, the prisoners being restricted to the Social Sciences and the Arts one Loyalist prisoner applied for electronics and was refused point-blank.

After studying the O. U. for the past 8 months I've come to the conclusion, along with the majority of my fellow students that the whole thing is designed to re-condition one mode of thinking; to quietly re-mould the behaviour patterns of politically motivated prisoners, in other words, a subtle sophisticated form of brainwashing.

It is typical of the Social Sciences course, for instance, Racist Arthur Jensen, who propogates the theory that negroes are inherently less intelligent than white; is liberally quoted throughout the psychology unit in a very favourable manner. The sociology and the politics carefully avoid any mention of Marxist theory. Liberal democracy is propogated as the only criterion of rational society, while on the other hand Socialist societies are described as one party totalitarian dictatorships.

The most startling aspect of the whole course is that it is almost entirely American dominated, indeed the highest authority has it that it is an organ of the C.I.A. This isn't surprising when one thinks of the C.I.A. inspired coup in Chile and the fact that parties in opposition to the Australian Labour Party were subsidised to the tune of £3 million (in the last election) of C.I.A. funds. The now exposed functions of Coca Cola Company; the I.T.T. and the Readers digest lend weight to the fact that the organisation has involvement in the Open University.

To escape from the snares of capitalist society it is imperative that as working men and women we must educate ourselves, not to be swamped by the bourgeois values advocated by the O.U. but to seek and learn for ourselves. Bertolt Brecht sums it up well in his poem:-

Learn the simplest things for you
Whose time has already come
It is never too late!
Learn your A.B.C.'s it is not enough,
But learn them! Do not discourage you
Begin! You must know everything!
You must take over the leadership!

Learn, man in the asylum!
Learn! man in prison!
Learn wife in the kitchen!
Learn! man of sixty!
Seek out the school you who are homeless!

Don't be afraid of asking brother!
Don't be won over,
See for yourself
What you don't know yourself,
You don't know.
Add up the reckoning.
It is you must pay it.
Put your finger on each item
Ask: How did this get here?
You must take over the leadership.

Sharpen your wits you who are shiver!
Hungry man reach for the book; it is a weapon.
You must take over the leadership.

★★★★★★★★★★



'GREETINGS TO THE PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE ON THEIR VICTORIOUS REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM. MAY THESE PEOPLE ENJOY THE FRUITS OF THEIR VICTORY: JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY. THE PEOPLE'S TRUST IN THEIR REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD FRELIMO HAS SHOWN THEIR GOOD SENSE, LET THIS SAME TRUST BE A SOURCE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRENGTH IN BUILDING A NEW AND BETTER LIFE FOR THE MOZAMBIKAN PEOPLE. LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF MOZAMBIQUE'

LONG KESH CONCENTRATION CAMP OCTOBER, 1974.

The people of Mozambique through their revolutionary vanguard FRELIMO have achieved victory over the Imperialism and Colonialism of that long existing Fascist State Portugal, where to an all justice loving peoples' benefits democratic forces rebelled and took control recently. While this development in Portugal speeded up victory for the Mozambican revolution, victory was inevitable, if we understand what was happening in this former part of the Portuguese Empire, subjected by early colonial conquest in Africa after Vasco da Gama, the famous Portuguese explorer and voyager landed on the Mozambican coast in 1498.

When the nature of the Mozambican struggle is understood, especially the backwardness the people suffered from through the chains of colonialism the primitive resources and scanty supplies the revolution was dependent upon, then the Mozambican victory should be seen as an inspiration and signpost to all peoples around the world struggling to throw of the bonds of Imperialism and Colonialism, and their foster child Capitalism.

