

# AN EOCHAIR

THE KEY TO TRUE FREEDOM -  
SOCIALISM



A BULLETIN OF THE  
IRISH REPUBLICAN  
MOVEMENT.  
LONG KESH

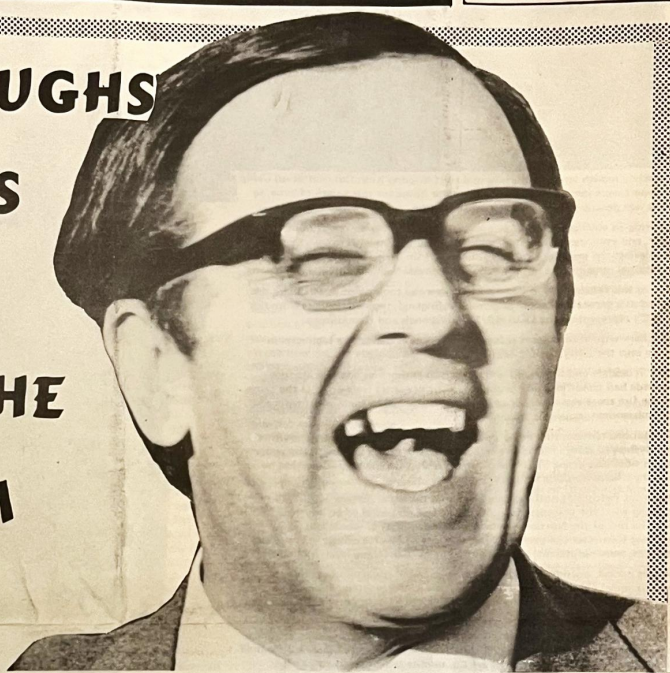
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## New Address

In future all inquiries regarding articles, poems and orders for An Eochair or payment for papers should be sent to Tommy Johnson, 12 C St. Peters Court, Belfast BT12.

**WHILE REES LAUGHS  
AT THE RIGHTS  
OF MAN THE  
MEN BEHIND THE  
WIRE SEND HIM  
THIS MESSAGE**



**“RELEASE  
ALL POLITICAL  
PRISONERS”**

# LONG KESH BURNS THE AFTERMATH



Exactly a month later the burning and riots in Long Kesh Concentration Camp prisoners were moved from the rubble, their home for this length of time, to what was described as temporary accommodation.

Ignoring an emergency situation aggravated by weather extremes of rain, wind, frost, and even snow, the camp authorities had moved with callous slowness to alleviate the prisoner's suffering. Sheets of tin, strips of polythene and the occasional remains of a hut make poor accommodation in winter conditions.

During this testing time, a whitewashing exercise took place. A Mr. Clark described as a general inspector of prisons in England, took statements from the 4 O/C's representing the UDA, UVF, Provisionals and Republicans.

Mr. Clark wished to present these statements as evidence to a high level inquiry into the Long Kesh fires and riots.

Herr Truesdale and his record and the prison authorities negative attitude towards bad conditions and problems of the prisoners were given as the cause of the fire there was no other cause. What happened to these statements and the subsequent inquiry is still a mystery.

Delegations representing many political viewpoints and organisations visited the destroyed camp. Included among these were Paddy O'Hanlon and some of his sidekicks in the SDLP. Of course, Paddy gave the impression that he could perform miracles for the prisoners.

But after Paddy left nothing happened, and the usual pattern continued proving what the prisoners told Paddy; he had no power to do anything, like the rest of the Northern Ireland politicians, most of whom had been in Long Kesh over the years without one iota of helpful change, being made politics, were redundant, the British Army ran everything now. And so on.

In this period, outside the prison, there was much magnanimous material and financial aid for the distressed prisoners. Unfortunately, almost none of this help came in to the Republican Club members in Long Kesh, although this was definitely not the intention of those who subscribed it.

After investigation, it was ascertained that certain people, including a number of priests, were very active in co-ordinating the channelling of local aid from all over the North to the Provo Welfare Committee in Divis Street, Belfast.

We know that many people were perturbed to discover that we had not received their help, but they were not to blame.

When our prisoners moved to the temporary accommodation, already mentioned, conditions remained atrocious. The dormitory huts were shacks thrown together by British Army sappers brought from Germany.

Filthy concrete floors with holes torn in them by bulldozers, large gaps in wooden partitioning in which served as gables, and rain pouring through ill-constructed iron roofing caused constant discomfort. There were no heaters in the huts either.

In the washhouse, only cold water was available for washing eating utensils, prisoners wearing apparel and for personal washing and showering. Food, poor in quantity and quality, still came from an army field kitchen. Visits were non-existent.

## HALF TURNED AWAY

The prisoners endured the authorities callous unconcernedness with great endurance and spirit. It was known that, on a number of occasions, outside help for prisoners had been turned away from the camp gates on Truesdale's instruction.

Even the Prison's welfare officers were being hindered from helping the prisoners. Of course, a pound of flesh was being extracted from the prisons for the burning of the camp, instead from its true progenitor, Herr Truesdale.

After much procrastinating visiting was finally allowed to the prisoners. These visits were a welcome means of relieving the anxiety felt for each other by both prisoners and their families. Being so long apart, none knew that state of each other's well being.

Christmas was a depressing time. No Christmas fare was provided and no other attempt was made by the authorities in an expression of the festive spirit. Christmas parades were given in the usual fashion — to cause as much harassment and annoyance to prisoners as possible. Out of 19 of our men eligible for it, only 7 of our men received Christmas parole.

Two other received it on compassionate grounds. Among the Loyalists 15 UDA men and 17 UVF prisoners received a higher proportion than that of our prisoners. Of course, this is the old divide and conquer policy of the prison authorities.

Prison authorities now estimate that pre-destruction type of accommodation will become available by the end of February. So far, Herr Truesdale has refused to see all the representatives of the four political prisoners groups as a camp welfare committee.

The agreement in setting up this committee was made at a meeting in which Lord Donaldson and Herr Truesdale met the four camp O/C's.

Meanwhile, a new development, the Provo ceasefire has brought a new dimension into the camp prisoner situation. Now no one is sure whether there will ever be proper accommodation provided before releases take place.

The Provo ceasefire is welcomed by everybody. While it has wider implications, it definitely has a strong impact on the prisoners, for they long to see the last of harsh wire barriers, corrugated tin and all the rest of the grim camp conditions endured so long. Over the years, climatic events of hunger strikes and protests of various kinds, of brutality and suffering and of violence and destruction in Long Kesh and other prisons have all left their own chapter in history. It is a fitting and to this chapter that it should be celebrated with an inferno of Truesdale's making. As the gates swing open, the prisoners will walk out leaving behind this broken monstrosity and ravine — the only concentration camp in Europe.

## AN IDEA WHICH MUST SUCCEED

"To take captivity captive, Above all a question of faith, To take captivity captive, It is an idea you are serving — an idea which must be victorious if a mankind worth the name is to survive. It is this idea which you must help towards victory with all your strength — not the work of human hands which just now gives you responsibility — creating chance to further it. Knowing this it should be easy for you to smile at criticisms of decisions misunderstood ridicule of expressions ministered as idealism, declarations of war to the death upon that to which all outward appearance you are devoting your life."

