

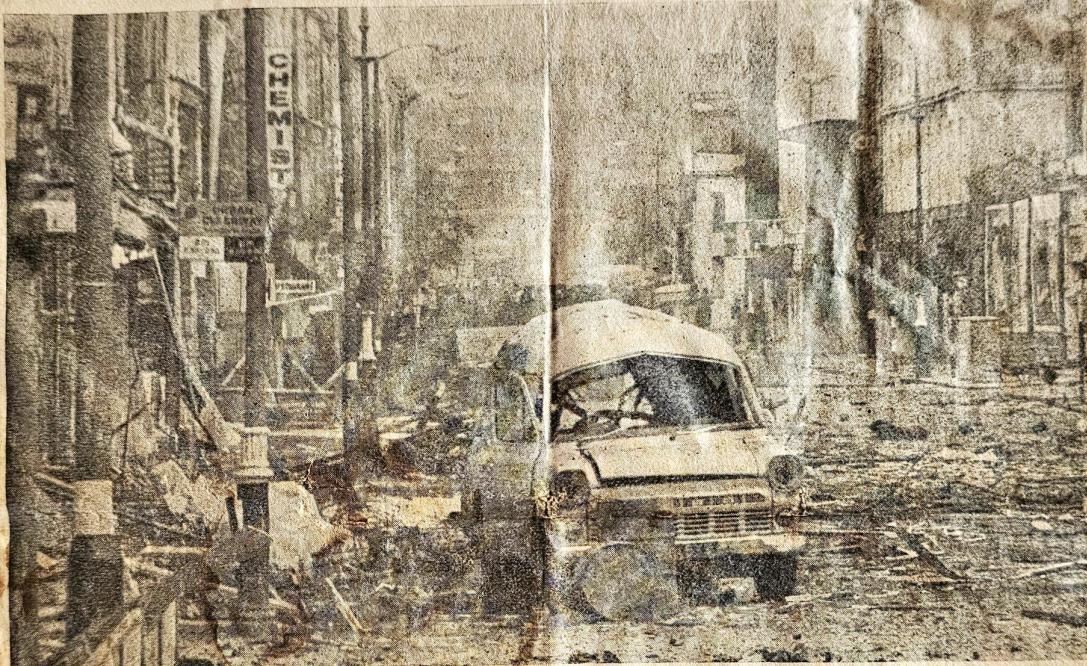
VOLUNTEER

VOICE OF REPUBLICAN DERRY

Iml. 1. Uimhir 3.

29ú Meán Fómhair, 1972

LUACH 5p



THE REASON WHY

A BOMB EXPLODES in a city shopping centre. A not unusual occurrence in the North of Ireland. Before the smoke and flames have cleared, the numerous opponents of the Republican Movement have voiced their condemnation and outrage at this latest example of "Political irresponsibility."

Television, Radio, The Press all rush to give full coverage to these unrepresentative elements; the political commentators drool repulsively over the utterances of spokesmen from political organisations of such diverse shades of opinion as The Alliance Party, The Unionist Party, The S.D.L.P., and the Vanguard Movement.

But no-one asks to hear the Republican viewpoint.

No Republicans are invited to appear on the T.V. chat-shows. No lengthy interviews are granted in the more "sophisticated," more "advanced" magazines and publications. Is this not a strange state of affairs? The economy of the 6 Counties has been virtually destroyed. The shopping

centres of Belfast, Derry, Newry, Dungannon, Strabane, and many more towns have been systematically blitzed, yet no "responsible" person seems interested in the reason why.

The Irish Republican Army is at war with Britain. We did not declare war. On the 22nd of May, 1971, Mr. Maudling,

the then Home Secretary, told the assembled House at Westminster that the British people were at war with the I.R.A.

The purpose of war is to defeat one's enemy, to reduce radically his ability to maintain the war effort, to force him to bargain with his conquerors. In a Guerrilla Warfare situation

the enemy is usually a highly trained, superbly equipped Regular Army with immeasurably more troops than the Guerrilla Army. Such is the case in the 6 Counties.

To combat this superior manpower it was decided that Economic targets, as much as Military Targets, were valid

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EDITORIAL

As everyone is well aware there is much talk of a political settlement. The round table talks are of no significance or importance as the 3 parties who are attending this charade namely the Unionist, Alliance and N.I.L.P. have no real standing among the population of N.I.

Regardless of who may enter into negotiation or discussion unless the Irish Republican Army have a say at these meetings they are of no relevance. The Republican Movement have given the lead this past two years in political initiatives. Among our proposals are included the concept of a "New Ireland" based on the idea of Regional Government. A new Social and Economic Programme for the 32 Counties of Ireland, and the ending of all repressive laws and powers.

None of this can be achieved while Britain continues to hold or dominate any part of Ireland.

Peace nor Justice can never be realised while her armed presence is maintained.

Instead of prolonging the agony of our People and our Land let Britain make her "Declaration of Intent" to withdraw from Ireland.

Then we can have an "All Ireland Conference" where all shades of opinion will be present and where the solution to Ireland's problems will be resolved by Irishmen.

