

UNFREE CITIZEN

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Peoples' Democracy

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For a 32Co. Workers' and Small Farmers' Republic

7th October 1974

DONEGAN'S ADVICE TO THE UNEMPLOYED "JOIN THE MERCENARIES"



15 MONTHS ON REMAND- THEN FREED!

In July 1973 when P.D. comrades Tony Canavan and Michael Farrell commenced their hunger strike for political status in Crumlin Road jail the British repression machine swung into full motion. Inside the jail, the warders kept taunting the comrades with food and ensuring that in their weak condition they'd have to use up their energy walking long distances to get a drink of water.

Outside the jail, the Canavan family were made to suffer the full extent of the wrath of the British Army, for having a son who actually had the cheek to make demands of the administration. One of Tony's brothers Chris, has been interned in Long Kesh since 1973. His other brother Liam aged 17 was serving his apprenticeship as a painter and decorator, when Tony was jailed.

A few days after Tony and Michael

went on hunger strike, the British Army arrested Liam while he was at work and charged him with attempted murder of 7 British soldiers! The foot patrol had come under fire during the time Liam was painting a house in a different area of Belfast!

The hunger strike succeeded in getting Tony, Michael and 98 other short term prisoners released. But not so Liam Canavan. He was remanded for 15 MONTHS awaiting her majesty's pleasure; he was finally brought to trial last week charged with four offences. They were: (1) Attempted murder of 7 British soldiers; (2) possession of weapons; (3) possession with intent; (4) membership of an illegal organisation. All charges were proffered without a shred of evidence to substantiate them. Needless to say, Liam got off on

all counts (even the corrupt legal system in the 6 Cos. couldn't muster enough evidence to convict him)

Despite the fact that Liam's employer came forward to testify as to his whereabouts, he was remanded in custody to Crumlin Rd. prison, pending his trial. This then left Mr. & Mrs. Canavan with three sons behind bars. Along with having to divide visits between Long Kesh and Crumlin Road, the Canavan home was continually subjected to British Army raids. and was released immediately.

His position now is that as he was unable to complete his apprenticeship due to his imprisonment he has no chance of taking it up where he left off. Also, having been in prison ruins his chances of ever getting any sort of decent employment again.

The loss of wages he would have earned over the 15 months will not be recouped.

Liam Canavan's case is no exception. There are many young men on remand in Crumlin Rd. jail on trumped up charges. The object of this British tactics, is not to "get the terrorists behind bars" but to erode the spirit of the anti-unionist/anti-imperialist families.

Unfortunately for the oppressors repression breeds resistance rather than submission. A look at the history of this state shows how the repression of discrimination and 2nd class citizenship, bred the resistance of the I.R.A. and the Peoples Democracy, the resistance which will achieve an end to that repression by the implementing of a 32 cos. workers republic.

BEHIND WAGE CUTS AND THE DOLE QUEUE Ireland and the World outlook

World Capitalism is on the threshold of an economic crisis unprecedented in depth and scope in its history which is replete with slumps and crises.

The capitalist economy, from about the middle of the 19th century developed in fits and starts. Periods of prosperity, of the rapid development of industry and commerce had, as their inevitable sequel, periods of stagnation of trade and industry, and a consequent rise in unemployment and bankruptcies. This cycle of boom and slump tended to repeat itself every decade.

During the 19th Century these economic convulsions affected the economics of one or several capitalistically developed countries; only they were national in character. But with the creation of the world market, with the intensification of trade between countries and the emergence of international combines, the economic disasters simultaneously affected an even greater number of countries. Crisis became international and began to embrace the whole capitalist world.

These crisis were crisis of over-production, the capacity of the industries of the handful of developed capitalist countries to produce had outpaced the capacities of their own internal markets to absorb that production. A way out of this impasse was discovered by being characterised more by a ruthless resourcefulness than by social scruples. All those countries, whole continents no less than the smallest islands, where capitalism had not yet taken root, were forcibly taken over and made part of the various western Empires. Thus arose the phenomena of capitalist imperialism.

Then began the extraction of the native raw materials, rubber, cotton, coffee and the like and their shipment to the imperialist economies (e.g. England and America) where they were processed by the capitalist enterprises. The native population became consumers of the commodities manufactured in the capitalist countries.

This process was not accomplished without hundreds of colonial wars, or without the destruction of the native economies or massacre and slaughter of native populations so that Western imperialism came into the world, in Marx's phrase 'covered from head to toe in blood and dirt'.

This expropriation of the non-white races was accompanied by trade wars between the European countries and colonies changed hands many times. Despite these millions of extra consumers for the products of Western industry, economic crisis became more severe and their effects became more widespread. This period culminated in the "Wall St. Crash" of 1929. This slump of unprecedented magnitude threw tens of millions out of work in Europe and the U.S.A. (12 million in the USA), brought economic ruin to millions of farmers and small manufacturers and, what is not generally known, had even more disastrous effects in the colonies than in the developed capitalist countries. The slump lasted throughout the 1930's and, in the capitalist world (the economy of the U.S.S.R. was unaffected then, as now, by the economic crisis of world capitalism) ushered in a period of political crisis and nourished the growth and consolidation of Fascism in a number of European countries.

Fascism was the legitimate offspring

of capitalism and of the 'World' slump, as was the World War of 1939-'45.

The Irish economy is closely integrated into the world capitalist economy and its fate is absolutely bound up with the fate of the latter. The post-war economy went from strength to strength when capitalism recovered from its crises, and apart from a number of minor recessions there was uninterrupted economic growth. The supporters of capitalism rejoiced at the apparent success of state intervention in economic life. Slumps were declared to be a thing of the past and Marxist economic criticism consigned to the museum of antiquities. **The present growing crisis has taken these people by the throat and wiped the sunny grins off their faces!**

It is characteristic of bourgeois politicians and journalists that they should try to conceal the fact that it is private enterprise capitalism that has produced the crises. High-sounding references to difficulties in the "international economy", "fiscal problems"; "balance of payment problems" or "factors outside of our control" should fool no one. All of "our" woes are blamed on the fuel crises as though the economics of the Arab states were not capitalist and a component part of the world capitalist economy.

All such talk is in essence a confidence trick to pull the wool over peoples eyes and to obscure the fact that capitalism by its nature produces crisis and will do so as long as it exists. Such statements are also the prelude to attempts to make the working class and the petty bourgeoisie shoulder the burden by accepting cuts in living standards via the politics of wage restraints, higher

taxation, indirect taxation, V.A.T. "Social Contracts" and the like.

In order to make this bitter pill more palatable, to convince the people of the necessity of accepting the burden it is given out that "rises in wages will make 'our' goods non-competitive in export markets", that "profits must be increased in order to increase investment and, by raising productivity reduce prices and make 'us' more competitive". The Central Bank issues such statements from time to time and they are immediately seized upon and given maximum publicity in the newspapers and television. The entire affairs is carefully co-ordinated and orchestrated and provides a useful bolt-hole for the trade union leadership to prostrate themselves before the Federated Union of Employers and capitalist politicians and double cross the rank and file trade unionist.

Our answer to the F.U.E. and to their hired prize fighters in the Dail is: "It is your economy, your problems, accumulated under your management. Your system under your management has produced the crises. Shoulder the burden yourself"

"Here it is not a question of workers making endless sacrifices in order to make YOUR business competitive and allowing YOU to pile up profits at our expense. If your businesses and your economy, under your stewardship, can only function at our expense then it is time to make an end of it!"

