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FM FCO 201500Z AUG 81
TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 120 OF 20 AUGUST 1981

NORTHERN IRELAND: HUNGER STRIKES AND THE FIVE DEMANDS

1. THIS TELEGRAM, WHICH MAY BE DRAWN ON FREELY, COMPARES THE RESPECTIVE POSITIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PRISONERS ON THE FIVE DEMANDS. IN MAKING USE OF THESE COMPARISONS YOU SHOULD REMEMBER THAT THE FIVE DEMANDS MUST BE SEEN AS A PACKAGE FOR THE REASONS GIVEN IN MIPT. THE PRISONERS DEMANDS ARE TAKEN CHIEFLY FROM THEIR DETAILED STATEMENTS OF 4 JULY AND 6 AUGUST 1981.

CLOTHING

PROTESTING PRISONERS DEMAND

2. THE RIGHT NOT TO WEAR PRISON UNIFORM. PRISON CLOTHING SHOULD BE ABOLISHED AND ALL PRISONERS BE ALLOWED TO WEAR THEIR OWN CLOTHING AS OF RIGHT.

MEANING TO PRISONERS

3. REFUSAL TO WEAR CLOTHING PROVIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTS THE REJECTION OF HMG'S AUTHORITY WHICH THE PRISONERS SEE SYMBOLISED IN THE WEARING OF ITS UNIFORM OR CLOTHING.

GOVERNMENT POSITION

4. PRISON UNIFORM HAS ALREADY BEEN ABOLISHED. PRISON ISSUE CIVILIAN-TYPE CLOTHING IS REQUIRED TO BE WORN ONLY DURING THE WORKING PART OF THE DAY. AT OTHER TIMES PRISONERS CAN WEAR THEIR OWN CLOTHING BUT FOR SECURITY REASONS COLOUR AND DESIGN ARE AT THE DISCRETION OF THE GOVERNOR. WE WOULD NOT RULE OUT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT.

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DEMAND

5. THE RIGHT NOT TO DO PRISON WORK BUT PRISONERS WOULD:
- (I) CLEAN CELLS, WINGS AND BLOCKS,
 - (II) PERFORM MAINTENANCE WORK WITHIN THEIR CAPABILITY,
 - (III) DO THEIR OWN LAUNDRY AND COOKING WITHIN THEIR BLOCKS IF THE FACILITIES WERE PROVIDED (AT PRESENT THEY ARE CENTRALISED),
 - (IV) HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE HOW THEY SHOULD BE EDUCATED AND WHAT SUBJECTS TO PURSUE INCLUDING RECOGNISED ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS.
 - (V) BE INSTRUCTED BY SUITABLY QUALIFIED FELLOW PRISONERS,
 - (VI) UNDERTAKE HANDICRAFTS/MUSIC LESSONS UNDER INSTRUCTION OF FELLOW PRISONERS, AND
 - (VII) ORGANISE SPORT AND RECREATION.

MEANING

6. THESE WORK DEMANDS WOULD RESULT IN OUR LOSING CONTROL OVER PRISONERS' DAY TO DAY ACTIVITIES. THE 'OFFICERS COMMANDING' (OC'S) OF THE WINGS AND BLOCKS WOULD DRAW UP ROTAS FOR THE CARRYING OUT OF ESSENTIAL DUTIES SUCH AS COOKING, CLEANING AND LAUNDERING AND FURTHER ROTAS FOR OTHER ACTIVITIES EG EDUCATION AND HANDICRAFTS. 'PRISONERS CHOICE' IN THIS SCHEME IS A EUPHEMISM FOR PARAMILITARY CONTROL. THE USE OF PRISONER TUTORS, WHICH IS UNEXCEPTIONABLE IN CONTROLLED CIRCUMSTANCES, WOULD BE A FURTHER EXTENSION OF PROVISIONAL IRA CONTROL AS THE OC'S WOULD APPOINT EDUCATION OFFICERS TO OVERSEE THE TEACHERS AND THE CURRICULUM. SIMILARLY, HANDICRAFTS WOULD SOON DEVELOP INTO A MAJOR INDUSTRY SUPPLYING SOUVENIRS OF 'LONG KESH' AS PRODUCED IN THE COMPOUNDS.