An Teanga

"Ní amháin saor ach Gaelach comh maith." —Sin an rud a dírt an Piarsach trí scór bliain ó shoin ag uaigní Uí Donnabhain Rossa, agus sin go díreach an aidhm atá ag glúaiseacht na Poblachta inniu.

Tá daoine ann inniu agus mhaofn siad gur Poblachtóirí iad agus níl meas díl laghad acu ar an teanga. Tamall ó shoin, dírt treoraidhe an N.L.F. i nDoire nach rabh sa teanga ach "means of communication" agus go rabh aon teanga chomh maith le teanga ar bith eile. Níl mé a rá nach Poblachtóir an fear thusa luateach tá mé a rá nach Poblachtóir gaelach é. Nuair a thioicfais Poblacht na h-Eireann i réim glaicealbha an teanga an chéad áit i dtaca le teangacha de. Go dtí sin tá ar gach gael a dhithcheall a dhéanamh leis an teanga a foghlaim, a theagasc agus a chur a labhairt ar fud na tire. Tá bunús na bhear 6g atá ag troid ar son sacairse inniu ag iarradh an teanga a fholum nuaire a bhíos failt acu. Cruthú é seo go bhfuil an teanga sábháilte. 'Fhad is go bhfuil an t-áos óg ceangailte le cuis na Gaeilge, nil baol dón teanga.

ically for each and every scurrilous, ignorant and dishonest cliché they can hurriedly grasp.

"Imperial Might is Always Right, the Natives Always Wrong," Would seem to sum up their warped doctrine. In their minds the lives of Freedom Fighters are cheap, of no account, compared with any loss of earning or profit the major British Financial Companies may have to face.

The Bombing Campaign which the Irish Republican Army is engaged in is not an indiscriminate terror campaign aimed at either Protestant or Catholic civilians. Each and every bomb which explodes in the 6 Counties of Occupied Ireland has been placed for a Definite, Realisable Objective, namely the Immediate Withdrawal of British Occupation Forces and British Economic Domination from Irish soil.

War is not pretty; a bomb exploding in a City Centre Shopping Complex is not pretty but neither is the sight of a man in chains, a worker deprived of wealth which is legally and morally his, a family without a decent home, a Nation without Life, without Justice, without Freedom.

Fire at Will

An interesting fact uncovered while processing captured British Army documents, is that during a nineteen day period, the total amount of live ammunition fired by only three companies of the B.A. based in Derry was as follows.

7.62 (S.L.R.) 118 rounds, 35 Tracer rounds, 10 Sterling rounds, 1 Flash grenade.

During this period they also fired a grand total of 381 Rubber Bullets.

According to the "Yellow Card" instructions issued to each individual British Soldier, fire must "only" be directed at "clearly identifiable targets," i.e. "gunmen petrol bombers" etc.

Therefore the number of live rounds fired during this period should account for almost 150 dead or wounded Derrymen.

"England Expects"

A high ranking officer in the British Army dismissed the matter of heavier casualties as "understandable because of the bigger concentration of troops." As Ireland well knows, that has always been the attitude of the British about readily obtainable "cannon fodder." On the other hand, the British cry loudest and broadcast their bitterest propaganda about the bombing campaign - because it hits them where it hurts most, economically and financially.

RUC SPECIAL BRANCH

ANNUAL OUTING

Members of the above organisation are reminded that the Annual Outing will take place soon. It has been decided after consultation with the G.O.C. Tuzo that it would be in order to run a bus to Buncranna this year.

This is in place of our usual event of getting sloshed and beating up defenceless detainees and internees.

Those mad enough to go on the outing give their Name, Address, Last Will and Testament to the Entertainment Officer.

Don't forget to bring your own flask, sandwiches, flakjacket, tin helmet and insurance.

Trusting in your safe return.
Entertainment Officer.

The Reason Why

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operations in the overall strategy of Urban Guerrilla Warfare.

A large Imperial Nation can only maintain large concentrations of troops in any given area while its economy is solvent and can withstand the resulting immense expense. This realisation of the Military Potential of Economic Destruction thus inspired The Bombing Campaign.

A building is merely an edifice of brick and mortar. When a bomb explodes within it, not only is the actual edifice destroyed, but the resulting Economic Destruction, i.e. Bomb Damage, Compensation, Loss of Business etc, is calculated to create the maximum stress on the British Economy.

The bombing of selected targets is a legitimate and commonly accepted tactic in war. When the British bombed Dresden, an industrial city of little

or no military significance, killing in the process thousands of innocent Germans, there was no horrified outcry from the Politicians and the Clergy; when the Americans dropped the Atomic Bomb on Hiroshima, killing hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese men, women and children.

There were no demands for the immediate execution of these war-mongers; when the British murdered thousands of Kenyans in Concentration Camps during the Liberation Struggle, the "voices of Reason and Humanity" were strangely silent; and yet, when a British-contrived plan lures civilians into a Bomb-warning Area in Belfast, thus ensuring many casualties and maximum Propaganda, the upholders of this mysterious "Law and Order" hypocrisy, are searching frantically,

EIRE NUA

The Constitution of Sinn Féin advocates not merely the complete overthrow of English rule in Ireland but also the setting up of a Democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916.