## EVEN THE DOCTORS THINK LONG KESH IS RUN BY MADMEN

Recently the medical field has taken on a new importance in Long Kesh. A prisoner had a cap and pair of gloves stopped from coming in to him in a parcel. Caps and gloves are useful to keep warm and dry in the atrocious conditions of the camp, especially in winter time.

An inquiry was made about the reason for disallowing the cap and gloves. A prison chief officer replied that it was now necessary to obtain permission from the doctor to have these clothing items allowed in.

On the prisoner seeing the doctor, he received the expected reaction. "Don't be coming in here to pull my leg," ordered the doctor, "get out." But the prisoner stuck to his guns.

Eventually the doctor was convinced that the prisoners' approach was made in good faith. He just sat in his chair then laughed at the idocy of the prison regulation and told the prisoner, "I will see higher authority to have this nonsense stopped."

Of course everybody knows the Medical Association duties don't extend to censoring parcels at prisons.

Let History be my Judge . . . .

We made all possible preparations, Draw up a list of firms, constantly revised our calculations And allotted the farms,

Issued all the orders expedient In this kind of case; Most as we expected were obedient Though there were manners of course;

Chiefly against our exercising Our old right to abuse; Even some attempt at rising, But these were mere boys,

For never serious misgiving Occurred to anyone, Since there could be no question of living If we did not coin,

The generally accepted view teaches That there was no excuse, Though in the light of recent researches, Many would find the cause.

In a not uncommon form of terror; Others still more astute Point to possibilities of error At the very start,

As for ourselves there is left remaining Our honour at least And a reasonable chance of retaining Our Faculties to the last.

# WOMEN AND THEIR PART IN THE REVOLUTION



"Look at that cracker there!"  
"That's a lovely bird!"  
"That's some chick."

If you happen to be unaware of what is being described above let me inform you — it's a woman. Don't be surprised or shocked as these terms are from the vocabulary of our present day society.

To some they are derogatory but to the masses they have become accepted. However, due to the development of these attitudes we also find that such terms have been built round them and in all they do not portray woman the social being, but woman the object; woman the commodity or woman the machine.

Society then claims that woman has become free and emancipation and that she is equal to man in everything, regardless of what that entails.

The promulgation of laws by society regarding the equality of women have been numerous but we have only to look round us to see if these laws have been observe 1 or implemented.

Since society had to pass such laws it proves that it had a somewhat conservative and inferior attitude regarding women.

At the same time, the passing or implementation of such laws does not necessarily change attitudes and in the case of equality for women you will find it to be very true. The fact remains that a woman is completely alienated from equality in society and that she is, even today, farther away than ever from achieving the position of 'woman the social being'.

To most men a woman is just a fact of life, she is there to perform or produce whenever they desire. To the Capitalist she is an open market which can be exploited by them through her feelings and emotions.

These feelings and emotions have been gratefully accepted by the woman because she has been continually conditioned and brain-washed by society for generations to the extent that she now believes them to be natural.

It is also a fact that we are living in a capitalist society and from that we can now understand why society has conditioned the woman to accept these feelings and emotions. Through society's dictates and her unavoidable acceptance of those alienating values, woman is not considered a social being.

This indoctrination begins first of all in the home through the mother. At this stage it is all hereditary as the mother has come through the same process and unconsciously she is preparing the child for society's distortional role.

When the young girl becomes independent of her mother, society is there to continue her in indoctrination and eventual suppression.

It caters for her and directs her through the latest fashions, hair styles, cosmetics, magazines, films and music. From all this she becomes completely subservient to society and at the same time always remaining an object for exploitation by the capitalist.

Having been eclipsed by society and its false values the woman unconsciously accepts her role as a second class citizen so much that she can be paid low, and unequal wages for work which men would not do for such wages.

There fore society terms for being a woman can be seen through its exploitation of her.

When she becomes a housewife she not only has to endure

society's dictates but now those of her husband. Not only has society conditioned the woman for holding certain views and values but the man also went through a similar process which has conditioned him to view the woman in a certain perspective. This attitude which prevails can only be described as male chauvinism and it is a dominant factor woman's inferior status.

The mentality that men have adopted through time suggests that they are superior to woman. This mentality or attitude has been developed and projected by the capitalist society through its main indoctrination sources such as Television, films newspapers, magazines and books.

The medical portrays the woman as a sex symbol or a thing with inferior intelligence to the superior male. If you doubt this then take an objective look at your next film of a woman and a man.

While watching television, look closely at how many times a woman is used to advertise anything from a tin of beans to a box of cigars. Look at them and ask yourself if the woman

is being portrayed as a social being or is she merely being used as an object or commodity.

While all this has constant influence and dominating effects on the men, it also conditions the woman to accept this inferior position as her true and proper role in society. From all this we can now see the attitude of the man which will prevail in married life. Society to some degree, no longer needs to dictate attitudes and views as they have two subservient beings — man dictates to woman, woman obeys or agrees.

Society declared woman emancipated and free so therefore had to present her in this light, but this emancipation and freedom was not of thoughts and expression. It took the form of women being allowed to have the leave of the household for at least a few nights a week and the capitalist society, being what it is, catered for at least a few nights a week and the new found recreation by providing Bingo halls or pubs. Once again society dictated and woman was subjugated to its terms of living.

However when we look at history we can see the outstanding role played by women in the struggle for various countries independence — The Russian Revolution began in St. Petersburg with a

march by women Textile workers on February 23rd. 1917.

They were joined by the men and there was a general strike, the troops mutinied and within five days the Czar had abdicated.

In Algeria women played a major role in their struggle for independence from the French.

In Cuba women played a leading role in the revolution.

In Ireland women have always played a vital role in the revolutionary movements both past and present but one in particular was Countess Marchevicz in the underground second Dail. However not since this woman was a cabinet Minister has any other woman filled such a position in Irish politics.

Today in this country the woman has a most definite task to play in building the Irish Revolution but before she can do this she must become conscious of her position within this society, and from there she must then look at herself and rid herself of all the feelings emotions and inhibitions which this society has inflicted on her.

Eventually, through education and consciousness she will soon learn that woman, the social being, can only survive in a socialist society and that only in that socialist society will she be able to fulfill the role of 'woman, the social being.'



Young American women demand their rights at a demonstration organized by the Young Workers Liberation League.

# CATHOLICISM

## AN IRISH CHURCH OR A BRITISH PAWN?

Christianity arrived in Ireland in the 5th century under the missionary endeavour of a Saint Patrick — how this Patrick got the Saint attached to his name we do not understand for he was never canonised.

If the matter of canonisation arose it would bring up the point that there were actually three Patricks around at that time; so which one would be worthy of canonisation?

From Christianity we have received the dubious endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, although everybody knows that Christ was not a Catholic, and, as well never wrote a word on any subject in his rather short life. Therefore, he could never have been a religious dogmatist, though the Catholic Church holds that dogma must be the basis of religious belief.

