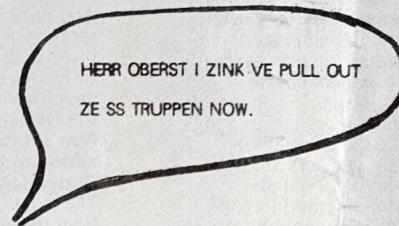


# VOLUNTEER

June 1974

Luach Sp

Meitheamh 1974



HERR OBERST I ZINK VE PULL OUT  
ZE SS TRUPPEN NOW.



I ZINK ZE CROPPIES HAVE NOT  
YET BEGAN TO LIE DOWN MEIN  
DEAREST FÜHRER

# IS THE NEW UNIVERSITY A WHITE ELEPHANT

THE "NEW UNIVERSITY" has been attacked once again - and by another Unionist, Peter McLachlan. He stated that "something is wrong at Coleraine University", that "there is a dynamic lacking; the university has not got a purpose and an ethos." There is also honesty lacking in McLachlan's criticisms for he is proposing that Northern Ireland should have only one university - Queen's in Belfast. He shies away from considering Derry as a more viable alternative, even at this late stage. He cannot face the fact that a wrong was committed by siting the university at Coleraine, and that this wrong will have to be righted in just the same way as democratic rights will have to be restored to the whole population of Northern Ireland. Still, disquieting criticisms from two leading Faulknerite Unionists is a step in the right direction. The silence of the SDLP in this matter is criminal. In 1972 John Hume said - "The last has not been heard of it" - yet we hear no protests voiced on behalf of Derry on this topic by SDLP "representatives." Even Rev. Ian Paisley described the downgrading of Magee as the "final betrayal of Londonderry in this matter." It is the intransigence of the establishment, including the academic authorities, who are delaying the denouement of this farce. Coleraine should be converted into a teachers' training college (given its present reputable education).

ation centre) and the Magee Institute should be expanded and its status upgraded. It is ironical that Magee is permitted to forge ahead with postgraduate activities while the primary degree courses, transferred to Coleraine, are proving a decisive failure.

To disprove those people who argue that Magee was a dying institution even before the scandal of the second university, some statistical evidence is necessary:- From 1959 - 1963, Magee's intake of students increased from 116 to 210 (an increase of 34% per annum.) From 1963 - 1968, numbers jumped to 437, so displaying a steady, rapid growth rate. It was in 1968 when Magee was incorporated into NUU that the slump began: in two years intake dwindled from 437 to 223, an unmistakable decline induced by the manipulation of Dr. Burgess and his committee at Coleraine. Yet at the same time Coleraine has reached a plateau of stagnation; morale is low on the "campus" the local population is indifferent to the fate of an educational establishment; in a word, the environment is to blame; Coleraine is not the place to site what is supposed to be a cultural, social and educational nucleus. Determined action now will ensure Magee's future; the New University is already doomed to be the "former" university of Northern Ireland.

# BOMB DISPOSAL EXPERTS - HOW TO CHOOSE A HERO

TWO PSYCHIATRISTS have flown to N. Ireland to join the bomb disposal squads. This was in answer to an urgent SOS sent out by the Royal Army Ordnance Corps.

And no wonder. Over 50% of new recruits to be trained by them for bomb disposal work have ended up in Netley, the Ministry of Defence psychiatric hospital overlooking the Hamble near Southampton. Now all recruits are put through a series of tests known as CAQ-Clinical Analysis Questionnaire. The most depressing factor to emerge from these tests was that over a half of a recent intake from other army units were classed under Codes D2- suicidal tendencies, D3- high brooding discontent and D4- high anxious depression. Quite a few were coded PF - a fascination with fire, winds etc. In other words arsonists. Only a very small percentage made the grade-coded A- Schizothymia.

So the next time eleven man patrol crawls down your street reflect on the following:- two are D2, two D3, two D4, two PF, two won't have enough brains to be anything and one will be a hero-a SCHIZOTHYMPIA.



THE DERRY INTERNEE STEPHEN MELLON AND HIS BRIDE PATRICIA BRESLIN PHOTOGRAPHED AFTER THEIR WEDDING IN LONG KESH.