Among our objectives are the establishment of "a reign of social justice based on Christian principles by a just distribution and effective control of the nation's wealth and resources," and the institution of "a system of government suited to the particular needs of the people."

Sinn Féin has never looked on the ending of British rule in Ireland as an end in itself but rather as a means to restore the "ownership of Ireland to the people of Ireland" (1916 Proclamation). In the words of the Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann 1919 which quoted Pádraic Pearse:

"We declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation and with Pearse we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare."

Sinn Féin seeks to establish a system in which exploitation of man by man will not feature and which will be truly democratic right down through society.

"We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of Liberty, Equality and Justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people." (Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann, 1919)

Over the past few years much time and effort was devoted within Sinn Féin to preparing this Social and Economic Programme which we have now published.

Some of those who were involved in an attempt to take over the Republican Movement had it suppressed, however, in favour of a more extreme draft outline which was never published. During the past 12 months the programme has been revised, updated and prepared for publication.

In the drafting of this programme our aim has been to outline a social and economic system which would strike a balance between Western individualistic capitalism with its poor and hungry amid plenty on the right and Eastern Soviet state capitalism (or any of its variations) with its denial of freedom and human rights on the left.

We hope this programme will be widely reported, read and studied. Constructive criticism and comments will be welcomed because it is realised that as circumstances change, plans of this nature need to be revised and changed.

"It is the duty of the nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people."

"In return for willing service we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour." (Democratic Programme of Dáil Éireann, 1919).

IN FUTURE ISSUES OF VOLUNTEER A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF EIRE NUA RELEVANT TO PART OF THE COUNTRY WILL BE PUBLISHED. THESE ARTICLES ARE OPEN TO COMMENT FROM ANY POLITICAL GROUPING OR INDIVIDUAL. ALL QUERIES AND DISCUSSION ARE WELCOMED.

THE FIRST OF THESE ARTICLES SHALL CONCENTRATE ON THE SOCIAL SERVICES.

Things they said

TRI
Important as political action is, there may be a necessity for a greater physical demonstration of the power of the majority.

Mr. John Taylor.

"Real settlement has to be worked for in the spirit of give and take."

Brian Faulkner.

"Arm the People."

John Taylor.

"When we call the tune, White-law will listen."

Billy Hull.

"The Para's were guilty of cold-blooded murder."

Councillor Hugh Smyth.
(Shankill Rd.)

"The Ulsterman is the prototype Britain."

Louis Gardiner.
Secretary Vanguard Association.

ASSASSINS

Lately there has been much speculation in the Press, and among many members of Parliament as to whether the infamous S.A.S. are carrying out their hideous activities in the North of Ireland.

Anyone with any knowledge of the Indendence struggles of Cyprus, Aden and Malaya will know of the exploits and tactics of these underground assassination squads, attached to the British Army. These squads are designed to infiltrate the ranks of the opposing sides, pick out the top men, assassinate them, then blame another faction on the killings, with the intention of producing an air of mistrust in these organisations.

This will produce the "Divide and Conquer" maxim leaving the British once again on top.

There have been many stories from the commencement of this campaign by the I.R.A. that the S.A.S. are at present engaged in the North. Indeed there have been many incidents which have so far remained "unexplained." There have been many killings which still remain a "mystery." The most recent occurrences

have led the N.I.C.R.A. and others to ask what Republicans have been saying for long enough. IS THE S.A.S. ACTIVE HERE?

We would say that there is complete truth in this question. Recall the following events, (a few of the many.)

1. The unexplained shootings of both Protestants and Catholics from passing cars, this having the effect of further sectarian strife.

2. Two brothers from Belfast's Ballymurphy shot in the legs by a man lying hiding in a garden. As they lay bleeding, a saracen pulled up and the assailant jumped inside.

3. Four ex-internees shot while standing at a taxi-rank. The British Army later admitted that plain clothes soldiers fired at I.R.A. gunmen.

Plain clothes soldiers are the S.A.S.

The S.A.S. are here and are engaged in creating a divide in our community.

Be wary of such happenings. Be careful of Rumour. Do not allow dissension between ourselves bring about a situation of any benefit to Britain.

AND WE ONLY OWE THE RENT

"The U.S. Treasury reported yesterday that foreign Governments still owe the U.S.A. £19,320m in debts dating back to World War I. Britain is the biggest debtor with £1,575m in loans and credits during and since World War 2 and another £3,920m in principal and interest on an original World War I debt of £1,845m."

Irish Times 23rd December

Support the Irish Language.

Enrol with Cumman Na Gaeltachta.

Become a fluent speaker of your national language.



Checkpoint "Charlies"

The British Army states that it Britain has to find "something is necessary to search every person to do" for the 21,000 layabouts and vehicle leaving the Bogside she has stationed here. This type area. This they say is in the of civilian harrassment is as good interest of security. Who do they a way as any for keeping some of think they are kidding.

Friend or Foe

During the last war, and in its resounding aftermath, the Berlin Wall, the Cold War, Korea, and the many colonist battles Britain embarked on, it was the accepted standard process for the British military authorities to recruit its intelligence units from the establishment journalistic intelligencia.

