

# Internment '71

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## STORMONT IS DEAD!

- Andersonstown  
Central Civil  
Resistance

**MONDAY, August 9th, will go down in history as the day on which the Stormont Unionists made the biggest and most disastrous of a long series of blunders.**

It was also the day on which the Tory Government at Westminster threw away England's reputation for justice and fair play. On that day the British Army was used to implement internment under the Special Powers Act, an Act which is not even on Westminster's statute book.

Serious doubt exists about Westminster's right to put the British Army in such an invidious position. Heath has instructed his soldiers (who are the sons of fathers who fought in 1939-45 for justice), to implement an Act which runs counter to the cornerstone of Britain's system of Law and Justice—that a man is innocent until proven guilty. It is ironic to reflect that the soldiers of Britain have ill-treated and have imprisoned many men who stood shoulder to shoulder with British soldiers against Nazism during the last war.

Some justification for the British Army's role in the internment operation might be found if internment were applied at the discretion of Westminster. But this is not so. Internment is held on the suspicion of Brian Faulkner.

The part being played by the British Army in Northern Ireland's agony poses serious questions for the people of England. Is Westminster still in control of its own armed forces? Do the British people approve of the Special Powers Act? Who gave Mr. Heath the mandate to allow the British Army to be used to repress Mr. Faulkner's political opposition in Northern Ireland?

As a direct result of internment, something very important happened on August 9th—Civil Resistance was born. The call went out from anti-Unionist leaders to launch such a campaign. The call was answered from every corner of the Six Counties. Andersonstown was in the forefront in organising itself to take part in the Civil Resistance battle in which we are now engaged.

A mass meeting elected a 15-member committee to organise the Rent and Rates Strike which is the centrepiece of the Civil Resistance campaign. The response to the Committee's efforts by the people of Andersonstown was magnificent. Within days, the message to Stormont was clear. "We pay no rent, and we pay no rates until internment has ended, and that is still our message."

In Andersonstown we have over 5,000 families, and over 98 per cent. of these families have pledged their support for the rent and rates strike. Support on this scale for any campaign is phenomenal.

The people of Andersonstown have shown, and are showing to the world their unquenchable spirit. Every man, woman and child in this area carries the torch of freedom through par-

ticipation in the campaign of Civil Resistance.

The troop-saturation of parts of our estates, the dawn raids, the blatantly sectarian attitude of Britain's armed forces, their disregard for the lives of those whom they are supposed to be protecting, their lying propaganda, their infamous part in torturing innocent men, make no difference to the determination of our people. "We shall overcome" is written in the hearts of the people of Andersonstown. The love of justice, and an undying determination to be truly free, in the company of our interned fellow-citizens, has welded the people together as never before.

And Stormont, typically, could not see the significance of this mass movement. Mr. Bradford rushed through emergency legislation for collecting rent and rates—and entirely missed the point. Before the new legislation was invoked, the Government engaged in a massive advertising campaign in an attempt to get people to pay voluntarily. This was an expensive failure.

The emergency provisions are now being implemented—and it is completely irre-

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### FAULKNER'S FOLLY

Home this Christmas for the loved ones of over 500 Six-County Families



### MY LAST DAY IN LONG KESH

By Gerry O'Hare

Wednesday 8th December was like any other day for me at Long Kesh. I rose about 8 a.m., washed and shaved, went for a quiet walk round the cage. Breakfasted on porridge and a cup of tea. The usual morning hub was on with men cleaning out the huts and making up their beds. The canteen was being arranged to hear Mass that morning and the priest had arrived and was talking to the men. I noticed the Governor coming in which was a very strange occurrence. Curiosity made me stand and watch to see what he would do. Suddenly I realised he was coming directly towards me. My heart was thumping. I had been expecting word about my case which the A-Board had reviewed the previous week. Now the awful moment of decision had arrived. "You can go home" were his words to me. I was stunned, numb, speechless. I turned in a daze to the other men and was suddenly swept away

to my hut with back slapping, handshaking and congratulations. Still in a daze the men helped me to pack, insisted that I be presentable in my appearance for going out. I was grabbed, washed my face, had my hair combed, my case packed, then unpacked. It was like a New Year's Day party. I was carried shoulder high outside where the men in the other cages had heard the news. They cheered like mad. I was made stand up in a chair and make a speech. For the first time in my life I failed. Here were men forgetting their own hardships, pushing out of their minds their own personal troubles for a few moments to show their delight that somebody was going home. Somebody started singing the "Boys of the Old Brigade", all the men joined in and I just wept. Eventually I was ex-

tracted by a priest who offered to take me home. With much sadness I turned away from the men and went through the cage gate. "Don't forget to go to see the New Lodge Road". "Never mind the New Lodge go up to Ardoyne". "Up the Falls". "Up the Bogside" all these cries ringing in my ears as I left. Through the usual procedure of reception, medical examination (stick your tongue out, you are all right), put into the Mini Bus van and driven to the car park and dumped there. Strange feeling of awe and anti-climax. I'm free, but somehow I'm not free. Part of me is still in Long Kesh with my fellow internees. I can't be free until every last one of them is back home.

So for me, its back into the struggle, more determined than ever that a just society will be created, that men and women will never again live in fear of repression. I'm very angry so watch out.

WE APPEAL  
TO YOU ...

to show your solidarity with the  
Internees in the following ways.

DO NOT buy or send Com-  
mercial Christmas Cards.

Show a single light in your front  
windows over the Christmas  
season.

An Anti-internment Christmas Poster will  
be distributed. Please display it during the  
season.



# STORMONT'S PAYMENT FOR DEBT ACT

THE Civil Disobedience Campaign, now over four months old, is proving itself the most remarkable mass resistance campaign waged in Ireland since the Land League campaign of the last century. Over 30,000 families throughout Northern Ireland are refusing to pay rents or rates, or both, and it is estimated that about one-quarter of that number are also withholding other payments, gas, electricity, land annuities or ground rents. The sheer persistence of this massive and peaceful defiance since internment was introduced, and the evident solidarity seen in all areas of the North despite weak organisation, should bring home to British politicians the rejection of the Stormont regime is among the anti-Unionist community in the North.

Faced with this wholesale refusal, the Unionists have had to abandon the normal process of enforcing payments: prosecution in the courts backed up with the threat of eviction. Instead, they pushed through Stormont, with only the Democratic Unionist Party there to object, the Payment for Debt (Emergency Powers) Act. This measure, which has already been dubbed (by Professor Peter Townsend, of the Child Poverty Action Group) the "worst piece of social legislation passed in the United Kingdom this century," has all the crude simplicity of a totalitarian decree.

The Act provides that anyone who owes money to the State and who refuses to pay will have his debts paid for him by way of deductions from his State entitlements. Families on rent strike will have the rent money and a proportion of their arrears paid from benefits they usually receive, before they are paid

over. That money will then be made over to the local authority on a housing account. The benefits which can be reduced include anything Stormont controls: supplementary allowances, unemployment and sickness benefits, pensions or family allowance, and, a macabre touch, death grants.

But this extraordinary Act concerns itself with more than debts owed to the State. A private landlord whose tenant is withholding rent can also dip into their State benefits to make up the rent. So also may a Building Society where a person stands in default on repayments. Refusal to make other payments, for example gas, electricity or water, will be met in the same way. For those defaulters who have State benefits to subtract from, powers exist to attach wages or debts, seize property or charge land. An employer who refuses to dock money from his employees' wages, once ordered, becomes personally liable for his employees' debts. The Act's provisions are retrospective, all of these powers being available for debts accruing from April 1st last.

To implement this debt collection service a special administrative unit has been set up at Stormont. The Eighty civil servants have been seconded from all departments to work the new machinery, a task some regard as distasteful. Their removal from other departments has caused considerable strain on the functioning of normal services, and in the special unit itself conditions have been described as administrative anarchy. There is evidence in the non-payment or delayed payment of some benefits that parts of the social services are close to breakdown with the additional task of collecting 30,000 rents each week. The whole machinery may be unable to cope, particularly in the refusal to pay continues on the present scale, which is shows every sign of doing.

The functioning of this penal Act has inevitably

Dear David, — How delighted I was to hear from you. Your letter recalled many happy memories of our Training College days and helped to brighten up these surroundings considerably. Convey my kindest regards to your wife and family and express the hope that we may all meet again in happier surroundings. You asked me to describe internment in detail for you. I'm afraid I can't. How can one describe on a few pages the happenings of three months, or the suffering of others, or the pain of being separated forcibly from one's wife and family, or the degradation in all its forms inflicted on my fellow internees from the callous treatment of the soldiers to the even more callous name-calling of Lord Carrington, who referred to us all as murderers. Such descriptions would be beyond me in this limited space. Instead, I will tell you about some aspects of life in Long Kesh.

You will, I'm sure, have heard Mr. Wilson refer to it as a grim place, and with the snow falling, it has become grimmer still. Can you imagine lying in a room but with twenty others, with the wind whirling through the corrugated sides, with the draughts from the ill-fitting doors tugging at the bed clothes and the "down-drops" wetting those same clothes. If you can, you have got a picture of night life in internment. As I write, a rat scampers across the floor. Yes, the government knows; he was to have a rat-catcher here. It seems to have deserted the barren runways of this wartime airfield for the dubious pleasure of sharing life with human beings in a cage.

Our cage is a wired off part of the runway, surrounded by a 12 ft. high wire fence (meshed with coiled barbed wire on top) measuring 70 yards by 30. The entrance is in the form of a small wire cage on each side of the heavy doors, both locked on the outside. Such are the dictates of security in the middle of this army camp. In each cage (and there are five of them here) stands four men and a wash-room, all of the nissen type, unclosed, and constructed hurriedly by the Army. Each cage has its own security—so strict that the internees are not allowed association with the internees of other cages.

We can shout at acquaintances through the wire meshes if our voices are strong enough to carry the distance.

On the outer perimeter of this camp there is another fence with a number of inner barbed wire fences controlled by armed soldiers and dogs and all under the constant surveillance of five watch towers and continuously glaring lights. The three other huts in our cage sleep the 90 men (89 to be exact), whilst the fourth is used as a scale room, canteen, cup-place, of worship in which the weekly Mass is said every Saturday night. The sleeping huts serve the men not only as dormitories but also as a living-room, where the men sit and write but as you can see with so many people in such a confined space there is very little room for sitting, standing or study. Nevertheless, one of the internees recently qualified as a solicitor, so, saying goodnight, there's still work to be done. Speaking of study room, it was most amusing to see a moving picture recently describe (and with a straight face, too) the improvements in the knowledge of the internees. They are perfectly well the library isn't a library here, never mind improved facilities.

The meals here, meagre as they are, are cooked in a central cook-house and wheeled in a trolley across a wide-wheeled yard—a distance of up to 160 yards—to the cages. They are served in the fourth hut, which, as I said, is used as a mess hall. It contains neither hot plate nor any method of keeping food warm and our food serves make valiant attempts to serve the frozen bacon and gravy, or the interminable portions of half-cooked liver. The cold blue tea is served in urns, while the milk is served at the rate of a sixth of a pint of milk per person per day. Of course the printed diet sheet for public inspection is a different thing and is referred to by the internees as "Tuesday's Weekly Liar." Mr. Truesdale is, of course, the Prison Governor. His appointment is an ameliorating conditions for the men here under his care seems to be severely restricted. He is, however, referred to as a mythical Mr. Buchanan at the Home Office. We have written to him, as yet, had no reply. Of course, this doesn't surprise us as all letters to Ministry Departments from internees meet with this wall of silence. Anyhow, Mr. Truesdale has promised us a new cage which will house a gymnasium, a place of worship, a place for study. In fact, all we require, so he says anyway, but the foundation-stone hasn't been laid yet.

I'm sorry that I can't, for the moment, take you up to Long Kesh. Internees are only permitted to have one half-hour visit per week. Again Mr. Truesdale (I'm not sure about Mr. Buchanan) assures us that in the near future we will have a choice of either a one-hour visit weekly or two half-hour visits. If you ring him here he will tell you when that welcome change is introduced. In the meantime, my wife comes up weekly to see me. I hope, however, that when you do come up the facilities for visitors will be improved. At present we are told of the long journeys, the long wait, the searches. Visitors have to come in through a muddy entrance. In fact, it was so bad that flagstones were laid to allow Mr. Wilson to enter dry-shod, but rumour has it that they were lifted im-

mediately after he left.