The welfare of the Irish working class can only be guaranteed after they have expropriated the capitalists and established workers control of industry. This will be Socialism.

LONG KESH PROTESTS MUST NOT BE USED AS A SOP TO LOYALISM

For almost four weeks now a series of protests have been mounted to draw attention to the plight of those men at present incarcerated in Long Kesh. Initially the protests were by the prisoners themselves and were directly related to the enormous deterioration of the food being served to the men (often rotten and always stone cold) as well as to the general conditions within the individual huts (filthy bed clothes and ludicrous sanitary arrangements).

Within a few days the protests were taken up outside Long Kesh and a series of roadblocking operations mounted within the Belfast city centre areas at important road junctions seemed to indicate that a determined campaign in support of the internee's legitimate demands was about to be launched.

To follow up the roadblocking operations a march to the city centre of Belfast was organised. At first it wasn't clear who was behind this move but eventually it became obvious that the Official Republicans, through several Republican Clubs in Belfast, were the main organisers. The Officials used the tense situation which existed then, to rally support for a march which everyone was led to believe would be as militant, vocal and successful as had been the roadblocking operations.

As it turned out neither proved to be the case and the marches (there were eventually two of them) actually destroyed whatever faith people had in the street protests helping the men in Long Kesh, at least for the present. To actually 'lead' the first march the Officials formed a 'United Belfast Workers Association' (an excellent idea: it consisted of most of the workers on sites and in factories around the Falls Rd. area). But although the idea of forming such a group to lead the protest march to Belfast City Hall was excellent, the actual tactics which the Officials advocated should be used by the 'United Workers Association' were disastrous. Taking into consideration the reformist nature of the Officials and the fact that they have leaned over backwards to appease the sectarian thugs of the Loyalist para-military organisations like the U.D.A. and U.V.F. it is still hard to envisage why they should have openly advocated the following tactics:

Both marches in many ways resembled funeral marches going down the Falls Rd. Not one slogan was raised apart from a few cries of

'Long Kesh Food Stinks'. The marchers were claimed as non-political by their organisers!!! (who were mostly Officials). No organisation banners were allowed to be carried. Many P.D. members on the marches were threatened by stewards for shouting political slogans and trying to raise the level of politics on the marches.

The first march was claimed a success by the Officials because it reached its objective (the City Hall Belfast). But whatever success they felt had been gained didn't certainly reflect itself in the eyes of the authorities who were surprised in many ways by the timidity of the marchers and their lack of political direction — given their large number and the obvious support they had among the anti-Unionist people.

The reaction of the RUC and Army to the second march certainly proved that. The confidently blocked the march at Castle Street around ½ mile away from the City Hall knowing full well that there was little chance of a confrontation between themselves and the marchers. As it was the vast bulk of the march which numbered well over 1,000 workers merely drifted away on being blocked by the army. The general attitude dominating the march was "Whats the bloody use of bothering, when the organisers don't seem to be bothering themselves". As it was however, the Officials WERE bothering but for the WRONG reasons and certainly not with the internees in mind.

They saw the protests as another enormous sop to the Loyalists especially at a time when they are about to field 5 candidates in the Westminster elections and are breaking their necks to attract Loyalist votes where possible. This point can be easily proved. A few days after the second march the Loyalist detainees and internees inside Long Kesh stopped their protests after a deal had been done with them by the Authorities over the heads of the Republican prisoners who were still protesting. Immediately the protests organised by the Officials stopped. They had advised what they wanted. They had exploited a highly emotional situation to their own advantage at the expense of men who in the main are members of the 'Provisionals'. They had done this to court Loyalist opinion and win political credibility among the Unionist ranks.

However they had also



unfortunately ideologically disarmed those anti-Unionists involved in the protests and made a determined effort to lower the level of politics involved. To do all this at a time when the anti-Unionist population is facing

virtual extinction at the hands of Loyalist fascism is to say the least incredible for an organisation which claims to be pro-Republican and anti-fascist.

P.D. BOOKS

"Songs from the Barricades"

published by Peoples Democracy, has a selection of 26 of the most popular street ballads based on the Irish struggle up to the present day. Included are such songs as "Jack Lynch's Army", "Bogside Man", "Broad Black Brimmer", "Tom Williams", "Over the Wall", etc. etc. Price 25p; or 31p post paid from Connolly Bookshop

"Blood in the Street"

There are only a few copies of this book left. This is an account of the events of Bloody Sunday by two eye witnesses Fulvio Grimaldi and Susan North. Price 40p; or 48p post paid from Connolly Bookshop

"Battle for Algeria"

The story of the Algerian fight for Independence, how the Algerian people won political freedom from the French Colonialists after a long and bitter struggle very similar to that which is being waged in Ireland against Britain to-day. The book, written by P.D. member Michael Farrell, concludes with a chapter on the similarities between the Algerian and Irish situations. Price 15p; or 21p post paid from Connolly Bookshop.

"Behind the Wire"

The personal accounts of life in British prison and concentration camps in Northern Ireland by two members of Peoples Democracy. Phil Mc

Cullagh describes the mind-wrecking boredom and terror of the daily routine in Long Kesh where he has been interned without trial since August 1971. Michael Farrell describes the course of his and Tony Canavan's hunger strike ordeal in Crumlin Road Jail while sentenced on a trumped up charge of breaking a law that only Orange and UDA men are allowed to break. Order now from Unfree Citizen sellers or from Connolly Bookshop.

"Struggle in the North"

The first edition of this pamphlet produced and published by P.D. was issued in 1969, the second in 1972. It covers the background to the present conflict in Ireland and deals with the various stages of the struggle from 1969-1972. It is essential reading to anyone wishing to understand the present situation. Price 15p; or 21p post paid from Connolly Bookshop

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5' x 3' - £1.00

UNFREE CITIZEN

We regret that the Yearly subscription rate to "Unfree Citizen" has been raised to £4.25 per year. This is due to increased paper, printing and postal costs.

CENSORED!

There are many things which aren't reported in the news media. Things which might embarrass the 26 Co. government and which might embarrass the British Army Press Officer. One of these occurred a fortnight ago.

Dublin Airport picked up an emergency "May Day" message — from a British Army helicopter on the Louth border. It had been hit by ground fire from the Provisional I.R.A. and was forced to make a crash landing in a field. Yet not a word was heard about it on radio or T.V. or in the papers.

PERSONAL INFORMATION?

When a youth was arrested in connection with an arms charge his parents were also lifted and interrogated for several hours. During the course of the interrogation the parents were asked about their political persuasions. When both refused to commit themselves, they were informed as to how they had voted over the issue of the Border Referendum in March 1973!

Who says that Orwell was a fictitious writer??



For over 5 years now the people of the 26 Counties have been listening to the day by day account of the war going on in the North. Every news bulletin carries an account of some incident which has taken place in an area in one of the 6 Counties. Places like, Andersonstown, The Falls, Bogside, and Creggan are nearly as familiar as O'Connell St., Henry St., Ballyfermot, Coolock etc. to the people in the 26 Counties. But most people in the south have never been to the Falls, the Bogside or Andersonstown.