The more "serious" newspapers including "The London Times," "The Observer," "The Daily Telegraph," and all papers possessing over-seas correspondents, had many of their reporters working for British Intelligence. Malcolm Muggeridge, Claudio Cockburn, and Kim Philby were among the more well-known individuals involved in this activity.

The essence of intelligence work is to create and maintain contact with the organisations or individuals under scrutiny. Ideally to achieve this contact one must gain access to these groups either through long established familiarity or friendship with individuals within the group or through having association with them on a professional or semi-professional basis.

Journalists, more so than any other body of people, have this ability to associate with various, occasionally divergent organisations, and thus have every opportunity to gauge their respective strength and weaknesses, their over-all structures, and

revolutionary potential.

In "Free Derry," prior to the mass invasion of the area, many journalists, including a large number from Europe and America, openly toured the Bogside and Creggan, photographing and documenting any activity thought news-worthy. How many of these journalists were genuine and how many were employed in one capacity or another by the British Intelligence Network?

More recently, the absurd, sensationalist articles of Miss Maria McGuire were all made possible by the actions of one Colin Smith, a reporter for "The Observer," and furthermore, the forthcoming book from Miss McGuire will be published by a firm whose chief is the former head of British Intelligence in the Far East! Coincidence or design?

Intelligence networks are never haphazard arrangements. The whole structure is carefully and meticulously prepared long before any action has been contemplated. The head of German intelligence at the outbreak of World War 2 was a British agent, Col. Canaris. Michael Collins was able to infiltrate his agents into Dublin Castle before any major outbreak of hostilities.

Always remember, a Volunteer talks to no-one, except his Superior officers, and then, only on their instruction. Each and every

THE PARAS

When the British sent their Crack Terrorist Regiment to Ireland during the period March 1920 - July 1921, they expected the early collapse of the Irish Revolutionary Movement. Far from achieving these aims the brutal excesses of the notorious Tans strengthened the resolve and determination of the Irish people to resist oppression.

The years 1971 - 72 have seen the re-emergence of Britain's latest specialist Terrorist Squad, THE PARA'S.

Trained as the elite of the British Army, THE PARA'S are all hand picked soldiers. To become a PARA one must first undertake the normal basic training given to all soldiers. This must be accomplished far and above the usual standard required. After completion of basic training they may apply for acceptance to the Parachute Regiment, with the recommendation of a Senior Officer.

If considered Suitable Material they now embark on a most

gruelling course of in-depth training. At the conclusion of this course these men will have mastered the art of Weaponry, Explosives, Sabotage, Unarmed Combat and Survival in Alien conditions.

This may appear attractive to many people but the basic and unpleasant truth behind this strenuous programme is that these men have been trained to kill More Quickly, MORE EFFICIENTLY, without the slightest feeling of conscience or remorse.

Such was the calibre of these men who cold bloodedly shot down Joe Mc Cann of Belfast, who butchered 14 civilians on "Bloody Sunday" in Derry and who murdered two people on the Shankill Road some time ago.

They stand condemned of these crimes against the Irish people. All their terror, all their brutality serves not to instil fear in the Irish people but to inspire them in their struggle to create a society wherein these trained killers will find no welcome.

THANKS

The people of Derry wish to thank The Order of the Knights of Malta for their untiring work throughout the troubles. Without their help, many would surely have suffered unnecessarily.

3 for the pot

The awards for the most unlikely of the British soldiers in Creggan must surely go to the following "three musketeers" who are members of the daily nut, (sorry) foot patrol.

One is a blond haired yokel who struts around with a camping knife stuck in his belt. Residents of Melmore have been suggesting various other places they would willingly stick it, if he so desired. It appears his special talents are the provoking and harrassment of the

women of Creggan. We would remind him that blond hair makes a fine target, also to advise this creep to "cool it" while he can.

The next is a friend of the above. This pathetic prototype of "spare part surgery" sports a red beard. His contribution to Britains war effort are similar to "Jim Bolie's." He too would be advised to take out that little bit of extra insurance not for his beard, but his health in general.

Last but not least, we have a black man who wears glasses. Here again the tactics are the same. This "banana muncher" should find a tree to hide in, especially after what we have heard regarding his conduct.

By the way in case these three yobs are interested, the first prize in this competition is a One Way Ticket To Hell.

sympathiser and supporter of the Republican Movement should be likewise. Your friendly journalist foreign tourist, milkman, gasman, dept collector, may be of immense value to the opponents of the Republican Movement.

THE PROVISIONALS

CCIO

Are they leftists or rightists? Revolutionaries or counter revolutionaries? Conor Cruise O'Brien says they are Green Fascists. Garret Fitzgerald the most articulate opposition spokesman in the Dail compares them with the Nazis and the OAS (but in Dr. Fitzgeralds looking glass world the conservative Fine Gael party to which he himself belongs is "social-democratic," so where does that leave us). The official wing of the IRA, which calls itself Marxist, lines up with O'Brien and Fitzgerald in denouncing the Provisionals as ultra-rightists. Only the Provisionals, it seems, dissent. They say they are "democratic socialists."