GOVERNMENT

7. THE AUTHORITIES AIM IS TO GIVE EACH PRISONER ACTIVITY BEST SUITED TO HIM SUBJECT TO THE BASIC MAINTENANCE DEMANDS OF THE PRISON AS A WHOLE BEING FULFILLED - COOKING, CLEANING, LAUNDRY AND SUCH LIKE. HOWEVER, IN THE LAST RESORT THE ALLOCATION OF ACTIVITIES AND CONTROL OF THE WORKING DAY MUST REMAIN WITH THE PRISON AUTHORITIES. THE RANGE OF EDUCATIONAL AND OTHER ACTIVITIES IS ALREADY WIDE AND IMAGINATIVE AND WE WILL ADD TO THESE AS

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QUICKLY AS WE CAN.

ASSOCIATION

DEMAND

8. THE RIGHT TO:

- (I) FREE ASSOCIATION WITH FELLOW POLITICAL PRISONERS BUT NO 'RUNNING ABOUT THE BLOCK IN LARGE NUMBERS' AND 'NO INTERFERENCE WITH THE PRISON OFFICERS WHO MAY RETAIN THEIR SUPERVISORY ROLE',
- (II) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE WINGS, INCLUDING BETWEEN THE HOURS OF LOCK-UP AT NIGHT AND OPENING IN THE MORNING,
- (III) WING VISITS, AND
- (IV) SEGREGATION FROM 'LOYALISTS'.

MEANING

9. THIS IS THE VERY NUB OF THE PRISONERS' UNDIMINISHED DEMAND FOR POLITICAL STATUS. FREE ASSOCIATION - THE UNRESTRICTED ACCESS OF ALL PRISONERS TO ALL CELLS AND ROOMS WITHIN A WING - MEANS THE END OF EFFECTIVE PHYSICAL CONTROL OVER WHATEVER SIZE OF GROUP OF PRISONERS IS INVOLVED. ONCE 25-50 PRISONERS CAN ASSEMBLE AT WILL, STAFF ARE INEVITABLY INTIMIDATED BY SHEER NUMBERS WHATEVER GUARANTEES THE PROVISIONAL IRA MAY PURPORT TO OFFER. LOSS OF CONTROL MEANS THAT PARAMILITARY INSTRUCTION, INDOCTRINATION AND PUNISHMENT CAN BE CARRIED OUT WITHOUT HINDRANCE. ALTHOUGH THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERIMETER OF THE WING (OR BLOCK) MIGHT REMAIN, ALL IMMEDIATE CONTROL OVER DANGEROUS AND DETERMINED PRISONERS WOULD BE LOST AND WE WOULD BE BACK TO A COMPOUND ARRANGEMENT. 'WING VISITS' ARE A FURTHER MANIFESTATION OF LOSS OF CONTROL. THESE ARE CLEARLY AIMED AT FACILITATING THE MOVEMENT OF THE WING OC'S - OR BLOCK OC'S - BETWEEN FOUR WINGS OF A BLOCK. THIS WOULD ENSURE A STANDARDISATION OF THE REGIME APPROVED AND A PARAMILITARY COMMAND STRUCTURE. MOVEMENT BETWEEN ADJACENT WINGS WOULD NOT BE PARTICULARLY SERIOUS GIVEN SOME STRUCTURAL MODIFICATIONS BUT IF MOVEMENT AT WILL THROUGH THE CENTRAL BAR OF THE H WERE CONTEMPLATED BY THE PRISONERS THEN THE INTEGRITY OF THE BLOCKS AS SECURE UNITS WOULD BE INTERNALLY DESTROYED. EACH BLOCK IS IN FACT A MINI PRISON AND THE CENTRAL BAR IS ITS

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ADMINISTRATIVE CORE. SEGREGATION - NEWLY EXPRESSED IN THE PRISONERS' STATEMENTS AS A REPUBLICAN DEMAND - ENSURES A HOMOGENEOUS AREA OF CONTROL AND THE MAINTENANCE OF 'DISCIPLINE' UNTRAMELLED BY PRISONERS OF ANOTHER POLITICAL AFFILIATION OR RELIGIOUS FAITH.

GOVERNMENT

10. THE PROVISION OF 'NORMAL' ASSOCIATION IS ALREADY GENEROUS. ASSOCIATION IS ALLOWED FOR THREE HOURS EACH EVENING AND AT WEEKENDS. PRISONERS ALSO MIX AT VARIOUS OTHER TIMES EG DURING EXERCISE, GAMES AND MEALS. SUPERVISION IS VITAL TO MAINTAINING CONTROL AND GOOD ORDER: THE GOVERNMENT HAS A DUTY TO PROTECT NOT ONLY PRISON OFFICERS BUT ALSO INDIVIDUAL PRISONERS AND THEIR PROPERTY. HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT'S POSITION IS NOT IMMUTABLE (AND SOME PROPERLY SUPERVISED ASSOCIATION BETWEEN WINGS MAY PROVE POSSIBLE WITH SOME STRUCTURAL MODIFICATIONS).