In Ireland the Catholic Church held little power under the old Gaelic Order, but emerged to reach its present eminence under the patronage of our English conquerors. The reason for this was that the English reached an accommodation with it at the Penal Days period; the Catholic Church would act as a moderating influence on the rebellious Irish and in return it would receive patronage from the English Crown. The first step was to establish the Royal Maynooth College receiving the yearly grant under Royal Charter of £23,000 and £30,000 for buildings in 1845, at the time of the Great Famine. The Vatican strongly enjoined unswerving loyalty to the English Crown by Irish Catholicism.

### ENGLAND'S PAWN

As the Catholic Church proved its worth as a pillar of English Colonial Rule, it received increasing patronage and illiterate peasantry, who depended on them increasingly to translate the literal edicts of colonialism's institutions and other matters of literal communication. The people being also denied national and political leadership depended on the clergy to represent their temporal problems to the aforementioned institutions. The English had the very situation they wanted; they were able to manipulate the Irish population to great advantage using the Church as a tool. Through this process, Ireland's parish clergy were set unwittingly by the people as a pedestal which they now think is their divine right. The parish priest became the parish dictator in all things relating to heaven and earth.

Over the years every National Movement struggling for Ireland's independence from

England received the full opposition of the Catholic Church, branding them as opposed to the laws of God. His constituting of which nobody in history knows — certainly he, like Christ, never wrote a word either. Actually in fact, a mixture of ancient Judaism, Greek Philosophy God's Word — whatever this is has been welded into a dogma called Catholic religion. So there is a history of opportunist

### CONSERVATIVE REACTIONARY

ism behind religion that produced dogmatic religion which in turn reflected itself onto the Irish National Struggle and so stultified it. And this brings us to the specific point — the impact of the Catholic Church on the National Struggle today.

The Irish Catholic Church today, the most conservat-

ive and reactionary in the world, pays that is nothing more than a vague lip service to religious ecumenism, something that could break the barriers between sections of our people. But as presently constituted, the Catholic Church does not want unity of people on religious grounds the terms are that other people surrender their point of view and pay fealty to an 'infallible' Pope in Rome.

Take for instance, when anyone mentions approval of integrated secular schools clerical high blood pressures occur as loud priestly protestations are made against the unthinkable taking place — the loss of church control over schools, this shameful sectarian system of education. Of course, Catho-

lic clergy keep reiterating that it is only Protestants

who are sectarian, and the faithful laity are expected to believe these 'men of truth.'

A fierce opposition was launched recently by the clerical ranks against any suggestion of a change from the Catholic Constitution of the 26 Counties State to allow state legality for divorce and contraception to those whose conscience or religion saw them as rights. But the Catholic Church believe in a one Church State. It is never tolerant anywhere, when it is in power.

Of course, pressures are bearing increasingly strong on our Catholic Church to change from its dogmatic and traditional stances. But the Church is trying every elusive scheme to avoid the day when it will have to face reality. One of these schemes is the astounding idea to further myth and raise sectarian thinking by

resurrecting from the past an incident of sectarian history, the death of Oliver Plunkett is to be used as a means of having him canonised. This man was a member of the bigoted Inquisition Committee in Rome whose job it was to inflict terrible punishments including burning at the stake, on anyone disagreeing with Catholic dogma. On leaving Rome and coming to Ireland, poetic justice was accorded to him when a bigoted jury sentenced him to be hanged, drawn and quartered. That this sectarian struggle of the 16th century should be resurrected to present memory of this critical time in finding unity among our people in Ulster can be regarded as nothing more than totally mischievous and done with purpose. And if Heaven has been able to do without Plunkett's sainthood status these past 300 hundred years it is strange to think that heaven will create some sectarian miracle today to protect Catholic ascendancy in Ireland.

## AND NOW IT KEEPS SECTARIANISM ALIVE

The history of the world has been full of the coming and going of dogmas and philosophies as the ebb and flow of change took place.

Through our eyes, we must see, The "Capos" system cannot be. We must fight every day, 'Till the workers have their way.

A dogma has its day, then it is gone and replaced by a better one as progress continues, a natural process in mankind's development.

History shows that when the older dogmas were no longer useful and some better one began to gain ascendancy, the previous ones started digging into defend themselves. Becoming discredited under more enlightened ideas, extremes were introduced in defence, of these dogmas. At this stage of matters corruption set in. The more discredited or irrelevant a dogma became. A dogma in crisis sowed the seeds of its own destruction and finally its demise. Two thousand years to come there will be none either — the pace of change quickens. Sectarianism is part of the corruption that sets in when a dogma like the religion of the Catholic Church starts going on the defensive.

Our Catholic Church reached a state of crisis in the Middle Ages for it no longer lived up to the teachings of Christ. Luther saw all this and reacted. The Reformation extended to Ireland and so the

problems of religion in crisis is still our inheritance, confusing our national struggle and our people with religious dogmas. Sectarianism has become entrenched on all sides, but a historical analysis will show that Catholic sectarianism is more devious and influential because of historical reasons,

its history is much longer than that of Protestant religious claim of moral superiority; canon laws, and so on. There are many other historical reasons the details of which would mean going beyond the generalising level of this article.

But there is one particular historical reason; Protestantism of the Penal Days imbued an attitude in the people's minds Protestantism and English conquest were seen as the one thing; an attack on the Catholic Gaelic order of things. The clergy carefully fostered this idea for their own advantage. The Catholic clergy today foster, as much as ever, this idea to prevent the loss of their temporal power, in Ireland, unequalled by the Church anywhere else in the world. While at the higher level, the Bishops still take the Royal financial grant from Maynooth College and promise the English politicians that their common interest will be served; keeping the Irish in a pacified state. The Catholic Church is ambiguously posturing on two fronts, or getting butter on the two sides of its bread.

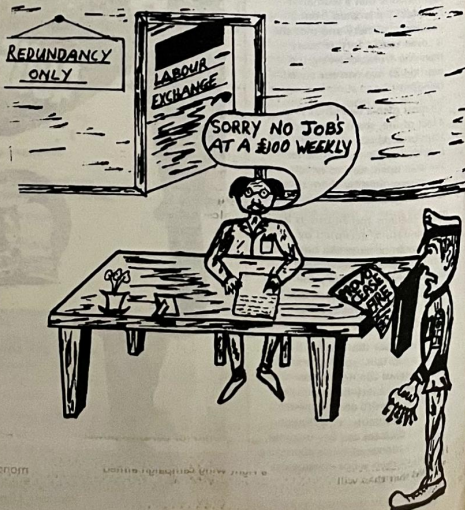
Divorce and contraception are projected as foreign values and as anti-Catholic and Irish; a Protestant minority or a person's conscience is given no recognition on the matter. But the question must be asked; have the Catholic people in the North become immoral and corrupted since contraception and divorce are state legalised here? However, there is a question that the Catholic Church does not want Irish unity because Protestant influence from the North might undermine the Catholic Church's power in the South. Neither does the Northern Catholic clergy want a unity of

Catholic and Protestant for this would end the Church's privilege here too, i.e., control of schools.

So in the North recently all we have been hearing is about attacks on Catholic boys, it is all projected as war on the Catholic people as the problem of corrupt state laws and institutions, the root cause of our ills for it is these laws that cause problems to everybody, Catholic or not.