This confusion has its origin in the controversy which split the Republican Movement two years

by DAVID GEORGE
of the "NEW STATESMAN"

ago. In the aftermath of the British Army's traumatic intervention in Belfast and in Derry, proposals for a "new departure" in Republican strategy were put to both a secret IRA convention and an open conference of the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein. The new departure involved the merging of the Republican Movement into a national liberation front with Irish communists and militant socialist groups. The front was conceived as a constitutional movement aiming to capture parliamentary seats in Dublin, Belfast and Westminster. This was a dramatic reversal of the IRA's traditional refusal to recognise "partition parliaments," and by the movements constitution it requires a two thirds majority. This was duly notched up at the IRA convention, thus committing the military wing to constitutional politics; but the required majority wasn't forthcoming at the Sinn Fein conference with the comic-opera result that Sinn Fein was lumbered with a commitment to go on supporting methods of armed struggle which the IRA itself had just abandoned. So the movement split. Supporters of the new departure took possession of the "official" IRA and Sinn Fein, while opponents set up a Provisional Army Council (harking back to the 1916 proclamation of the "Provisional Government of the Irish Republic") with its own Provisional Sinn Fein.

The circumstances of the split gave rise to the myth that the

WHO ARE THE PROVISIONALS? Terrorists, Thugs and assassins, of course. Men of such persuasive charm that they must be banned from British television screens lest their case contradicts Mr. Maudling's. But what are their politics? Is there a social philosophy behind their M1 carbines?

"officials" are Marxist politicos and the Provisionals are mere gun-toting political illiterates devoid of social ideas. Certainly the "officials" have leaders who are passably fluent in pidgin-Marxism but that doesn't get anyone very far along the road to revolution

In the North, the Officials have been able to avoid total displacement by the Provisionals only by abandoning their new departure and falling back on half-hearted imitations of Provisional armed struggle.

In the South, the upsurge of popular sympathy for Provisional "freedom-fighters" has been accompanied by a marked decline in support for the official agitation on social issues.

The Provisionals have retained mass support and a potential for increasing it further. By their opposition to the new departure they can properly claim to be the legatees of traditional Republicanism. But that legacy is full of agonisms of Republicans have failed to resolve.

It has been widely assumed that the 1970 split at long last separated the Right from the Left. It did nothing of the kind. Many left wingers who might have been expected to support the "officials" in fact joined the Provisionals believing both that the new departure would alienate mass (Catholic) support, and that recognition of "partition parliaments" involved an unacceptable compromise with the institutions of British and Irish capitalism. This was, if anything, an ultra left rather than a right wing posture.

Certainly the Provisionals have gone to some pains to underline their claim to be a movement of the Left. Their new "Social and Economic Programme" begins with the statement that they advocate "not merely the complete over-throw of English rule in Ireland but also the setting up of a Democratic Socialist Republic.

The expulsion of British Rule from the North is described as 'not an end in itself but a means to restore the ownership of Ireland.'

Patrick Pearse is approvingly quoted in his assertion that all rights to private property must be



No Sell-out

It was with great interest that we read the recent statement from The People's Democracy that they intend to set up an Irish Citizen's Army "to join in the Military as well as Political struggle."

The People's Democracy, while agreeing in principle with most of the aims and objectives of the Provisional I.R.A., and, while admiring their Volunteers as "brave guerilla fighters, fighting an anti-imperialist war" seem to have, unfortunately, been led astray by the continuous stream of anti-Republican propaganda poured forth constantly from British-dominated media sources.

The P.D. accuse us of having an insipid political programme. To us, this reveals a surprising, and saddening, lack of political insight. The P.D. is one of the few political organisations in the North which has shown a determination, a consistency, a political realism, and a courage on a par with the Republican Movement. On many occasions they have joined with the Republican Movement in exposing and combating injustice and exploitation.

They must, and should realise, that all the most original, most practical, and most far reaching political proposals made during the present situation have come from the Republican Movement.

Have the People's Democracy forgotten "Eire Nua," our comprehensive social and Economic Programme? Have they forgotten the Dail Uladh concept, the proposed creation of four Regional Assemblies which would administer for the people of Ireland on a basis of community socialist enterprise.

The People's Democracy talk of political sell-outs.

We reiterate our position. There is no possibility of the Provisional leadership making a deal with Britain. Any discussions so far have been conducted on a basis of mutual equality. We argue from a position of strength. This struggle has been too long, too arduous, too full of suffering and anguish for the Republican Movement to fall into any British-contrived political trap. There will be no phony Settlement, no re-partition of Ireland. We continue this struggle until the Imperial Might of Britain, both military and Economic, is for once and all removed and a 32 County Democratic, Socialist Republic created for the benefit and prosperity of the people of Ireland.

In conclusion, we would ask the People's Democracy to join with

Activities of the UDA

"THE MAD BOMBERS STRUCK AGAIN ON SUNDAY MORNING"

(the headlines should have read, but did not.) The bombers bombed (1) a chemist shop, (2) a butcher's shop, (3) a handy man's shop, (4) a bakery, (5) an ice cream shop, (6) 4 houses in Colinton Street, (7) a cafe. None of these explosions reached the headlines, I wonder why. It is also worth mentioning that NO warnings were given.