LETTERS, VISITS AND PARCELS

DEMAND ON LETTERS AND VISITS

11. THE RIGHT:

- (I) TO ONE WEEKLY VISIT, AND
- (II) TO ONE LETTER IN AND OUT A WEEK.

MEANING

12. THESE DEMANDS ARE OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE IN THEMSELVES BUT THEIR PARAMILITARY SIGNIFICANCE IS THAT THEY SHOULD BE AS OF RIGHT AND NOT SUBJECT TO ANY LOSS FOR DISCIPLINARY OFFENCES. AT PRESENT ONLY ONE MONTHLY VISIT AND ONE LETTER ARE AS OF RIGHT.

GOVERNMENT

13. THESE DEMANDS ARE INCOMPREHENSIBLE. WHAT IS ALREADY AVAILABLE MATCHES OR EXCEEDS THE PROTESTING PRISONERS' DEMANDS. THEY CAN SEND ONE STATUTORY AND SEVEN PRIVILEGE LETTERS AT THE AUTHORITIES' EXPENSE AND RECEIVE A COMMENSURATE NUMBER OF REPLIES. CONFORMING PRISONERS ALREADY RECEIVE ONE STATUTORY AND THREE PRIVILEGE VISITS A MONTH.

DEMAND ON PARCELS

14. THE RIGHT TO RECEIVE ONE SPECIAL CATEGORY TYPE OF PARCEL A WEEK.

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MEANING

15. ALTHOUGH ON THE FACE OF IT THIS IS AN INNOCUOUS DEMAND IT IS OF CONSIDERABLE SIGNIFICANCE. FIRST, THE ACCEPTANCE THAT A SPECIAL CATEGORY PARCEL SHOULD BE GIVEN WOULD BE SEEN AS THE GRANTING OF A PART OF SPECIAL CATEGORY ITSELF: PARCELS FROM HOME OR THE ORGANISATION ARE PSYCHOLOGICALLY IMPORTANT TO THE TERRORIST PRISONER. SECONDLY, THE SPECIAL CATEGORY PARCELS PERMIT A WIDE RANGE OF FOODSTUFFS AND OTHER ITEMS SUCH AS TOBACCO OR CONFECTIONERY. THEIR SIZE IN PART REFLECTS THE FACT THAT SPECIAL CATEGORY PRISONERS DO NOT WORK AND THEREFORE HAVE NO EARNINGS FROM WHICH TO BUY THE ITEMS FROM THE TUCK SHOP. IT IS CLEAR THAT THIS DEMAND THEREFORE ANTICIPATES THE REFUSAL OF PROTESTING PRISONERS TO PERFORM PRISON WORK: THEY COULD NOT THEREFORE HAVE EARNINGS AS PRISONERS WHO REFUSE TO WORK ARE NOT ALLOWED THE PRIVILEGE OF PRIVATE CASH ENABLING THEM TO BUY FROM THE TUCK SHOP. SPECIAL CATEGORY PARCELS WOULD AVOID THIS DIFFICULTY FROM THE PRISONERS' POINT OF VIEW.

GOVERNMENT

16. ONE PARCEL A WEEK IS ALREADY GIVEN TO CONFORMING PRISONERS. CERTAIN ITEMS MAY BE BOUGHT FROM THE PRISON TUCK SHOP FROM PRIVATE CASH AND FROM EARNINGS.

REMISSION**DEMAND**

17. THE RESTORATION OF FULL REMISSION WHICH WAS LOST AS A PUNISHMENT FOR PROTESTING.

MEANING

18. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE PRISONERS EXPECT THIS TO BE RESTORED IN FULL: IT IS PROBABLY A NEGOTIATING STANCE. THEIR OBJECTIVE IS SIMPLY TO GET THEIR PEOPLE OUT OF PRISON AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, PARTICULARLY AS MANY ARE NOW FACED WITH THE PROSPECT OF SERVING THEIR SENTENCES IN FULL HAVING EFFECTIVELY LOST ALL THEIR REMISSION.