The Catholic Church in Ireland fear any unifying force, such as the common interests of workers, that would bring Catholic and Protestant together,

Of course on the opposite side of the divide, Protestant clergy have the same fear. The Irish Catholic Church's position today is an obstacle to (1) national unity and (2) unity among the Northern population; the Catholic people continue to be led by sectarian notions, many of them a traditional inheritance. As the controlling influence of Irish political minds and on the minds of the Church laity, sectarianism is a great problem for the unifying forces to overcome, much to the glee of British imperialism which sees sectarian influences as a useful tool and still worth patronising.



# TOWARDS A RADICAL CHANGE IN PORTUGAL

On the 25th April 1974 the Portuguese government headed by prime minister Marcello Caetano was deposed in a military coup, virtually without bloodshed, carried out by the armed forces movement. This ended half a century of Fascist rule in the country. General Spínola, ex-deputy chief of staff and ex-governor of Guinea Bissau, was invited to head a military junta until the formation of a provisional government.

Since the fall of the old regime and the victorious conclusion of the liberation struggles by the peoples of her African colonies, the Portuguese people have been examining their society in some detail. Economic depression, political conflict, and a growing sense of social and class tensions are some of the facets of life there today. They are depending completely on foreign investment for trade and growth while the basic needs of the Portuguese economy are being neglected, and far from creating wider employment this policy has reduced the number of jobs available. Mergers and takeovers have been the major features of recent industrial development with the result that closures and redundancies outweigh new employment from foreign investment. Inflation is running at a current 30% and with the general economic depression affecting most of the western world even emigration is increasingly doubtful as a partial solution to the problem of unemployment.

Until the coup, trade unions as we know them were forbidden and workers were subject to strict governmental control so workers lagged even further behind in the distribution of national wealth. The net result of this is that in spite of the 30% inflation rate and a dwindling economy, expensive luxuries are still finding a ready market among the upper classes and the middle has remained very stable. The people who are bearing the weight of the economic difficulties are the working class of course. Apart from the primitive wages and conditions the forecast for early this year is 8% (200,000) unemployed, this number is expected to be further swelled by demobilised soldiers returning from the African wars, smaller industrial interests which are forced to close, and migrants failing to find work in the other European countries. The people who are still in steady employment are becoming more and more worried that the rising cost of living will soon put them on the breadline anyway.

Despite these storm clouds however the Portuguese people reacted to the relaxation of constraints last April with such enthusiasm that foreign observers spoke of a people intoxicated with a sense of freedom within their grasp. One of the first decrees of the new Spínola administration was to pledge full political freedom and this allowed clandestine organisations like the Portuguese Communist party to come into the open. The P.C.P. is headed by Alvaro Cunhal who is now a cabinet minister and is recognised as the most popular politician in the country and has more than 60,000 active members. It is widely expected that they will account for more than 25% of the votes in the Spring elec-

tions. Cunhal himself was made leader of the P.C.P. while still in jail in 1951. In 1960 he staged a spectacular escape and spent the next 13 years in Russia. The present line of the party has brought them strong criticism from all sides. It's members have eased off in their wage demands and calls for total nationalisation, and seem to be content to secure a reasonable share of power without violence. Other radical groups accuse them of co-operating with the armed forces movement and even some of their own 'permanentes' — the people who stayed during the old dictatorship — do not seem to be in complete accord with their views.

The Catholic church remains totally opposed to the P.C.P. of course and have joined with the present Portuguese administration in issuing statements; exploring the trend towards Anarchy, and the "unhealthy political literature being sold since censorship was lifted" — Marxist literature is on the best seller lists in the country since the coup — the church also blames the lifting of censorship for what it calls the "wave of pornography sweeping the land." In the eyes of the hierarchy therefore the Portuguese people aren't fit to choose what books they should read.

With this opposition from both right and left the P.C.P. is walking a political tightrope. If Cunhal scores a victory in March however, he will provide a powerful example for other European countries like Italy, Greece and Spain.

Although an ideological and constitutional base has yet to be decided on by the people there is a growing optimism among the left wing groups about the elections this March for a national assembly. This assembly will draft a constitution for a new political system. For Portuguese the age of 18 and over it will be the first free elections of their lifetimes. Under the old regime all opposition to the government was rigidly suppressed. It was illegal to advocate abstention. Candidates of opposition parties were arrested. All opposition meetings had to be attended by government representatives who could forbid the discussion of any topic or stop the meeting altogether.

Although General Spínola headed the transitory administration which was instrumental in bringing about these reforms he is no liberal himself as his record of brutal repression in Africa plainly shows. He was part of the 'Vietnamisation' of the wars with defoliant and Napalm bombs. Forced resettlement of thousands of Africans in special camps known as 'Goat pens' the massacre of Eduardo Mondlane who was president of Frelimo, the assassination of Amílcar Cabral who led the liberation forces of Guinea and Cape Verde and the horror which in Tete in Mozambique in one afternoon by Portuguese troops. Spínola resigned in October 74 after making a bid for personal power by trying to force elections amid which came to light in 1972 of the massacre of all the inhabitants of three villages in Tete in Mozambique in one afternoon by Portuguese troops. Spínola resigned in October 74 after making a bid for personal power by trying to force elections amid a right wing campaign aimed at discrediting the socialists in the country. The whole thing was exposed as a cover for a

counter coup by the Ultra right wing who were loyal to the old Caetano regime. Although he resigned in disgrace there are many people in Portugal who believe that Spínola may yet attempt to re-emerge in politics. He has a strong support for his view from C.U.F. the strongest economic group in Portugal.

One curious item in the present political picture is that a group of economists have been appointed by the caretaker government to draft an economic plan which will apply over the next three years. They claim it is being developed through compromise between opposing political ideologies and justify it by saying that "We Portuguese are better at improvisation than we are at planning" It will assure a place for private enterprise in the economy but will also allow a place for State Intervention. It is nothing more or less than the old mixture which is proving such a dismal failure in other ageing imperialist regime like Britain. The planners who are drafting it are reported as saying that this thinking has influenced a further leaning to the left in the country and in any case they can hardly be expected to draft a plan for economic expansion when they don't know that the political context will be even for this year.

The armed forces movement provides a few questions mark as to the future shape of politics in Portugal. Their influence extends right down through the Portuguese society with the G.N.R. The Armed forces internal intelligence which was introduced to fight the "internal political enemy." They remain intolerant of any criticism and are highly sensitive about their public image as a unified group and newspapers are still liable to a fine for suggesting they are not a unified group — this despite the fact that the armed forces movement contains a long simmering struggle between the left wing young officers and the ultra right wing war veterans.

These war veterans were able to oppose successfully complete freedom of expression after the coup although the country is supposed to have thrown off the shackles of censorship. Many people are asking how far would this right wing group go in opposing the will of the people if they elect a socialist government in March. The influence of the Catholic Church will support them as will C.U.F. but the vast majority of Portuguese are certain to resent and oppose any attempt to restrict their new found sense of freedom. They realise that with a 40% eracy rate and some of the basic civil right still denied to them they are, and have been, suffering the same repression, albeit to a lesser degree as the people of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea Bissau.