The above list of bombings reads like another "Bloody Friday", except that the British Propaganda Press did not dress

it up as they did Bloody Friday's bombings. Why not? Well, when it is revealed that all the premises were Catholic, and that they were all bombed by the U.D.A. and not the I.R.A., there is good reason for them not to be mentioned in the press.

It certainly would not do for Mr. Whitelaw to get a sour impression of his loyal subjects. They do not do these sort of things, but Mr. Whitelaw should be aware of the fact that extreme loyalists have bombed before, long before the I.R.A. bombed, and he should be left in no doubt that these extreme loyalists have all the equipment required to carry out such activities at will !!

TEA-TIME FOR TOMMY

The age old trick by the British of "divide and conquer" has taken many perverted forms in the past. Their twisted minds are forever seeking out new ways of implementing this tactic. Their latest method used against the women of Creggan and Bogside who bravely try their best to show their resentment at the presence of British troops is to threaten the women by spreading false rumours that they (the British) have their tea in certain homes.

This tactic has already been used against some of our women and has been brought to the attention of the Irish Republican Army.

We are fully aware of the fact that the women of Creggan and Bogside abhor the "Creatures" that are engaged in this low form of intimidation. And we also fully realise the depths these people are capable of to attempt to create suspicion amongst us. We trust that their futile attempts will not unduly alarm you and that you shall continue in your efforts.

us in our struggle. We are all engaged in the one task, the reconquest of Ireland and in our opinion, organisations such as the P.D. should be with the Republican Movement, in the vanguard of the revolutionary Movement.

Song of the Dawn

The residents of Circular and the Heights have told us that they have been puzzled recently by a mysterious "dawn chorus." They later discovered it was British soldiers who had been on guard duty throughout the night at the compound greeting the "light of day" with a song. It is common knowledge that those selected for this type of duty are reluctant to serve.

Their singing is obviously their way of expressing relief of seeing another day breaking.

Before they exhaust their vocal chords they would do well to reflect on these words taken from a popular song.

"Someday I'll wish upon a star
And wake up where the
Clouds are far.
Behind me."

SPECIAL COURTS

The decision by the Westminster Government to establish "Special Courts" in the North must be resisted by any means possible by all those who profess to uphold democracy. The people must be made fully aware of the implications that will arise unless this latest method of repression is halted now. Special Courts have been offered as a means to end internment while still holding on to, as Whitelaw states "the hard core of the Provisionals." This is totally unjust as the men or women who are brought before this "Tribunal" have already been labeled as such, therefore their chances of justice are non-existent.

Certain groups have welcomed the introduction of these courts obviously believing that they are immune to their powers. If they would, for a moment view the situation in its proper perspective they undoubtedly would fully realise the serious trouble bound to result if these courts are allowed to proceed.

The Special Powers have been, not only used, but amended to suit the occasion whereby a person does not necessarily have to belong to any particular organisation.

that Britain deems illegal, merely advocating membership will suffice to be liable to trial at these courts.

Unfortunately the people in the 26 Counties allowed the introduction of similar courts by Jack Lynch. These have been used on many occasions against Republicans. The people of the 26 Counties must force Lynch's manouvers to fail.

The Republican Movement have been accused of wanting internment to last solely for the sympathy of the people. Our main accuser has been the S.D.P., who had been led up the garden path by Westminster into believing they were "special."

All along we had stated that internees would be held as hostage but by Britain and this has now proved so. They also tend to forget that it is all Provisionals sympathisers that are incarcerated in these jails and who will suffer at the so called "mercy" of these courts.

The Republican Movement calls upon ALL the people of N.I. to reject this move and ensure the release of all those men whom this "criminal justice" will be used against.

VOLUNTEER

wants to hear from YOU.

Write to us Now.
Give your letter article etc. to any 'Volunteer' seller

Readers Write

The focus of attention regarding British Army brutality and harassment of the population is obviously centred on the Bogside and Creggan.

We would like to bring to your notice that since Operation Motorman British Army activity in the Gobnascale area has increased.

Homes have been raided and wrecked. People has been dragged from their bed in the early hours of the morning. British soldiers have terrorised women and young children during these incursions.

Deliberate provocation by British troops is an open invitation to incite young people to riot, thus giving these so called "upholders of law and order" the excuse to retaliate with C.S. Gas and Rubber Bullets.

The same manner of degrading "spot checks" of persons and belongings take place here as in the Creggan and Bogside.

Accounts of these and various incidents are rarely reported in the news media whose policy it appears, with the sanction of the British Government, to impose a total blackout on all impartial reporting.

In future we shall ensure the detailed and honest account of all incidents sparked off by the Security forces by reporting them ourselves to the Volunteer.

Yours M. McLAUGHLIN
Gobnascale.

A Chara,

After operation "Carcan" the residents of Creggan were subjected to British Army harassment in the form of heavy foot patrols, army vehicles and general abuse of the people.

The residents decided to combat this type of repression by organising sit-ins in their various streets.

Even under threats from the British bully boys, they refused to budge and it has proven effective.

Now we should organise ourselves again in a final attempt to rid our streets completely of these gun-happy thugs.

Is Mise Le Meas,
Melmore Resident.

Whitelaw continues to deny that torture of Republicans is no longer carried out.