GOVERNMENT

19. PRISONERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES SERVING SENTENCES OF MORE THAN ONE MONTH ARE ENTITLED TO ONE THIRD REMISSION OF THEIR SENTENCES. PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ARE ENTITLED TO ONE HALF REMISSION. BUT, AS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, REMISSION CAN BE

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FORFEITED FOR MISCONDUCT, ALTHOUGH IT CAN BE RESTORED AFTER
SUBSEQUENT GOOD BEHAVIOUR. PRISONERS WHO HAVE ABANDONED THEIR
PROTEST HAVE HAD UP TO ONE FIFTH OF REMISSION LOST FOR NON-VIOLENT
PROTEST ACTION RESTORED TO THEM. BUT ONCE THE PROTESTS COME TO AN
END, THERE COULD BE SCOPE FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THIS.

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TO IMMEDIATE CERTAIN MISSIONS AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
GUIDANCE TELEGRAM NUMBER 119 OF 20 AUGUST 1981

NORTHERN IRELAND: HUNGER STRIKES

1. THIS TELEGRAM, WHICH MAY BE DRAWN ON FREELY, EXPLAINS WHY THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT CONCEDE THE PROTESTING PRISONERS FIVE DEMANDS. IT SHOULD BE READ WITH MIFT.
2. THE PROTEST BY PRISONERS AT THE MAZE, OF WHICH THE PRESENT HUNGER STRIKES ARE THE MOST EXTREME FORM, WAS UNDERTAKEN BECAUSE THE PRISONERS REJECT THE 1975 DECISION BY THE THEN GOVERNMENT - AND UPHELD BY SUCCESSIVE ONES - TO PHASE OUT SPECIAL CATEGORY STATUS. SPECIAL CATEGORY PRISONERS.
 - (I) CAN WEAR THEIR OWN CLOTHES,
 - (II) ARE NOT REQUIRED TO DO PRISON WORK,
 - (III) ARE, BECAUSE OF THE NUMBERS INVOLVED WHEN THE STATUS WAS INTRODUCED IN 1972 AND THE SHORTAGE OF CELLS AT THAT TIME, HOUSED IN HUTTED COMPOUNDS WITHIN WHICH THEY CAN SEGREGATE THEMSELVES BY PARAMILITARY GROUPINGS AND WITHIN THOSE GROUPINGS MIX FREELY WITH ONE ANOTHER. PRISON STAFF ARE NOT PRESENT INSIDE THE COMPOUNDS AT ALL TIMES.
3. THE GARDINER COMMITTEE WAS SET UP TO LOOK AT SPECIAL CATEGORY STATUS AND IT WAS ON THAT COMMITTEE'S RECOMMENDATIONS THAT THE DECISION TO PHASE IT OUT WAS TAKEN. THE COMMITTEE POINTED OUT THAT SPECIAL CATEGORY PRISONERS SAW THEMSELVES IN MUCH THE SAME LIGHT AS DETAINEES, EXPECTED THAT BECAUSE OF AN EVENTUAL AMNESTY THEY WOULD NOT SERVE THEIR SENTENCES IN FULL (AN EXPECTATION WHICH THE PARAMILITARY ORGANISATIONS OUTSIDE THE PRISON ENCOURAGED) AND THAT AS A RESULT SENTENCES FOR MURDER AND OTHER SERIOUS CRIMES HAD LOST MUCH OF THEIR DETERRENT EFFECT. THE COMMITTEE ALSO REJECTED THE IDEA THAT MEN SENTENCED IN THE COURTS SHOULD BE

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GIVEN SPECIAL TREATMENT BECAUSE OF AN ALLEGED POLITICAL MOTIVE AND THEY CRITICISED THE COMPOUND SYSTEM BECAUSE OF THE VIRTUAL TOTAL LOSS OF DISCIPLINARY CONTROL BY THE PRISON AUTHORITIES WHICH IT ENTAILED. THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE GOVERNMENT AT PRESENT STANDS (NO POLITICAL STATUS, NO DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT, AND NO SURRENDER OF CONTROL) ARE, IT WILL BE SEEN, WHOLLY CONSISTENT WITH THE GARDINER COMMITTEE'S FINDINGS.