How, then, you might ask, do people survive in these concentration camps? (and the ex-Servicemen here in our midst assure us that this camp is not as well serviced as the internment camps in which they served in Kenya, Cyprus and Aden). As you know, the strongest of our instincts is that of survival. Our group of 80 men was deposited here in this cage on Sunday, 24th October. We were in completely new surroundings. Our immediate task was to organise ourselves. Order our lives, share responsibilities. Committees were elected to do such things as serve the food, other men took charge of other details, such as papers, cleaning duties. All contributed to general welfare and all men have a say in the running of the camp. We were ordered within the narrow limitations of the cage. Apart from the hardships mentioned, as far as we are concerned, we had a good communal understanding, but, then we, as a body, had many advantages. One was the fact of moving in freely through the military camp, then through the prison, we had learned to become comfortable with the fact that all were committed deeply to the cause of justice and to many of us this type of suffering was nothing new. In fact, you could say it has been an occupational hazard to anyone here who, over the past 30 years, has pointed to the now obvious defects in society in Northern Ireland and attempted to rectify them.

The greatest advantage we have is, of course, the spirit of comradeship amongst the internees themselves, many of whom only know each other yet, by their first names. Even so, they recognise that trait of generosity that knows no bounds and which is what one would expect from those who have made greater sacrifices outside in their struggle for justice. Added to these advantages is the terrible feeling of solidarity of those outside, too, by their participation in the Civil Resistance Campaign, are continually bringing it home to everyone concerned that the whole rotten system, of which internment is but a part, must be destroyed. Of the many lessons to be learned by this generation perhaps the most important is that if defects in society can be pinpointed in people have themselves the power to have them remedied regardless of what oppression is used by the State.

One of the most amazing things about this internment is that most people now recognise it as immoral. Many of us, i.e., older internees of the 40's and 50's, wonder why the immorality of it wasn't recognised then, and we are thankful to the late Pope John who, by his visit to the Regina Coeli Prison, showed the world that the message was more important than the institution. Internees are grateful to the many churchmen who have identified themselves with, and shared, the sufferings of the many downtrodden human beings in the North of Ireland to-day and they are particularly appreciative of the efforts of those Catholic clergymen who did so much, not only of letting the world know of the punishment inflicted on us by the British Army, but also by visiting us in Long Kesh and counselling our loved ones at home. We often wonder if clergymen of other denominations are they come to visit us here. That we may be regarded by them as "political" is readily conceded, but when we remember that ten other lepers benefited by a

meeting with one who was dedicated to alleviating the sufferings of human beings. By the way, what did you think of the Common Report? Internees have regarded it as such a whitewashing exercise that only one copy was asked for in London. As Lord Justice Salmon said of tribunals held in camera: "Any Government which in the future adopts this procedure will lay itself open to the suspicion that it wishes the truth to be hidden from the light of day." Most people here recognised that much of the truth has been hidden from the light of day and we wonder why Mr. Compton didn't publish our letter to him telling him why we would not appear before tribunals. A number of the complainants at the tribunals to give the impression that those listed appeared before him, whereas in actual fact the complainants were taken from newspaper clippings. Perhaps with the passage of time the true facts will yet emerge.

You will, I'm sure, have been following the activities of Judge Brown's Advisory Board. Suffice it to say that the record of what it makes a mockery of all accepted principles of justice. The internee is just a man, whereas the State has made allegations against him, or of what are the reasons for his detention. His defence has no chance of putting in a worthwhile submission on his behalf, as he has no indication of the allegations either, and the whole truth is that regardless of Mr. Faulkner's assertions of intimidation of jurors the fact that we are here in Long Kesh is proof that the allegations against us are that we oppose Mr. Faulkner's Unionism and propose as an alternative the concept of a united country with a Republican form of government. Do you think either he or Judge Brown have the right to attempt to politically castrate people by imposing as a condition of their release, the taking of "the Oath"? This "taking of any Oath" is the subject for another story, but it is obvious what would happen if all teachers, civil servants, M.P.s, forestry workers and all those who took the Oaths. At least it would be a more honourable course than have people like Judge Brown make a mockery of a person's Oath. Most internees have now decided not to answer Judge Brown's summons to appear before him again, as they are convinced that his appointment is a face-saver for Mr. Faulkner and in no way advances the interests of justice. Our lawyer friends must know of the decided disadvantages under which they must prepare submissions and should take steps to ensure that this practice is discontinued.

Have I given you any insight into the life of an internee at Long Kesh? I haven't described for you the hobbies, the handicrafts, the past-times or their theocratic values, but to a teacher you will readily recognise their value. Miss Hume, who is the Social Welfare Worker here and who is the most diligent worker I have ever met, the mainly recognises their value and also the value to the men of extended visits and visits with their families more often. Perhaps in another letter I will describe further for you the feelings of the men as Christmas approaches. They will be taking part in the fast and vigil in unison with those in the Civil Resistance movement, knowing that Christmas will be spent in happier surroundings.—Your friend,

P. J. McLEAN.

## THE ASSOCIATION FOR LEGAL JUSTICE

The aim of the Association is To Secure Legal Justice for All.

The Association is committed to fight the evils inherent in

- (1) Repressive Legislation
- (2) Maladministration of the law
- (3) A biased Judiciary
- (4) Internment and its attendant brutality

Heavy Legal Expenses are involved in fighting test cases to establish basic citizen rights. Over £2,000 was incurred alone in the McDuff — Keenan case (for writs of Habeas Corpus to the Court of Appeal in London)

Other Test cases are under active consideration The Liberty of the Subject must be defended in every way.

This costs money and the Association appeals to you for help.

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# INTERNMENT

## The cost in human lives

By A. DRAPIER

AS is now only too well known, Brian Faulkner's move to intern suspected "I.R.A. terrorists" came on the morning of Monday, August 9th, 1971. It was a move which had long been expected. What was most certainly not expected was the violent reaction which Internment sparked off. By the end of the first week the price of detention without trial was being counted in terms of 21 civilians dead from gun-shot wounds in the Belfast area alone.

In the confusion which naturally followed violence on such a wide scale, it was difficult to discover the exact circumstances in which many of these people lost their lives. To the British Army, however, there was no such confusion. At a Press conference given in Belfast on August 12th, Brigadier Marston-Tickell, Chief of Staff in N. Ireland, was in no doubt that the majority of those killed had been involved in gun-battles with British troops. Indeed the Brigadier went further. He said, "The deaths of known I.R.A. men is 15, but it is felt that a more accurate figure is between 20 and 30."

Of these 20 to 30 dead, the I.R.A. proceed to give official burial to 2. No-one, including the Brigadier, has given a satisfactory answer as to where the remaining dead were buried.

On one point, however, the British Army was correct. The introduction of Internment had escalated a situation which was already

fraught with violence. In the one week immediately following Internment, almost twice the number of civilians were killed as had died violently in the seven months preceding it. And this escalation in the mortality rate was to settle into an established feature of Post-Internment Ulster.

Quite apart from the sadness, there is a pathetic irony in the fact that Internment was introduced with the declared intention of reducing violence. By all indexes, violence and violent death have proliferated since August 9th.

One source which can hardly be regarded as biased against the British Government is the London Sunday Times. This is a paper which in June, 1970, advised its readers in its leading articles, to vote for the Conservative Party of Edward Heath. It is also the paper which in November, 1971, produced a most detailed set of statistics in connection with the increasing violence in N. Ireland. The figures which the Sunday Times produced, ended in October of this year. The pattern which those figures established has continued into November.

The Sunday Times found that prior to the introduction of Internment, in August 9th, there had been 28 violent deaths in N. Ireland. In the 10 weeks since detention without trial, violent deaths among the security forces alone had exceeded the total number of deaths for the preceding seven months of the year. The total number of dead since Internment was more than treble the number of dead in the preceding seven months. Of the 33 soldiers killed up to October, 1970, 23 have been killed since Internment. Of the 11 R.U.C. men killed 9 have died since August 9th. The myth that Internment has reduced or eliminated violence is totally demolished.

What is perhaps more re-

vealing, is a breakdown of the civilian dead, many of whom we have seen to have been described as "runners" by Brigadier Marston-Tickell.

In an enquiry into the deaths of civilians in the Belfast area, The Central Citizens' Defence Committee came up with some startling figures.

Altogether about 70 statements were taken and of these about half were from eye-witnesses. The enquiry reveals that of the 21 people who died from gun-shot wounds in Belfast in the period 9th-14th August, at most 2 were armed. One of these, Patrick McArdrey, who was shot in the Ardoyne area, was a Staff-officer with the Provisional I.R.A. and his organisation has publicly stated that he was killed "on active service."

The British Army claim that another civilian, John Beattie of Canmore Street in the Shankill Road was shot dead by British troops while he was engaged in sniping in the Cupar Street area.

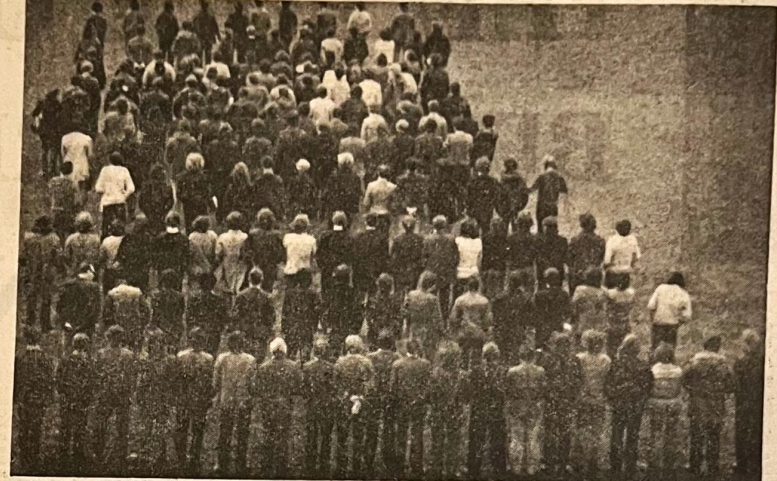
The most disturbing revelation, however, is that the bulk of those who died were, at most, engaged in rioting against the Army when they were shot down. And inquests like those of Mrs. Sarah Worthington and Mr. Norman Watson, continue to reveal that some of those who died were entirely innocent of any crime or suspicion of

crime, and were shot by soldiers "in mistake."

Another case which deserves urgent attention is that concerning the deaths of Joseph Murphy, Noel Phillips, Daniel Teggart and mother of eight, Mrs. Joan Connolly. There is strong evidence to suggest that these people were involved in nothing more sinister than a friendly conversation with each other when they were gunned down by the Army. Their inquests are yet to be held.

Internment, then, as well as disrupting families and spreading fear and intimidation in Minority areas, has also visited upon us a greater and more vicious form of violence than the one it was ostensibly intended to eradicate. Coupled with this there appears to be a muddle, random or careless use of weapons on the part of the troops. Since Internment we've had the doubtful deaths of Eamonn McDevitt in Strabane, Mrs. Kathleen Thomson in Derry, Robert Anderson, Sean McLoughlin and Thomas Ruddy in Newry, and Michael McLarnon, John Copeland, Chris Quinn, Maura Meehan and Dorothy Maguire in Belfast. Human life has certainly become cheap.

Faced with this evidence and taking account of Faulkner's own claim that Internment would put an end to disorder, how can one conclude other than that detention without trial has been a monstrous disaster?



This photograph shows the number of N. Ireland people who have met violent deaths since August 9, 1971.

## STORMONT'S PAYMENT FOR DEBT ACT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

brought hardship to the poorer families in the North. In theory, the civil servants can take all the benefit a person receives in satisfaction for the rent and arrears owed since August, and there is no appeal against deductions once made. In practice, directions have been given as follows: The amount to be deducted is the rent money for the week, and an amount for arrears depending on the status of the beneficiary. If the person is unemployed and on the standard rate of benefit, the maximum to be taken for arrears is £1.50 per week. If the person has an earnings-related supplement, i.e., not the standard rate of benefit, up to £3.50 can be taken as arrears. If he is employed, then the amount taken is the weekly rent and arrears up to £2. It is obvious that persons either on supplementary benefit or low wages are going to be in severe straits as a result of these deductions. The supplementary

benefit standard allowance is taken as the official poverty line, and the effect of this Act will be to put many thousands of families below that line throughout this winter. Particularly vulnerable will be those families effected by the "wage-stop," the device whereby benefits are pegged to the level of wages last earned by the husband. Pensioners and the disabled who get inadequate assistance normally will also suffer special hardship. Indeed, hardship is guaranteed by one provision in the Debt Act, which declares that no exceptional needs grants will normally be paid to a rent defaulter. That has already been administratively interpreted as meaning no payments at all, and there is no appeal against a refusal.