WE WISH THE HAPPY COUPLE ALL THE BEST.

# AFTER WITHDRAWAL

## WHAT NEXT?

THE FUTURE is now sealed; we are heading out of the UK. The honourable thing to do would be that the people of Northern Ireland break the link that has dominated them for years instead of accepting expulsion by a Westminster parliament. The emergency 2-day debate in the British House of Commons revolved around the alleged cost of "maintaining" Northern Ireland from British taxpayers' funds. Another new figure was bandied about. It all amounted to financial blackmail. The principle of power-sharing was not the only factor influencing thinking. Republicanism has always stood for the union of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter in a system separated from Britain. What worried British politicians was not the thought that the northern Catholic minority might be kept out of government but the possibility that the British themselves would be debarred from governing anybody in Ireland. We believe that the right of the Catholic community to govern along with Protestant fellow-countrymen is inalienable and non-negotiable; we also believe that the loyalist population will concede this principle without the use of blackmail. Mr. Heath expressed British government fears admirably; responsibility without power was no good - Britain, he said, would have to withdraw the "economic underpinnings" if the Protestant "go-it-alone" attitude continued. In effect, he is stating what is already self-evident, namely that Britain's ability to run the North militarily is seriously in question, hence the calls for withdrawal (Britain has never withdrawn from a possible victory.) Now it is reverting to the economic weapon (if it exists at all) but under EEC conditions British financial aid is meaningless. It is impossible to calculate net transfers of profits from Britain to the North. Too many invisible assets are involved; any way, Northern Ireland cannot be considered as a closed unit; it is inextricably locked into the Irish and British economies at the moment and, in future, will be interdependent with the other European countries. Any sanctions aimed at the North would ultimately rebound back on Britain itself.

That Britain is actually considering such moves, demonstrates that she realises that the game is up in Ireland, at least in the style

that she has played it up to the present. As Heath said, withdrawal of the troops is equivalent to Northern Ireland being expelled from the UK.

What we must consider at this stage are the alternatives facing us once Britain begins a withdrawal programme. We must begin to reflect seriously on the long-term results of any so-called temporary solution, as partition was in the 1920's. Already an independent Northern Ireland is being promoted as a solution to fill the vacuum. Other alternatives are wildly discussed. It is up to us to publicise and involve as many shades of opinion as possible in dialogue about a federal Ireland. The old, homogeneous 32-county United Ireland idea is dead; its successor is a multi-tier federal system, unlike anything ever tried in the British Isles. The months and years ahead are full of dangers and blind alleys; it is up to republicans to give a lead as to the correct strategy. Confusion will arise where a proposal meets part of republican demands, fulfils some of the republican programme but fails in other respects. An independent Northern Ireland fulfils the condition of breaking the link; it could also viably coincide with the aim of uniting Catholic and Protestant but it fails because it is not an anti-partitionist plan. It will not lead to a democratic socialist united Ireland because the basis of such a solution would be the recognition by both a northern and southern statelet that each had the right to remain separate until such a time as it would be in the interests of the ruling classes to come together, north and south, in government. No, a federal Ireland is the only rational road to unity between Catholic and Protestant, North and South. It is the only way to end repression by police states in Ireland; it is the only way to effectively exploit the natural resources and wealth of the whole country for the benefit of the producing classes; it is the only way to end sectarianism of the green or orange variety. Britain no doubt, will try to frustrate the federal solution, as will the Dublin government and the Northern politicos; their power is threatened by it, their systems of privilege are endangered. But the people, united under a determined leadership, can fight for such a solution- and they can win.



## MICHAEL GAUGHAN IS DEAD

VOLUNTEER Michael Gaughan, prisoner number 097261 Parkhurst, Isle of Wight began his hunger strike on 31st March; On 3rd of June, the sixtieth day of his hunger, he died.

To understand his protest let us first realise that the ultimate shame of a soldier who is fighting for his country is to be labelled a common criminal. A prisoner he may be, but codes of chivalry down through the ages have decreed that his honour will remain intact, by recognition of the integrity of his motives in granting him political status.