'Unfree Citizen' over the next couple of months will be carrying a series of articles on some of the Catholic ghettos at war in the 6 Counties, written by P.D. members living in these areas. This is an attempt to show what life is like in areas where the people have taken up the struggle against British Army occupation and Loyalist terror. It is an attempt to show geographically through the maps and illustrations where these areas are situated in Belfast in relation to Loyalist areas. The Press, Radio and Television in the South are completely controlled by Conor Cruise O'Brien and the Government, therefore the reasons for the war are constantly being hidden and overlooked in the decision by the State to concentrate only on discrediting those who are daily risking their lives in their fight for justice and equality.

The first articles of this series is written about St. James's which is situated off the Falls Road.

St. James's is a small working class area just off the Upper Falls Road in Belfast. It is hemmed in by the M1 motorway in the South which also separates it from the Loyalist "Village" area and the Falls Road to the North, Donegall Road to the East and the Bog Meadows to the West.

High unemployment

This area like all other Catholic ghetto areas has always had a high unemployment rate. Like so many other depressed areas the people had resigned themselves to their fate — unemployment, emmigration, the crumbs left over by the Orange Ruling Class. But the years 68'—69 brought an end to that frame of mind. The youth were determined not to accept the servility that their parents had had to.

The early civil rights marches politicised the people of St. James's as indeed it has the people all over the North. The curtain was torn from the evil face of Orange politics. They saw before them clearly for the first time, the monster that had to be destroyed. The people of St. James's have played their part in the struggle to do just that.

Cost of the struggle

From the five small streets that comprise the area almost fifty men are behind bars, some interned, others serving jail sentences. This has been a heavy price to pay for such a small area but it has not crushed the spirit of the people — they continue to resist the daily (hourly) harassment of the British

army thugs in whatever way they can.

It is very fashionable to say that the people of the North thrive on rubber bullets and riots. It is NOT a game that is played, people don't face up to lethal weapons for nothing; children don't throw stones at the British Army for nothing. — If your father or mother, brother or sister, are rotting in some British hell-holes they call prisons, and you have been exploited and trodden on, then every riot and stone become political weapons. They are a symbol of the working classes struggle for justice.

Loyalist attacks on St. James's

Since '69 a number of attacks have been launched against the area by the UVF/UDA. The sheer fire power of their attacks gives a lie to the British army claim of impartial arms searches. During the U.W.C. (Ulster Workers Council) Loyalist strike, arms were openly displayed behind the erected barricades on the UVF/UDA side.

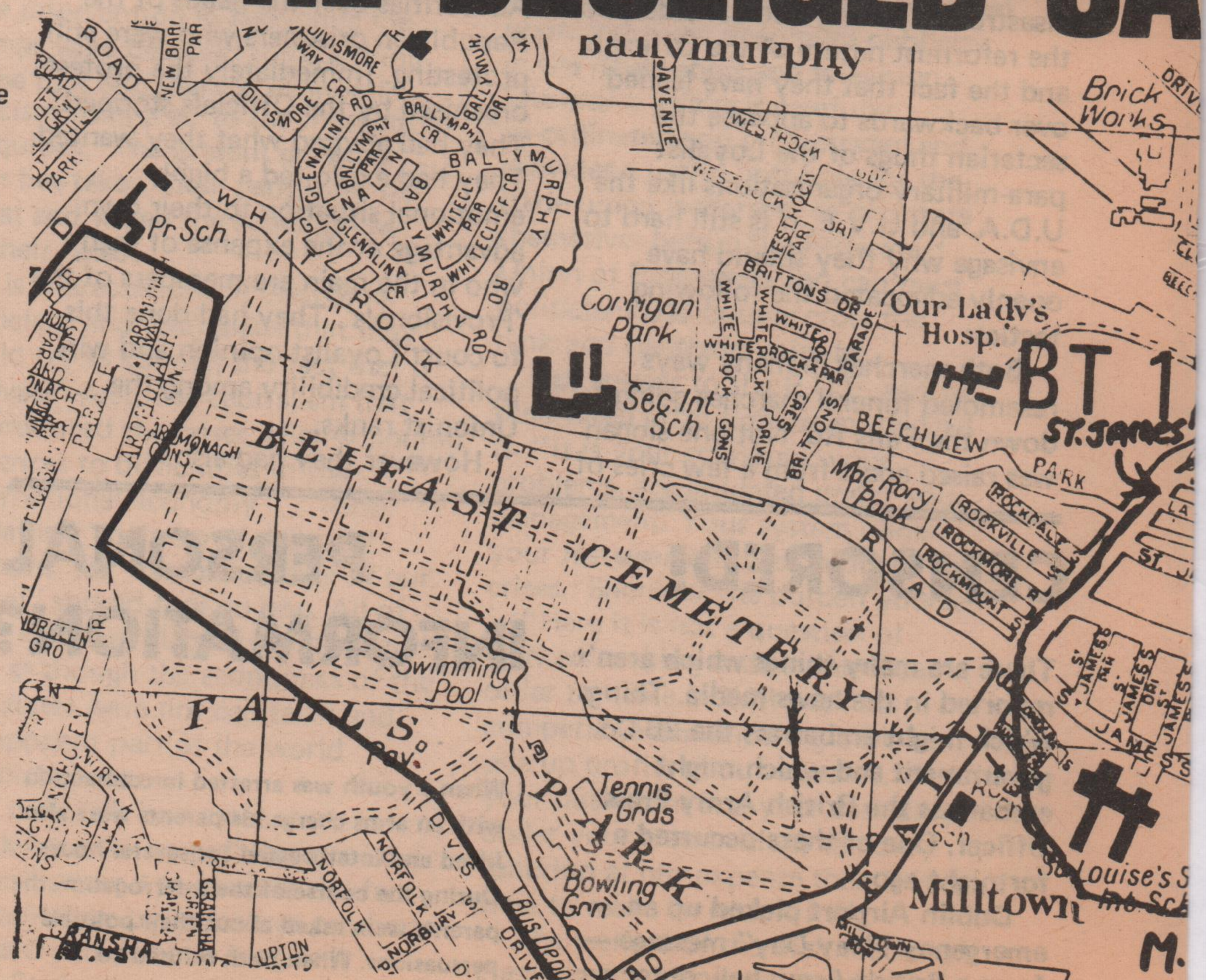
During these attacks the B.A.s role was to fire into the Catholic area St. James's from behind — thus the Catholics were caught in a cross fire. But despite this extra difficulty the area was always successfully defended without loss of life.