Portugal is going through a turbulent period of a change of ideas at present with the different factions all trying to secure a base on which to build for the future. The church with the odd exception like the Bishop of Oporto, is aligning itself with the right wing war veterans and the economic interests like C.U.F. in a bid to stem the rising tide of Socialism. The middle classes are frightened by the big monopolies and remain totally confused. The returning soldiers find themselves no



more than an aggravation of the unemployment problem. The urban and rural workers cannot cope with the burden of inflation. What the Portuguese people seek is an alternative and a

way out of their political and economic difficulties and all the signs are that more of them every day see that the only real alternative to their situation is to be found in the philosophy and teachings of Marx

## O What is that sound . . . Auden

O what is that sound which so thrills the ear  
Down in the valley drumming, drumming?  
Only the scarlet soldiers, dear  
The soldiers coming.

O what is that light I see flashing so clear  
Over the distance brightly, brightly?  
Only the sun on the weapons, dear  
As they step lightly.  
O what are they doing with all that gear,  
What are they doing this morning, this morning?  
Only their usual manoeuvres, dear  
Or perhaps a warning.

O why have they left the road down there,  
Why are they suddenly wheeling, wheeling?  
Perhaps a change in their orders dear  
Why are you kneeling?

O haven't they stopped for the doctors care,  
Haven't they reined their horses, their horses?  
Why, they are none of them wounded, dear  
None of these forces.

O is it the person they want, with white hair,  
Is it the person, is it, is it?  
No they are passing his gateway dear  
Without a visit.

O it must be the farmer who lives so near.  
It must be the farmer so cunning, so cunning?  
They have passed the farmyard already, dear  
And now they are running.

O where are you going? Stay with me here!  
Were the vows you swore deceiving, deceiving?  
No, I promised to love you dear,  
But I must be leaving.

O it's broken the lock and splintered the door  
O it's the gate where they're turning, turning?  
Their boots are heavy on the floor  
And their eyes are burning.

# SECTARIANISM IS REAL ENEMY OF THE WORKERS

Who is the real enemy? Is it the Pro or the Catholic depending on what side of the sectarian fence you live on or is it the people whose interest it is in to keep the fence in good order and worker fighting against worker with ferocious sectarian hatred?

Obviously it is not the person no matter what his religion, who works on the same factory floor under the same conditions and for the same wages, going home to the same type of house as yourself.

Surely a person with the same standard of living and living conditions as yourself cannot be your real enemy. Through the news media you and your fellow worker listens to the career politicians roaring out sectarian slogans but who suffers as a result of these? Not the politicians as usual it is the worker who fights and suffers.

Throughout the world workers are suffering in the interest of such politicians, who hammer out racialist or sectarian slogans keeping the workers mind of the real bread and butter issues and therefore making the worker easier to exploit.

The real enemy of the worker in Ireland is sectarianism, everything it represents and everyone who represents it. Only when sectarianism and all its causes have been destroyed can the workers build

in their own interest.

We in the Official Republican Movement, as members of the revolutionary vanguard must organise the workers of Ireland, irrespective of creed or race.

We must educate the workers, show them their real enemy. Show them that the enemy is not the "Taig from the Falls," or "the Pro from the Shankill" but capitalism.

The money men, the men of property, who keep the mass of the people dependant, the capitalist who is the cause of crime, mental degradation, religious strife and political corruption. We must organise the workers industrially through the trade unions, organise them politically to the control of the entire resources of the country.

To achieve our goal we must use every means at our disposal, this includes the ballot box. Participation in government by our elected representatives can expose the system for what it is, corrupt and rotten. We must be patient, it will be a long hard struggle. We need the mass involvement of the workers, workers educated and armed and a peoples army. This army will gain the final victory and maintain it.

## Revolutionary Tactics May Sometimes Change

In the world its a fact everything is a part of a system in which there is constant motion and movement. All around us we can see this, be it a range of mountains which are being broken down by nature or an idea like the devine rights of kings being replaced by the devine rights of property as the bourgeois through the world seize power from the same kings.

No matter how permanent and fixed an idea institution or condition might be or appear, eventually it must pass away and something else takes it's place. This constant transformation makes the idea of time-less principles absurd.

There are groups of people who deal in principles, and it has been these that have lead the ordinary people up the garden path to the position we now find ourselves in.

This has been done in the name of outdated principles, which were devised in the interest of a class other than the workers. These were based on the actual conditions that existed at a particular moment in time and space, they do not work now because the conditions have changed and

history does not repeat itself, instead it is a single forward moving process. We as Socialists, realise that social and political independence are the sides of the same coin. As Connolly admirably put it, "unless we set about organising the socialist Republic our efforts will have been vain."

And so with this in mind, our principles must come from the actual struggle, not preconceived notion, based on empty phrases which forces ordinary people to feed on air, their inability to understand their true conditions lead them to chaos and destruction.

So what's to be done? The organisation which represents the ordinary peoples' real interest must understand that principles and tactics of yesterday do not necessarily mean they are valid today. The must be born out of the actual situation based on the conditions of the struggle and tested in the same. These must be propagated not just by preaching but in the conduct of the struggle.

Ireland has been plagued by physical force men that is those who are agreed on the principle that the use of force is the sole means of settling the dispute between the Irish and British people. These force men sometimes masquerade under the guise of Marxist or Republicans, they are in reality militant nationalists whose principles

of physical force is based on some notion hundreds of years out of date and completely out of touch with reality.

The attitude of the peoples organisation to force should be one in which it is neither exalted into a principle nor, repudiated as something not to be thought of. Instead the use or non-use of force for the realisation of the socialist ideals will always be determined by the attitude of the ruling class opposed to them.

The organisation of the people will have no scruples about the use of force, historically it is the role of the workers to seize power and protect itself. Principles which hinder the march of the people must be discarded, they serve no purpose other than strengthening the hand of the imperialist.

The time has come for all revolutionary Socialists who claim to have learned the lessons of history and the failures that have tormented Ireland for so long to recognise that the means is not the end, nor is it as narrow as some would have the people to believe.

Let us reject now the straight-jacket of unalterable principles and timeless notions; our end, the socialist revolution, will justify the means.

## PORTLAOISE LETTER

A Chara,

In regards to the recent outrage of violence inflicted on the Political Prisoners by the British Army in Long Kesh.

We the Official Republican Prisoners in Portlaoise would like to sympathise with the inmates who have suffered tragically over the past five weeks. We also applaud them on the fight they put up against the licenced killers, hired by the Westminster Regime to further suppress the working class people of Ireland.

We call on the British Government to recall blundering Rees back to England, and never again be allowed to meddle in Irish affairs.

Once again we turn to the working-class the only class who have suffered torture, and incarceration in Europe only concentration camp to let their voices be heard in condemnation, against that Mass of cages that imprison men without trial like wild animals.

We also demand the release of all Political Prisoners North and South and those jailed in England.

We also call on the Provisional Alliance to end their senseless and futile bombing campaign, which is only dividing the working class people of Northern Ireland.

We also demand the immediate withdrawal to barracks of all British Troops.

Only when these demands are met can the working class Protestant and Catholics sit down and negotiate for a better peaceful Ireland.