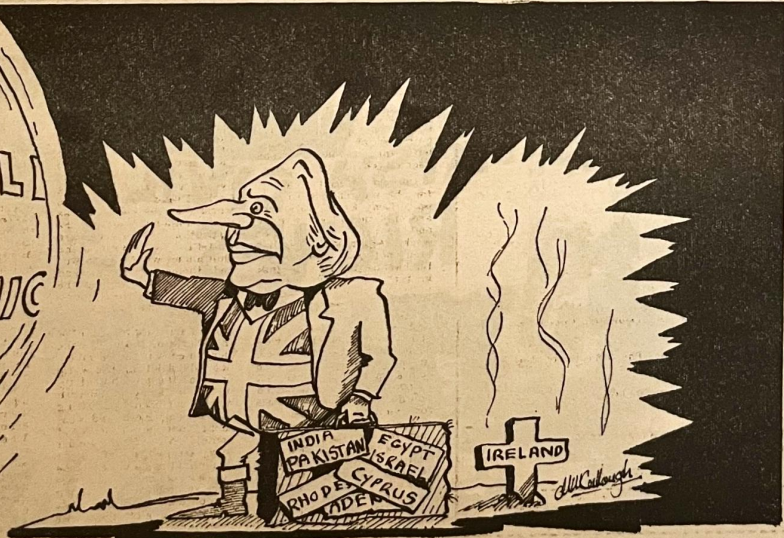
But perhaps the most extraordinary feature of all is that the bureaucracy of the Act will mean for the normal family that it can never leave the rent arrear. If a person wishes to start paying his rent, he must inform the local authority, who in turn must inform Stormont Castle, who, again, must inform his local supplementary benefits office. It is calculated that all this will take, in present circumstances, at least two weeks. Meanwhile the tenant will have had money deducted for rent out of his weekly benefit, so he will be effectively paying double rent as well as a sum for arrears. Few families in the rent strike could afford such payments, and even special secret arrangements exist whereby double payment could be avoided, few are going to pursue them. It is known that the unprecedented publicity campaign prior to this Act, to cajole people out of the arrears, produced negligible results.

The administrative costs of the new machinery may yet exceed the rent revenue being collected. Civil resistance and disobedience committees are determined to increase costs by making applications for extra benefits and information on a massive scale.

The repeal of this penal Act, along with the cancellation of arrears as part of the necessary political reforms for the North, including, of course, an end to Internment are the only possible moves which will end the civil disobedience campaign.

K. BOYLE

WORLD  
OPINION



"Back off—We've handled situations like this before."



**Interment '71**

# THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN INTERMENT

COLM GILLESPIE, B.A.

(Senior Lecturer in English, St. Mary's College of Education, Falls Road, Belfast.)

EVERYONE sees the Compton Report's attempt to make a distinction between brutality and physical ill-treatment as an exercise in hair-splitting. Everyone knows that to the man on the

receiving end there is no difference. A kick in the groin is a kick in the groin, no matter how the kicker feels about it. Merely to insist on this aspect, however, is to assume that Compton was investigating allegations of brutality committed on people. He was, in fact, investigating allegations of brutality committed by people. In other words, Compton was concerned about the British Army, not the detainees and internees.

"Whitewash" is a word that comes at once to mind. It is more likely, however, that neither Compton nor those who gave him the job knew exactly what he was doing. Those Englishmen who pride themselves on their sense of justice and humanitarianism do not seem to realise that their concern is often more to make sure that their Army does not commit brutality, than to make sure that prisoners do not suffer it. Worse, those Englishmen whose only concern is "my country, right or wrong," do not care a damn — and many have implied so publicly — what suffering is inflicted, so long as the image (not the reality) of their Army is not tarnished. Either way, the last to receive consideration are the prisoners, who were hooded, isolated, half-starved, deprived of sleep, beaten, and generally terrified out of their wits.

It is the purpose of this article to try to make the British people aware of the Army's image for a time and consider how those subjected to that Army's behaviour feel about it. Other articles in the supplement deal with the internees in particular; this one deals with the effects on the Catholic population at large. And let it be said at once: The Conservative Government at Westminster is dangerously ignorant of how far they and their Army have driven the Catholics of N. Ireland, even the most moderate, towards frustration and rage.

Interment began on 9th August, this year, with morning raids all over the Six Counties, and these raids have gone on regularly and on an increasingly heavy scale ever since. To the English public this looks merely like the Army doing a sound job of arresting terrorists and restoring what Brian Faulkner calls "law and order." The picture looks very different to the ordinary inhabitant of a Catholic housing estate subjected to an Army raid.

The raid begins in the small hours of the morning with the whine of Saracens and the pounding of boots on the road. People awake to find their streets and gardens saturated with vehicles and troops. If a householder looks out of his door he is confronted by a soldier, face blackened, rifle at the ready, who barks orders, interlaced with obscenities and insults, to get

into the house and stay there. It is dangerous to disobey: a woman who merely opened the window of her Andersonstown home had her face bones shattered and her eyes destroyed with a rubber bullet fired at almost point-blank range. (According to witnesses, the troops, as they drove away, sang "Where's your manny gone?" One wonders how Compton's semantics would deal with that attitude.) Men and women in Belfast and Derry have been shot dead during these raids. The Army invariably either ignores the "incident" or denies responsibility. To avoid being shot at themselves the soldiers sometimes hold civilians among them as hostages: in one case in Tír Eoghain the hostages were children in their nightclothes.

Following the sealing of and saturation of the area comes the knocking on the doors. When the Army has invited the T.V. cameras along, the knocking is polite; when the cameras are not there, doors not opened quickly enough are kicked in. Soldiers then hold the families at gunpoint while their comrades ransack the houses from chimneys to drains, often damaging stairs, floorboards and furniture in the process. The slightest sign of anti-Unionist political interest is enough to warrant the detention of a perfectly law-abiding citizen. Republican periodicals, openly on sale in the streets of Belfast, are enough to arouse the suspicion of the searchers.

Finally the Army departs having imposed what it calls "restriction of movement," or what the people call "curfew," on an entire area. The soldiers take numbers of men with them, and the headlines the next day — "36 arrested in Dawn Swoop," "IRA leader Captured" — seem to indicate that the Army is doing an excellent job. What does not get into the subsequent headlines is the fact that almost all of those arrested are released quietly and without fuss immediately afterwards. (Without ceremony too: men have often found themselves literally thrown from the back of a moving Saracen on streets far from their homes). In other words, men against whom even Stormont's omnipotent agents could not bring charges, innocent fathers, husbands and sons, are dragged from their families at dawn merely to make the Army look efficient.

This, combined with the Army's bland denials of responsibility for damage, injury and even death, has now achieved the result that the Catholic people of Northern Ireland would not believe the British Army's oath on its collective mothers' graves. (When Army spokesmen announced the capture of another "important" IRA leader, said a Falls Road man, "They must have every Rear-Admiral in the outfit by now.") For this total loss of credibility the Army and its Tory masters have only themselves to blame.

Added to the ill-treatment meted out to whole areas there is the suffering

of individuals. Daily reports of Army assaults on the innocent and defenceless — a Newry dentist, three middle-aged women from the Whitecross area, a student from Queen's University — seldom appear in the English Press, but are accepted without question by the Catholic population. Whether every such report is true or not is irrelevant: the people know that the Army is capable of, and has committed, many unwar-

men goes on — and at the time of writing, in spite of Compton, still goes on — and that the detained man is likely to be seen next with visible marks of assault. More than enough evidence of this has already been produced by Belfast doctors. It is bad enough, as anyone who has tried to trace the whereabouts of a detainee can testify, to listen to the arrogance, indifference and obscurantism with which the Army and

security forces are either incredibly incompetent or deliberately lying.

The atmosphere of evasion reminds one of the shuffling of responsibility from one organisation to another practised by the S.S., the S.D. and the Gestapo in Nazi Germany. (See Edward Crankshaw's "Gestapo.") Let any Englishman who doubts this take the name of a detainee and try to inquire about a detainee. The result will not only interest but appal him.

These are bad enough; but there has been worse. This is the darkness into which some detainees, like William Shannon, disappeared for over a week without one word of information from the security forces to the frantic relatives. People at once concluded that these disappearances, like the military curfews and incursions, are aimed at sheer intimidation. During the German occupation of France, the Nazis passed the infamous Nacht und Nebel Decree. "These measures," said Fieldmarshal Kietel, "will have a deterrent effect because (a) the prisoners will vanish without leaving a trace and (b) no information may be given as to their whereabouts of their fate." Intentionally or not, this is exactly how mental anguish was imposed on Mrs. Shannon and others. (Kietel was hanged at Nuremberg.)

The "Sunday Times," in its excellent insight articles, has traced the whole problem to its roots. To the Catholic population, the Army has become, in sus-

**The raid begins in the small hours of the morning with the whine of Saracens and the pounding of boots on the road. People awake to find their streets and gardens saturated with vehicles and troops. If a householder looks out of his door he is confronted by a soldier, face blackened, rifle at the ready, who barks orders, interlaced with obscenities and insults, to get into the house and stay there.**

anted assaults. They have seen the Army smash houses, beat people and shoot people; and have heard the Army lie about it afterwards.

There is also the fear and panic undergone by the relatives of those detained. It is bad enough to know that the brutalising of these

the R.U.C. receive telephone calls. People like Father Denis Faul of Dungannon have spent literally hours at a stretch being referred from one unhelpful source to another. Mrs. Billy McBurney of Belfast was ghoulishly referred to the morgue — until they come to the conclusion that the

(Continued on page nine)

## IRISH EXILES ON THE MARCH



Part of the protest march organised by the Irish Civil Rights Movement in Auckland, New Zealand



# How the Tories

# shocked world

about  
North  
of  
Ireland

By FRANK FAY

The unexpected victory of Tory Leader, Edward Heath, at the General Election on June 18, 1970, was greeted with jubilation by the officer class of the British Army.

But no where was there such a pleasant feeling of expectancy as at the British Army Headquarters for Northern Ireland at Lisburn. Heath, the man who had convinced the women with his speech that it was that he would bring prices down was the toast of the mess that night. General Sir Ian Taylor, who was quoted as remarking "Now we can get on with the job without politicians breathing down our necks." The G.O. who had come to Ireland to do a "little fishing and shooting" before retirement found himself landed with a task of discrediting the Government from total collapse as the roof fell in at Stormont after fifty years of a corrupt party dictator-

The Army is notoriously a blunt instrument for dealing with civil disaffection but the problem was rendered more difficult by Lord Caradon's assurance to the United Nations in New York that there was no need for a "Peace Keeping Force" to be dispatched by the UN as the British Army was undertaking that role in the Six Counties.

General Freeland's Background: son of a major general; public school; Wellington; with the "last days of Empire" in East Africa and Kenya, hardly prepared for the new situation. The peace-keeping civilian interests in Belfast were new to him. The land somewhat exasperating, and one priest described him as a "humble" Forster. He was Chief of Staff, Major General Dyball, knew the intricacies of the Belfast situation, and he knew many a faux pas was averted in time. These were the days when the Army was winning, and he was bearing in mind the chaos which had resulted from Stormont's sitting down. B. Specials and police armoured cars, to teach the Catholics of the Falls Road

a Stormont was in disgrace all over the world and a Labour Government forced its Prime Minister to sign a new line of policy in order to institute major reforms. But the Unionist Diehards and extremists were so rampant that the come-back while the legislative machinery went into slow motion at Stormont. The latter was concentrated on the so-called "No-Go-Land" areas of Belfast where the local leadership was in the bona fides of Stormont or its system of "law and order".

From scores of Orangemen, Unionists and other "hard-line" politicians who had regained their second wind after the attack of the "peace" movement of the late 1960s, Sir Arthur Young, "Softly-softly" as a policy or a slogan, was understood in the police was rejected with scorn as the extremists who had fomented the back-to-back riots and order hypocritically demanded its return — in the Catholic areas of Belfast and Derry.

By an underhand exercise in wheeler-dealing behind the scenes they managed to get General Dyball removed. Those who knew what was going on were

filled with a sense of foreboding. Roy Hattersley, at the British Defence Ministry, and James Callaghan at the Home Office, suspected that though the UK agent at the Convoy House, Belfast, in maintaining some sort of restraining influence had, Heath won his pathetic Front Benchers, the poorest political material seen at Westminster since the 1930s. In their own, and everybody's astonishment, found themselves elected as a Government. It was a surprise, but Mr. Heath, known as "The Grocer", did nothing about the prices in the shops. He had pushed the first-class concrete trick on the gullible women voters with the food-packets who believed him implicitly.

Back at Stormont the Government advisers congratulated themselves on the success of their slow but steady policy of reform while out in the backwoods their supporters predicted disaster if it was slowed down, the reform of local government, and delay the implementation of "concessions" to Ulster. The Tories were beginning to lose hope again for the first time since they had taken office. By more back-stairs influence at Westminster the over-credulous Quintin Hogg who sent out the "testament bullets" fired at the British Army on the Shank's Mare (the "Backlash," which failed) was side-tracked away from the Home Office by the Foreign Office and the distressful "Province" across the Irish Sea. The new Labour policy of leaving trouble to the "toe of the Lord Chancellor" and the "plague of Lord Chelmsford" was being going, and official Robert Maudslaw was appointed to the key post of Home Sec-

stituted by the new incumbent at the Home Office, who says he has a "great liking for turbulent, rowdy, 'Orange Ulster'."