Murders and Tragedy

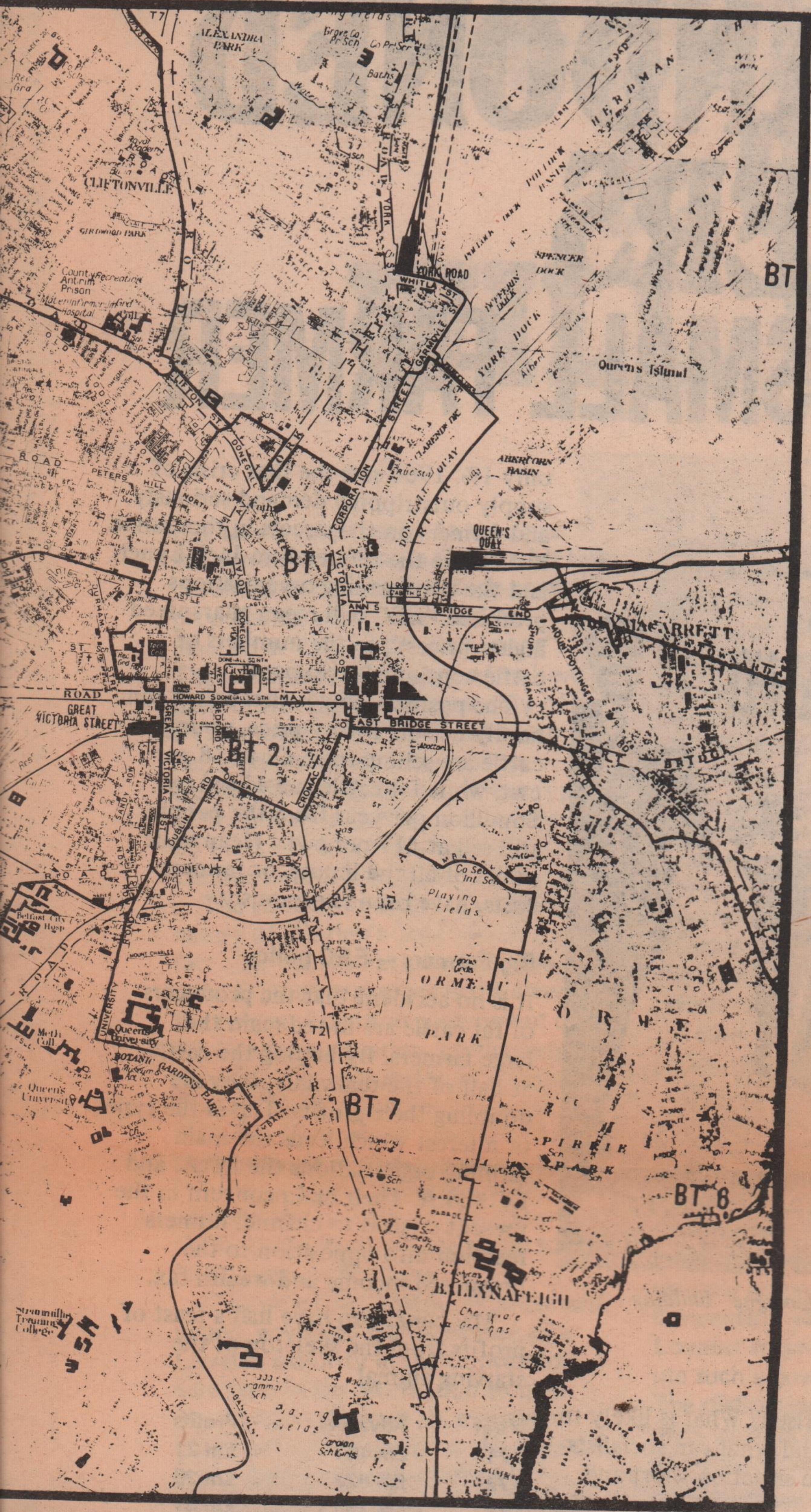
As I write this article the Royal Green Jackets are moving in for another tour of duty in the area. This regiment was responsible for a particularly cold-blooded and brutal murder. This was the murder of



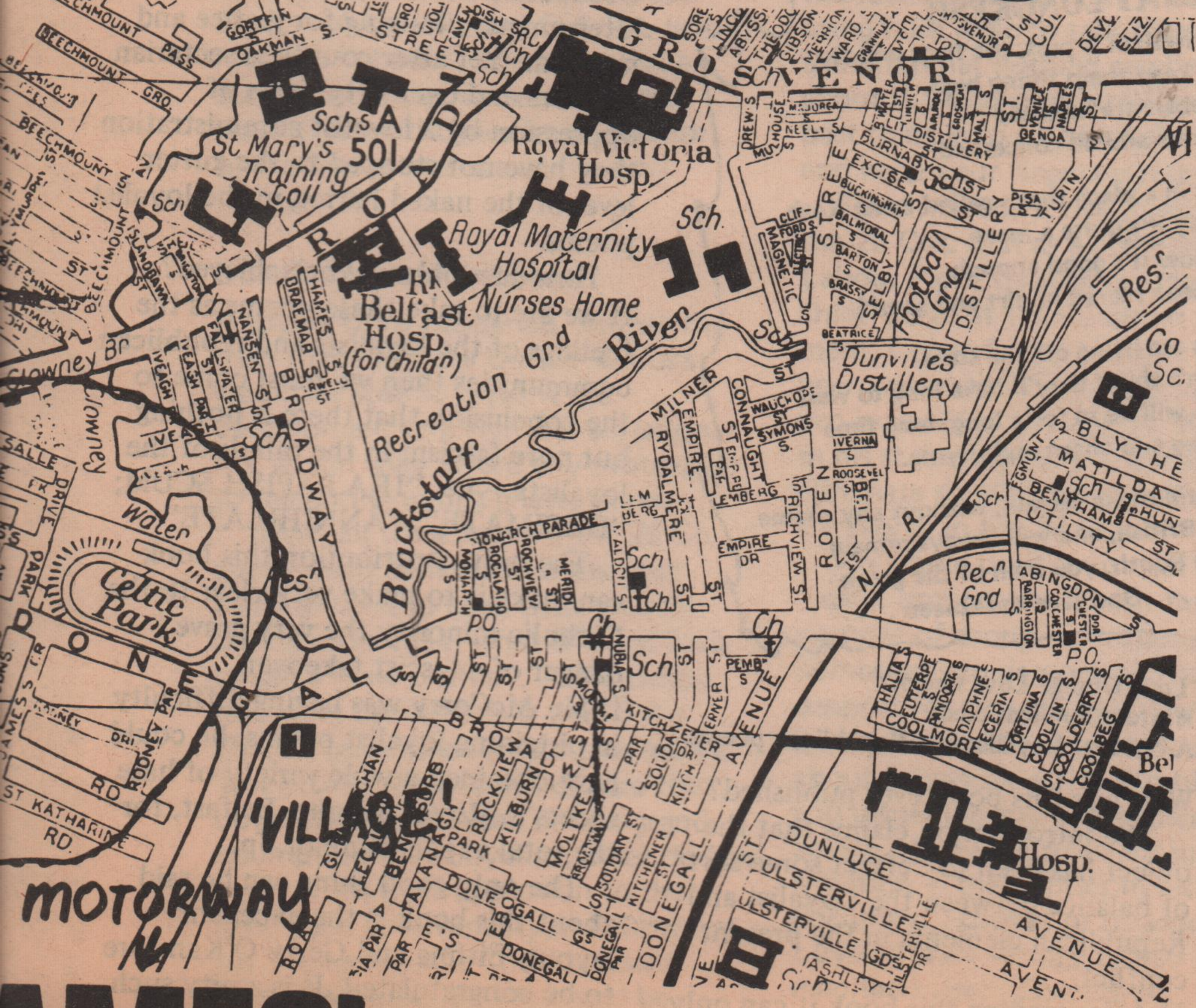
BELFAST THE BESEIGED CATHOLIC



ST. JAMES'S



EAST: CATHOLIC GHETTOS



JAMES'



young Daniel Rooney as he stood on the street corner with his friend. An unmarked car with plain clothes soldiers in it shot him to death at point blank range. His friend who was with him was also seriously injured. The regiment's commanding officer said that his men were responsible commenting "They got their just deserts". Of course the British propaganda machine both in England and the 26 Cos. poured forth the lie that the boys had been armed, but the people of St. James's know that this was not true. They know murder when they see it and that is what it was.