As a tribute to the Mozambican struggle and victory, An Eochair is, in the following article from one of its contributors here in prison, giving a historical sketch of the background, development, and the result of this iconoclastic event. Suffering from the same tactics under the jackboot of Imperialism, our people in this part of Ireland, especially the prisoners enduring the vicissitudes of its concentration camps and those who have suffered from death and destruction, see in the Mozambican struggle a similarity. This similarity cannot but invoke sympathy and admiration and a realisation that there is a union of minds and a common brotherhood for the struggle for justice because the struggle is universal. The Irish people can be sure of one more friend, the new Mozambique, in our struggle against British Imperialism.

BACKGROUND: COLONIAL CONQUEST

It is a long cry from the year of Vasco da Gama's landing on the Mozambican coast to the year of 1964 when the Mozambican people proclaimed their revolution in arms. But even Rome fell, though the early Portuguese settlers and others until recently, including the head of the Portuguese government, Salazar, thought that colonial conquest made a territory or people Portuguese; a myth which we will unravel in due course, and proved to be so by the Mozambican people.

After da Gama's early visit to the Mozambican coast, sailing ships

called there and small isolated trading posts were established. Islam had a strong influence on the ethnic population in the area at that time. In the interior, highly developed Bantu states were in existence and were responsible for such settlements as the great stone city of Zimbabwe. The Portuguese extended their influence in-land through intrigue and religious blackmail. The earlier myth was created of a savage and primitive people in Africa needing to be civilised.

In the middle of the 19th century, it was estimated that there were not more than 3,000 Portuguese nationals living south of the equator. But even by that time, the Portuguese made little impression on Mozambique. Those present there chafed at this position. Colonialism would have to be advanced if their position was to be more secure and advantageous.

Politically, the Portuguese have tried to give the impression that they have been in full control of Mozambique for 450 years. But this is not so. It was not until the obnoxious partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884-5 that Portugal was impelled to capture and control the parts assigned to her. All sorts of tactics were used to carry out this task including infiltration under the aegis of religion and trade, and the use of violence and patronage.

The Catholic Church, in the form of Portuguese missionaries, were willing tools in this programme of colonialist expansion. Jesuit and Dominican priests came to own vast tracts of land, administering like any government official in the collecting of taxes and the trafficking of slaves. It was from this initial development that great Portuguese land companies developed (shades of the Irish Plantation). The missionaries were also tools in pacifying the people until the military controlled them and their land. Protection of white missionaries and traders were often used as an excuse for extension of military control against areas where there was non-Portuguese political allegiance. By the 1920's all armed resistance by Africans was crushed and the Portuguese were engaged in setting up a system of administration. The pattern of colonial conquest was already set.

Land acquisition on a more intensive scale and mineral exploration began. Cheap labour abounded although slavery was abolished in 1869. Originally, the right of the Portuguese to make slaves of the Africans was given to them in a Bull issued by Pope Nicholas, the Fifth. But after the abolishment of slavery, the Portuguese issued a decree making it compulsory for slaves to serve their masters for another nine years.

Another clause allowed for an unemployed person to be forced into a contract to serve a master for any given length of time; this situation was exploited to the fullest by the colonists. Hardship and suffering was caused to numerous Africans

under this refined form of slavery there were few of them with the means of a decent subsistence. This great pool of cheap labour was further exploited by supplying black Mozambicans to work in the gold mines of South Africa. An authoritarian administration exploiting companies including foreign and the Catholic Church were allies in maintaining and functioning this oppressive condition of the Mozambican people.

THE COLONIAL SYSTEM AND THEIR AFRICAN

The Portuguese created the myth that the African territories were part of Portugal and that the inhabitants therein were equal to each other. The reality is as follows: In a population of almost eight million people in Mozambique 94% live below subsistence level. Being exploited as a cheap pool of labour, there was no necessity seen for giving these people any education.

In the 1964 Mozambican election there were only 93,079 voters, mostly Portuguese. Here was the African without citizenship in his own land and so no political power which lay in the hands of a tiny minority which also owned most of the wealth of Mozambique. The minimum daily wage for an unqualified white industrial worker was 100 escudos. The maximum daily wage for an unskilled black was 5 escudos. For the African, maize was the staple diet. Article 299 of the Colonial Code permitted the use of force in recruiting labour. People were afraid to protest because of the secret police force PIDE.