The immediate result of this policy was seen within a month of the Tory entry to office. The tragedy of the "Bloody Sunday" Episode in the Falls area when 60,000 people were terrorised by armed troops and kept virtually prisoner in their own homes on July 3-5, 1970, has already been told. But the brutality of the operation in which four innocent men were killed and 13 others were saturated with CS gas has provided a pattern for similar attacks, now a familiar feature of life in the Catholic districts of Belfast

General Freeland was later succeeded by Sir Harry Tuzo, the new G.O.C., another proponent of the protestant school which provides the majority of Britain's militarists. In a situation in Belfast and the North were held by, among others, the General Tuzo was minded to let a military study group in London that his policy was to "run on" as long as the minority rather than the protestants. No question of justice or expediency. With 14,000 troops provided by the British Government, the Ballymurphy Bogside Turf Lodge, Ardoyne and other areas soon led to their cynicism when translated into military terms meant night-time harassment in the homes by police discipline seemed to be as (bores) as that of an occupying army. The British "peace-keeping force." This was all in furtherance of the "War" which Maudling had declared

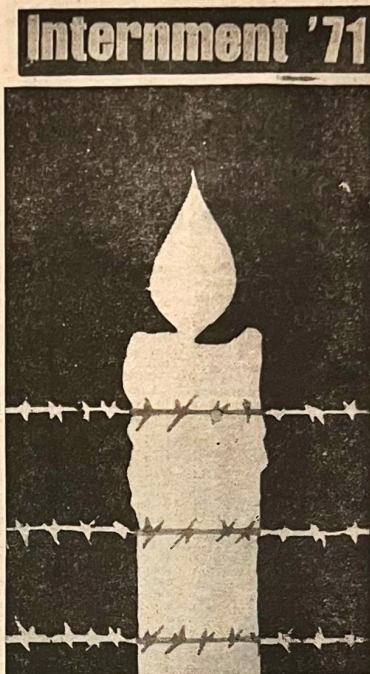
But as month succeeded month, and bomb followed bomb, explosion followed explosion, it began to look as if the army command had been taken over by Mr. Faulkner. He has always been quickest to respond to the whiplash of the Orange Hall Fascists and as they screamed for retribution against the unfortunate inhabitants of the ghettos, it seemed as if the British Army was responding too.

Whole areas were tried and found collectively guilty by the Security Chiefs. Nobody with an address in those areas was innocent until found guilty. It was the reverse.

The attempt by Faulkner to re-establish the intimidatory exercises in cost-training by the trouble-making Orange Boys' Brigade in the schools, Black Preceptory, Apprentice Boys, etc received the general "go-ahead" from the ill-informed Reggie Maude. He got most of his information about his "Ulster balliwiek" from TV! But things have changed greatly in the last few years. The majority of the populace are no longer willing to be walked over by coverting bully-boys and they are now more than ready to turn the tables. The old terms that the old ritual of domination formerly carried to their very door-steps, are highly unwelcome to the vast majority of the people who get off their knees. The "Twelfth of July" was held under the guns of the British Army in the city. The rioters were confined in their own areas behind army barricades. Then came the threat by the Apprentice Boys of a march through the streets of the Catholic Majority of Derry City in the gutter by a triumphant August march through the city. The march was not ignored the marching throngs from the Army that was too much for them. They got round an awkward situation.

How to ban the march and yet save Faulkner's skin from being flayed by the fringe extremists? Internationally, he had been considered too costly an operation in military terms to be supported by the politicians as a 'brilliant counter-stroke' to a ban on the Apprentice Boys. Mr. Faulkner's Government pursued the much-mooted Special Powers Act and the deed done in Faulkner's name was regarded as an appalling story of incompetence by politicians in London and Belfast is current in the streets of London. Under let loose the floodgates. The catalogue of deaths and destruction anywhere else in the world has never produced spontaneous resignations from the guilty politicians. Not so the inhumanity, degradation and suffering Tory chiefs and their henchmen in Belfast. Even the revelations of scientific torture at the Military Barracks which shocked decent men everywhere, was quickly glossed over in the House of Parliament, and in all but a few organs of the Press. The British Government in Britain, and in Northern

(Continued on page eight)



Reproduction of the cover of a Christmas Card produced by the internees in Long Kesh

# INTERMENT IS REAL VIOLENCE

We have just seen in Belfast the most cold-blooded killings since "Hill Sixteen" on "Bloody Sunday," when the infamous "Black and Tans" fired on the football fans in Croke Park. The tragedy at North Queen Street was just as devastatingly malicious as its frightening forerunner in the 'twenties. Many innocent victims have already been forgotten since Sam Devenny's wretched death in Derry initiated a

By NOEL  
McLAUGHLIN

steepening decline to the present devastation — and we all know that the last of the coffins has yet to be lowered in Irish graveyards! — Pat McGurk's pub may well leave an indelible imprint on the entire Belfast area. The brutalities of the Palace Barracks and the Kesh dwindle to obscurity in comparison to this heinous crime against innocence — because the "pub-bomber" is surely in the same order as the thugs who beat Devveney to an early grave in Derry ('69). Hundreds of others between then and now got similar treatment at the hands of our English "protectors," but McGurk's, fortunately, testify who in fact, the real aggressor,

Do you agree with violence? I think there is not a genuine Irishman from John Mitchel to P. Pearse to Bernadette who did not realise that some aspects of

violence are justifiable, when the unjust oppressor has no intention of desisting. This country has been cursed with 'liberating' — by ineffectual pacifists trying to subdue the downtrodden. They have not, however, influenced the real polemicists on the other side.

There are many aspects of violence: Brutality; denial of basic rights; arrest and interrogation of children, etc., etc. But to my mind **INTERMENT** must be classed as an integral part of real violence. Intimidation of innocent citizens and indiscriminate shooting in built-up areas is also violent, plus the disciplined searching of people's homes but to place a man behind a barbed wire for an unexpired time is inhuman.

Internment in fact means life imprisonment if the perpetrators of the Special Powers Act wish it to be so. With solidarity, we may defeat them and even the most 'leftish' revolutionary knows that this country undivided will head towards some form of 'Christian Socialism'.

The variety and shape of violence of course is unending, and Irish people have suffered a good deal of it. An old man dies of a heart attack after a bomb explodes in the street. Natural causes verdict? In Derry an old woman falls down the stairs to her death. A young man is afraid to turn on the lights during army activity. A young girl is shot by a Whiteletter Road or Mr. Horisk from Ladybrook drive, have been beaten senseless, but for no reason than a delight in violence by the British. One has heard after a fatality, one has heard another one gone, thank God! It chills to know that violence is a habit, a begot! It flourishes on vengeance and retaliation, on the cold corpse of a god, or a Mick's head.

## VIOLENCE IN NORTHERN IRELAND: 1971

	JAN.	FEB.	MAR.	APR.	MAY	JUNE	JULY		AUG.	SEPT.	OCT.	NOV./DEC.
BRITISH SOLDIERS KILLED	0	3	3	0	2	0	2	INTERVIEW WAS INTRODUCED 2-30 a.m., AUGUST '70	6	6	11	?
UDR & RUC MEMBERS KILLED	0	2	0	0	0	0	0		1	2	4	?
CIVILIANS KILLED	3	6	2	0	2	0	2		28	11	17	?
NUMBER OF EXPLOSIONS	12	28	33	37	47	50	91		103	173	107	?
AMOUNT OF EXPLOSIVE	150	380	231	265	365	519	1408		1349	2392	2381	?

(Continued on page eight)



# LETTER FROM LISBURN

A letter from Lisburn District Council to Councillor McCloskey, Andersonstown, 17th November, 1971.

Dear Mr. McCloskey, at the monthly meeting of the Council on Tuesday, several members referred to the fact that you had not attended a Council Meeting since mid-summer, and that consequently your membership of the Council could be "terminated by default" in a month or so (continuous absence from a Council Meeting for a period of six months.)

The members opinion which I fully endorsed, was that there is a place for you here as members of Lisburn Rural District Council, and that it was a matter of great regret that you had not seen fit to withdraw your participation in Council affairs for such a prolonged period.

The members were anxious that you should be advised of their feelings and that you should be asked to re-consider your present attitude. It was felt that the mutual respect that existed between members in the past, coupled with the

and the

## Councillor's Reply

Dear Mr. Gilchrist, I thank you for your letter of the 17th November asking me to re-consider my decision to withdraw from Lisburn Rural District Council.

I can well understand the obvious desire of the rest of the Council members to return to what is now so often referred to as the normality of pre-August 9th days. In rejecting your invitation to return, however, I must make clear the following points:

(1) I am very aware that I was elected by a free vote and therefore must represent as far as I can the wishes of the great majority of those whom I represent as Councillor. I have had the most detailed consultations with my constituents and it has been made very clear to me that they fully back my withdrawal as a further proof, if such is needed that not only has the old system of Government broken down but that it has come to an end, never to be resurrected. I would be pleased to test this support for my position in a bye-election which I presume you will now wish to see.

(2) This desire of my constituents to withdraw from the system by a simple refusal to be governed is in my opinion fully justified. At all times I have been quick to condemn violence, with no regard either to the quarter from which it emanates or to those who might be offended by my unconditional condemnation of terrorism. I have no hesitation now in condemning the unsurpassed terrorism unleashed upon a civilian population on August 9th by what we were led to believe were the "forces of law and order". On that very morning I personally witnessed the brutal shooting of an innocent boy at Riverdale. Patrick Finaghy from North, a British soldier. On the same day, at the request of Mr. Arthur Jenkins, Secretary of Suffolk and Andersonstown Citizens Advice Bureau, I tried to visit his home in an effort to prevent the spread

of violence. I was refused permission, by those same forces, to carry out my duty and despite making both my identity and mission quite clear and indeed was threatened that I would be shot if I didn't get out the street.

(3) A very large number of those men who have been brutalised at Girwood Barracks Military Camp, Palace Barracks Torture Centre, Long Kesh Concentration Camp are men who represent as Councillor. I am sure you will appreciate that under no circumstances could I lend my support to such a vicious and one-sided attack on a civilian population and while I make no judgement on your own motives for supporting such a patently unjust system, I feel morally obliged to draw from the government machinery, evil by a complete withdrawal.

(4) Like you, I agree that, with the approach of the Christmas season, the age-old message of "Goodwill Amongst Men" should be foremost in our minds and our thoughts should be directed to the deprived and the underprivileged. Surely the most underprivileged are those who at the whim of a discredited and mistrusted Mr. Finner are denied the most basic of all rights, the right of freedom until proved guilty of some offence; and from whom there are those hundreds of families who are expected to have a "Happy Christmas" in the unjustifiable absence of those most dear to them.

Finally I must make it clear that when, in the not too distant future, we finally achieve a system of Government which guarantees fair treatment of all members of the Community, I shall be delighted to renew my efforts to improve facilities for all our citizens in a true democratic spirit.

Yours faithfully,  
VINCENT McCLOSKEY  
50 Tullymore Gardens,  
Shaw's Road,  
Belfast 11.

## After studying the Compton Report a team of psychologists asks the question . . .

# BRUTALITY ONLY?

The Compton Report on the interrogation procedures used in Northern Ireland accept that the following methods were employed:

- (i) Hooding of detainees during the periods they were not being interrogated. (p.60)
- (ii) Noise bombardment loud enough to mask extraneous sounds. (p.60)
- (iii) The detainees wore loose-fitting overalls. (p.84)
- (iv) Long periods of immobilisation, with detainees maintaining one position against a wall leaning on their fingertips. (p.61 and 64)
- (v) No food, except a glass of water and slice of bread every six hours. (p.67)
- (vi) General policy was to deprive the men of sleep. (p.68)

In practical terms the above measures (i)-(vi), whatever else they may be designed to do, constitute various forms of deprivation. Measures (i), (ii), (iii) and (iv) are visual, auditory, tactile and kinesthetic deprivation, respectively. Measures (v) and (vi) deprive the brain of oxygen and sugar necessary for normal functioning. In addition, (i) (v) and (vi) may disturb the normal physiology and metabolism of the body.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF DEPRIVATION (i), (ii) and (iii)

Many experiments have been conducted from the early 1930s, into the effects of various forms of deprivation. (Bexton et al 1954; Heron et al 1956; Lilly 1960; Heron 1967; Hebb 1958; Smith and Lewy 1959; Brownfield 1964).