Sectarian murders

Sectarian assassins have also murdered two people from St. James's, both young boys. The first was a youth named Walterson whose mother had a small shop on the Falls Road at the junction with the Donegall Road. He was standing outside his mothers shop when a car sped past and sprayed the boys with bullets. Young Walterson fell mortally wounded and his friend was also shot and seriously injured. The car sped down the Donegall Road and into the nearby ("Village") Loyalist area.

There have been a number of other attempted murders from cars but fortunately no one has been hurt. But it leaves the people in the area living on their nerves, in constant dread of being assassinated. Loyalist gunmen seem to have a free hand to roam Catholic areas heavily armed. The British Army seem to conveniently disappear during the time these outrages are perpetrated but are soon back harrassing the people as is their normal procedure.

The other young boy who was murdered in the most ghastly way was called Anthony McGrady. Not long left school Anthony McGrady. Not long left school Anthony was working in his first job as an apprentice motor mechanic in a small garage on the Cliftonville Road. The assassin's entered the garage shot dead Anthony and two other men, then tied their bodies to a car in which they planted a bomb.

This type of sadistic murder has been the fate of hundreds of

Catholics in Belfast. Murders and tortures, so gruesome that the details have never been made public. The people who carry out these murders are the "friends" that some organisations claiming to be socialist and republican, want to talk to and compromise with. What they would talk about is something that could be wondered about.

One other death in the area was that of a young newly married Provisional Republican supporter, Francis Liggett, who was shot dead inside the Royal Victoria Hospital, after a robbery in the hospital. The Royal Victoria Hospital must have the rare distinction of being the only hospital in the world to have more armed soldiers in it than patients. Of course it has always been British policy to build their barracks in schools, hospitals or in densely populated areas. The idea being that they cannot be easily attacked in these places.

The spirit of St. James's

The people of St. James's have endured much, particularly over the last few years. The daily harrassment goes on day in, day out, designed to wear down and break the spirit of the people. But the spirit of the people in St. James's, as in all the besieged Catholic areas in Belfast, is a proud, defiant spirit — they will not crack under the pressure and the B.A. now realise that fact. That once boastful army that came to the North to put down a "few troublemakers" have seen that their tactics, which they have used all over the world, are not working. They are a beaten army whose ranks have been depleted by low recruitment, men buying themselves out, desertions and the pressure is on to withdraw to save face.

St. James's is an area where people have risen up to fight the injustice that has kept them second class citizens for so long, the people there realise that the system under which they have lived is rotten and must be destroyed. It can be truly said of St. James's that "Resistance Lives".

THE MOST ABANDONED OF WORKERS

A SERIES ON THE IRISH SMALL FARMER

PART 2 — continued from last week:

The fate of the country's farmers since 1900 has been one of slow and painful exodus. 50% of the population were farming then, now the figures is around 24%.

A decline in the importance of food, relative to consumer goods with the growth of capitalism, plus England's policy of cheap food from anywhere in the world, has left small-farmers and farm labourers the longest working and poorest paid section of the entire Irish working class.

At the same time there was the very real demand for food by the workers and by the poor in towns, as there is by half of the world's population today, but since that demand could not be backed by hard cash it was then, as it is today, futile.

The few brief periods when the Free State was forced to take into hand the production and distribution of food, during the economic war and the second world war, form an interesting contrast to the system adopted by Lenin in his book "The economic content of narodism", of sharing all the available food, giving priority to children, mothers, the wounded and the ailing — a programme which saved the lives of millions of people. Contrast that with capitalism's system as defined by Boyd-Orr, first director general of the F.A.O.:

"The aim of western civilisations is not to produce the quantity of food necessary to satisfy human needs but rather that which can be sold at a profit"

The present crisis

Taking Ireland in the context of



Irish farmers demonstrating outside the E.E.C. "Charlemagne" building

Western civilisation's priority of PROFIT not FOOD, it is not surprising that there have been periods of relative boom and severe depression for practically every commodity produced in agriculture.

The spectacle of HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF YOUNG CATTLE STARVING TO DEATH over the next few months and thousands of farmers emigrating in mass would be a horrible nightmare, even by Irish standards of emigration and depression. How has

this situation arisen? What is likely to be its result? And what can socialists do to effect the situation short and long term?

The immediate roots of the present situation are set in the 'Calved Heifer Scheme' of 1963, the 'Beef Incentive Scheme' of 1969 and the entry to the EEC of 1972, all of which encouraged the expansion of cattle numbers. The result, Irish cattle numbers increased by 6% annually, while the capacity to carry them increased by

only 1%. 1966 saw the first crisis of supply outstripping demand seriously and farmers on the streets in thousands. But before the referendum Jack Lynch and the two farming organisations promised "EEC will mean guaranteed higher prices", so the numbers of cattle continued to expand.

The position now is that calves can hardly be sold at any price, young cattle are selling from £2 to £8 per cwt, while fat cattle subsidised by £6million per year from the people, still sell at £17 per cwt. ! Meanwhile prices of all the inputs, or farmers costs, have risen enormously.

Big Farmers — EEC policy

It is no accident that the producers of fat cattle are in the main the large farmers. By buying the cattle at half of the real value, they are doubling their profits. This is the type of interest which leads the main farming organisations the I.F.A. and I.C.M.S.A. Their main concern in the present crisis is to channel farmers' reaction into opposition to the proposed income and wealth tax.