Surely by now the British Government must realise that internment is the main cause for most of the violence we are experiencing now. Men have died in Long Kesh, no matter what the cause of death we be believed they were murdered by the violence of internment just as sure as Hugh Coney was murdered by a soldiers bullet.

If the British Government are sincere in their promises to bring peace to Ireland, let them show their sincerity by ending internment now. Is Le Misa, P.R.O. Official Republican Prisoners Portlaoise Jail.

## Personal Column

Congratulations on future wedding, Soup and Pauline — Joe New Lodge Road.

Happy birthday, Loraine — Brian, Ballymurry.

Happy birthday, son — Father, Lr. Falls.

Happy birthday, Belle — Gerry, Twinbrook.

Happy birthday, Bernie — Chip, Twinbrook.

Congrats on birthday, Marie — Love, Martin, Lurgan.

Happy wedding anniversary, Janet — Maurice, Downpatrick.

Happy 12th birthday, Brendan — Father, Bawnmore.

Happy 7th wedding anniversary, Bridie, — P.J. — Lurgan.

Congrats, Gabrielle and Mick on new arrival — Michael, Rostrevor.

Happy birthday, Mary — Love, Micky, Lr. Falls.

Happy Birthday, Mother — Micky, Lr. Falls.

Happy birthday, Maureen — from your husband Jimmy (Bawnmore).

Happy birthday, Maureen — From John, Davy and Jimmy Magee (Bawnmore).

## Important Notice

In order to clarify any confusion which may have arisen from an article in the Irish News on Monday 30/12/74 purporting to come from the Patricia McKay Republican Club Long Kesh which stated that P.D.F. was cut off from it's members because they had passed a vote of no confidence in the leadership of the Republican Movement or it's policies. What in fact really happened was that a handful of members of the above club left the Republican Movement and joined the Trotskyite I.R.S.P. This group then issued the statement in question without the knowledge or consent of the Chairman or members of the Patricia McKay Club. I think that readers of An Eochair will agree that the kindest thing one can say about this incident is that it was done in an underhand and deceitful manner. I wish to make it abundantly clear that P.D.F. is being paid to the dependants of every member of the Republican Movement incarcerated in Long Kesh or elsewhere. I think it would be prudent here to point out that there is a Major policy difference between the Republican Movement and the I.R.S.P. unlike the latter organisation we do not believe in instant revolution or in the continuance of a sectarian war. Our policy has always been and continues to be that a successful revolution can only take place when the working class people of Ireland are united in their determination to throw off the chains of Capitalism and British Imperialism.

The world is big and a funny place,  
In every part, it has a race.  
Throughout this world, you will find  
The "Capos" are always first in line.

## The Struggle

The capitalist system is growing each day,  
Though the working classes, they earn their pay.

The "Capos" system, it must go  
The working class must make it so.  
The "Capo" system is very neat  
And you will find it hard to beat.  
But if you stop and look around,

You'll see its going into the ground,  
The time has come for us to fight,  
Defeat the "Capo" and win our right  
When the people see what they have done,  
Defeated the "Capos," and they have won.

Through our eyes we must see?  
The "Capo" system cannot be?  
We must fight every day,  
'Till the workers have their way.

## NO BEER FOR THE BOYS

During the pre-Christmas period when Assistant Governor Michael Murtagh, better known as Mick the Lip, was asked to allow sentenced prisoners a tin of beer each for Christmas Day, he answered that this allowance could only be given to inmates; sentenced prisoners would not get it. The reason for this decision was that such a limited sip of beer would only torture sentenced prisoners with its taste since fuller good cheer was not available. The prison authorities did not believe in torturing the sentenced prisoners.

We can only conclude that the men who were supposedly found guilty before the courts were not to be tortured by a can of beer while the innocent ones — the inmates — were to be tortured with being allowed it — Long Kesh Philosophy, Christmas 1974.

# Long Kesh— University of Revolutionary Politics

Long Kesh has been described as a terrorist university. That is not entirely accurate. The prisoners have made Long Kesh into a sort of university, but it is a university of revolutionary politics.

The average prisoner comes into the camp with only a vague idea of the class struggle he has been involved in. Within a week he is enrolled in a political education class, where he is taught the theory and practice of socialism, and how to identify and combat its enemies.

These classes serve a dual purpose. First and most obvious, they make use of an opportunity which seldom occurs outside, in that lectures can be planned as part of a programme, with no interference of work or family life.

Secondly they give the prisoner something to occupy his mind while he adjusts to prison life. They help him to see his imprisonment not only as the revenge of a corrupt regime, but also as an opportunity to increase his effectiveness as an opponent of that regime.

To those who would say that we are being brainwashed or indoctrinated, I should point out that these lectures merely sort out and co-ordinate ideas that are in the mind of every thinking person living in a capitalist society.

For example, the knowledge that there is something wrong with a society where 10% of the people share 90% of the wealth, where tons of food are destroyed to keep its price out of the reach of the lower paid. Anyone who lives in such a society and is not opposed to it, has either a vested interest in it, or does not think.

Political education is not confined to theory. We are engaged in a perpetual battle with the authorities, to gain our rights as human beings and to maintain

those we have already won. We learn from first hand experience how to negotiate and agitate, and the myth of the all powerful state is exploded to be replaced by the reality of the power of the united workers.

Why then do the authorities allow this nest of sedition to flourish in their midst? Why are we kept apart from other prisoners? It is because we would agitate along side those men, organising their fight for basic human rights also, for all prisoners are victims of society.

The thief is merely carrying capitalism to its logical conclusion, the murderer, hoodlum, or rapist are but responding to the pressures of a crumbling social order.

This agitation would destroy the anarchistic prison system, which has seen no basic reform this century.

It is because they are united that socialists can agitate successfully; it is because they can agitate successfully that they are kept apart.



## VISITING—LONG KESH STYLE

The first visitors arrive at Long Kesh Internment Camp at approximately 9 o'clock in the morning. No visitors go in through the front gate; they are all directed down a side road to a car park. On entering the car park each visitor (both male and sometimes female) has to produce some sort of identification.

All cars are thoroughly searched by the attendants at the entrance, then the visitors leave their parcels in a parcel office to be censored, all letters have to be censored also. This searching of visitors cars is the first of many searches which people are forced to endure in order to visit their husbands and sons.

After having parked their cars the visitors are ushered into a waiting room. This room is where all visitors wait regardless of which side of the political divide they come from. The room has very little heating and there are no facilities for children. Due to the long wait for the visits children become restless and this can be very frustrating for both the parents and other adults who have to put up with it. The prison authorities claim that the answer to the problem of the children is to leave them at home but what can a mother do when a child cries in the night to see its father. An easier solution to the problem would be for the authorities to provide a play area as they do for English prisons.

Considering that people have been known to wait up to six hours on a visit it isn't a lot to expect some kind of facilities to cater for children.

Eventually when it comes the time for the visitor to get their visit a prison officer (or 'Screw') calls the name of the visitor and they are taken to the perimeter of the actual prison in a minibus. After this short journey they are taken through a search room which consists of small cubicles with doors on them.