An experiment was directed by Hebb (1958) at McGill University, Montreal, which contains elements similar to the interrogation measures (i), (ii) and (iii). The subjects in these experiments were volunteer students who were isolated in an air conditioned room. They had translucent goggles over their eyes so that they could see only a blur of light. They could hear nothing except a constant buzzing sound and their arms and legs were covered by long cuffs so that they were unable to touch anything. As an incentive, the students were offered twenty dollars per day for every day they would remain in the room under these conditions. The room contained a comfortable bed on which the students were to lie and a "panic button" which they could press whenever they wanted to be released.

At the beginning of the experiment the students in these conditions, they found it difficult to concentrate and they developed an acute desire for any form of stimulation. Many reported suffering from vivid visual and auditory hallucinations. After a while they were unable to discriminate between waking and sleeping. A few of the volunteers were able to tolerate the conditions for up to five days but most could not endure them for more than two days. In spite of the high rate they were being paid. When the subjects emerged from these conditions of deprivation, their perceptions of their surroundings were impaired . . . objects appeared blurred and unstable. (Hebb 1958). While under the conditions of deprivation, subjects were found to be susceptible to

any type of propaganda. (Bexton et al 1954).

Another investigator, Lilly (1966), studied sensory isolation by immersing his subjects in a tank of tepid water. They wore a face mask through which they breathed. The mask also prevented any patterned light penetrating. Thus there was little stimulation from light, clothing and noise. Under these conditions the subjects became bored, unable to concentrate, leading in some cases to mental disturbance. The maximum time any subject could "stand it" was three hours. Subjects reported feelings of unreality with loss of identification. They did not know who they were, where they were or what was happening to them. These feelings were accompanied by feelings of panic so that they were compelled to abandon the experiment.

Studies such as those mentioned above, on the effects of sensory deprivation, provide consistent evidence of the severity, in mental and physical terms of unreality, loss of identification, and kinesthetic deprivation, respectively. These include, inability to concentrate, deterioration in the ability to think systematically, leading to auditory and visual hallucinations. This means hearing, seeing and feeling things which do not exist.

Another effect is that hooding (i) could give rise to an imbalance in the ratio of oxygen to carbon dioxide in the air breathed and this disturbs the efficiency of the respiratory mechanism. This results in mental confusion.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF (iv) and (v)

As indicated above the measure (iv) immobilisation, could cause fatigue and poor circulation which would result in such symptoms as "pins and needles" and swollen ankles. Such symptoms were reported by the subjects and discussed in the Compton Report (P. 71, 79, 80). As a result of this poor circulation would be a reduced supply of oxygen and sugar to the brain. Similarly, the restricted diet of the detainees (v) was deficient in sugar.

It has been pointed out by Storr (1971) that brain depends on three things if it is to function efficiently—Sensory stimulation, oxygen, and a constant supply of sugar.

Experiments have been conducted to discover the effects of semi-starvation diets over varying periods of time. (Sandford 1937; McClelland and Atkinson 1948; Gilchrist and Newbery 1952; Keys et al 1945). All studies provide consistent results—Under conditions such as these, subject's thinking ability is impaired and they become obsessed with thoughts of food and drink. Perceptual judgment is impaired under these conditions. Gradually, as the effects of deprivation increased, the subjects became apathetic and unresponsive. (Vermon 1949). It has been noted in an experiment by Zubeck (1968) into the effects of perceptual deprivation that such a hooding (i) would constitute that physical exercise reduces the isolation felt by subjects.

### PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF (vi)

It was stated that subjects were not permitted to sleep during the interrogation procedure (vi). Experiments have been going on since 1956 to assess what

happens to the body when it is deprived of sleep. Wilkinson (1965) has indicated that the loss of one night's sleep can have detrimental effects on performance of certain tasks. Subjects who appear to be functioning normally are doing so only at the cost of exhausting their normal sources of bodily energy. (Luby et al 1960). Under prolonged sleep deprivation more serious consequences result: there ensues a progressive disintegration of personality and rational behaviour. Paradoxically, at the same time powers of rational perception appear to be disturbed" (Wilkinson 1969). Zubeck (1968) suggests that an increase in susceptibility to pain also results.

### FACTORS AFFECTING SUBJECTS' ABILITY TO ENDURE DEPRIVATION

One of the most notable aspects of the experiments discussed above, is that the quality of the subjects' reaction differs . . . some subjects hallucinate, others do not; some subjects are able to endure the deprivation for days others must be released after a matter of hours.

It has been suggested that differences in personality may be related to differences in reactions under deprivation. Eysenck (1969) indicates that extraverts need more stimulation than introverts and ideas such as these have stimulated research into the relationship between personality and reaction to deprivation.

Zubeck (1964) gave personality tests to subjects who volunteered for sensory deprivation experiments. He found an uncertain relationship between the scores on the personality tests and the reactions of the subjects to the deprivation. He suggested that the most important variable affecting reactions to deprivation was the "attitudes, suggestion or set of the subjects, resulting from the instructions given to the subjects by the experimenter". The Hebb experiment concurred with this suggestion that it was the relationship between the experimenter and the

subject which determined to a large extent the subjects' ability to endure deprivation.

It would appear from the Hebb experiment and that of Lilly, that the amount of deprivation also affects the time of endurance. The subjects in Hebb's experiment suffered less deprivation than those in the Lilly experiment. Subjects in the Hebb experiment reached a maximum of five days' endurance whereas the Lilly subjects attained a maximum of only three hours.

From a review of the experiments and of the Compton Report, the following differences may be observed between the situation of the subjects and that of the detainees:

(1) The interrogation procedures resulted in greater sensory deprivation, six different forms of deprivation being imposed simultaneously.

(2) The relationship between the interrogator and detainee would of necessity be different from that of an experimenter and his subjects.

(3) The detainees had no "panic button" by which they could obtain release from the deprivation situation.

(4) It is probable that the directives given to the subjects differed greatly from those given to the detainees.

(5) It is likely that the subjects, mostly students, would be more familiar with the experimental situation than the detainees would be with their situation.

(6) The students in the experiment were, without exception, volunteers, and in some cases paid volunteers.

These six points of difference strongly suggest that the conditions of the detainees were considerably more stressful than those of the subjects participating in the experiments.

Various research workers have commented on the severity of the effects of sensory deprivation:—

Zuckerman (1964) "there seems little doubt that exposure to either sensory or

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

## ANDERSONSTOWN CENTRAL CIVIL RESISTANCE COMMITTEE

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# FIFTY YEARS OF INTERNMENT

IN A NORMAL SOCIETY there would be no need for internment without trial, no need for organised violence to achieve political ends, for such laws as Northern Ireland's Special Powers Act, or for agents of the Government to practise torture and brutality on those people who do not conform. Laws and activities such as these are the essence of fascist states. They are sadly evident, and have been for many years, in Northern Ireland.

Many countries, even in this violent and threatening world, get on well without such laws and cruelties. But Northern Ireland under Unionist rule is not a normal country. It never has been; it never will be.

If communities could be classified psychologically, like individual persons, then Northern Ireland could well be described as paranoid, schizophrenic, pathologically violent, and depressed. Certainly it is evident that many of the politicians at Stormont are not normal. Indeed if there were a competent student of political psychology in any of our universities he would have little trouble in revealing a high rate of mental abnormality in political life here.

## Abnormal Outlook

Abnormal politicians, being leaders of opinion, create an abnormal outlook in the general population. That is what is wrong with Northern Ireland. One has only to read the speeches of Unionist politicians to see what political abnormality means. They are obsessed to an unhealthy degree with fear of "Romanism", socialism, and Republicanism.

Northern Ireland was created in 1920 out of violence and threats of violence and has existed on violence since then. Violence and institutionalised inhumanity have become inseparable from Unionist rule.

The Special Powers Act, when James Callaghan, when he was Labour Home Secretary, had an opportunity to abolish, was first passed in 1922 to enable the newly-formed Unionist Government to deal with its political opponents.

## The 'Argenta'

During that year the Unionists arrested hundreds of their enemies and imprisoned them, some in Crumlin Road Jail and some on board a wooden ship called *Argenta*, which lay near Carrickfergus.

The *Argenta* was described as "a floating house of filth and misery." The prisoners on board were huddled together in sections of forty, "like cattle in a pen." There were no chairs or tables, and the food, which was horrible, was eaten off the floor. The only lavatory in each compartment was a bucket.

The Special Powers Act, under which these men were imprisoned, was supplemented by the Emergency Powers Act in 1927, and made permanent legislation in 1933.

## Totalitarian Law

It has been condemned by democratically-minded people for fifty years as a totalitarian law. But it has been envied and admired by the white supremacists who rule South Africa. They have ascribed it as more repressive than their own repressive laws. It is contrary to all UNO and European declarations of human rights. But still, it is up-

held by the British Government, which claims that Britain is a democracy and which itself would not last for long if it attempted the same repression in Britain.

In 1935 the National Council of Civil Liberties accused the Stormont Government of operating the Special Powers Act not only against Republicans but against leading people in the Labour Movement as well.

In 1933 Tom Mann, veteran of the international trade union movement and founder of the socialist party in Britain, was arrested and detained under the Special Powers Act when he arrived in Belfast to attend the funeral of a workman shot dead by the RUC during a demonstration in West Belfast.

In 1935 Sean Murray, a member of the Communist Party of Ireland, a native of Cusendall, in the Glens of Antrim, was expelled from Northern Ireland under the Special Powers Act. He was kept out of the country for seven years because of his associations with the Communist Party.

## The 'Al Rawdah'

During the Second World War, as a safeguard against a Republican uprising, the Stormont Government again imprisoned hundreds of people in Crumlin Road Jail and on board a prison-ship called *Al Rawdah*, which was moored in Strangford Lough. There were further internments during the mid-1950s when the IRA was active along the border.

But the present phase of internment is worse than anything that has gone before. For one thing the British Government, and consequently the British Parliament, are now directly involved. British troops are operating under the Special Powers Act when they raid houses and make arrests.

Whether the British Army is legally entitled to operate under the laws of the Stormont Parliament is doubtful. It is an important point that should be challenged by the lawyers—or better still by some members of the Parliament at Westminster.

Stormont's powers are limited by the 1920 Government of Ireland Act. They do not include control of the British Army or responsibility for defence. If, therefore, Stormont is directing the operations of the British Army in Northern Ireland it is acting unconstitutionally and is usurping the authority of the Parliament at Westminster.

## Unconstitutional

If, on the other hand, Heath and Maude have instructed the Army to operate under Stormont's Special Powers Act then they are acting unconstitutionally. Surely some British MP will have the common sense to ask when Westminster either passed a Special Powers Act or adapted the Stormont Act.

In plain words, Britain's MPs should tell Stormont to do its own dirty work and not involve the Army. The Special Powers Act is a nasty law. It authorises the police in Northern Ireland to act in ways that would not be tolerated in Britain. It gives dictatorial powers to the Stormont Government.

The British Parliament should, therefore, instruct the Army to take no orders from Stormont. If the Army is to be in Northern Ireland at all it should be under the direction of the proper legal authority—the



ANDREW BOYD  
Author of "Holy War in Belfast", "The Two Irelands", etc.

## Internment '71

ANDERSONSTOWN CENTRAL CIVIL  
RESISTANCE COMMITTEE

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# INTERNMENT

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# Internment '22

## INTERMENT IS REAL VIOLENCE

(Continued from Page Five)

the ensuing information can be discarded a whole human existence like waste paper.

One of the ways to combat English army terrorism is to submit every shred of evidence (a publication against them. Your local civil resistance committee will help in this respect. Mr. Bradford describes the gathering of substantial evidence as 'propaganda'. We call it simply 'truth'. But it takes courage to suffer an atrocity take a beating or maiming, and speak up against your attacker, despite the fear of internment — or perhaps a repeat performance! Certainly there is no-one speaking to Faulkner at the moment. The £50,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of those engaged in 'subversive' activities is, as yet, unclaimed (this includes the reward for the 'reservoir' too leading indirectly to O'Neill's downfall). Any useful information obtained by Stormont could only have come from abusing our dear comrades behind the wire.

Mr. Faulkner would have us believe that the 'security intelligence' is infiltrating

the anti-Unionist movements — and that informers abound! He would have the world believe that locking up fathers and sons is a necessary evil. Anyone visiting a Bogside, Lower Falls, Creggan, Ardoyne etc. can sense his lack of credibility at once. There are many differing factions in such Catholic areas but there is no difference of opinion as to his evil self, his reckless dominating administration — or on attitudes to internment and Special Branch brutality. These latter points may be eluded to a point of sensible repetition. These same people will never again accept the Stormont 'clique' as rulers. They probably never did but Irish apathy and the Special Powers Act had kept them subservient for a long time. They now know that it is only a question of time before Stormont succumbs to its long-festering malaise (or in the ultimate, how many deaths?).