The British Government has, on different occasions, declared that Britain is at war with the IRA: yet it persistently refuses to recognise the political status of IRA prisoners. Indeed the savagery of the sentences meted out to these men and women by British courts is a measure of the contempt, hate and positive injustice systematically practised against them by the British.

Hunger striking has long been a method of protest used by Irish political prisoners, the last one to protest and die as the result of his hunger was Terence McSwiney in 1920. With some people it is regarded as suicidal- nothing could be farther from the truth. When an Irish Political prisoner goes on hunger strike he is saying in fact, "From the hand that oppresses me, degrades me, mocks my integrity, shrouds my sacrifice in shame, I will never take sustenance. I wish to live - but with honour; if not, then at least I will die with honour" This is what Michael Gaughan did. He paid the ultimate price for his principle. We believe he has now received the ultimate reward.

# SAS RESTRUCTURE

THE S.A.S. was formed in 1942 as a paratroop equivalent to the commandos, to strike inland in much the same way as commandos struck off the coast. After World War 2 they were disbanded but a new S.A.S. was formed in 1950 for the Malayan emergency. It is known as the 22nd Special Air Service regiment; it is of battalion strength, is composed of squadrons (100 men) and troops (20 men). The 22nd S.A.S. has its regimental H.Q. at Duke of Yorks Barracks, Chelsea and has a training base at Bradbury Lines Camp, Hoarurthy Road, Hereford. Both these camps are ex-directory; officially, Bradbury Lines camp is occupied by a Royal Army Service Corps unit. The C.O. of the S.A.S. is Lt. Col. JPSC. Watts, M.C., D.S.O. but he is classified in the 1972 British Army list as an officer in the Royal Irish Rangers. A Captain P.A. Phelan is also classed as Royal Irish Rangers. officer when in actual fact, he is a squadron commander of the S.A.S. They are specialists in counter-insurgency and anti-guerrilla warfare, and in particular, the art of infiltrating guerrilla movements.

THIS much we knew before and have already published on a previous occasion but the story of S.A.S. involvement in Ireland has become stronger since the start of this year. There is a rule in the British Army manual which states:-- "That when parts of a unit are on detached duty from that unit, then that unit as a whole is not operating, where its detached parts are, and that unit, legally, is not operating where its detached parts are." This was the ploy that was being used by Britain to cover up S.A.S. activities; because the whole regiment was not operating here (perhaps "only" 90% of it) they could claim that there was no S.A.S. involvement at all.

But earlier this year this policy changed when Robert Fisk of the London Times newspaper disclosed that 250 soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland had been given 3 weeks training at S.A.S. camps in England and had been sent back to their units here. The security forces were supposed to have been angry at this "leakage" but the fact is that there is a standing "D" notice which forbids British media to even mention the letters S.A.S. consecutively without express War Office permission. Added to that is the fact that Loyalists accused Fisk in March of this year of being "in collusion with the English Army Intelligence Corps at Lisburn." This means that Fisk was acting with the full approval of the British Army; the reason is clear - S.A.S. involvement cannot any longer be dismissed (nor can the British Army do without the added resources of S.A.S.).



## JOIN SAS RESERVE your nearest Reserve Unit of BRITISH SPECIAL FORCES

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★ Photostat of the SAS poster seeking recruits.

trained soldiers) so the S.A.S. is now being made respectable through the media. One thing must be borne in mind; ordinary soldiers trained in S.A.S. methods for 3 weeks do not constitute the main body nor the driving force behind this organisation. The S.A.S. originally was composed of paratroopers and commandos who had proved themselves in battle and had been picked exclusively for secondment to the S.A.S. which

forms the apex of the hierarchical structure of the British Army. These "3-week" S.A.S. men are a smokescreen to lend legitimacy and respectability to the hard core of highly trained specialist troops who carry out strategic operations in Ireland and around the world. Further weight is added to this theory when one considers an article in the Independent last month (a paper not known for anti-