Recently four men from the Waterside were arrested by the R.U.C. and taken to Victoria Barracks.

Among tortures endured by these men were beatings, slashed with razors and handcuffed by shackles designed to cut into their wrists.

Despite their ordeal these men remained in good spirits.

Waterside Republicans are inspired by their steadiness under this repression.

WATERSIDE REPUBLICAN.

Quick Change Artistes

The Whitelaw Administration refuses to deal with "Terrorists." The Provisional I.R.A. are excluded from the farcical Round-Table Conference at Blackhall Grange. The British Government are all aware that the Republican Movement, the true representatives of the Irish People, will not have any part in their latest political Charade.

An Imposed Settlement is on the way and Whitelaw dearly wants the Opposition groups to give it an aura of respectability. And so, with the aid of the British Propaganda Machine, the S.D.L.P. is portrayed as the only viable alternative to anarchy on the Minority side. In the British Press the S.D.L.P. members are extolled as the epitome of Good Sense, Moderation and Statesmanship. They are granted highly

publicised "secret" audiences with Mr. Heath, Mr. Whitelaw and his Officials, and Mr. Lynch and other members of the Leinster House Regime, all for the sole purpose of promoting the importance of the S.D.L.P. in the eyes of the Irish People.

Thus the continual inflation of the S.D.L.P.'s prestige has boosted their vanity to such an extent that they themselves are beginning to believe their own, and the British's propaganda.

It may come as quite a shock to them to discover that the British Army, the supposed impartial Army of the British Government, views them in a rather more cynical and unkind way. In British Army Restricted Documents captured by the Intelligence Unit of the Derry Brigade, Irish Republican Army, the S.D.L.P. is

Top Hits

MY SHIP IS COMING IN	Billy Hull
YOU'LL NEVER WALK ALONE	Duck Squad
THE PIED PIPER	Bill Craig
WE CAN MAKE IT TOGETHER	U.D.A.
BEG STEAL OR BORROW	William Whitelaw
I'M FALLING	John Hume
LITTLE RED ROOSTER	Cathal Goulding
TOWN WITHOUT PITY	Brian Morton
YAKETY YAK	Miss Delap Stevenson
SITTING ON THE FENCE	Alliance Party
NO ONE WILL EVER KNOW	Special Branch
HEARTBREAK HOTEL	Blackwall Grange

SMILE AWHILE!

Did you hear the story of the "dead cabbage" who had a big "turnup" at its funeral.

Navy recruiting officer to newly enlisted idiot. "Can you swim?" Reply "why? have you no boats."

There's a village down South where the population is so small the butcher only kills half-a-cow a week.

Optician to customer; "what kind of glasses do you want sir?" Customer; "how do you know if I want glasses or not?"

Optician; I knew the moment you walked through the window."

Anyone with an interesting story, joke or letter, send them along to the Editor, C/o any member of Sinn Fein or E.T.C.

described as "A well-known gang of quick change artists."

Isn't it pathetic that Irishmen are so easily gulled by British Politicians. Despite all the deaths all the tragedies of Internment, Deprivation, Tension and Despair, these men still cling to the deluded belief that the British Government is genuinely interested in Justice and a meaningful peaceful solution. Isn't it about time that these men realised the futility of such actions and lent their undoubted energy and determination to the real task facing the Irish People, the removal of British influence from these shores.

A people determined to be free should not beg slavishly from their oppressors. The S.D.L.P. would do well to remember that fact.

RTE Restricts politicians

The attempts to restrict reporting on the Northern situation by politicians is both regrettable and alarming. It is the Leinster House politicians, not the RTE staff who have been cowardly maligned by people like L'Estrange in the Dail, who are responsible for the blacking out of political views on TV with which they do not agree. If RTE is prevented from fulfilling its representative function then democracy will be eventually undermined. Groups denied political expression of their views will in their frustration resort to violence.

The blacking out of some political views is being done in the name of blacking out the activities of what these politicians call "subversive organisations," in other words, the IRA or what the people of Bogside, Creggan and Falls call the "Freedom Fighters."

The decision was taken last November without any serious, in depth study of the situation vis a vis the IRA and the Northern Ireland problem. It was taken by men in Leinster House who must have guilty consciences on their failure to do anything for any section of the Northern community for 50 years. Their decision has therefore no creditability with the oppressed people of the North.

John Bull's DIARY

The following extracts are taken from British Army files which our Intelligence Unit gratefully provided.

Royal Horse Artillery H. Q. Battery Orders.

Hong Kong — "All ranks of Headquarter Battery who DO NOT WISH TO GO TO HONG KONG for any reason, are to hand their names into the Bty. Office (Tac H.Q.) stating your reasons."

Editor's Comment — "I can suggest one reason for definitely wanting to go. The I.R.A."

Cleanliness Please. "The canteen each morning is like a Pig Sty. This is because people are too lazy to get off their backsides and place their finished coke tins, cigarette butts, etc. in the receptacles provided. Action will be taken against anyone throwing things on the floor."

Editor's Comment — Home from Home!

Dress. "There is at the moment too much mixture of dress within the Battery, and this is to be sorted out or disciplinary action will be taken."

Editor's Comment — For the purpose of morale, black ties are not to be worn in the mess hall.