Its dilatory lingering may be like a wounded wolf trapped in a sheep fold or an angry bee stinging itself to certain death.

## TORIES SHOCK WORLD

(Continued from Page Five)

ern Ireland was undermined. No longer could Englishmen adopt high-minded attitudes about civil liberties in Greece, South Africa, or on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain. Edward Kennedy, in Washington, dared to denounce and became the subject of vile abuse and tirades in the newspapers and in Parliament from leaders and politicians whose violence betrayed a guilty conscience. The attacks on Kennedy have continued undiminished, indicating clearly that his shafts had penetrated the thick skins of these callous publicists.

The ridiculous Army tactic of blowing holes in the Border roads to 'save manpower' — instead brought daily frontier battles involving more and more troops. Only Stormont was pleased. The final chapter in this discreditable story has

yet to be written. The tragedy is that it could all have been avoided by wise statesmanship but where are the statesmen? Not in the Palace of Westminster, or in the doomed Parliament of Stormont. These politicians have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. They have failed. They are guilty men. The enormity of their guilt is revealed in the terrifying figure of nearly 200 dead since the disorders broke out in the North of Ireland, by far the majority since the Internment disaster. The cost in human suffering and material damage has still to be assessed. A whole generation has been poisoned in mind and hearts and history will point an accusing finger at the men whose stubbornness, arrogance, cynicism, and irresponsibility brought us to the pit of horror from which escape seems almost impossible.

# The Association for Legal Justice Condemns the iniquitous Special Powers Act

It is the Stormont Government's instrument of tyranny. It tramples on the citizen's most fundamental rights. It is no respecter of the innocent or the weak. It locks away hundreds of men without trial. It subjects them to inhuman and degrading treatment. It carries off children from their homes in the dark hours, for long periods of harsh interrogation without the presence or consent of their parents. It breaks down doors, it smashes up homes. It terrorises the whole minority population of the North of Ireland.

Further, it makes a laughing stock of the due processes of law. It satiates a rapacious Executive at the expense of a compliant Judiciary. As far back as 1936, the special Commission set up by The National Council for Civil Liberties summarised as follows its conclusions on this abominable Act.

Firstly, that through the operation of The Special Powers Acts contempt has been begotten for the representative institutions of Government.

Secondly, that through the use of Special Powers individual liberty is no longer protected by law, but is at the arbitrary disposition of the Executive. This abrogation of the rule of law has been so practised as to bring the freedom of the subject into contempt.

Thirdly, that the Northern Irish Government has used Special Powers towards securing the domination of one particular political faction, and at the same time, towards curtailing the lawful activities of its opponents. The driving of legitimate movements underground into illegality, the intimidating or branding as law-breakers of their adherents, however innocent of crime, has tended to encourage violence and bigotry on the part of the Government's supporters as well as to breed in its opponents an intolerance of 'law and order' thus maintained. The Government's policy is

thus driving its opponents into the ways of extremism.

Yet this evil act is the Norm in Northern Ireland Legislation.

It has been on the Statute Book for over 50 years, playing its part in undermining those bulwarks of a truly stable society, Fair Laws, and, as an inevitable consequence, Social Order.

A Compliant Judiciary: In the present calamitous situation, where the basic rights of the subject are being hourly trampled on by politically motivated 'security forces,' the silence of the Judiciary is despicable.

The Association for Legal Justice reminds these silent custodians of the subject rights of the words of Lord Atkin:

'Amid the clash of arms the laws are not silent... they speak the same language in war as in peace. It has always been one of the pillars of freedom that the judges are no respecters of persons and stand between the executive and the subject.'

WHERE were these 'pillars of freedom' when INTERMENT was imposed upon the minority population on August 8?

WHO has stood between a vengeful Stormont and 500 internees' basic rights?

In common, therefore, with the solemn statements of the Geneva Convention on Human Rights; with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations (of which Britain, laughably, is a member); with Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists; in common, indeed, with the vast host of civilised opinion throughout the world, the Association for Legal Justice once again condemns internment for the vicious assault upon basic human justice which it is, and demands that the abominable Special Powers Act (internment's evil progenitor) be abolished.

It takes its stand irrevocably upon the Articles of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, particularly the following:

ARTICLE 5 — 'No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.'

Not even the Compton Inquiry ('Six grains of truth and a bucket of whitewash'), could conceal that torture, cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment have all been inflicted exclusively upon members of the minority by the 'security forces.'

The Special Powers Act tramples on Article 5.

ARTICLE 9, 'No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.'

Thousands of the minority population have been arbitrarily arrested, physically abused and then released.

Over 500 internees languish in Long Kesh Concentration Camp and Crumlin Road Jail.

Women, and now even children are being subjected to the arbitrary dictates of the 'security forces.'

The Special Powers Act defies Article 9.

The Association for Legal Justice pledges itself to the ending of internment and the abolition of the Special Powers Act. It calls upon all men and women of good will to aid its unceasing efforts to:

(i) Stop the brutal interrogation procedures and intimidation by the members of army and police intelligence.

(ii) Get a satisfactory tribunal to investigate allegations of torture and brutal treatment.

(iii) Obtain legal redress for those who have been tortured and brutally treated.

(iv) End mass arrests of people in minority areas.

(v) End internment.

(vi) Obtain the repeal of the SPECIAL POWERS ACT and other repressive legislation.

(vii) Establish a radical reform of the whole legal system.

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(vi) Obtain the repeal of the SPECIAL POWERS ACT and other repressive legislation.

(vii) Establish a radical reform of the whole legal system.

This whole system of savage repression must not go unchallenged. The almost total abrogation of decent people's rights under the law will continue to be vigorously resisted until basic justice and common civil rights are once more restored to a sorely tried people.

END INTERNMENT : : :  
ABOLISH THE SPECIAL POWERS

## 'THE EDGE OF THE SWORD'

Major Farrar-Hockley,  
Korea, 1950

'My mind could not conceive it. I was living in the twentieth century—the year AD 1951. Surely these men could never bring themselves to torture me in cold blood. Looking around their faces I saw neither passion nor compassion in any one of them.'

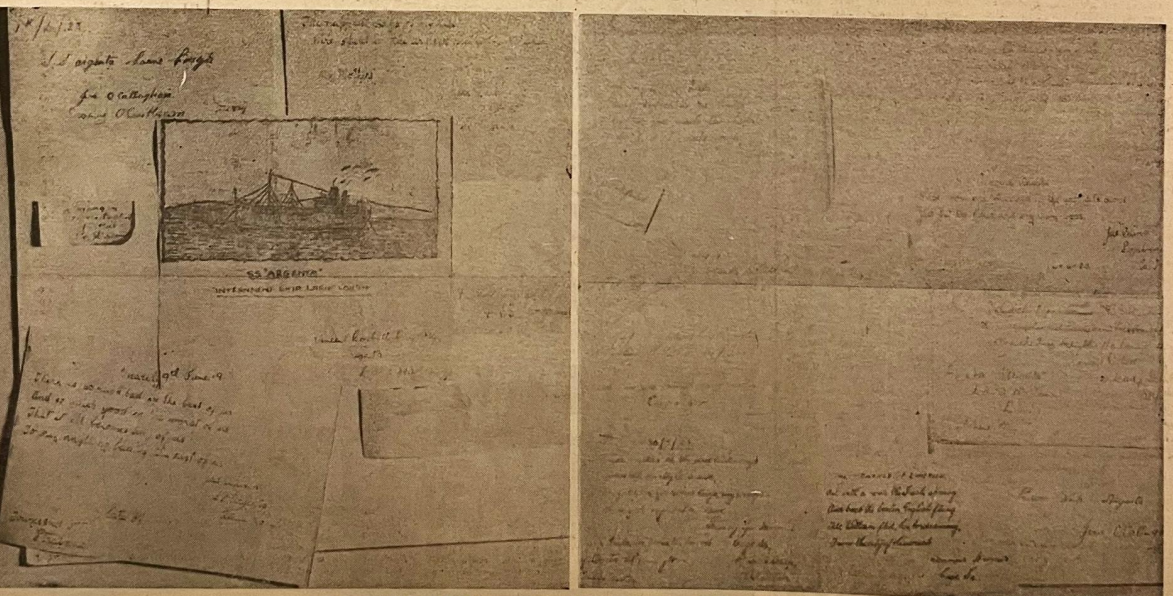
'Two of my ribs were cracked from kicks; my head, shoulders and thighs were sore and bruised; my back was covered with cigarette burns, which smarted at the slightest touch from my filthy clothes.'

'The story that these men had to tell appalled us... Captain Walters had been compelled to stand to attention for over 40 hours until he collapsed.'

'Now this man had been chosen to teach the five new-comers a lesson in discipline. Neither Tom nor I can understand what he is accused of.'

'Our hearts burn because we are unable to do anything at all to aid these men.'

'Just before the cloth came down over my eyes, I saw to my horror that the Young Major's face had as fixed an expression of savage pleasure; he was really enjoying my suffering.'





# THE GAME

The curtains in the room are drawn,  
The lighting pale and thin,  
The game in which Ulster is the pawn  
Is ready to begin.  
Close all the doors, says Mr. Heath,  
And check the phones for tapping,  
For we're about to play a game  
Too big to be caught napping.

The table set, the chairs are grouped,  
Each player takes his seat;  
The winner here will be the boss  
And there'll be no retreat.  
"Cut the cards," dealer cries,  
"The game will be drawn poker;  
The pack consists of fifty-two,  
For there will be no Joker."

I'll check the deck, says Mr. Lynch,  
Soon things will be in order;  
If I lose here, it's "Not an inch" —  
A win could be no "border."  
I do not trust my albion friends,  
Whom Europe called peridious;  
As big Mick said in '21,  
Your tactics are insidious.

"Who wants a hand?" the dealer says,  
And Harold looks at Ted;  
We'll just take one between us,  
Remembering what Plato said:  
That some were for the Party,  
But all were for the nation;  
Ted breathes a sigh of pure relief  
And smiles with grim elation.

A hand for me, and one for me,  
The chorus comes from Boland,  
Corish, Cosgrave, Faulkner, Lynch,  
And Bernie from "No-go land."  
What care we what Plato said,  
The Party must come first,  
Not for Ulster, not for freedom,  
It's after power we thirst.

Paisley, too, will take a pew,  
And Gerry Fitt will sit in;  
He's worried about the rise next year  
And wonders if he can win.  
They play their cards close to their chest  
As old forms stand behind them —  
Carson, Craig and sly Lloyd George  
And Tone are their to guide 'em.

The cards are dealt, the chips are down,  
And Faulkner's first to speak;  
He's got two Knaves of Orange hue,  
Although he thinks they're weak.  
I'll open the pot, up for East Down,  
His voice is short and snappy;  
He thinks of the day on the Longstone Road  
When carefree and happy.

With his Billy Boys and dancing girls  
And big drums in procession,  
And only pulled-down window blinds  
To watch their loud procession.  
I'll stay, says Lynch, with worried brow,  
For he's got long tuition;  
He's wondering what the Church will say  
As he stakes the Constitution.

With pills, abortion and free-love,  
Divorce and contraception,  
The doctors will get writer's cramp  
Making out prescriptions.

The rest drop out, there's just two left,  
They've got one hand between;  
We'll stake our word as gentlemen  
If you'll forget '16,  
And '21 and '69, and the street they call  
Bombay  
We'll show our hand for all to see come  
fifteen years to-day.

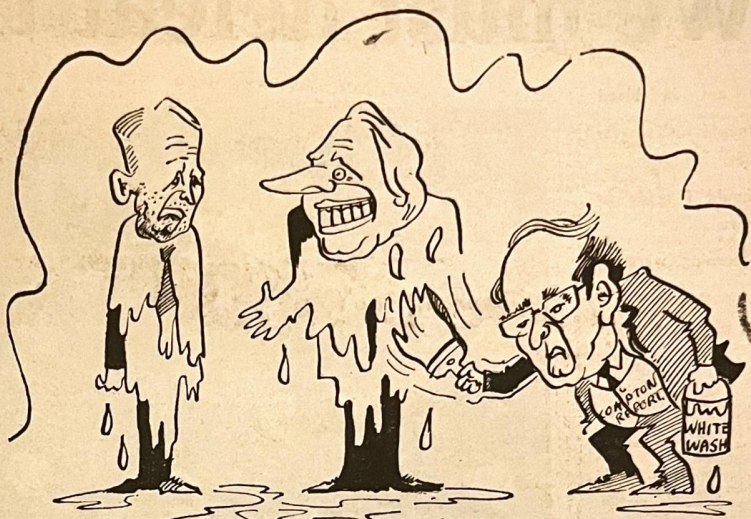
The sudden noise of splintering wood  
Takes them by surprise;  
The door is down, the figure there  
Puts fear into their eyes.  
Now I'm the ref., he points his gun —  
And here's my affidavit;  
You thought that we would do the work  
And you would get the gravy.