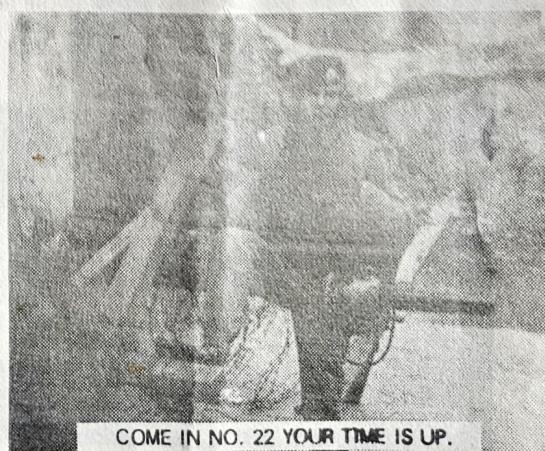
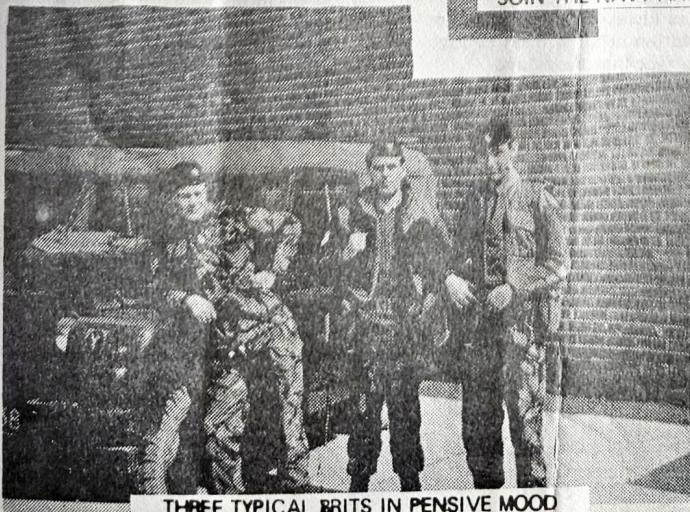
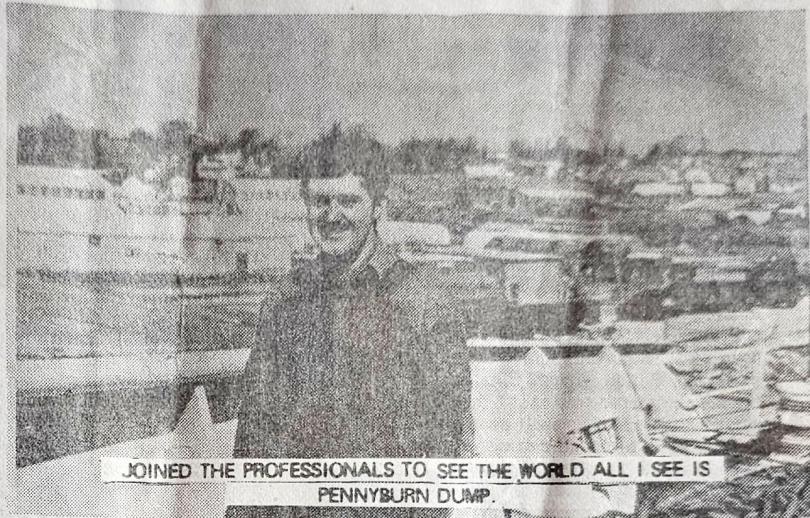
# PROVOS CANDID CAMERA

British sentiment). It stated that posters appeared near British Army centres in England asking for volunteers to join an S.A.S. reserve force on a "Join when you want basis. Leave when you want basis. The place to contact was 'A' Squadron 23S.A. in Haslucks Green Road, Shirley, Birmingham. Again, this is classed officially as a 'T. and AVR unit' centre. The posters offer recruits opportunities to parachute into 3 or 4 foreign countries every year, offering an annual bounty of £100. Recruits can learn navigation, driving, long-range communications, and demolition, among other things!