Each visitor is subjected to a very rigorous and degrading search and are sometimes forced to undergo a strip search. Naturally people resent this treatment and often refuse to go through

with it thus forfeiting their visits. They are then ushered through a turnstile which is usually manned by three screws. The door of the visiting area is locked and the visitors are made wait another few minutes before eventually getting into the visiting blocks. They walk along a corridor until they reach the cubicle where the visit takes place, these are marked by a number.

One of the first things discussed on all visits is the amount of time the visitor has had to wait before getting in - usually ending

in the question 'why do we have to wait so long? The prisoner himself wonders, for he can see many empty cubicles around him. When the Authorities are questioned about this problem they simply put it down to a shortage of staff.

When the visit is in progress it is almost impossible to relax for the screw sits just outside - a few feet from the prisoner. This makes private conversation im-

possible and leads to a great deal of frustration on the part of both prisoner and visitor. However the screw generally persuades his job to the end, living in the hope, I suppose, that some 'vital information' may be passed that he can immediately pass on to his masters.

The visit is ended by a knock at the door and the screw waits to accompany the prisoner back to his cage. It isn't surprising that some people won-

der if it is really worth all the trouble. Despite protest after protest both from inside and outside this prison nothing has been done to improve any of the hardships. Four simple things could be done for visitors :-

- Bigger and better facilities at the waiting rooms.
- More facilities for children.
- Speed visits up by reducing the nonsense of the searches.
- More privacy during visits.

## CHRISTMAS DAY BEHIND THE WIRE

The second, feeling no sense whatsoever of decorum, dropped out during the tenth lap of the compound supposed-ly to relieve his kidneys, but really because he was a man of little faith, leaving just the two, myself and the Exhibitionist to follow the star.

The Exhibitionist was convinced no doubt because of his astrological experience and recent research in the 'Daily Mirror' that the aperture at the corner of the cage, that is the gate, was the portal through which we would find the infant King.

It was remarked rather half heartedly admittedly, that we should find the stable before the Provisionals incase our hope in tribulation should be given three minutes to get out; the time being such.

To my credit I did not even grimace. I too had heard it before, and anyway, out-walking depression is a serious business. The Provisional cease-fire was being discussed with vehemence even in the communal toilets, since the establishment did not consider partitions necessary it was obvious that the Pharisees were beginning to gather in strength.

Further, anticipating the Christmas Day Mass sermon was far

too simple an exercise. When it was remarked that 'because of our stringest circumstances, our separation from hearth, home and loved ones, that we were close to the original spirit of Christmas than the commercialised Philistine outside.' I found myself going red in the face and had to repeatedly murmur 'Peace on Earth to men of good will,' whilst having to physically restrain the Exhibitionist upon my right hand, later he freely admitted that he was greatly taken with the desire to do physical violence upon the person of the celebrant.

The Christmas Concert after the communal Christmas dinner of Prison turkey which had obviously given themselves up, was a wake without drink or even the body of the deceased.

Most accepted the five day reign of depression with the dignity expected of Republicans; they retired to bed to continue the work of despair with fanatical dedication. A few asked for Volunteers to swing on their legs whilst they hung about the toilets but no one had the energy for suicide.

We three, a number chosen because of its mystical significance breaking with the traditional horizontal posture decided to present a six-legged alternative to bed and blanket, since even

regarding the Christmas paroles many expected to be called but truly, few were chosen. However, already the pact had been broken, the bearer of Frankensense had humped off for news - then for bed.

Without further ado the Exhibitionist decided to approach the strange Inn Keeper standing outside the cage in black uniform and peaked hat. He sid up to the gate and asked for news of the King attempting to mimick a Jewish but not a Zionist accent.

"News of great things good Inn-keeper, through yonder barred portals lies a boy, born without blemish, let us through, friend that we may worship him". It was an English Screw who the glad tidings had to be repeated in something approaching his guttural accent.

He asked slyly did we want to see the Assistant Governor who he said "no doubt would also like to locate this infant in order that he also could worship the child-King according to his station."

However the Exhibitionist had obviously learned the lessons of history since he replied rapidly with a torrent of abuse. "I have been a Guinness drinker since an early age until my headlong career was unfortunately nipped in the premature bud consequent-

ly I am acquainted 'with your foul type' with a parthian shot he added.

"You're damned Inn-Keepers are all Capo Bastards anyway, come the Revolution comrade-citizen all publicans and Pharisees shall be strung outside their places of residence - then liberated forever."

The Exhibitionist returned to con from my reddened face with his own reddened face. Perhaps, I thought, they would not stake us out upon the Ant hill on Christmas day, more because the Screws did not understand than from humanitarian susceptibility but then you never know, the nature of repression being to repress.



A fine mizzle began visibly to descend and the Provisionals in the next cage began to walk in the everlasting circle of futility. The sheep were in their herds but the shepherds were not to be seen, that flock had been desecrated a long time ago. The Angels of the Lord were two blue-bottle like helicopters buzzing in a heavy sky.

I retired to bed to await the second coming - the one that would be in fire.

**PRISONERS WELFARE:** Below is the parcel list for sentenced prisoners. We are printing this in An Eochair to enlighten prisoners families and friends on the present allowance. It is our intention to keep people informed of prison regulations governing prisoner's welfare, printing in each issue of our paper the information under the heading of a Prisoner's Welfare Column. In relation anyone to provide the full amount; only what the prisoner requests should be sent in. We all realise that the cost of living is high, therefore, prisoners do not wish to penalise their families, or to put themselves in a position of privilege by expediting a parcel that is beyond a family's means.

# PRISONERS WELFARE

## Special Category Prisoners Weekly Parcels

1. 200 cigarettes or 6 ozs Tobacco.
2. 1lb Sweets or 4 Bars of Chocolate up to 1lb weight. No pill tube sweets, chewing gum or liquor content sweets.
3. 4lbs Fruit — including Onions and Tomatoes.
4. 1lb of Butter.
5. ½lb Cheese — Cheeses individually wrapped are not accepted.
6. 1 No. — 3lb cake (quartered) no small pastry or fancy cakes.
7. 1lb of loose biscuits.
8. 1lb of Cooked Meats — thinly sliced. Shanks of meat or meat with bone content e.g. chops — NOT ALLOWED. Sausages must be sliced length ways to be acceptable to Censors.
9. 1 No — Chicken cooked, quartered, but unstuffed, or (1lb of meat in lieu).
10. 1 No — Lettuce.
11. 1 No — Small bunch of Scallions.
12. 1 No — Small packet of Tissues (sealed).
13. 1 No. — Bar of Toiled Soap.
14. 1 No — Tube of Toothpaste.
15. 1 No — Toothbrush.
16. 3 No. — Sachets of Shampoo.
17. 1 No — Stick of Shaving Soap or Tube Shaving Cream.

18. 1 No — Packet of 5 Razor Blades.
19. 1 No — Comb (plastic).
20. 1 No. — Packet of Washing Powder in small plastic bag.
21. 1 No. — Tin of Lighter Fuel.

### BREADS

22. 6 No. — Fairs of Soda or Wheaten or 6 Baps or Scones cut in half — all items must be shop size.
23. 2 No. — Packets of Potato Bread — shop size.
24. 1 No. — Vada or Fruit Loaf or malt loaf or Vienna Roll (Any loaf must be sliced and be shop bought).
25. Every parcel must contain a list of it's contents.
26. Every parcel must be signed into the prison by the person delivering it.
27. No writing paper, envelopes or stamps allowed with parcel.
28. Any Newspaper or periodical that contains an article prejudicial or detrimental to the Prison Service, or to the Security of the Prison will not be allowed.
29. Any or all articles may be stopped without explanation at the Governor's Order.