He wefts his parcel to the floor,  
A 100lb. block-buster,  
Then looks at Heath straight in the eye  
And says "Now, listen, mister,  
You've played this game 800 years,  
There'll be no fifteen more!"  
Then he bends down and lights the fuse —  
Two seconds — and then the roar.

The spring is back on Ulster's hills,  
No Fenian now or Prod;  
No greed or privilege for to grasp  
What all men got from God.  
With a Constitution in their hearts  
They're clearing up the muck  
Since the night they played drawn poker  
And the fuse burned out too quick.

There's two went back where they belong,  
They're buried at the Abbey;  
Some of them got a Milltown grave,  
And some to old Carnmoney.  
One they never found at all,  
The rest went to Glasnevin;  
With brief thanksgiving let us pray  
That they are all in heaven.

FRANK GALLAGHER.



"CHEER UP BRIAN — HE'S MAKING A DAMND  
GOOD JOB OF US"

## The Savage Society

PAT McHUGH, as experienced professional social worker, in this article, argues that in Northern Ireland we condone massive and organised cruelty to children of a type which even Oliver Twist and his creator, Charles Dickens, would have found difficulty in accepting, especially in relation to children whose parents, either mother or father, have been detained under the Special Powers Act.

by P. J. McHUGH,  
M.B.A.S.W., A.C.W.

"Nothing else in the world can compensate a child for the loss of those essentials to their well-being — love and security — which are provided by parents.

"Whenever a mother or a father is detained under the Special Powers Act, considerable emotional damage can occur to their children.

The need for love and security means, from the practical point of view, that in childhood all forms of fear should as far as possible be avoided, such as separation from parents and other assaults upon a child's sense of security.

It is a national disgrace that so little attention is being paid to the effects of this form of state-created cruelty on children.

According to the Children and Young Persons Act (N.I.) 1968, cruelty can also be described as a failure to provide adequate food, clothing, medical aid. Yet the dependants of those detained, especially children, are forced to live in poverty.

The majority of fathers held under the Special Powers Act who are earning good wages, a few were in business for themselves. Overnight their families have been forced to rely on the Supplementary Benefits Commission for a meagre income. The Supplementary Benefits Commission pays the minimum amount of money that the State claims is required for a family of

it either — but those who do — and I am convinced that the majority do appreciate the position, should start to campaign for the dependants of those held without trial to be paid the equivalent of the breadwinner's full income before detention occurred. That is not to suggest that any such payment would in any way compensate for the loss of a father or a mother, but it could remove the considerable financial strain that a family have to face.

Example of how Supplementary Benefit <sup>but</sup> is worked out

Weekly requirements f.p.	
Householder	5.80
Two children,	
aged 9 and 7	4.00
One child under 5	1.70
	£11.50

Less Family Allowance	£1.90
	£9.60

The Supplementary Benefits Commission would pay this family £9.60 but if the family was on rent strike they would only receive £8.65. How can anybody feed and clothe four people on such a sum as well as pay for coal, gas and electricity? Remember the father in this case could have been earning £25 plus per week and have taken on extra commitments based on his earnings that the wife is now left to face.

Who cares — there is a duty for every Welfare Authority to provide advice, guidance and assistance to promote the welfare of children. What do they do? . . . little or nothing.

Under Section 164 of the Children and Young Persons Act (N.I.) 1968, the Welfare Authorities have power to give National Assistance to families in need. In an effort to raise the standard of child care, but, but, but! Owing to the difficulty of interpretation of this section very little use is being made of it. If you care about children then render all the

assistance you can to alleviate the problems associated with cruelty. Remember, it could be your child that is left to suffer next. Cruelty to children in all its forms is the Number One Violence in this community. If we are to have any form of constructive future it must be stopped.

We shall overcome.

## The role of the British Army in Internment

(Continued from page four)

picion and in fact, the tool of the Orange Unionist regime. Indeed, the Army is now, by its one-sided application of the Special Powers Act, by its brutal handling of innocent people, and by its punitive raids on Catholic ghettos, more feared and detested than even the 'B' Specials.

The feeling against the Army in Catholic areas is exactly that same explosive mixture of dread, suspicion and defiance experienced by the French under German military occupation. This comparison may seem outrageous to those politicians who control the Army and those pressmen who defend it. To them the Army's behaviour may be justified by results — if any. But to those who suffer there can be no justification. As with the spurious distinction drawn by the Commission, the sufferer is in no position to appreciate it.

If, then, the British Government and the British people are counselling themselves with the hope that the battle against the gunman is going their way, let them pause and consider that the much more important battle, the battle for hearts and minds, is not only going against them — it has been irretrievably lost.



# Interment '71

# We must defeat the I.R.A.

"I am in blood  
Stepp'd in so far  
that,  
Should I wade no  
more,  
Returning were as  
tedious as go o'er"

(Macbeth Act 3  
Scene 4)

These words from Macbeth, a cry from the heart when he was already well launched on his own destruction, could well be spoken by Mr. Brian Faulkner about his own position.

He has engaged in a war with the I.R.A. Having once declared war, he finds that he has been drawn deeper and deeper into a morass.

He began by 'seeking out the gunmen' to use his own phrase. This particular operation was conspicuously unsuccessful. So he introduced internment. Internment has been an abysmal failure, if its aim was the cessation of violence. Violence has increased ten-fold since the introduction of internment.

He has now returned to 'seeking out the gunmen'—and is well on the way to alienating the entire Catholic population of Northern Ireland, if this is not already the case. Tragical occurrences such as the shooting in the dance-hall in Ardoyne are the inevitable outcome of this policy, with predictable effects on minority attitudes towards the security forces and towards Stormont.

It might be useful to examine the thesis on which the entire security operation in 1971 (and particularly since internment) is based. It would have well behave those in charge of security had they done so long mounting the operation.

The Government thesis runs thus:

- 1—The entire problem in Northern Ireland stems from the activities of the I.R.A.
- 2—The I.R.A. must therefore be defeated by force of arms.
- 3—When the I.R.A. has been defeated we will rebuild the community.

When the Northern Ireland Government's policy is stated in this form, a closer examination of the proposition becomes possible, and the errors of judgement which have resulted from the adoption of this stance can be isolated, and understood.

Part 1 of the thesis, as stated above is: 'The entire problem of Northern Ireland stems from the activities of the I.R.A.'

Long before the commencement of the present I.R.A. campaign Northern Ireland was a multi-political and social. The events of October 5, 1968, in Derry, now a matter of history, were indicative of the attitude of the then Government and security forces to the legitimate demands of the Civil Rights Association for basic equality of citizenship. The



This photograph shows the number of people at present interned without trial in Long Kesh, Crumlin Prison and the Maidstone

## The Government thesis

by DES O'DONNELL

siting of the New University in Coleraine instead of in Derry, the bull-headed development of Craigavon (now the most expensive white elephant in Western Europe) instead of Derry, were indicative of the Government's attitude to the anti-Unionist areas west of the Bann. The unemployment problem was massive, and endemic in such areas as Derry Strabane and Newry. Meagre attempts to solve this problem resulted in fiascos such as the B.S.R.—which was set up and run largely on taxpayers' money, then closed down, throwing 2,000 out of work in an already chronically under-employed area.

During all this, during Burntollet, and during Bombay Street, no sign of the I.R.A. was visible, and so they couldn't be blamed. But when the I.R.A. did come into the picture, provoked into doing so initially by security force mismanagement, the Unionists clutched it as the drowning man clutches the straw. I told you so, announced Bill Craig. And the scene was set for the adoption of the second part of the thesis—'The I.R.A. must be defeated by force of arms.'

This led directly to the curfew in the lower Falls, and to the present campaign of Army heavy-handedness. If you tell an army, which is a blunt instrument, trained only in destruction, that there is an enemy called the I.R.A. which operates from, and

receives sustenance in the Catholic areas of Northern Ireland, you are well on the way to giving soldiers on the ground carte-blanc to

possible, unless you are prepared to raise to the ground areas where thousands of innocent people live.

Another important point

deal with Catholics in any way they see fit.

The results are plain to be seen—we have had an endless stream of what the Army euphemistically calls 'incidents'. Men and women have been brutalised in the street, just because they were available. 'Incidents' such as the shooting of Harry Thornton became inevitable. And Sir Brian Faulkner says that the I.R.A. must be defeated. Once Faulkner had determined he was at war, internment became inevitable also. In war the first victim is often basic moral values.

The third part of the thesis, viz. 'When the I.R.A. has been defeated we will rebuild the community' demonstrates an incredible inability to assess the public mind.

The defeat of the I.R.A. by force of arms is either possible or impossible. There is a huge body of world-wide evidence which would indicate that the defeat of urban guerrillas in a military sense is im-

possible, unless you are prepared to raise to the ground areas where thousands of innocent people live.

It took 4,000 troops to maintain the two-day curfew in the lower Falls in July 1970, and that was an area of only 10 or 12 streets. If simultaneous operations of that sort had to be carried out in say three areas for three days each, then something approaching 30,000 troops would be required including the back-up services such as cooking, medical and clerical staff.

Less than half that number are on duty in Northern Ireland, and when one deducts the personnel of ancillary services, that figure is very much reduced. If one assumes that soldiers can keep doing 12-hour shifts indefinitely then the army's effective strength in Northern Ireland at any one time is about 5,000 men. And that is a very small

number of men indeed.

However, for the purpose of argument, we will accept that the I.R.A. can be defeated. (Incidentally, one wonders whether this means that the internees will be kept incarcerated until the last man dies of old age. Logic would seem to dictate this, since Faulkner apparently believes that the internees are all terrorists.)

Assuming then that the I.R.A. has been defeated, and I fully appreciate the enormity of such an assumption, Faulkner is then faced with the last part of the thesis: 'we will rebuild the community.'

It must by now be clear that in working through the first two parts of the thesis, Faulkner has thrown the baby out with the bath-water. He has offended 40 per cent of the population, so grievously that any rebuilding of the community (assuming that he is referring to the entire community, and not to a rebuilding of the Orange ascendancy pre-1968 style) is utterly impossible. He is so hated, and the measures that have been carried out in his name e.g. internment, and the torture at Palace Barracks, are so hated that he can never be appointed as architect for the rebuilding of this community.

If the I.R.A. to a man, and en masse, were to emigrate to-morrow to more peaceful shores,

Faulkner and Unionism have still lost the war. They have lost irrevocably the acceptance of 40 per cent of the population. No solution emanating from the same source as the internment orders will find any hearing among the anti-Unionists.

And so we see that Faulkner, like Macbeth, has plunged himself into a stream of blood so deep that there is no going back. He must attempt to go on, and will inevitably drown.

To my mind the logic of this is inescapable, but it might be useful to point out even so late in the day, how Faulkner might yet swim out.

1. Release all internees.
2. Set up talks about the future of Northern Ireland, remembering that perhaps the only possible lies in reunification with the South at some time in the future.

One sincerely hopes that Faulkner is big enough, and statesman enough to undertake this course. Unfortunately nothing he has done or said in a long public life would give any thinking man reasonable grounds for supposing that this hope might be realised. Sincere prayer is probably all that is left to us, and it comes hard to pray that wisdom may enlighten the mind of a man like Brian Faulkner. Miracles are hard to come by.



# Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association

By  
**PHILIP CURRAN**  
General Organiser,  
C.E.S.A.

**SHORTLY** after the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Association held their first meeting the situation in Northern Ireland deteriorated to a point of civil war. At this time following internment several groups joined together to actively support a policy of non-violent resistance to the corruption of the Government that rules N.I. from Stormont. The Civil Rights Association and the S.D.L.P. and others proposed a form of civil resistance to the Unionist junta which included the withholding of rents and rates in public owned housing estates.

At the second meeting of the Association a resolution was passed supporting the civil disobedience campaign and calling for an end to internment.

This action in supporting the minority in Northern Ireland who were under incessant attack from the Faulkner regime and from the British Army led to discriminatory action being taken against members of the Association. Many have been held for questioning, some have been interned, and one of the most glaring examples of victimisation has been the dismissal from his job with the Ministry of Agriculture of Joe Henry of Newry.

Every trade unionist should have been aghast at what happened to Joe Henry. If a man is not allowed to decide what activities he will pursue in his off duty hours free from Government interference, this can only be described as an intolerable situation. It is made worse when it is applied to one individual in a selective manner.