This fits in with other available evidence; the strategy is to employ more S.A.S. type soldiers or reservists to use terror on a more indiscriminate scale than before; anyone caught in such operations can then be disclaimed by the British as being freelancers or ordinary civilians having no connections with the Army. They are a more expendable resource than the S.A.S. specialist and they serve to do the "menial" tasks that S.A.S. heads

command, like car bombings and assassinations in cities and country areas to increase fears of a civil war for political expediency and to provoke reaction against the IRA in the south as the 1972 bombings and Dublin's Bloody Friday were calculated to do.

All in all, they hope that people will not be able to see the wood for the trees, the real S.A.S. hard core from the facade of reservists and private soldiers trained for a weekend or for 3 weeks in order to back up the real S.A.S. and to boost the morale of the ordinary soldier by giving him the opportunity to join a "super-organisation" with the motto "WHO DARES WINS."



## MOTHER AND SISTER ARRESTED WITH CHILDREN

MRS. M. DEVLIN, her two children aged 2 years and the other 10 months along with her sister Patricia Callaghan were stopped recently in Creggan by the Grenadier Guards and asked to open their coats to be searched. They refused and asked for a Military Police woman to search them. They were told that "they" must be searched as well as men.

They were arrested and were taken to Piggery Ridge where they were kept for 2½ hours. While there they were photographed several times along with their children. Mrs. Devlin snatched these photos from the S.I.B. man adding that "you can take photos of me but not my children." These are the pictures you see here.



## IN REMEMBRANCE

THE ANNIVERSARY of the deaths of Staff Captain Tommy McCool and Staff Captain Joe Coyle who were killed in action on the 27th June 1970, and Volunteer Tommy Carlin who died of injuries on 8th July 1970.

Death is always sad, but if there is consolation at all it must surely lie in the fact that they gave their lives for the noblest cause - the Freedom of their People - and

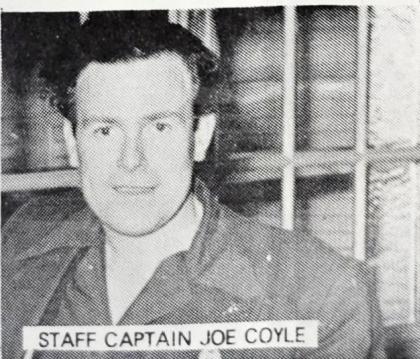
will be forever a source of inspiration to all who follow in their footsteps.

For these men, having committed themselves to the cause, knew full well the risks involved and accepted their role courageously.

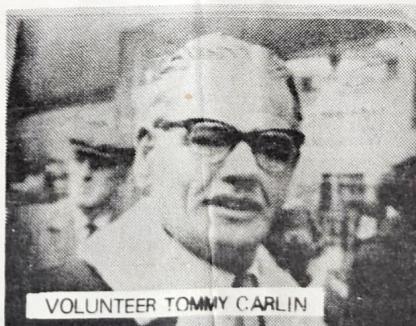
We in the Republican movement, therefore wish to express our admiration and pride in remembrance of their sacrifice and our sincere condolences to their families to whom we will always be deeply indebted.



STAFF CAPTAIN TOMMY McCOOL



STAFF CAPTAIN JOE COYLE



VOLUNTEER TOMMY CARLIN

The dust of these is Irish earth,  
Among their own they rest  
And the same land that gave them birth  
Has took them to her breast;  
And we pray that from their clay  
Full many a race may start  
Of true men like these men  
To play as brave a part.

# Bloody Sunday and the Fight for Compensation

IN RECENT weeks there was a great deal of controversy in the British press and news media concerning the delay — up to two years in some cases — in paying compensation to British soldiers who have been injured while serving in the Six Counties. A general not unknown to the Irish people, appeared on television pleading the case of these men and demanded that special attention should be paid to them by the judiciary in order to alleviate their suffering and any hardships they might have to endure as a result of their injuries. The concern shown for these men, members of a foreign army on Irish soil, contrasts starkly with the lack of concern surrounding the claims for compensation made by the relatives of the dead of Bloody Sunday and those injured on that day. Unlike the thousands of other claims for compensation arising out of the 'trouble' in the North the Bloody Sunday claims have special significance, in that, by claiming full liability in all or most of the cases the British Government in effect, will be saying that the Widgery Report was a whitewash and that they and their soldiers were guilty of nothing short of "sheer unadulterated murder". The Bloody Sunday compensation claims have, therefore, a political significance of which the British Government is not unaware and this more than anything else is the reason behind the delay which has prevented any of the cases from being brought before the courts,