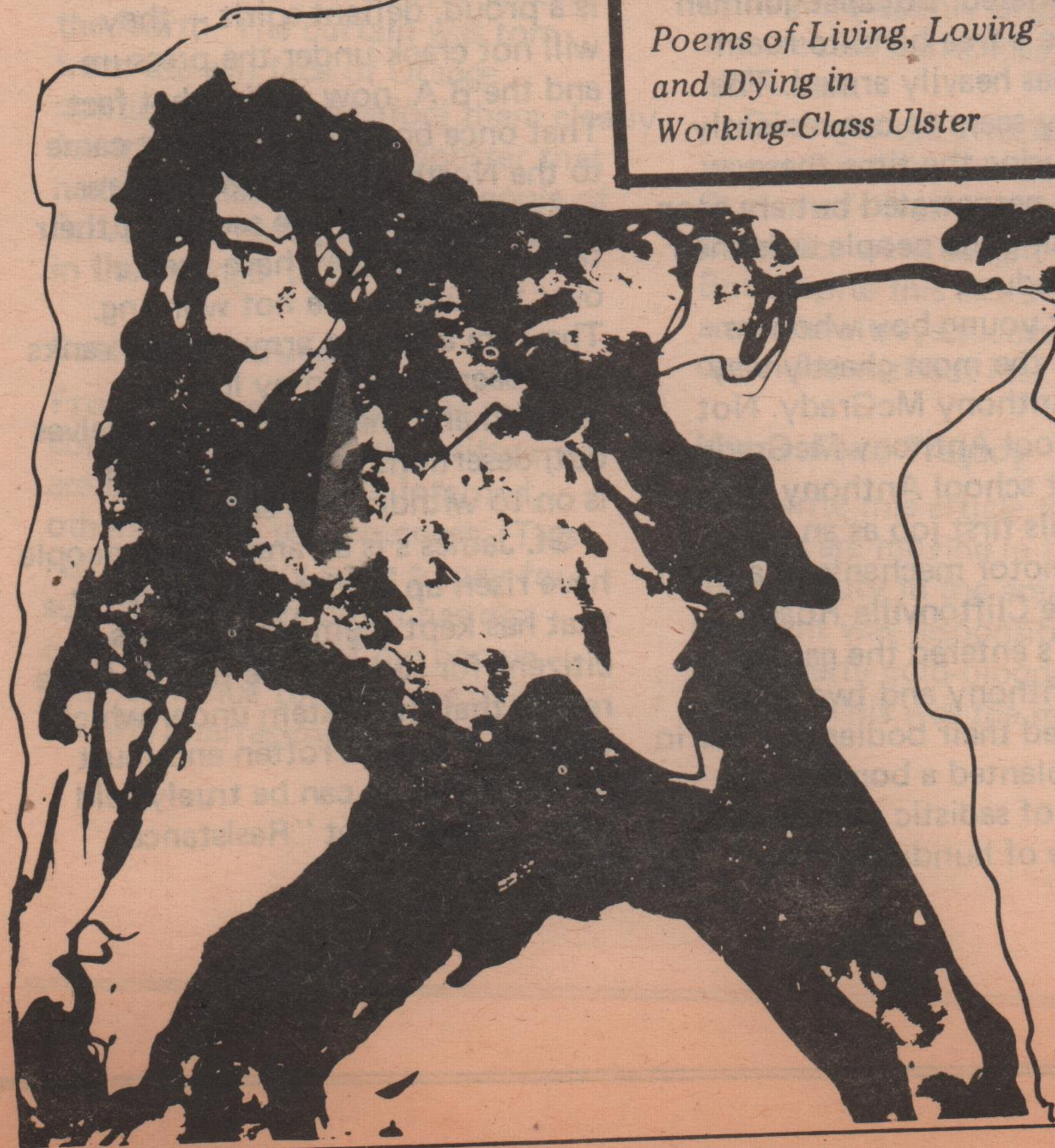
The banks too have had a feast of profits from the skeleton of the starving animal.

Year	Advances	Profits
71	£m 461	£m 21
72	£m 623	£m 28
73	£m 734	£m 41 *

* R. Crotty

From the viewpoint of the government and the EEC the market forces are an excellent method of "persuading" small farmers to leave the land, precisely in line with their farm modernisation scheme which up to now was virtually ignored.

Book Review



Poems of Living, Loving
and Dying in
Working-Class Ulster

REBELS AT LONGKESH

Though the twelfth is past, the flags will fly,
And we will keep them flying high,
Till all the rebels are interned
With all the rats and all concerned.

They're kept in a place that's called Long Kesh,
The rebel's say it's quite a mess,
But we all know it's good enough
For they've been reared in dirt and scruff.

Their families are living off the state
The wives don't think they'll have long to wait
But their men will be in for a long, long time
So they can beg and chant and rhyme.

Now we will still make certain, without any shame
That Ulster is British, and will always remain
So back to the South, you men of the green
Ulster is ours . . . God save the Queen . . .

'Love Orange Love Green'.
Whitcor Publications.
A book of Loyalist and Republican poems.

Why was this book ever published?

The introduction claims that the object has been to "effect some sort of balance between the Loyalist and Republican elements in the present conflict."

After reading this book it can only be said that Mr. McCorry defeated his own purpose. There is no balance between the two communities.

Poems from the Catholic anti-imperialist community reflect the feelings

against the Tyranny of British Occupation in Ireland; hatred of internment; a longing for justice and freedom. Yet after countless sectarian murders and over fifty years of oppression by a loyalist administration they have not stooped to the gutter level of the naked hatred in the loyalist poems.

How can 'balance' be achieved? If we are to take these poems as the feelings of the loyalists and republican communities then we must come to the conclusion that there is nothing but pure fascism in the minds of the loyalists — i.e. "IRA PAPIISH SCUM; "DECIMATE"; "ANNIHILATE".

The only contribution this book can make is to make very clear to the Catholic minority the very grave danger of a fascist takeover. If Mr. McCorry was having difficulty in obtaining loyalist poems, he could have obtained a wide variety of hate sheets in Royal Avenue, Belfast, for the total expenditure of 5p.

The only good thing can be said about this book is the excellent layout. Eithna and Gerry O'Kane are to be congratulated. It is a pity such a good work was associated with such trash.

To conclude—just what sort of warped political thinking is behind the publishers of this book?

CRUISE O'BRIEN & COALITION WILL STAND IDLY BY

In a spectacular "leak" to the press last week Conor Cruise O'Brien hit the headlines with a piece of high-powered propaganda which was quickly labelled a "Doomsday Document". The document was supposed to have been drawn up for the eyes only of the 31 members of the 26 Cos. Labour Party administrative Council to answer points raised in a similar type of document delivered to the same body by the Liaison Committee of the Labour Left last August.

The controversial and confidential nature of O'Brien's 'leak' lies in the fact that the "secret papers" contain what O'Brien maintains is the view of the present Coalition government on the Northern situation, particularly in regard to the probability of a Loyalist seizure of State power and a resulting civil war. Somewhere along the line, somebody, (and that somebody does not exclude Mr. O'Brien himself) revealed the contents of the paper to the National Press where it duly hit the front pages with a bang.

O'Brien's line, "scenario" in current jargon, envisages the likelihood of a Loyalist majority in the Convention Elections in the North, due to take place within the next six months. With such a clear majority the loyalists could then go ahead and form a "provisional government" and legalise the fascist para-military bodies as the official security forces of the new loyalist state.

This new state of affairs would either be agreed to by the British or they would be forced to react by confronting the new security forces with the British Army. In either situation the British would be forced to withdraw, either through lack of political will or lacking the physical capacity to take on these combined Loyalist forces. Such a withdrawal, says O'Brien, would not be a "phased" operation but a speedy retreat across the Irish sea, leaving the anti-Unionist population to the tender mercies of the new "B-men".

Irish Army would sit back

If such a thing happened, neither the Irish Army nor the United Nations would be able to prevent the development of a civil war situation nor would they afford any protection to the anti-Unionist ghetto areas.

Given all these factors, the 26 Co. government believes that the best thing to do is to keep their mouths shut and maintain what O'Brien likes to call a "low profile". The spurious reasoning behind this is that if the 26 Cos. government maintains such a 'low profile' then it will deflate the Loyalists (this is based on the grand assumption that Loyalist power derives solely from their opposition to the Free State government) and allow for the emergence of a "non-Loyalist Protestant vote" which would be much more amenable to the "Sunningdale-type solution". O'Brien

himself more or less admits this is a bit of a gamble since he provides no proof that even if such a vote ever existed, or still exists, that it does so in sufficient strength to neutralise the Loyalist threat. However, not to be outdone, O'Brien says that if after all this "keeping mum" and adopting low profiles all over the place, that a Loyalist vote does emerge (something which he admits in his own academic way as a near certainty in the first part of his argument) then what the British should do is to dissolve the Convention and state that there must be power-sharing and no return to the "B" Specials — This is the sum total of the O'Brien-Coalition policy on the North!