Prevalent Offences. The following offences have been declared prevalent to N.I.

1. Negligent discharges.
2. Loss of I.D. cards.
3. Absence without leave.

The effect of this order is that the prevalence of the offence may be taken into account by court martial, or by an officer dealing summarily with an offender.

Editor's Comment — Can't ALL be perfect.

Sick Parade:

With effect from 2/9/72, sick parade will be at 0900 hours. Treatment times will be from 0930 to 10.00 hours, 13.00 to 14.00 hours, 18.00 to 18.30 hours. All pill boxes and bottles will be returned to the Medical Centre after use.

Editor's Comment — Psychiatric treatment optional?

Postings.

24266876 Pte. Smith A. is posted to A Company with effect from 2/9/72.

Editor's Comment — In time for sick parade.

The Provisionals

Continued from page 5

sub-ordinated to the public right and welfare.

The means of production, distribution and exchange must be controlled by the people and administered democratically ... Finance, insurance and all key industries must be brought under state control. Large ranches will be taken over and leased to groups of families to run on co-operative lines. Private enterprise will have no place in key industries, and state incentives will favour co-operative projects

Here is real industrial democracy ... The Power blocs such as Nato and the Warsaw Pact will be avoided ... We have more in common with the developing countries than we have with the rich club of former colonial powers ...

And so on. Accepting that a movement doesn't become Socialist by the mere repetition of socialist slogans it must also be conceded that this doesn't read like Green Fascism. The contradictions never the less remain. The Provisionals annual conference last month passed resolutions calling for militant trade union activity (including what were described as UCS-style take-overs of contracting industries) but went straight on to prescribe "members of the Communist Party or any radical group." (It occurs to me

that the contradiction will be easily comprehensible to readers familiar with the ways of the British Labour Party). Again separation of church and state is accepted policy, but some Provisional leaders tell you they would not legalise contraceptives.

But it is not by reference to their conference decision that the Provisionals claim to be Ireland's revolutionary vanguard. That claim rests on their "armed struggle against British occupation of the Six Counties." That is in their war against British soldiers, Ulster policemen and collaborators.

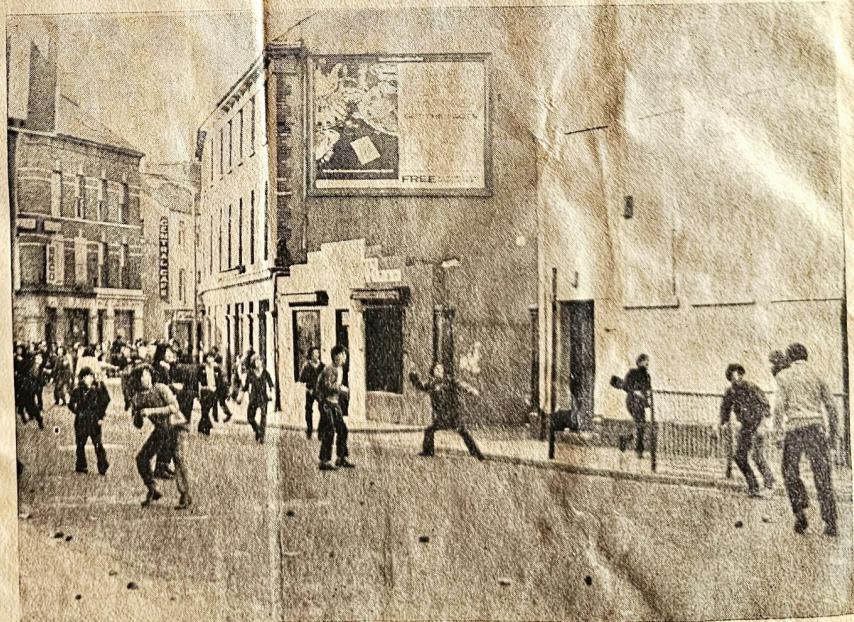
The Provisionals recognise as the "official" IRA and its allies have failed to recognise, that the national question must take precedence over the social question: not because nationalism is more important than socialism but because social liberation is impossible without national liberation, and must follow rather than precede it. Connolly knew this. It was his distinctive contribution to revolutionary socialist theory. The Provisionals know it too.

It is this single insight rather than the many other formulations of their policy documents and conference resolutions, which make the Provisionals, like them or loathe them, the only serious revolutionary movement on the Irish Left.

The "official" IRA, the Irish Communist Party, Peoples' Democracy, all tried to switch emphasis from the seemingly moribund national question to what seemed the more relevant social question. The Provisionals said they were wrong.

Ruari Ó Bradaigh their president, speaks with the authentic voice of Connolly when he asserts that "the foreign body must be removed before the nation's wounds can be bound up."

National liberation struggles and revolutions are not made by theoreticians isolated from the people: nor by New Left trendies however, many Che posters they have on their walls; nor by Hamstead or Great Turnstile (or Ebbw Vale) socialists. Nor are they made by pure idealists. They are the work of desperate men who have dedicated their hearts and minds to liberal values. Such are the Provisionals: terrorists, thugs and (like all soldiers) assassins, certainly. But Ireland's only real revolutionaries



Spot the Stone?