The S.D.L.P. who would claim to represent the Catholic people of the North capitalised on the Bloody Sunday massacre and manipulated the genuine feelings of horror and revulsion expressed by many people throughout the world to strengthen their position with regard to any future negotiations concerning the political set-up in the North. The people who marched and died on Bloody Sunday were protesting against internment not sacrificing themselves on behalf of the Social Democratic and Labour Party.

Shortly after Bloody Sunday a meeting attended by Messrs John Hume, Paddy Devlin, Paddy O'Hanlon, and Austin Currie stated that any future political action, "should include the removal of internment and the Stormont system that bred it. It should also include the withdrawal of British troops from our streets. We will then engage in talks about a more lasting solution and we advise the public that we will be seeking such

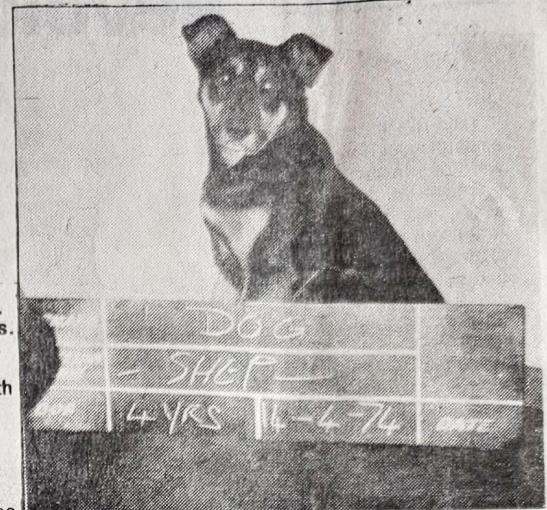
lasting solution in a 32-county context."

The future actions of the S.D.L.P. have given the lie to these demands. They have compromised themselves and betrayed the leish people particularly those killed on Jan. 30th by accepting Faulkner — the man responsible for internment and Bloody Sunday, and now when political action is necessary to ensure the granting of full compensation in the Bloody Sunday cases they consider that it does not concern them but is a matter for the respective solicitors to decide upon. This final betrayal of the people of Bloody Sunday and consequently of the people of Derry should leave no one in doubt as to the true self-interestedness of that party and the middle classes of which it is truly representative.

In the months following Bloody Sunday hopes of an early out of court settlement of the compensation claims were promised but the months passed and still there is no sign of the cases even being brought before the courts. In Oct. 1973 two cases of the injured which were to be heard before a Criminal Injuries Court in Derry were postponed at the last minute; the Crown Counsel was apparently unavailable — the real reason for the postponement was freely admitted by the Chief Crown Solicitor in Derry who made it quite clear that a political decision would have to be made before any action could be taken in the case of these compensation claims.

One would have thought that the new Labour Government would have rushed to fulfil the demand made by the then Home Secretary, James Callaghan on 28th April 1972 at Westminster when he asked that full compensation should be paid to the injured and relatives of the dead of Bloody Sunday. Such has not been the case nor have the S.D.L.P. reminded the present Labour Government of the promises they made when in opposition. Surely if they had the wishes of the people of Derry at heart they would have done so long ago?

Bloody Sunday was not an attack on thirty odd individuals resulting in fourteen of them dying and the rest being wounded but the rape of an entire city by the armed thugs of a foreign government. Full compensation does not solely mean that those who suffered because of that day will be financially rewarded but it will be an admission of guilt for the deaths of Bloody Sunday by the British Government.



**ANOTHER TOP PROVO CAPTURED**



**YOU ARE AFULL BUT I STILL  
DONT LIKE YOU**

# Revolution in the Revolution?

by RÉGIS DEBRAY

THIS BOOK debates the fundamental questions of guerrilla warfare. In fact, when the author, a French journalist, was sentenced to 30 years jail while travelling in Bolivia in 1967, it was stated at the time that it was because he had written a book which "removes all the brakes from guerrilla activities." He was released after three years, due to international pressures.