Joe Henry was a civil servant and is chairman of the Newry branch of the C.E.S.A. There are many civil servants who are office bearers in other Associations which are far more political and sectarian in their make-up than the C.E.S.A. Indeed, the Association is not confined to Catholic membership and its principal aim is to give aid and practical help to the whole community.

This is a far cry from the aims of the Orange Order which can only be described as blatantly sectarian. Yet members of the Government are members of the Orange Order and the Apprentice Boys as well as the Royal Black Preceptory and various other devious organisations.

It now appears that no Catholic will ever get justice in Northern Ireland while Stormont remains. The Association has no alternative but to fully support all forms of non-violent civil resistance and to devote themselves to ex-

posing the injustice meted out to the Catholic people.

The Belfast headquarters of the C.E.S.A. has made it clear that it is a non-political and non-violent Association. Its aim is to aid the whole community and to help especially the Catholic working people of Belfast, Newry, Derry and other places who are being terrorised by the British Army, by the Faulkner Government and by Heath,

Maudling, Carrington and other members of the Tory Government in London.

The Association deplores the internment of any man and draws attention to the general public of 23 ex-servicemen who fought against Nazi tyranny and Fascism, and all the kinds of repression that are now so prevalent in Northern Ireland, during their war service. The policy of the Faulkner Government is persecution of the minority.

Why are the troops being used to invade homes at 4 o'clock in the morning, to arrest on suspicion, and to hand over for interrogation

the men apprehended to the R.U.C. Special Branch. It seems clear that the British Army has now adopted the mantle previously worn by the R.U.C. "B" Specials, and by the Black and Tans in 1920.

The R.U.C. were condemned by the Hunt Report and by the Cameron Commission for their activities in August, 1969. Sir Arthur Young attempted to re-organise the R.U.C. and to turn it from a police force into a police service, but, thanks to the efforts of Dr. Paisley and William Craig, their role was changed back to that of a police force armed to the teeth as had been the case before

August, 1969. It is no use saying that the minority were responsible for this. Anyone who watched confrontations in the streets between rival factions during 1970 will have seen the police adopt a partial role in favour of so-called loyal supporters, while the Army was used against the minority. What was required in 1970 was complete impartiality from both the police and the Army.

The Irish people have become frustrated as efforts to implement non-violent demonstrations against Stormont's corruption have been thwarted again and again by repressive legislation.

The C.E.S.A. will pursue a policy designed to aid those people who stand for justice and democracy in our community.



## Andersonstown Central Civil Resistance Commitee

### THANKS on behalf of the internees and detainees

All those Groups, Business, Professional and Ordinary People

whose sponsorship made this publication possible



# Government 71 STORMONT IS DEAD! Terror tactics Faulkner's Election Campaign

WHY  
PHYSICAL  
BRUTALITY  
ONLY?

CONTINUED FROM  
PAGE SIX

FADDY  
DEVLIN, M.P.

Continued from Page one

levant. The Government here is collecting arrears by taking inordinate amounts from statutory state benefits, including widows' pensions, maternity grants, and family allowances.

And what is the net result? The people are more determined than ever. There is now a special Civil Service Department which siphons rent from state benefits, and will soon begin to attack the wages of our working men. And it is all entirely irrelevant.

What is at stake in the Rent and Rates Strike is the will of the people. Up until August 9th this year, the people of Andersonstown, and of all anti-Unionist areas in the Six Counties, continued to pay rent and rates. After October, 1968, in Derry, after the brutality at Burntollet, after the burning of Bombay Street, the people paid rent.

Interment, however, is another matter. It is the clearest and most brutal proof possible that the men of Stormont have lied since 1968. Each concession to justice had to be shaken out of them by the Labour Government then in power at Westminster. The accession to power of the Tories gave new strength to the Unionists. This new Government would work with them, they felt. And so it has proved. Heath's hands are now as bloody as Faulkner's. He has given Faulkner the British Army, and Faulkner has wielded his new weapon as only a practiced Unionist backwoodsman could.

A blind hippopotamus could have predicted that the people would react. Stormont however is as short of blind hippopotami as it is of wit, wisdom or basic human morality. The people have now told Faulkner and his henchmen, by withholding rent

and rates, that they have totally, finally and irrevocably withdrawn their consent to being governed by Stormont.

The importance of non-payment of rent and rates resides in THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE NOT TO PAY. Bradford may collect rents until Hell freezes over—we will not pay one penny willingly until interment ends. And interment cannot end without the simultaneous repeal of the Special Powers Act. And with the Special Powers Act goes Stormont. For it is only the existence and repeated brutal implementation of the Special Powers Act that has kept Stormont alive for so long.

Stormont is dead. Even the foolish men of Stormont must be well aware of this fact. For the people of Andersonstown, together with 40 per cent of the people of the Six Counties no longer believe in Stormont. For us Stormont is a corpse. The only thing now at issue is the manner and place of its burial. And even the funeral arrangements are outside Stormont's control. The firm of undertakers is Wilson & Heath. And most ironical of all, the funeral oration could well be delivered by Ian Paisley, the man who came from obscurity with the full approval and active support of the Unionist Executive.

**NO  
RATES  
NO  
RENT**

Terror tactics by troops in anti-Unionist areas are aimed at precipitating a "shoot-out" to suit a snap election which would favour Mr. Faulkner's idea of a military solution for the Six Counties while at the same time driving still further away into the remote distance the idea of any possibility of political solution being sought.

These tactics became more intensive some weeks ago. They were devised to divert the I.R.A. away from the "urban guerrilla" type warfare that the military have had so much difficulty in countering. The military prefer a more open conflict in which their greater fire power, consisting of tanks, armoured plated vehicles, heavy calibre weapons and flak jackets could be shown to better advantage.

A cold and deliberate decision was taken by General Tuzo to intensify his volume of terror in these areas. General Tuzo realised that the troops under his command had fairly recently returned from places like Kenya, Aden and Cyprus where they had suffered repeated humiliations and defeat at the hands of those well-known non-combatants. He decided to close his eyes to excessive expressions of bloody mindedness from his troops in anti-Unionist areas for he knew that the civil administration at Stormont would do nothing except applaud every single excess and his own military authorities would agree with the theory that there is no way better to boost the morale of a fighting force than by letting them loose to inflict massive institutional violence on the most passive, long-suffering set of civilians in Western Europe. After all, he reasoned, had they not endured the most inefficient and corrupt regime in Europe for fifty unbroken years? No group of people could be more passive than that.

In any case he had unshakable faith in his own lying propaganda machine and in his own capacity as a "con" man to escape the due consequences of his own and his troops' behaviour. For he had demonstrated this capacity when recently Mr. Harold Wilson had described him at Westminster "as an impressive soldier who brings wisdom, statesmanship and a sense of responsibility to his task as military commander."

This statement was the first of an audacious deception by General Tuzo. Mr. Wilson, no mean performer in this field himself, was deceived into accepting the view that a military solution to the problem of the Six Counties should be sought, that before a political solution. Tuzo had pressed him not to criticise his troops' behaviour because it would make his job of "maintaining peace" impossible and that a military victory could be secured in days if he would refrain from seeking a political solution immediately. Tuzo accepted General Wilson's assessment of events in opposition to the views expressed by a number of various group-

ings who, it is understood, held a totally different point of view.

Indeed it is a matter of record that the military under Tuzo's command has increasingly repressed the Anti-Unionist Minority on a scale that can only be compared with that of total war. Under him, the ordinary soldier on the ground now shoots with effect in suspicious circumstances and enjoys complete immunity from the consequences of the action.

In August of this year, after interment was introduced, around 35 people were shot dead by the military. Only two of them were members of the militant force. The rest were civilians, including a priest, two women and two juveniles.

Since interment the scale of violence has increased by nearly 400 per cent. Over 1,200 have been detained. Every single one of them has been beaten up to some degree while selected detainees have been severely tortured directly or indirectly by the military. Over one thousand Anti-Unionist families lost their homes in Belfast because of the refusal or lack of protection by the military when the families were intimidated during July and August of this year. Some statesman General Tuzo!

The description of his being politically sensitive can be traced to Mr. Brian Faulkner's adoring appraisal of his usefulness in keeping him propped up in an upright position. His political survival as leader of the Unionist Regime is owed to General Tuzo. It is costing a dear price and both realise that a quick military victory must be achieved before the British taxpayer and voter learn the cost. This is running out for them and they are both becoming desperate for a quick military success otherwise their efforts will all be in vain.

There can be no other reason for the desperate and vicious intensification of the terror that has in recent weeks been extended to include innocent women and children.

Not can there be any other reason for refusing to hold an inquiry into the behaviour of a military nation on Friday night, 10th December, 1971, that shattered a dance hall in the Ardara area to five 25 Ballymerry men and wounding nine other dancers.

The formula of "quick military success" became clearly evident when saturation raids took place in Andersonstown, Turf Lodge, Ballymerry, Whitebrook, and Lower Falls some weeks ago.

In every one of those areas women and children were increasingly subject to physical abuse. The worst case reported was in the Andersonstown area where an innocent lady was blinded by a rubber bullet shot at point blank range into her face. This was followed up when a number of women were beaten up in the Whitebrook area by members of a Parachutists' regiment. In the Whitebrook area a young mother had a rubber

bullet fired into her face while soldiers in trucks laughed at her agony.

Each school day brings forth fresh reports of harassment of school children from five years of age upwards. The harassment takes the form of searching school bags to using obscene language and beatings of the largest of the children.

More recently, nine children aged fourteen to fifteen years of age were arrested at 4 a.m. and taken to an interrogation camp by the military and were released when a demonstration of schoolteachers carrying placards arrived outside Springfield Road R.U.C. Barracks.

So incensed were the teachers by these series of arrests and by arrests from other schools in the area that they issued a statement condemning the action of the military and demanding that the provisions of the Children and Young Persons Act, 1968, be applied when juveniles are arrested.

It is incredible that the usually quiet, conservative schoolteachers in this community should be brought to the point where they are prepared to demonstrate in public and issue a statement condemning the so-called security forces for this treatment of schoolchildren.

If General Tuzo was really sensitive he would recognise the signs inherent in this specific protest, that a military victory is just "not on." It is "not on" because it is not a military struggle. It is a struggle that is political and relates to forty per cent of this community by withdrawing consent from the Faulkner regime to govern. No amount of military repression by General Tuzo and his terrorists will save Faulkner and his regime their just reward in political oblivion.

## Resistance

We do not need official information.  
We see the facts so clearly every day:  
Interment, torture and intimidation  
Show the true aspect of Britannia's sway.  
We are well used to strife and tribulation,  
Brutality has been our bitter bread.  
Unconquered children of the Irish nation  
We pray for freedom and we mourn our dead.  
They say they have interment about five hundred.  
Five hundred men who do not love the crown;  
Husbands and fathers from their children sundered  
To bolster Brian Faulkner's foul renown  
But half a million backs are to the wall  
WE WILL RESIST until the tyrants fall!

## Message to 'Morning Cloud'

at his wig-wam,

10 Downing Street

We have read the smoke signals of your chief, Brian, and his dog soldiers in Ulster, and we are not intimidated.

Do not be coerced by them, O great chief of the Anglo-Saxon tribe, for they will lead you into many wars.

You have much trouble at home, and on the great European plain.

Where the Six tribes are about to gobble you up. Fires smoulder again on far-off continents because of the snail blunders.

Your own hunting ground is no longer happy and a million idle squaws and braves may soon be looking for your scalp.

Vast assemblies at Strasbourg are embarrassed by your eye-hunters in Ulster and are trying to catch your head.

You have few friends, O "Morning Cloud"

RELEASE THE INTERNEES

And let our chiefs make pow-wow at your wig-wam and maybe smoke the final pipe so long overdue. Until then, with sad heart we must say, as did many fine warriors in 1688

NO SURRENDER

NO RENT NO RATES

perceptual deprivation is a stressful situation, provoking, restless, anger, unrealistic fears, depersonalisation, disorientation in time, vivid dreams and hallucinations."

Mowbray and Rogers (1963) "Thus it would seem that under conditions of restriction or occlusion of sensory inputs, which on the face of it are relatively innocuous conditions, unexpected severe changes in psychological function can occur."

Calder (1970) "One of the simplest and cruelest techniques is sensory deprivation." (page 71) states—

"The Compton Report commenting on the interrogation procedures used (page 71) states—

"We consider that the following actions constitute physical ill treatment; posture on the wall, hooding, lack of sleep, deprivation of food and water" and "Our investigations have not led us to the conclusion that any of the grouped or individual complainants suffered physical brutality as we understand the term."

The Allegations against the Security Forces of Physical Brutality in Northern Ireland has been investigated by Sir Edmund Compton. As can be seen from the above the more serious consequences of the measures (ii)-(vi) are more likely to be of a mental rather than of a physical nature.

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