4. OF THE SO-CALLED FIVE DEMANDS, THREE (OWN CLOTHING, NO PRISON WORK, AND FREE ASSOCIATION) SIMPLY REPRESENT THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SPECIAL CATEGORY REGIME. THE PRISONERS RECOGNISE THAT HMG IS NOT GOING TO LEAVE NEWLY BUILT PRISON ACCOMMODATION EMPTY IN ORDER TO CREATE FRESH COMPOUNDS SO THE DETAIL OF THE VARIOUS PRISONERS DEMANDS ALLOWS FOR THE FACT THAT THE REGIME THEY WANT WILL HAVE TO BE APPLIED, NOT IN A HUTTED COMPOUND, BUT WITHIN AN H-BLOCK AND, FAILING THE WHOLE BLOCK, AT ANY RATE WITHOUT ONE WING OF IT. WHAT THEY WOULD LIKE, IN SHORT, IS A SITUATION IN WHICH EACH WING BECOMES A SELF-CONTAINED COMPOUND WITH PRISON STAFF NORMALLY EXCLUDED AND WITHIN IT FREEDOM TO DO WHAT THEY WANT UNSUPERVISED BY PRISON STAFF. BECAUSE THE WINGS ARE SMALLER THAN THE COMPOUNDS THEY ALSO WANT THE FACILITY FOR MOVEMENT AT THEIR DISCRETION BETWEEN WINGS AND, AT ANY RATE FOR INDIVIDUALS, BETWEEN BLOCKS: ONE WAY OF SECURING THE LATTER IS BY HANDING OVER TO THE PRISONERS, AS HAS BEEN SUGGESTED, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING CLASSES. CHOSEN PARAMILITARY 'OFFICERS' COULD, THEN AS 'TEACHERS', MOVE FREELY THROUGH THE PRISON POPULATION.

5. OF THE TWO REMAINING DEMANDS ONE (LETTERS, VISITS, PARCELS ETC) HAS NEVER BEEN A SERIOUS ISSUE SINCE THE PRESENT SCALE FOR CONFORMING PRISONERS IS AS GENEROUS AS THE DEMAND, THOUGH EVEN HERE IN THEIR PURSUIT OF THE SPECIAL CATEGORY REGIME, QUITE A LOT HAS BEEN MADE OF THE DIFFERENCE IN PERMITTED WEIGHT OF THE PARCELS ALLOWED FOR SPECIAL CATEGORY PRISONERS ON THE ONE HAND AND FOR CONFORMING PRISONERS ON THE OTHER. THE FIFTH DEMAND (RESTORATION OF LOST REMISSION) IS IMPORTANT NOT SIMPLY BECAUSE IT WOULD SHORTEN THE TERMS OF IMPRISONMENT OF THE PROTESTING PRISONERS BUT ALSO BECAUSE, IF CONCEDED AS A RIGHT, IT COULD (AND WOULD) BE

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REPRESENTED AS A GOVERNMENT ADMISSION THAT THE PROTEST ACTION HAD BEEN JUSTIFIED ALL ALONG AND THE DECISION TO PHASE OUT SPECIAL CATEGORY WRONG.

6. THERE ARE TWO REASONS WHY COMMENTATORS COULD CONCLUDE THAT THE GAP BETWEEN THE PRISONERS AND HMG IS NOW NARROW. THE FIRST IS THAT PROVISIONAL PROPAGANDA NO LONGER FEATURES POLITICAL STATUS AND, THEREBY, DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT AND THIS HAS BEEN PRESENTED AS A CONCESSION. BUT POLITICAL STATUS WAS ALWAYS A WEAKNESS OF THE PROVISIONALS' POSITION BECAUSE SO MANY GOVERNMENTS AND RESPONSIBLE AUTHORITIES HAVE SPECIFICALLY REJECTED IT. IT IS NOT SURPRISING THEREFORE THAT THEY NOW SOFT-PEDAL IT. FURTHER, WERE THE FIVE DEMANDS TO BE CONCEDED, IT WOULD THEN BE POSSIBLE TO CLAIM (WITH A GOOD DEAL OF JUSTICE) THAT POLITICAL STATUS HAD BEEN CONCEDED IN FACT IF NOT IN NAME. MUCH THE SAME IS TRUE OF THE DEMAND FOR DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT: WHAT MATTERS TO THE PRISONERS IS THAT THEY GET THE REGIME THEY WANT. IF IT IS DIFFERENT FROM THAT FOR ORDINARY PRISONERS SO MUCH THE BETTER BUT THAT IS A SECONDARY MATTER.