Though the book primarily concerns Latin America, it has had repercussions wherever a guerrilla war is being waged. Basically, its line of argument is this: a political line which, in terms of its consequences, is not susceptible to expression as a precise and consistent military line, cannot be considered revolutionary.

Debray attacks the concept of armed self-defence i.e. of holding a territory on a purely defensive basis. As he says - "Self-defence is partial; revolutionary guerrilla warfare aims at total war by combining under its hegemony all forms of struggle at all points within the territory." He criticises those who see guerrilla warfare as a militarist tendency towards isolation from the masses. The movement must be clandestine at the beginning for its own sake and for the sake of the civilian population who become "victims-by-substitution" in reprisal for attacks on government forces; but "the people's army relies at all times on the population as a whole (recruitment, supplies, transport, intelligence)." Self-defence, in fact, undermines the security of the population, according to Debray because it gives the enemy the initiative, opening one's own forces to attrition and purposelessness. All sections of the population should be integrated into the struggle even if this does not entail joining the armed struggle. This integration requires a political army which acts as a protective covering for the army proper.

But as Debray says - "the most important form of propaganda is successful military action. It is an incontrovertible law that a regular army is defeated when its elite corps is destroyed. It is therefore the function of guerrilla forces to isolate and whittle down the enemy's elite corps."

This will naturally seem to readers as a purely military line, devoid of all political methodology (a criticism levelled often at the Provisional IRA) but Debray posits that it is through the military encounter that the process of politicisation matures. He hits out at artificial political alliances which waste both time and sorely needed energy. The standard response to such criticism is: "Do not make real alliances, for specific objectives, around an established force, but offer a facade at all costs and adorn it before furnishing the house." In such cases the political organisation becomes an end in itself and it is not permitted to be disrupted for fear of repression, loss of "legality" etc. This is exactly the position in which the Official Republican Movement finds itself.

What is Debray's alternative to an open political organisation? It lies in the union of the political and military functions in one man - the guerrilla fighter. "Pure politicians - who want to remain pure - cannot lead the armed struggle of the people; pure 'military men' can do so, and by the experience gained in leading a guerrilla group, they become 'politicians' as well." This is the kernel of the book; repeatedly Debray calls for the dissolution of the dichotomy between the political and the military - "the leadership must be homogeneous, political and military simultaneously" - and "to become reconciled with itself the guerrilla force must set itself up as a political leadership which is the only way to resolve the contradictions and to develop militarily."

Elsewhere he states that "under certain conditions, the political and military levels are not separate but form one organic whole, consisting of the people's army, whose nucleus is the guerrilla army." Thus, in Debray's mind, the political and military levels must be welded into one; this is a far cry from the supposed position of militarism or technicism, two more clichés applied in Northern Ireland today.

One aspect of this theory which does not fit in with the Irish experience at the moment is the declaration that "the city is a cemetery of revolutionaries and resources." Guerrilla activity in Northern Ireland, unlike Latin America, began in the cities and spread to rural districts until it has now reached the stage where smaller towns are threatened with "encirclement" and vast areas of the countryside are 'NO-GO' territories. But our particular context does not invalidate the broad outline of his theory, namely that the principal stress must be laid on the development of guerrilla warfare and not on the strengthening of existing parties or the creation of new parties. That is why "insurrectional activity" to Debray is the "number one political activity."

Parts of this book can be compared with Tom Barry's "Guerrilla Days in Ireland" as regards military details and tactics. It is not a bookish intellectual who speaks but a seasoned guerrilla fighter and theorist. His last words are addressed to the compromisers and reformists - "If they join in the struggle against the Empire, so much the better for everyone, if they hold back, so much the worse for them - history will see to it that they are left by the wayside. A successful ambush, a torturer cut down, a consignment of arms captured - these are the best answers to any reformist faintheartedness which may arise."

**Return All  
Political Prisoners To Ireland**