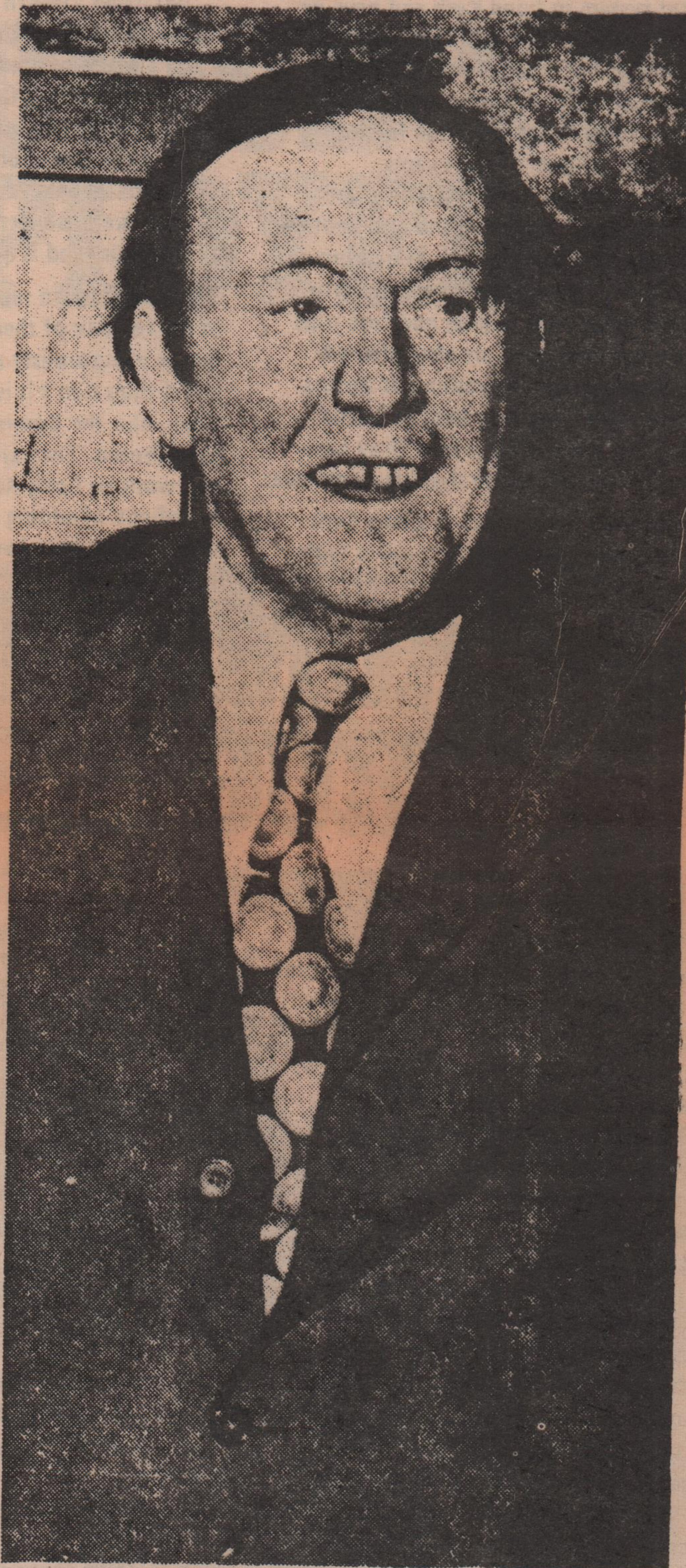
If we are to follow the logic of the Dr.'s own line of argument, then there is scant little different between the British being drawn into a confrontation with a Loyalist Provisional Government (deriving from a Loyalist majority in the Convention) and actually going in and dissolving the Convention which contains that Loyalist majority, who would constitute such a government in all but name. The distinction between the two lines rests, as does most of O'Brien's political arguments, on academic or constitutional niceties.

Reasons for leaking document

If we accept that the end results amount to the same whichever way you look at it, then the weight of O'Brien's argument lies in allowing a Loyalist takeover to happen with a resulting civil war and DO NOTHING ABOUT IT! The 'leak' of the document can only have been designed to depress and terrorise people with the fact of a Doomsday situation and using false logic to talk them into thinking that nothing can be done about it. According to O'Brien the best thing is to sit down, keep quiet and keep your fingers crossed!

Since his recent rise to power in the 26 Cos. first as a prominent Labour Party spokesman then as chief 'guru' of the Coalition government. Conor Cruise O'Brien has been more than consistent in his pro-imperialist line and furthermore in his stated aim to neutralise and eliminate support for the struggle in the North in the 26 Cos.

His whole position is that of an "agent provocateur" with the purpose of dropping propaganda bombshells to demoralise potential support for that struggle. By playing on the natural fears of the people about large-scale strife and bloodshed and dispelling any confidence in the ability of anyone to effect such a situation — the politics in his 'secret document' consist of bowing to a Loyalist state victory before it even manifests itself. Objectively, he must be seen as peddling the same line as those Loyalist politicians and para-military groups themselves.



BRIBERY OR CONSCRIPTION?

With millions of pounds having been spent on developing the 26 Co. 'Army' and with a huge rise in unemployment now taking place the Defence Minister Patrick Sarsfield Donegan, made the amazing statement last weekend that "there is no need for any able-bodied young man to be unemployed — he can get a good job in the army".

It seems that Donegan and the coalition

are going to tackle the unemployment crisis, and the political unrest all over the country — with enticing many of the unemployed into the army — and using the army to silence the protests of the res.

How long now before we'll have the army used as police against strikes and unemployed — or how long before we have some class of conscription?

I.C.R.A. DENIAL

THE DUBLIN COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH CIVIL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION WISHES TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT DISASSOCIATES ITSELF FROM THE ICRA (BRITAIN) CAMPAIGN TO RUN CANDIDATES IN THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION. WE ARE INFORMED BY OUR EXECUTIVE THAT THIS ACTION WAS TAKEN WITHOUT CONSULTATION WITH THEM.

LONG KESH MONEY RACKET

The protests and demonstrations of the past few weeks have highlighted what most of us have known for some time – that conditions in Long Kesh Internment Camp are deplorable and that the prisoners' food is not only inedible but also completely insufficient unless supplemented by food parcels from outside.

However, we are able to report that one group at least is quite content with the present system in Long Kesh and have no desire to see any changes. That group is the legal profession – namely the Long Kesh Commissioners, and the lawyers who 'represent' the internees at the farcical showpiece 'reviews' of their cases.

The Long Kesh 'Commissioners' are judges imported from England and Scotland to give the barbarous system of internment some show of legality and respectability. They are given huge salaries and free trips home every week, and are also allowed a blank cheque for entertainment during whatever little time they have to spend inside Long Kesh. This is how they have used and continue to use that blank cheque:

* When they first arrived in Long Kesh they found that the dining-room table

seated six people (that is the dining room for the Legal profession etc.). They immediately bought a table seating twenty-six people – and invited the whole of the Officers Mess for drinks! In three nights lavish entertainment they spent £600 of public money i.e. as much as would "feed" 300 prisoners for a week.