7. SECONDLY, WITH POLITICAL STATUS AND DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT NOW (APPARENTLY) NOT AT ISSUE, THE PROBLEM CAN BE INTERPRETED SIMPLY AS ONE ABOUT PRISON CONDITIONS, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT IS PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING, SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS AND RESOURCES AND MAINTAINING SECURITY: WHY NOT 'DO SOMETHING' NOW THEREFORE? FURTHER CLOTHING, WORK AND ASSOCIATION ARE ALL AREAS IN WHICH EVOLUTION IS POSSIBLE, FOR A LIBERAL MINDED ADMINISTRATION DEALING WITH A PRISON POPULATION PREPARED TO ACCEPT A LIBERAL REGIME. WHAT DIVIDES THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRISONERS IS THE REAL MOTIVE WHICH EACH HAS IN CONTEMPLATING CHANGE. THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO MAKE A GOOD REGIME BETTER, THE PRISONERS WANT TO SUBSTITUTE A QUITE DIFFERENT REGIME FROM THE GOOD ONE THAT IS OFFERED. THE SUGGESTION THAT THE CASE FOR THE PRISONERS IS A HUMANITARIAN ONE IS NONSENSE. THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES ARE OF PRINCIPLE AND ARE NOT EASILY RESOLVED. THE DIFFERENCE IS CRUCIAL FOR SEVERAL REASONS.

(I) THE PRISONERS WANT A SPECIAL CATEGORY-TYPE REGIME NOT BECAUSE IT IS 'BETTER' BUT BECAUSE IT IS PLAINLY

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NOT AN ORDINARY PRISON REGIME, BUT ONE APPROPRIATE RATHER TO POLITICAL PRISONERS AND/OR PRISONERS OF WAR AND WHICH WOULD FACILITATE MAINTAINING THE PARAMILITARY STRUCTURE. TO BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT THE GOVERNMENT WERE IN PRACTICE TREATING THEM AS THE LATTER WOULD BE A GREAT GAIN FOR THE PROVISIONALS SINCE IT WOULD CONFER A SORT OF LEGITIMACY ON THEIR METHODS AS WELL AS ON THEIR AIMS. IT WOULD DIRECTLY PREJUDICE THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM BY REDUCING THE DETERRENT EFFECT OF SENTENCES AND ENCOURAGING PRISONERS TO EXPECT AN AMNESTY.

(II) THE PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS TO A SPECIAL CATEGORY-TYPE REGIME DETECTED BY THE GARDINER COMMITTEES IN 1975 REMAIN VALID. THEY ARE STRENGTHENED IF WHAT IS NOW CONTEMPLATED IS SUCH A REGIME APPLIED TO ALL PRISONERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

(III) IT WOULD BE VERY RISKY FOR THE GOVERNMENT TO GO AHEAD WITH IMPROVEMENTS HOPING TOAT IT WAS DEALING WITH PRISONERS WHO DID ACCEPT THE REGIME, AND VERY FOOLISH TO DO SO KNOWING THAT THEY DID NOT. FIRST, ANY IMPROVEMENTS THE GOVERNMENT CAN MAKE WILL FALL WELL SHORT OF THE FIVE DEMANDS: SO MAKING THEM WHILE THE FIVE DEMANDS IN FULL ARE STILL ON THE TABLE SERIOUSLY RISKS PROLONGING THE HUNGER STRIKE IN THE HOPE THAT THAT WILL SECURE THE BALANCE. SECOND, A LASTING RESOLUTION OF THE PROTEST WILL BE REACHED ONLY WHEN THE PRISONERS ACCEPT THAT CONTROL - APPLIED INTELLIGENTLY AND WITH RESTRAINT - IS A MATTER FOR THE PRISON AUTHORITIES AND IT IS THE LATTER WHO MUST IN THE END DECIDE HOW MUCH CONTROL IS ENOUGH. WHILE THIS ISSUE IS UNRESOLVED, PALLIATIVES LIKE EXTENDING THE RANGE OF WORK (EVEN A DECISION TO ALLOW OWN CLOTHES ALL THE TIME) CANNOT OFFER A LONG TERM SOLUTION AND MIGHT ACTUALLY, IF INTRODUCED ON A BASIS OF MISUNDERSTANDING AS BETWEEN THE PRISONERS, THE PRISON AUTHORITIES, AND GOVERNMENT, MAKE THINGS WORSE.

8. IT IS SOMETIMES SUGGESTED THAT THE HUNGER STRIKE WOULD HAVE ENDED BUT FOR POOR COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HMG AND THE PROTESTING

/PRISONERS.

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PRISONERS. IF THIS ARGUMENT IS PUT FORWARD, YOU SHOULD SAY THAT
HMG WANTS TO SEE THE HUNGER STRIKES ENDED AND IS NOT IN THE
BUSINESS OF INVENTING UNNECESSARY OBSTACLES.

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