The problem of finding and developing alternative genres and forms in which to challenge bourgeois media and the morals embodied within that media is integral to the over-all process of revolution.

With what is termed the Industrial Revolution, Western European society entered fully into the capitalist system. Previously a small artisan or workman could purchase or acquire raw materials work them himself with his own tools and labours produce a commodity and sell it himself upon the market. However, during the process in which society became capitalised pre-industrialised man had all the restrictions binding him to the land along with the security of landed social relations broken and man became a free unhindered individual. Free, that is, in the negative sense, for although he had fought for liberty, equality and fraternity, the fraternity he found was the fraternity of misery, the equality was that of the oppressed masses, and he was now at liberty to sell himself and his labour to those who desired it.

With Technological advance and the opening and development of mass marketmen could only produce in collectivity that is, commodities could only be produced by group effort. production became socialised. However within the aesthetic superstructure of society the realm of ideas, philosophical, ideological or religious, there was no corresponding process of socialisation. Art, the highest idealisation of the ruling culture remained the exclusive preserve of the dominant bourgeois class; an expression both of class rule and a means of class recruitment. Art was not produced by collective effort but became the vehicle of individual expression.

The emerging middle class in order to present an alternative to the comprehensive body of Feudal aesthetics created and developed 'new' forms of artistic expression. To name but a few of the most popular forms; the essay perfected by Montaigne and later by Voltaire, the novel appearing in its most recognisable form in mid-Seventeenth century England with Thomas Fielding, the newspaper and Proclamation which have been responsible for triggering off more than one bourgeois upheaval and more recently the radio, television and cinema.

All three of the latter, with the newspaper break down, even if for the wrong reasons, the lines between artist and audience, consequently furthering the process of socialisation.

# PROLETERIAN ART

## THE PROCESS OF SOCIALISATION

There still, however, the few who produce, appropriate and distribute art not the many, although they produce the necessities of life.

The process of socialisation in art therefore must break down the barriers between artist and audience, widen the area of participation & creativity. All those forms, like the novel, which attempt to make the experience of art confined exclusively to the individual, must be replaced.

The novel by design is meant for individual, not the group experience. Similarly poetry which belongs to song rather than to literature had its rhymes diminished, because rhythm is social, needing more than one person to complete it and provide counterpoint.

Twentieth century poetry garbles and unsettles the rhythm which belonged to man before class society began and in so doing expresses its cry for help, pushing forward the shell of the empty isolated devastated individual.

The great awakening in artistic method towards the end of the Nineteenth century and at the beginning of the Twentieth century was in itself both a reaction and an expression of dissent. Technological advance, itself a result of increased literacy, encroached on the bourgeois artist; the educated masses were themselves approaching the inner sanctuary of bourgeois power, understanding that both the form and content of artistic expression, and if the masses understood they would be able at least to put themselves upon an equal footing with their masters. Both to maintain the mystique, and also an expression of their own discontent the bourgeois artist intellectualised his art, making it increasingly abstract and expressive of the distorted impressions of the alienated individual.

The bourgeois were putting intellectual distance between themselves and the masses and at the same time finding new vehicles for the bourgeois ideal. The bourgeois artist was reassured because the masses did not understand it meant that their class was still the ruling elite.

The new art was also a refinement of the individual ideal, it expressed the alienated man who could quite easily have a leg growing out of his head because he did not correspond to any social order, he was a mutant. As such, the proletariat could profitably use these new art forms and beat the bourgeois with the stick of their own hopeless degeneracy. But this was a destructive function not creative.

in that the proletariat was still not developing their own vehicles of expression.

However, just as the socialist economic structure must grow out of the bourgeois economic structure, so from the bourgeois art forms socialised art with experimentation must develop.

The socialisation of art is an integral expression of revolutionary awareness, it is the means on the highest level by which the proletariat offer an alternative and challenge constructively bourgeois aesthetics. The newspaper invites participation as also does the radio and television, and music adopted to the latest technological advances but in their everyday usage they are still class weapons directed against the development of revolutionary awareness.

The aristocracy had their art and the bourgeois have their art forms, the next stage is the proletarian art which by its nature invite widespread participation and break down the distinction between artist and audience.

# THE TRUE POSITION AND DEVIATION

It is only a fool who would say history is irrelevant. But he would be a greater fool the man who would say this while claiming to be a socialist, for on such a statement Marx would have had no basis for his dialectical materialism. he would have only a metaphysical basis, leaving his theory totally abstract and irrelevant to material fact.

To conclude, too, that there are no lessons in history is another blatant mistake and it can only be made by those who are totally ignorant of any concept of man's history, especially the evolutionary process contained in it. It is the past which determines the present; it is both which determine the future.

The past four years have been a salutary lesson in the ignorance of history and its lessons, and the failure to analysis from our history. It is awareness from proper analysis which determines the proper line of struggle towards our socialist objectives and true freedom.

During the past four years, the Provo Alliance, which included both the instant revolutionaries and nationalist warmongers, have failed to carry to success their own intentions without their being related to the real freedom struggle.

This result and the activity leading to it shows complete ignorance of the lessons of history. But the amazing fact has now emerged that others fell impelled to complete a re-run of the Provo campaign, under the aegis of much the same combination, Trotskyism and extreme nationalism.

What price ignorance! Even the present developments from the Provos show they may have learned a little of history's lessons. Is a certain present development so ignorant that it is even behind the Provos in rational thinking.

A recognition of the realities around us will show that the number one defence line of the enemy is socialist

Nationalist wars or instant revolutionaries can only arrive to strengthen it.

But the true socialist will know that there can be no socialist struggle until sectarianism is completely discredited and destroyed. This first line defence of the enemy must be removed and all our people brought into the struggle for justice and liberty.

Social tensions in society come from social inequalities and these tensions bring about forces of social change. But how can we have social tensions in our society of social inequalities when the instant revolutionaries and nationalist warmongers are only promoting sectarian tensions which blind people to the true struggle — which must be based on social issues.

Our role as a socialist movement must be to stop the tragedy of the past four years from being re-enacted; to attack the enemy's first line and destroy sectarianism and to introduce struggle on a social basis, for it is the material condition of our people that is our first responsibility; all other things will follow.

These are our guidelines; for us in the Official Republican Movement there are none else. Our task is difficult and at times obviously overwhelming, but we should always remember, our victory is inevitable, the socialisation of all society on earth cannot be stopped in the end.

But that is not to say that we sit back in armchairs and become observers. This inevitable victory has only one true meaning and relationship to us here and now that we act on what we know; that we are active participants.

Otherwise, this inevitable victory has no meaning or relationship to us whatsoever. Therefore, we must examine our conscience, we must discover, first of all, whether we are thinking correctly, and then to act and behave correctly.

To do otherwise as members of our movement, is hypocritical. Instead, we must take the correct path if we wish to have a share in socialism's inevitable victory.