Those people who left their rural and tribal life for the towns and cities ended up living in slums and shantytowns. Africans got beaten up for using European public toilets. The mulatto was seen as the proper biological development in the assimilation between European and African. But the mulatto had restrictions placed on himself when in European circles and he felt

alienated from the African; he is in a social limbo that can only be destroyed in the revolution.

PRE-REVOLUTION PERIOD

Although the impression was created by the Portuguese that Mozambique was part of Greater Portugal, parts of the Mozambican population never saw a Portuguese until the revolution broke out. Even though early resistance had ended by 1920 the oppressiveness of Colonialism on the population cause a revulsion of it especially of Portuguese culture again remember what Anglo-Saxon culture did to Ireland. In mid-1920s small groups of progressive Mozambicans formed societies and published newspapers exposing the evils and abuses of the colonial system. An organisation called Lipa Africana was formed. It stood for unity between colonies ruled by the same colonial power- and for African unity against all colonising powers. Another organisation Associada Africana caused alarm by its strength. Because of this Fascist influence from Portugal had it infiltrated and undermined, weakening it considerably. However, a radical wing broke away to carry on the original work.

These and other organisations carried on political action while at the same time running social programmes, mutual aid, cultural and athletic activities. Publications increased and the resistance mood influenced the arts; a field which possessed a number of talented and outstanding people. With such a developing awareness of their identity, the Mozambicans resisted the efforts of the Portuguese who made an attempt to educate them with history and geography of Portugal (we have an Irish parallel). The most important advance was the development of the radical intelligentsia.

The Mozambican students eventually formed their own organisation NESAM which proved invaluable in laying the groundwork for revolution. It was banned on receiving the attention of the secret police force PIDE, but survived in other forms until these student

elements became an important mainstay of FRELIMO.

The labour unions permitted by the Portuguese were Fascist controlled but, nevertheless, in 1947 there were widespread strikes in the plantations and on the docks: these culminated in an abortive uprising in the capital Laurence Marques. Savage repression of rebels and strikers began despite this, further strikes took place. But by 1963 with so many strikers being killed and imprisoned by the Portuguese, strike action was temporarily suspended; in one massacre in 1960 over 500 people were shot down.

Exiles in neighbouring countries beyond the reach of PIDE, began forming radical organisations to overthrow Portugal's colonial rule. Progressing, these organisations coalesced to become FRELIMO, the vanguard of the Mozambican struggle. Formed in 1962 it held its first Congress in 1964 where it defined its radical aims. It saw that non-violent action would not relieve the harsh pressure of colonialism. Armed rebellion was the only alternative; political preparation was made and the first 250 men, which were the initial nuclei of the FRELIMO armed forces, were trained in Algeria.

ARMED STRUGGLE

Armed struggle burst out on 25th September, 1964; As it developed, and support for it grew, attacks on Portuguese positions became more widespread. Guerilla warfare tactics were being used. Portugal increased her military budget until by 1967 she was maintaining an army of 70,000 men to halt and destroy the revolution in Mozambique. Against this, FRELIMO ranged a guerilla army of 8,000 men, along with an ill-equipped people's militia and recruits in training. The ability of the FRELIMO forces were surprising, dispelling the falsely held belief that Africans were not capable of devising and using modern warfare methods. Political struggle was combined with military struggle. Gradually, the people in every area were organised to help and to become part of the revolution.

The Portuguese used its NATO forces and NATO equipment and arms against the rebels. There was demoralisation and discontent among the Portuguese forces; disenchantment with the war was rife and many of the soldiers sympathised with the rebels.



Title: An Eochair, No. 8

Organisation: Sinn Féin [Official]

Date: 1974 c.

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit www.leftarchive.ie

The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to the Irish Left Archive, in addition to the original creators. For re-publication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to the Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.