* The Long Kesh Commissioners and whatever Lisburn Army H.Q. friends happen to drop in, drink on average 27 bottles of brandy per week.

* The Long Kesh Commissioners live on a diet which consists almost exclusively of caviar and avocado pears – yet these are the people who are first to tell you that the prisoners' badly prepared inedible food is quite sufficient.

The lawyers who represent the internees at the reviews of their cases, do not perhaps live as sumptuously as the Commissioners, but if they don't it isn't for want of money. They, like the Commissioners are imported Englishmen. They are induced to come and work in Long Kesh by the simple expedient of adding a nought to their normal salary. They have been known to earn as

much as £210 for three hours work; prosecuting councils earn even more. Every time a solicitor visits a client in Long Kesh he receives £7, and most solicitors visit up to twelve clients at a time. And the money is certainly easy. The charge against the defendant is usually very vague, the evidence is hearsay from hidden Special Branchmen or paid informers who cannot be cross-examined, and so a defence is impossible in any case. Needless to say, the supposedly ethical lawyers are tripping over each other trying to get these profitable jobs.

It should be obvious that Long Kesh is not only inhuman and barbaric, but also extremely corrupt. The Commissioners and solicitors in Long Kesh, have, for money, given their support to the British government in maintaining the evils of internment, torture and repressive courts.

But it is important that the ending of internment and repression should not be seen as objectives in themselves. Internment and repression are only symptoms of the root cause of Ireland's problems – British imperialism and 26-County collaboration.

S.D.L.P. & COONEY

back

'Two Nations'

In the last three weeks we have seen further evidence of the total retreat of the Catholic middle-class politicians from the threat of loyalist reaction.

Mr. Paddy Duffy of the SDLP speaking at a meeting in Cookstown, declared that as far as he was concerned, a United Ireland was "a million light years away". He also called for the 26 Co. government to recognise the 6 County state.

Mr. Paddy Cooney, Minister for 'Justice' in the Dublin government, promptly leapt up to prove that when it comes to licking loyalist boots, he would not be outdone. He declared that as an act of conciliation to the loyalists, he was in favour of amending articles 2 & 3 of the Southern Constitution – which contain the meaningless clauses claiming that the 'Republic' has jurisdiction over the 6 Cos.

Although such a change would in practice mean nothing, the political reasoning behind such moves must be challenged. It indicates a complete reluctance to face up to the facts of life in this country.

The Loyalists are intent on bringing back full-scale loyalist power in the North. No amount of meaningless gestures from the 26 Cos. or from the SDLP will change this. The only way to treat such a threat is to face up to it.

The anti-Unionist population must not be beaten in such an onslaught. 26 Co. workers must prepare to ensure that adequate supplies of essential materials for food and defence are available for the Catholic minority ghettos in the North.

**STOP THE RETREAT!
PREPARE NOW!**

THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY – What we stand for

The People's Democracy is a revolutionary socialist organisation, fighting for the establishment of a 32-County Workers Republic in Ireland. In that fight we have learned through our experience of the struggle in the North that there can be no progress made until the age-old problem of the domination and exploitation of Ireland by British imperialism is settled.

We therefore support the war of resistance against British control in the North and have agitated and will continue to agitate, to back up that war – north and south.

Because both states, north and south, are capitalist controlled we recognise that the 26-Co. government – and indeed all the Leinster House Politicians – support Britain in the continuation of partition in Ireland and actively promote this by their policy of repression in the 26 Cos.

Consequently we see that the Struggle for National Liberation and Socialism must be fought here as well.

Our activity is based on our experience and Marxist analyses of the situation in Ireland. We consider the anti-imperialist struggle should be fought to gain the support of the working-class people of Ireland and the People's Democracy pledge themselves to achieving through the struggle for National Liberation – a Workers Republic of Ireland.

IN CRUMLIN JAIL STRUGGLE CONTINUES

One of the places where the struggle in the 6 Cos. reaches its height is in 'A' wing Crumlin Road Jail Belfast. Through absolute determination, through the suffering of heroic men, and through the support of a risen people the men and women of 'A' wing, of Armagh, Long Kesh and Portlaoise, have won major victories against the state, even when imprisoned. The greatest of these achievements is that of political status – the forcing of the state to admit that it holds these men and women because of their political opposition to its rule.

But the state did not grant this willingly and does not mention it willingly. Through every day of imprisonment the struggle goes on. The state continuously in a thousand different ways trying to destroy the prisoners unity and discipline and the prisoners beating every attempt back.

Inside 'A' wing

Entry into 'A' wing presents an immediate contrast to the main prison. Elsewhere the men are reduced to identical objects in the drab prison uniform, marched everywhere at the double by aggressive and arrogant screws. The prisoners of 'A' wing wear civilian clothes. When they march, it is in their own disciplined formations, not those of the State. On entry you are not catalogued or numbered, but

welcomed by the Staff Officers of the prisoners. You then give details of yourself and your arrest, not only to help keep the prisoners informed about the outside world, but to prevent the authorities from planting informers. (They attempt this regularly).

Life in 'A' wing

The first few days in 'A' wing are spent adjusting to the surroundings. They also determine how you will get on with your comrades. Just how quickly you are accepted depends on your reaction to the various practical jokes played on newcomers. It would spoil the joke to give details, but you usually find yourself revealed in various ridiculous positions to the entire population of 'A' wing. Life then becomes a series of routines; lock-up, release from cells, exercise, drill, meals, visits and study. The difference in 'A' wing is that many of the routines have been developed by the prisoners to increase their solidarity and ability to act together, rather than prison routines developed to separate and isolate the prisoner.

A continuous battle

Even this ability to organise is not something that the prison authorities accept easily. Under pressure from the Brits, and with the aid of the screws and mainly

loyalist 'trusties' they continually try to destroy this solidarity. By petty erosion of privileges, by ordering staged provocation by screws, by discreet encouragement of loyalist hatred, the authorities keep up a continuous hunger strike, forcing prisoners to resort to their strongest weapon.

An example was the protection against poison, which involves random selection of food from the kitchen and the assistant governor coming to 'A' wing to taste the food. This elementary protection was only won after several attempted poisonings and a long hunger strike. Again, only a hunger strike and mass support prevented the authorities extending the time spent isolated in the cell.

What we owe

If anyone is entitled to the support of the anti-imperialist working class, it is the Republicans and Socialists imprisoned by the Brits and their collaborators in the 26 Counties. Even prison can be used by revolutionaries to deepen their understanding and increase their discipline, solidarity and dedication to the struggle.

The prisoners have suffered deeply to win political status, the minimum conditions in which they are still able to organise together. They are under continuous pressure and dependent on the continued care and support of the people outside. It is up to us to make sure that they get this.

**JOIN
P.D.
NOW**

If you are interested in joining the People's Democracy and fighting for a 32-County Socialist Republic, fill in the form below and send it to:

Belfast: CONNOLLY BOOKSHOP, AVOCA PARK,
ANDERSONSTOWN RD., BELFAST 11.

London: P. DOHERTY, 134 - 136 KINGSLAND HIGH ST.,
LONDON, E8.

NAME:
ADDRESS: