



The **Sovereign** Nation

The Republican Voice

May - June
2008

END INTERNMENT BY REMAND.



Following the politically motivated internment of four members of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement from Derry by Free State forces it is essential that all republicans now unite to end this practice once and for all. Gary Donnelly, Mickey Gallagher, Martin O'Neill and Paddy McDaid now languish in Portlaoise internment camp along with dozens of other republicans who are interned on bogus membership charges. Their 'crime'? - Opposition to the British inspired Belfast agreement.

That the southern establishment can intern members of a legal political movement without any evidence has barely raised a whimper among even the most liberal and supposedly 'enlightened' politicians in Ireland nor has it done so among those who term themselves republican. The reason why they have failed to raise this wholesale breach of civil liberties and human rights is simple, they support it.

In a recent issue of our news sheet Beir Bua the 32 CSM highlighted the cases of a number of republicans convicted on the word of a Garda superintendent. The cases of Aidan O'Driscoll, Vinny Kelly and Sean Connolly illustrated how ridiculously easy it is for the state police to fabricate charges against republicans and republicans fear that is why the four Derry men were arrested in the south. The feeling amongst the republican base is that there is agreement between M15 and the Free State Branch to arrest known activists in the 26 counties in advance of policing and justice being devolved to the colonial parliament in Stormont.

The reason for this agreement is that the burden of proof required by the Free State Branch is non-existent and republicans can be packed away for up to six years for nothing. This is an issue that affects all republicans as members of Republican Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Socialist Party will testify and it is essential that republicans, regardless of party affiliation, must unite to challenge it. Upon further consideration it affects not alone republicans but may well be used to neutralise any individual or movement that the state perceives as a threat. Anti War activists or those campaigning against the theft of Irish natural resources may well be deemed as enemies of the state in the future and dealt with by similar legislation. All Irish democrats must unite to fight this tyrannical and fascist misuse of power before it is deemed acceptable and rolled into the six counties as well.

Glór na poblachta

Obituary.

Brendan Hughes: Republican, Socialist, Volunteer.

Brendan Hughes died, as he had lived, an uncompromising and uncompromised Republican. He never wavered in his dedication to the establishment of a Thirty Two County Socialist Republic. Holding staunchly to this position, totally at odds with many of his former comrades, he found himself isolated and derided for staying true to the Republican Ideal.

When Brendan applied to be accepted into Ogligh Na hEireann he was told to expect little more than many Republicans before him, the prison yard or the grave. Probably what he was not told was he could expect to be betrayed and sold-out by those he would call comrades.

Brendan joined the Movement in 1969 and early on his ability, courage and insightfulness saw him rise quickly through the ranks soon achieving the position of Belfast Commander of the Army. He conducted himself like a true leader, he was respected and loved by the volunteers under his command and by the population of the Lower Falls where he was a common and welcomed face. All doors were open to him, he carried with him an air of comfort and certainty which made the people of his area feel safe and protected.

It was at this time that he was particularly close to Gerry Adams who would eventually sell-out the Cause that Brendan was so dedicated to. Adams would become a figure abhorred by Brendan in his later years. Suzanne Breen quotes Brendan in an interview as saying of his former relations with Adams, "I loved him, I would have taken a bullet for Gerry. I probably should have put one in him". The words of a very angry man, betrayed and disappointed.

Gerry Adams did rush to the hospital bedside of an unconscious Brendan, had he been conscious no doubt Brendan would have told Adams where to go. Brendan could use some very colourful language!

As we gathered, over two thousand mourners, to pay our last respects to Brendan Mr. Adams did arrive with his entourage of "hardmen" to take his usual photo opportunity and to assume his seemingly constant position, back left, shoulder under a coffin. That he pushed past Priest, coffin and deceased's family to be first out of the chapel illustrated not just his ignorance but also his addiction to self-promotion. The Ego had landed. As he put his shoulder under the coffin I could swear I saw it shift, perhaps Brendan was turning over!

But this is not about Gerry Adams. Let him live with himself and the knowledge that it was his behaviour and that of many in his party which helped Brendan to an early grave. Brendan was insulted, openly shunned and derided by many in Provisional Sinn Fein who had never thrown a stone, people not fit to tie the shoe laces of the man. Mr. Adams must take some responsibility for that.

Italian 32csm Cumann Established.

The Harte Mullin Cumman Napoli (32CSMNapoli) was set up in January 2007. The Cumman was established in remembrance of the Drumnakilly Martyrs killed by the SAS on 30 August 1987 and how they influenced our Cumman President. It is the only 32CSM Cumman present in Italy and has members from across the whole country. The Cumman works closely with many political parties in Italy to deepen the knowledge of the struggle and to offer to the Italian people an alternative to the Provisional Movement line which is carried in the media. They are active in many areas and have an Irish Cultural Centre that teaches Irish History and Politics, and gives Irish Language lessons. Other activities include pickets and protests in support of POWs and against the harassment of Republicans in Ireland. They are also often asked to give seminars and talks to political parties, governmental bodies, universities, schools and independent groups on the many aspects of Republican Politics and History. The 32csm Cumann is also currently lobbying the Italian Government to open an inquest into Collusion and Miscarriages of Justice in the 6 Counties. The contact details are:

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Website: <http://napoli32csm.blogspot.com/>

As Commander of Belfast Brendan was meticulous. He never put an operation up to any volunteer that he would not have taken on himself and often did. He was a volunteer who also happened to be a commander, he put the safety of his volunteers before all and they repaid him with devout loyalty. "The Dogs" would be the men and women who would officiate and organise the funeral and it was they, and those of us privileged to, who would carry him on his last "float" around his beloved Lower Falls.

Brendan was a living icon during his active period in Belfast, his deeds becoming a part of the Falls folklore, his courage admired by all, respect came his way even from the enemy. He was a soldier's soldier.

Not a violent man by nature he used military action as had many Republicans before him, as a last resort to establish the Socialist Republic we were dedicated to as true Republicans. He was a kind man and a moral man, he once spared the life of a frightened boy soldier who had been separated from his squad and was crying for his mother, he explained his action in not shooting the boy, "morally and emotionally I could not take the life of this Brit, he was a mere child, so frightened".

He was appalled at the path Gerry Adams took the Movement. It was beyond his comprehension that one time

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comrades would work British Rule in Ireland, would enter Stormont, take the English shilling (thousands and thousands of pounds) and sink to killing some Republicans who disagreed with their ways. Those they have not killed they have expressed a desire to do so. Brendan often joked that he would be found at the foot of Divis Tower having been thrown from his window by his now enemies.

This was history repeating itself, conforming Republicans executing those who held hard to the true path. It was after Volunteer Joe O'Connor was murdered by the Provisionals that Brendan felt the need to speak out. Republicans always feel bound to silence in an ingrained sense of "loyalty" to the Movement but that sense of "omerta" can eventually be stretched to breaking point and so it was for Brendan and many like him.

Brendan began to speak out. He had earned the right to have his opinions respected after years in prison and fifty three days on a gruelling Hunger Strike his credentials were impeccable, his opinion valid and deeply held by a true Republican. He became aware of the 'New' way 'Republicanism' was being worked. The 'elite' earning British money, the ex-prisoner being exploited for a pittance and a bare living. He himself worked for an exploiting building contractor, sanctioned by the leadership, when first he left prison. His socialist feelings would not let him endure such wrong and he packed it in. The Movement were doing nothing to safeguard the rights of workers - rather they were hand in glove

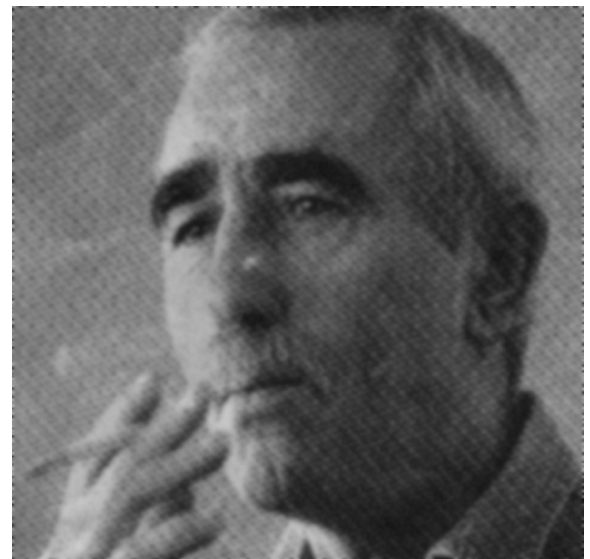
Shantallow Community Concern Over Drug Dealers.

Recently the 32csm in the greater Shantallow area have been contacted by angry residents who have named certain individuals who are suspected of being involved in serious anti social behaviour such as drug dealing.

The 32csm would encourage the Shantallow community to stand behind us as we are introducing a policy of naming and shaming individuals that are certainly guilty of crimes against the Republican/nationalist community. Information about these thugs will also be passed on to the Republican Movement.

The RUC/PSNI have proven incapable of tackling these issues also numerous residents groups have failed to engage with Hood's and known local drug dealers, they have turned into talking shops while failing to live up to their responsibilities.

The 32csm would also like to welcome a prominent former member of Sinn Fein who has recently joined us. Sheamus Breslin who has been a Republican for over 40 years is known locally for his dedicated community work and we would urge all disillusioned Shantallow Republicans to join him and help establish a local 32csm Cumann. Feel free to email us on Derry32csm@hotmail.com for more information or for help with any of the above issues.



with the contractors. Brendan was disgusted by this exploitation and profiteering on behalf of the Movement.

Eventually living on disability payment, in a lonely flat high up Divis Tower, broken in health and occasionally spirit, keeping in touch with other like-minded Republicans Brendan lived out the last part of his life. He voiced his frustration and anger by newspaper interviews, by writing articles for 'The Blanket' web site, a site for all who had political opinions to express. In a poignant article he laments the waste it all seemed to be "I went to jail, spent the last thirty years of my life trying to destroy an unjust, undemocratic, morally corrupt, sectarian Statelet only to see the GFA has brought about that same state....but now a Stormont inhabited by those who would call themselves Republicans.....the sad thing about all this is that the British set this up". They did too, orchestrated all that Brendan had resisted and resisted until his early death. "If it is all over what was it for, do we have Freedom? Not the type I fought for. Did we get rid of oppression? Not the type I fought against" he asks in a further article. Referring to the way PSF has abused power, power gained by deceit and lies, he observes that we, who think like he did, rather than being naïve were conned. We were conned big time.

As Brendan's coffin entered the garden of Remembrance accompanied by his grief stricken family the gates were closed but not before Mr. Adams had made his way inside. Brendan's true friends were happy to be outside the gates, we were there to be close to Brendan and to hear the fine words spoken about him. Mr. Adams was kept silent on this occasion much to his annoyance.

Asked in an interview with Forthwrite magazine "What do you say to those people who are unhappy but are held back by feelings of loyalty?"

He responded, "Examine your conscience. Take a good look at what is going on, if it's not OK then speak out". We will continue to speak out!

Brendan died believing, "Never in Republicanism was so much sacrificed and so little gained". He was right but some of us will continue where he left off. It is not over yet!

Residents Urged to Unite Against Criminal Gangs.

Rory Moore of the South Down 32CSM has urged communities in rural areas to unite against criminal gangs that have been terrorising the area recently. Speaking after a criminal gang attacked residents in Mayobridge and Glenn, Mr Moore appealed to the community not to be drawn into accepting the PSNI/RUC but to form their own means of dealing with such gangs "Vulnerable people in our areas must be protected against these criminal gangs and it is up to the whole community to do so. It is clear that many of these gangs are well known to the police who rather than making any attempt to prevent them have actually used such incidents to call for support. Not only do we have calls from the PSNI/RUC for support but we also have the sickening spectacle of constitutional nationalism fully endorsing these calls even though they too are aware that many of these criminals are acting with impunity. There is no question of republicans supporting the British police in Ireland and we would urge local activists to study our proposals as outlined in our documents 'No Other Law' and 'The Necessity for Policing and The Necessity for Constitutional Change'. The community in the area must find some method of defending those at risk that does not involve support for police and politicians who are using such attacks in such a blatantly opportunistic and political fashion. Until a police force is set up that respects the democratic wishes of the majority of people in Ireland for self determination or an interim policing arrangement is constituted that is not controlled by the British then it is necessary for everyone, republican or otherwise to come together to explore alternative structures. It is not enough to tell people that the police are not doing their job then ask us to support them anyway"

Bugging and Tracking Device Found in 32csm Members' Vehicle.

A sophisticated bugging and tracking device has been unearthed in the vehicle of a member of the Dublin 32 County Sovereignty Movement.

The device was secreted internally into the dashboard of the vehicle and was equipped with its own self contained power supply. The manner by which the device was installed strongly suggests that those who planted it took considerable time to effect this and was obviously professionally done.

The device bears English Manufacturing Labels but as of yet it is uncertain whether it originates from a British, Irish or joint British/Irish intelligence source. Suffice to say that the unearthing of yet another intelligence gathering device clearly illustrates that the war against those who articulate the right of the Irish people to National Sovereignty continues in government(s) circles.

The individual gave a statement to the Sovereign Nation saying:

"the device was hooked up to main battery and had cables running from it to almost every part of the van, i have to get a specialist to remove the ceiling coverings and floor to get the rest of the stuff, we opened it up and it was basically some kind of software with a bunch of back up rechargable batteries also inside, the device is british made and was manufactured by a company called 21st century. The device has been put away safely and i already contacted my brief"

The 32CSM reiterates our call for all republicans to be diligent in the face of these insidious attempts to undermine the republican struggle. British Parliamentary activity in Ireland takes many forms.



(to see the device in further detail visit:
<http://belfast32.blogspot.com/>).

Republican Response to Mr O'Caolain's statement in leinster house.

It comes as no surprise to Republicans that Mr O'Caolain and his party have been indulging in Spin and political side stepping when faced with uncomfortable questions as to the existence of the Provisional IRA Army Council as produced to them in Leinster house on the 6th of March..

We would like to ask Mr O' Caolain as to why the PIRA army council would act as a bulwark to Republican Groups? If as has been claimed that the PIRA's war is over and are determined to achieve their goals by "peaceful and purely democratic means" then what measures will they take? If as he suggests that Republicanism is advancing, why as a self confessed republican and member of a "republican" party, would he attempt to contain it and espouse the very undemocratic nature of politics and its worse manifestation in British rule in Ireland.

We regard his patronisation and ignorance of Republicans as wholly typical of the way his party has treated the Republican grassroots in their rejection of the British Police and the attack on Irish Sovereignty by the British government. And with the ever growing level of support for Republican Separatism no doubt we will expect to hear a lot more of this in the coming months in advance of Policing and Justice power being devolved to Stormont. Republicans also note his collusion with members of the southern political establishment in their united aim of being a bulwark to the Republican advance and is this a disguised nod to the type of treatment republicans have endured from the same establishment in the past?

Republicanism is advancing and will continue to do so irrespective of Mr O Caolain and his Party.

Monaghan 32 County Sovereignty Movement.
P.R.O Patrick Mc Kenna.

Big Brother is Watching in South Down.

Following the erection of a number of CCTV cameras in Newry, Warrenpoint and Killeel the South Down 32 County Sovereignty Movement has warned political activists in the area to be extremely vigilant and has rejected claims by supporters of the project that it is not intended to spy on individuals.

Spokesperson for the South Down committee, Rory Moore told The Sovereign Nation that "A number of people have contacted us already voicing their concerns about these new cameras which we view as simply an extension of British state security and a normalisation of their influence here. It has been claimed that these cameras are managed by the Newry and Mourne district council but are actually to be manned from the Brownlow RUC/PSNI barracks in Lurgan. Not only this but the views of residents living near the cameras were not only ignored but in most instances were not sought in the first place.

As we know only too well there is not separation of civic and political policing in the six counties and that all policing is political while a country is under occupation. We are convinced that these surveillance cameras will be used to spy on political activists as much as they are used to identify youths fighting on a Saturday night. There is now both overt and covert surveillance in South Down with these new CCTV cameras supposed to be the acceptable face of the British security apparatus. They are not acceptable to the people of South Down nor anywhere else in Ireland, they are just cheaper to run than those covert cameras such as the one uncovered in Killoo recently" Mr Moore concluded by reiterating his warning to political activists to be vigilant "It is vital that political activists remain aware that they are being watched and do not allow the apparent normality of such surveillance equipment to fool them"

Good Riddance to Bertie.

Since Bertie Ahern's decision to stand down as leader of the 26 county administration and as leader of 'The Republican Party' "the platitudes being mouthed from establishment politicians in Ireland have been nothing short of disgusting", according to 32 CSM director of publicity Andy Martin. Mr Martin made his comments following Ahern's forced decision to stand down from office before he was pushed by Fianna Fail colleagues because of his well documented financial irregularities.

"The hypocrisy of those who are speaking of the great work carried out by Bertie is staggering, either that or it is an example of how corrupt and lacking in morality politics in Ireland has become. In his years as taoiseach of the Free State Bertie has not only seemingly used his position to feather his own nest but has also presided over massive inequality in the state. As well as this he has ruthlessly used internment against republicans opposing British rule despite supposedly being a republican himself. Bertie Ahern has also effectively ended Irish neutrality, stood idly by while multinationals have robbed the Irish people of their natural resources and supported our history and heritage being bulldozed in Navan and elsewhere. Perhaps Bertie's biggest affront to the Irish people is his faithful endorsement of the British demand that articles 2&3 of the Irish constitution be deleted and his support for the Good Friday Agreement that has allowed Irish national sovereignty and national democracy be subverted at the behest of the British. Bertie may wish to be remembered as a republican who did his best for Ireland or perhaps as a jovial 'cute hoor' however history will judge him very differently and much more harshly"

Creggan Riot was Initiated by RUC/PSNI.

"The 32csm condemns the actions of the RUC/PSNI on Easter Monday in the Creggan estate. Young Republicans had gathered to defend the honouring of Ireland's patriot dead. Without their presence the RUC Commander on the day would have surely attempted to arrest the Colour party.

There were a total of 5 Republican commemorations organised for that Easter week, the RUC was only present at the 32csm event. Why was this event singled out for attack? The Commemoration was a Republican event in a Republican area. What exactly was the purpose of the RUC operation that day? The event passed off peacefully as it always does. However, a RUC Landrover entered the Creggan 30 minutes later and it was this action that sparked off the riot. Non-political civic police services do not attend peaceful, dignified events in a Cemetery.

The RUC commander overseeing the operation (himself notorious amongst those who have lodged complaints of alleged human rights abuses against the RUC/PSNI) was seen by Creggan residents clipping the heels of two children no older than 10. A 32csm representative also advised one mother to take her child to a Solicitor after he was laid on the ground and beaten black and blue by RUC thugs. Instead of accountability the children of Derry are receiving police Brutality. The RUC seemed quite pleased with their day's work when a spokesman said "I think instead of being heavy handed we did quite a good job." Meanwhile, Martina Anderson failed to condemn the action of her new friends, she copped out by attacking the media, claiming that they had exaggerated the level of resistance. All Martina could come out with, after witnesses went on T.V saying that they had seen children as young as eight being harassed and photographed, was a condemnation of the media. This is how watery the PSF position has become.

The 32csm is urging all concerned parents to seek legal advice, if they believe that their children's civil rights had been abused that day."

Join the 32 County Sovereignty Movement!

Website Info:
www.32csm.info
For Membership Contact:
joinus@32csm.info

Editorial: 10 Years On.. Good Friday has failed Republicans... And failed to destroy Republicanism.

This month has marked the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Belfast Agreement and a series of events have been planned to 'celebrate' its achievements. However for republicans it is obvious now to even its most ardent supporter that it has failed to deliver anything for republicanism per se. Many republicans who initially supported the agreement have since rejected it as worse than useless and have come to the conclusion that it is in fact a hindrance to the republican project. We welcome this growing section of the republican base and urge these people to become involved in the debate on the way forward that is beginning to take place.

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement rejected the 1998 agreement on the grounds that it failed to deal with the central issue in the Anglo Irish conflict, namely that of the violation of our national sovereignty by the British. We correctly reasoned that if the causes of the conflict were not removed then the conflict would continue and that if the conflict continued so too eventually would repressive legislation aimed at those republicans who would not fall in behind illegal British parliamentary activity in Ireland and a partition updated for the 21st century.

The reintroduction of Internment by the Free State is one clear indication that this agreement will not work, that this administration, supported and cajoled by British intelligence, should take such drastic action in order to normalise British rule in Ireland is proof that politics here is still abnormal. There are now more republicans in Portlaoise than there were 10 years ago, this is a clear indication that the pacification process has not worked and that republicans will continue to reject the politics of partition.

The 10 years of the agreement has seen off such political figures as Tony Blair, Bill Clinton, Bertie Ahern and Ian Paisley who all see 'Northern Ireland' as their greatest achievement. If we analyze these claims then it is obvious that their position on the Anglo/Irish conflict is very much at variance with the republican position. While constitutional nationalists within the Provisional movement believe the GFA to have been a stepping stone all other players have viewed it as the end game.

From a republican, Socialist or progressive viewpoint, how has the Belfast Agreement affected Ireland in reality? Ireland is a hugely unequal society where recession closes the gap between rich and poor as opposed to economic growth. Ireland is a nation whereby one administration relies upon draconian legislation to prevent political opposition and the other relies upon huge deployments of undercover spooks, surveillance equipment and agents. The southern administration has made Ireland an actor in the illegal war of terror against Afghanistan and Iraq by ignoring Irish Neutrality, it has aligned itself with capitalist and imperial interests

against the interests of its own citizens in regards to its own natural resources and it now holds transport networks in higher esteem than its own heritage at Tara.

In the north a boom in criminality and anti social behaviour has been allowed to take root in order to promote British policing among nationalists. Provisional leaders are prepared to act as a 'bulwark' against republicans but refuse to do so against those who have killed ex POW's in West Belfast. Former comrades are now advising the RUC/PSNI on how to 'deliver' good policing in our areas knowing full well that this policing is ultimately run by MI5 for the protection of the British state in Ireland.

British agents are being unmasked regularly and revelations that the British government worded PIRA statements has failed to surprise anyone, 10 years ago this would have had a very different effect.

Republicans must unite on issues of common concern and we must undo the legacy of this anti republican agreement, we must educate and debate among our own base to highlight the real nature of this treaty. We urge all republicans to get involved in debates across the country to mark this agreement and to show those 'Tyrants, Hypocrites and Liars' what we really think of their pathetic efforts at selling this defeat as a victory.

10 years is long enough to show how this agreement has failed, now is the time to outline the alternative.

32 County Sovereignty Movement Easter Oration, Derry 2008.

Oration delivered by Francie Mackey, Derry City, Easter 2008.

"It is indeed a great honour and privilege to be invited here today, in Derry, to give the oration at this years commemoration of the 92nd anniversary of the Easter Rising.

This city and county has a long and proud history in the struggle for Irish Independence, a struggle to end British Parliamentary Activity in Ireland.

Today you the people of Derry are not only upholding the ideals of the leaders of 1916, you are remembering them with the pride and honour they deserve.

When the Proclamation was written it was done so with vision and spelt out clearly the legality of the Provisional Government.

The legality of that position in 1916 is as relevant to the Irish people today as it was then because Ireland today remains under British occupation.

The British Home Rule preference of that era remains the preferred choice of the present day British Government.

Unfortunately and sadly, former comrades have joined the ranks of the Home Rulers and have moved to the British agenda with the continuance of British Rule in Ireland and are now actively administering that rule.

This Easter those same people will besmirch the name republican as they use and abuse the proud name to bolster their own egos and to bolster their failed agenda.

In the 26 counties the people gave PSF their answer at the last election, when they decided there wasn't room for two Fianna Fail's.

PSF and Fianna Fail are two sides of the same coin and today both are competing for a share of the same things.

PSF have failed their own people and their Southern project is dead in the water. At their Ard Fheis it was acknowledged their Northern leadership failed the South because of their partitionist mindset.

I do not see the Southern project being resurrected as their policies are now in conflict between North and South and between the socialist left and the conservative right.

This begs the question, would James Connolly a signatory of the Proclamation have reached this position?

Would Pdraig Pearse have entered negotiations that refused to address the core cause of conflict and accept the perpetuation of British Rule and continue to facilitate it with the public decommissioning of arms? End the struggle without any republican gains and criminalize Irish men and Irish women who continue to oppose British Rule in Ireland? Who continue to oppose the partition of our country and who oppose the continuation of sectarian strife in the occupied six counties?

Today just like 92 years ago there is the ongoing effort to criminalize the republican position, criminalize and vilify us for putting forward the legality of our position and for stating clearly just as Pearse did that Ireland unfree will never be at peace.

History has taught us there will always be opposition to the occupation of any part of the Irish Nation.

The criminalization I refer to takes many forms with vil-

ification of individuals, the intimidation of our members and brutal beatings resulting in serious injury by the PSNI.

The PSNI in conjunction with MI5 are actively targeting individuals in a pattern just as they did under their former name the RUC and we believe they are deliberately setting up people for murder.

In the past weeks we are aware of suspicious activity across the 6 Counties emanating from the British military presence and we are certain that circumstances prevented the murder of at least one individual.

In the days and weeks ahead we appeal to the republican base in the occupied territory to be vigilant in the face of this serious threat and to report all suspicious activity to the 32 CSM, no matter how insignificant you think it is. It could save some one's life.

Amazingly the quislings in Dublin and Stormont have not uttered a word of condemnation, instead their public pronouncements are that of continuing such practices and by giving their support to an unacceptable police force they are supporting such practices and supporting British political policing in Ireland.

Dublin have moved one step further in the criminalization process and the abuse of civil rights with the arrest of 4 men from this city and charged them without any evidence. Their powers to intern anyone on the advice of a Garda Superintendent demonstrates the fragility of their position. They feel the need to intern anyone who opposes British Rule in Ireland and have these abuses of human rights in place to remove any advancement to uphold Irish National Sovereignty.

Those who claim the PSNI are not involved in political policing are liars and are involved in the cover up to conceal the extent of their involvement in carrying out British practices in the occupied 6 Counties.

The Gardai have joined this bunch with political policing and there is little difference between their activities because their agenda is to crush any opposition and to facilitate the British Agenda under the guise of peace.

This very month the PSF leader in Leinster House, in response to Fine Gael criticism of the continued existence of the PIRA Army council, stated that the core reason for its existence was to act as a bulwark against the growing influence of so called dissident republicanism particularly in the border area. It now seems that a new slogan is required for them, 'With an MI5 agent in one hand and a private militia in the other we'll secure British rule in Ireland.'

We in the 32 CSM could never and will not accept such practices, that fails the Irish people, practices that fail to uphold the sovereignty of the Irish people and practices that allows a foreign government to maintain their illegal presence through the use of force, intimidation, threat and murder.

In our discussion document Dismantling Partition we recognize the strengths and weakness of the republican position following the damage that it has withstood when former leaders accepted the British agenda in the GFA. We are confident that the position we adopted prior to the GFA, with our challenge lodged in the UN, secured the basic tenet of the republican position and by

so doing we have set out a course to pursue that challenge.

We recognize in the present climate we cannot do it alone and we recognize that by uniting the separatist position across the republican base republicanism will realign itself to the position of the 1916 leaders.

In doing so we are confident that together republicans will make a difference in upholding the Proclamation and in so doing uphold the right of the Irish people to National Self-determination. In other words uphold the Sovereignty of the Irish Nation.

The Republican Unity Initiative has the capabilities to promote debate, discussion and formulate republican strategy based on democratic principles, agreement and decision.

Republicanism divided into factions only assists those who are content to ignore us.

They refuse to challenge our analysis, our position leaves them uncomfortable so they have to retreat to ignore us in the hope we will go away.

That is not going to happen, we in the 32CSM know that with debate and understanding across the republican base, republicans will come together just as they did in 1916 and that with such unity the republican position cannot be ignored.

Who would have thought that as we prepare for the centenary of the 1916 rising in 8 years time that we would be back at

(continued on next page)



32csm Chairperson Francie Mackey.

National Easter Commemorations 2008

the same position as they were in the coming together of the differing organizations to present the true challenge based on truth and justice.

In 1916 their leaders came together to thwart the push for Home Rule and by doing so they lit the torch of freedom.

Their analysis in the Proclamation was correct.

They were vilified by the British and by the Home Rulers and because they set out with the right analysis, their position was ratified by the Irish people two short years later.

The people of Ireland elected them based on that analysis and they formed the first Dail Eireann. The Brits refused to accept the democratic will of the Irish people and executed our national government because it was an Irish agenda and like today they refused to accept anything outside their own agenda.

Does that sound familiar in to day's terms?

Over the past year republicans have come together with their first tentative steps in discussion and debate and have united with a number of projects such as the Wolfe Tone commemoration, the anti-British policing debate and in the Truth and Lies debate remembering the victims of Bloody Sunday in Derry.

We continue to extend the hand of friendship to all republican organizations and individuals to come together in debate and discussion so that the real challenge based on firm analysis can be pursued to end British parliamentary activity in Ireland.

That is what the men and women of 1916 gave their lives for and that is the only solution to end conflict and strife in Ireland.

As the realignment of the Home Rulers begins to crack and divide, republicans should be seeking to unite the republican position to promote the challenge and capitalize on the flaws of our opponent's position.

Let us move forward from today with more tiny steps on the road to unity so that we can grow and look to 2016 with a shared confidence for the 100th Anniversary of a significant historic event.

An event that has left us in the position we find ourselves today by successive intransigent British Governments.

We have a serious and sincere challenge, let us develop it with a unified republican position.

Go Raibh Maith Agat."

Cork Commemoration.

As a means to further the Republican Unity Initiative, Cork republicans from the 32 County Sovereignty Movement and the Irish Republican Socialist Party held a joint Easter Commemoration at the Republican Plot in St Finbarr's Cemetery in Cork city. Led by a piper and an eight strong Colour Party the procession marched from the Clashduv Road district to the cemetery. The Colour Party boasted two new young members who perfected their drilling skills in the days and weeks prior to the event.

Around one hundred people took part in the commemoration closely monitored by a heavy presence of Free State Special Branch personnel. In attendance were the family of the late Finbarr Walsh who was tragically killed in 2005 and whom the local 32CSM Cumann is named after. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the 32CSM by Cork republicans Brian Walsh, Jim Cullinane and Derry Cronin. Tom Nolan laid a wreath on behalf of the IRSP.

Speaking on behalf of the 32CSM Belfast republican and former hunger striker Marion Price outlined the vision and political strategy which the 32CSM are currently bringing to the republican project. Recalling the very active role that the city and county of Cork had played in the struggle for national sovereignty she reiterated the need once again for such dedication to help bring the Republican Movement through the morass which former comrades had now placed it after agreeing to yet another partitionist settlement. Drawing attention to the recent launch by the 32CSM of their strategy document Dismantling Partition she also drew on the collaborative nature of the Easter Rising itself and the fact that it represented the epitome of Republican Unity in action.

On behalf of the IRSP Tom Nolan drew attention to the continuing plight of Irish republican POW's and stressed the need for a unified republican approach in countering the political and constitutional effects of the Good Friday Agreement. Despite the best efforts of Special Branch personnel to intimidate the attendees the event closed with the piper rendering Amhrán Na bhfiann. The 32CSM issued an announcement that they will be handing out protest leaflets on Friday the 18th of April outside the Commodore Hotel in Cobh where Stormont supremo Ian Paisley will be attending a business conference.



From Clockwise:
Derry Commemoration, Cork Colour Party, Masked Volunteer (Derry).

Derry Commemoration.

The local 32csm would like to thank all those who attended and helped to organise the commemoration of Ireland's patriot dead which took place this Easter Monday. The event which was attended by over 500 people illustrates the vast growth of our movement in the past year and has given local republicanism a much needed confidence boost after the internment of 4 prominent members of the local 32csm (Micky Gallagher, Gary Donnelly, Paddy Mc Daid and Martin O' Niell). All of whom were captured by free state forces and are currently being held in Portlaoise Gaol.

After the commemoration the lads on the E3 landing in Portlaoise phoned home when the news of the day's events were passed down the wing and the landing erupted in celebration. It was certainly the good news the lads were hoping for.

The event was chaired by Marion Price, who filled the shoes of Micky Gallagher, who was interned by Free State forces. A statement was read out by the leadership of Oglai Na hEireann. The Volunteer called for Republicans to "unite and continue the armed struggle". Chairman of the 32csm Francie Mackey gave the main oration he also called for Republicans to unite "We need to unite all true republican groups with one common purpose if we do that, we are confident republicans can make a difference and uphold the proclamation". He continued by slamming our former comrades in Provisional Sinn Fein: "PSF and Fianna Fail are two side of the same coin and today both are competing for a share of the same things. PSF have failed their own people and their southern project is dead in the water. At their Ard Fheis it was acknowledged that their Northern leadership failed the South because of their partitionist mindset. I do not see the Southern Project being resurrected as their policies are now in conflict between north and south and between socialist left and the conservative right". He went on to say "it now seems that a new slogan is required for them - "With an MI5 agent in one hand and a private militia in the other we'll secure British rule in Ireland."

Francie also warned of plots to assassinate leading republicans "The PSNI are actively targeting individuals just as they did in the days of the RUC" he said "We believe they are setting people up for murder. In the days ahead we appeal to the Republican base here in this city to be vigilant in the face of a serious threat and to report any suspicious activity to the 32csm- no matter how small it may seem. It could save somebody's life." (see full oration on page 4, opposite).

The local 32csm Cumann would urge any interested Republicans to join in the fight for Irish freedom by emailing their name and any contact number to Joinus@32csm.info



Easter Statement from Maghaberry POWs 2008.

"We the Irish Republican Army POWs would like to take this opportunity, on the anniversary of the Easter Rising, to reaffirm our commitment to those same objectives the volunteer soldiers of 1916 and generations since have fought and died for. The threat of death and imprisonment has never nor will it ever extinguish Ireland's desire for freedom.

We will resist any attempt by our captors to criminalise us or our struggle. Nor will we dishonour the memory of our Republican dead by removing our commemorative Easter Lilies at their behest no matter what punishment they inflict on us.

We would also like to extend solidarity to our comrades on the outside, to those imprisoned in Ireland and abroad, to our supporters and to fellow political prisoners throughout the world.

We have full confidence in the leadership of Oglai na hEireann and their ability to continue the struggle against the enemy despite the overwhelming odds. We are under no illusions of the uphill battle we face as a movement and as captives, however we will overcome any obstacles put in our way by the foreign occupation nor will we be brushed aside by those domestic collaborators in our midst. We remain undaunted and what we are --- Political Prisoners of War."

Beirigi Bua.

The Catalpa and the Fremantle Escape.

There is a particular poignancy attributable to the history of the Fenian Movement and their ill-fated rebellion of 1867. Similar to previous and subsequent revolutionary Republican organizations their attempt to overthrow British rule in Ireland ended in military defeat yet they bequeathed to later generations a powerful, emotive legacy which led directly to the 1916 Rising and the 1918-1921 War of Independence. The Fenian flame was the inspiration for various movements in Ireland in the latter decades of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century in their struggle for independence from the yoke of the British empire. Their memory is encapsulated in the lyrics of that haunting ballad composed in tribute to them "we may have great men but we'll never have better". We could be forgiven however, for posing the question as to why such an organization whose efforts to achieve Irish Freedom had ended so disastrously, could command such love and respect, not merely from subsequent generations of the Irish nation but from men and women of many nationalities who fought and died opposing the evils of imperialist conquest and colonial exploitation.

There are several reasons for the enduring potency of the Fenian legacy. The first of course is recognition of the sheer scale and magnitude of the hurdles they faced. They threw down the gauntlet to a foe which at that time constituted the most powerful political, economic, military and naval power in the world. During the American Civil War, for example, the Federal government in Washington was extremely fearful of British military intervention on the side of the Confederacy because of the impact which the Union naval blockade on Confederate ports had on the Lancashire cotton industry. This trepidation on the Union side only receded after the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863. In addition to the military superiority of the British foe the Fenians also had to contend with the implacable hostility of the hierarchy of the Catholic church which at that point in time was stridently asserting its influence on Irish society in a period which was dubbed "the Devotional revolution". The strength of the Catholic church opposition to the revolutionary republicans is exemplified by the fiery denunciation of Bishop Moriarty, often quoted by Brendan Behan, that "hell was not hot enough nor eternity long enough to roast the Fenians". Given the political climate within which they had to operate one can begin to realize why the rebels of 1867 aroused the sympathy and admiration of freedom loving people around the globe.

In addition to these factors there is further reason why the role and activities of the Fenians are enshrined in our folklore. The Fenians, in contrast to previous Irish separatist movements, were somewhat unique in the scale and the prototype of their endeavours and some of the tasks they undertook. The extent of their penetration and subversion of the British army and the conversion of thousands of Irishmen in British uniform to the cause of Irish republicanism shook the British establishment to its core. Their recruitment of thousands of experienced American civil war veterans and their plans for an invasion of Canada, their attack on Chester castle to procure arms, the bomb attack and attempt to rescue Fenian prisoners from Clerkenwell prison in London, the "Smashing of the Van" in Manchester in a similar effort to free prisoners and the subsequent execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien all captured the hearts and imagination of freedom loving people worldwide. All these were examples of the Republicans attempts at innovation and ingenuity in their struggle to overthrow tyrannical oppression. Of all the illustrations of Fenian daring and ingenuity the story of the whaling ship Catalpa and the rescue of the republican prisoners from Fremantle Gaol in Western Australia shines out over the pages of history as a beacon of hope and inspiration to freedom loving people as an example of what can be achieved if they apply themselves to a task with the determination and the resilience of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.

The Fenian Movement, also known as the IRB and in the USA as Clan na Gael was organised between 1858 and 1866. The inaugural meeting was chaired by John O'Mahony in Manhattan while simultaneously in Ireland the organization was established under the direction of James Stephens who had been in the Young Ireland Movement. By 1865 Stephens claimed they had a membership of 250,000 in Ireland of which 8,000 were serving British soldiers, a figure which was to increase by 1867. Their ambitious plans for rebellion though were dashed by the scourge of Republican organizations

The Catalpa Whaling Ship.



throughout the annals of history i.e. the informer. The draconian iron fist of the British empire came down upon the Fenian ranks with a colonial vindictiveness and among those singled out for particularly harsh treatment were those Republicans who had been trained and soldiered in the British army and were dubbed "the military Fenians" by their captives. From February through to April 1866 after a secret directive issued from 10 Downing street itself, hundreds of Fenians were arrested including John Deery and John Boyle O'Reilly. Among those held were six British soldiers whose names will go down as central figures in one of the most daring and dramatically successful prison escapes undertaken in the course of, not alone Irish History, but of the history of all revolutionary struggles worldwide. The Fenian heroes were Robert

After a secret directive issued from 10 Downing street itself, hundreds of Fenians were arrested including John Deery and John Boyle O'Reilly. Among those held were six British soldiers whose names will go down as central figures in one of the most daring and dramatically successful prison escapes undertaken in the course of, not alone Irish History, but of the history of all revolutionary struggles worldwide.

Cranston, Thomas Darragh, a northern Presbyterian, Michael Harrington, Thomas Hassett, Martin Hogan and James Wilson. It was said of them by John Boyle O'Reilly:

"Those six men were typical members of the Fenian organisation in the British army. It cannot be said of them that their adherence to the Fenian Movement was a whim, conceived without serious thought ... They were young men but not so young and inexperienced to be rash. The telling part is that they joined the Fenian organization for the patriotic reason of achieving an Irish Republic. With the decisive mind of the soldier, they went into this project with clear vision and with a full appreciation of the risk. They were only six out of fifteen thousand who did likewise and who considered that the call of loyalty to an Irish ideal was superior to every other consideration."

After enduring horrendous ill-treatment in Portland prison the six men along with John Boyle O'Reilly were deported on the prison ship "Houguemont" to the notorious penal colony at Fremantle, Western Australia along with sixty three Fenian prisoners in total. The barbaric treatment meted out to them was condemned by Charles Dickens. The regime at Fremantle, under the direction of Dr. John Steven Hampton, Governor of Western Australia, George Leckey the crown solicitor and Henry Wakefield Constable-General was vicious

in the extreme. The Fenian prisoners had been condemned to an existence which could only be described as a living hell from which inevitable death from work on the chain gangs appeared the only hope of release. The most formidable barrier to a possible attempt at escape lay not in their guards weapons or the walls of "The Establishment" as Fremantle Prison was dubbed but in the very nature of the land and sea beyond Fremantles' environs. On the landward side there was a vast expanse of brush, an uncharted wilderness, without tracks, food or safety, a hostile region which wore down the resistance of anyone who attempted to cross it. For the men who avoided capture it meant a slow but certain death. For the man who was recaptured it meant the rest of his natural life on the chain gang or in the case of the military Fenians it would have resulted in execution. To the seaward side was the vast expanse of the Indian Ocean. Nature was the most powerful custodian at the Imperial Convict Establishment of Fremantle.

In early 1868 from a smuggled Irish newspaper the Fenian prisoners read of the events surrounding the capture and execution of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, the 'Manchester Martyrs'. The details had a profound impact on them all and inspired John Boyle O'Reilly to pen the moving poem 'The Dead who died for Ireland' which contained these prophetic lines,

*"The dead who died for Ireland
How hallowed are their graves!
With all the memories fresh and green
Oh! How could we be slaves?
How could we patient cling the chains?
How could we fawn and low?
How could we crouch like mongrels
'neath the keepers frowning brow?"*

O'Reilly was determined to escape the hell hole of Fremantle Prison. With the aid of a local Irish priest, Father McCabe, who paid the passage and a local justice of the peace, Irish immigrant James Maguire, O'Reilly, who was allowed out to carry details to Bunbury Depot, was smuggled aboard an American whaler the 'Gazelle'. No convict from the old road-gang station or any other such camp in Western Australia had ever made a successful escape. As the 'Gazelle' turned west and sailed for freedom tears poured down O'Reilly's face as he prayed for his comrades languishing in Fremantle. John Boyle O'Reilly vowed that in America he would not forget them. Hogan, Cranston, Darragh, Harrington, Hassett and Wilson all of them deteriorating physically and mentally with each day spent on the road gangs and in the quarries had to be saved. News of O'Reilly's escape sent shock waves through Western Australia and elated the Fenian prisoners and gave them hope.

Eventually in his attempt to 'pacify Ireland' Gladstone issued directives for the release of the Fenians but on condition that they did not live in Ireland. Many like John

Devo and O'Donovan Rossa chose to go to America, many in Fremantle opted to start new lives in Australia. For the 'military Fenians' however there was no release and no reprieve from their perennial nightmare. In smuggled letters via Father McCabe to O'Reilly and Devo the desperation of their plight was starkly emphasized. In June 1870 Hassett, in sheer desperation, slipped away from his work party's encampment in the bush. He found refuge and a little money from sympathisers. An American whaling captain agreed to take him to freedom for the considerable sum of thirty pounds, which his friends could not raise. He stole aboard the American vessel the 'Southern Belle' in Bunbury docks in May 1871 but was captured by the water police, who diligently searched all ships following the escape of John Boyle O'Reilly. After ten months of evading capture and clinging to the hope of eventual salvation the demoralised Hassett never fully recovered, physically or emotionally from the vindictive punishment meted out to him. The plight of the 'military Fenians' appeared hopeless and they appealed to John Devo in a smuggled letter whose contents traumatised the IRB leader. In the course of his correspondence Martin Hogan wrote,

"I am one of that unfortunate band and am now under sentence of life penal servitude in one of the darkest corners of the Earth and as far as we can learn from any small news that chances to reach us, we appear to be forgotten with no prospect before us but to be left in hopeless slavery..... but believe me that, even though it should be my fate to perish in this villainous dungeon of the world, the last pulse of my heart shall beat 'God Save Ireland' ."

Believing himself personally responsible for their plight, because at their court-martials they had been convicted largely due to their dealings with him, Devo wrote,

"I felt that I more than any man then living, ought to do my utmost for these Fenian soldiers."

However over a period of three years Devo's pleas to the leadership of Clan na Gael met with little enthusiasm as they were convinced that any rescue attempt was hopeless, dangerous and a waste of funds needed to ignite another revolt in Ireland. On July 15th 1874 however, at a convention attended by sixty delegates representing eighty six branches throughout the United States, Devo's utilisation of correspondence from the 'military Fenians' carried the day and the Australian Prisoners Rescue Committee was established, tasked to raise funds and plan an escape attempt. With Devo as chairman the committee comprising, John W Goff, of New York, James Reynolds of New Haven, Connecticut, John C Talbot of San Francisco and Patrick Mahon of Rochester New York applied themselves wholeheartedly to the daunting task at hand.

Funds were raised, a ship purchased and Captain George Smith Anthony assigned to sail her to her destination on the West coast of Australia for rendezvous with the Fenian prisoners. The organisation of the escape on Australian soil was designated to two Fenians, who travelled from San Francisco, John Breslin and Thomas Desmond. Once in Fremantle Desmond, alias Tom Johnson, found work as a carriage maker. Breslin, alias James Collins lodged in a local hotel posing as a wealthy investor. Nerve, cunning and a pronounced knack for deception were essential for a successful outcome of the conspiracy in hand. Meanwhile in Australia, warnings from Detective Thomas Raine, who had been tracking the limited movements of the 'military Fenians', to Constable-General Wakefield, that from observations he had taken and information received he believed that a projected escape was planned, were ignored by British authorities. They were convinced that O'Reilly's escape was a feat that could never be repeated. The British were confident that their warships, the water-police, the pensioner guards(ex-British soldiers), aboriginal trackers and the warders of the Establishment were more than capable of preventing a repeat of O'Reilly's daring feat. They had however taken the precaution of removing Father McCabe from his position as pastor to the work camps because of his Fenian sympathies. When Breslin made contact with the priest and confided his true identity and reason for being in Fremantle, the Connemara cleric was euphoric as he was fully aware that Breslin was the man who had sprung James Stephens from Richmond Prison in Dublin. Breslin produced a small note, which McCabe promised to smuggle to the prisoners in the Establishment it read,

"To James Wilson and all the rest, Greetings. Those who have not forgotten are close by. Destroy this for the sake of old Erin. The door of the tomb is ajar."

Breslin immersed himself in social circles at the highest levels of Fremantle society while simultaneously making contact with James Wilson via a conduit 'military Fenian', Will Foley who had been granted a ticket of leave because of congenital heart



The 'Cuba 5.' From Left: Devo, Charles Underwood O'Connell, Henry Mulleda, Rossa, and John McClure.

disease. The authorities believed he no longer posed a threat to the crown and he could come and go from the Establishment as he pleased. Breslin continued to display a great ability at subterfuge yet in late January 1876 a dispatch from Lord Caernarvon of the colonial office in London arrived for Governor Robinson it read,

"Money has been collected in this country (England) and Ireland and a scheme set on foot for the purpose of assisting the escape from Western Australia of certain Fenians (and I believe military) now in the colony. The men charged with carrying out the attempt have lately sailed for Western Australia

I am one of that unfortunate band and am now under sentence of life penal servitude in one of the darkest corners of the Earth and as far as we can learn from any small news that chances to reach us, we appear to be forgotten with no prospect before us but to be left in hopeless slavery, but believe me that, even though it should be my fate to perish in this villainous dungeon of the world, the last pulse of my heart shall beat 'God Save Ireland' ."

or may do so by the mail steamer which brings this dispatch."

If the conspirators on land had to tread cautiously Captain Anthony on the 'Catalpa' experienced good fortune of unbelievable proportions. On February 16th 1876 Anthony put out a signal flag to an approaching vessel the 'Ocean Bounty'. He hoped to have a look at the other captain's charts, because British captains possessed the most accurate maps of the Australian coastline. In what must have been the ultimate irony it emerged, in the course of a congenial conversation, that the captain of the 'Ocean Bounty' was none other than Captain Cozens, who had been the captain of the 'Hougueumont' which had transported the Fenian prisoners to Fremantle. Cozens was only too pleased to offer the younger mariner some charts of such treacherous waters from his plentiful supply. Anthony could not believe his luck as he returned to the 'Catalpa' with a large scale chart of Western Australia, showing the Swan River, Fremantle, Bunbury, Rottnest Island and lighthouse.

On land Breslin planned that the 'Catalpa' would visit in waters outside the territorial limit and send a whale-boat to Rockingham beach, meanwhile, Breslin, Desmond and John King would be waiting with horses and carriages at a rendezvous point just outside Fremantle for the prisoners to slip away from the labour gangs. As soon as the Fenian prisoners reached the rendezvous, they would drive to Rockingham and use the whale-boat to row out to the 'Catalpa'. With the aid of Cozens' charts Captain Anthony arrived off Bunbury on 29th March 1876. Contact was made between Anthony and Breslin. Wilson was signalled that the escape plan was set for Easter Monday 17th April 1876. All through Saturday night and Easter Sunday, the six Fenian prisoners reflected on a message from Breslin to Wilson earlier in the week.

"We have money, arms and clothes; Let no man's heart fail him for this chance can never occur again".

Shortly after 8.00am on Easter Monday the six Fenians slipped away from their work detail, their guards recuperating from Easter celebrations, rendezvoused with Breslin and the carriages and raced down the Rockingham road. As they made contact with Anthony on the shoreline danger appeared on the horizon in the form of HMS Georgette with twelve pounder cannons and British marines. The whaleboat



The Fenians Escape from Fremantle.

put out to sea and spent a harrowing night in a storm searching for the 'Catalpa'. When they finally pinpointed her the men on the whaleboat were stunned by the appearance of the 'Georgette' as it steamed towards their only hope of freedom. Hidden by the swell from the storm, the 'Georgette' swept past the whaleboat. Meanwhile on land with the restoration of the wires, which had been sabotaged, Governor Robinson prepared to send a telegram to every naval station and port in Australia,

"Detain, by force if necessary, American whaling barge 'Catalpa', George Anthony, Master. Arrest said Anthony, his officers and crew and any passengers who may be aboard".

The 'Georgette' which had seen no sign of the Fenians on board the 'Catalpa' had returned to Fremantle only to be dispatched again with reinforcements to track down the American whaler. When Anthony on the whaleboat finally made contact with the 'Catalpa' they found themselves in a three-way chase with a police cutter which was bearing down upon her. One of the 'Catalpa's' crew ran the American Stars and Stripes up the main mast. As the Fenians and their rescuers clambered aboard the American whaler the police cutter was only one hundred yards away. On the cutter, Coxswain Mills had no choice but to sail back to Fremantle. He was not yet in receipt of any orders to board the whaler and dared not do so on his own initiative.

With the Fenians on board Captain Anthony set a course for home but at daybreak the 'Georgette' was again approaching under full steam. A warning shot was fired across the 'Catalpa's' bow and she was ordered to heave to for boarding. Captain Anthony pointed to the American flag and refused. In an expert manoeuvre, Anthony suddenly spun the wheel up, and the 'Catalpa's' sails filled with an offshore wind launching the whaler back towards open sea and straight at the 'Georgette'. The British sailors, soldiers and police braced themselves for ramming but the 'Catalpa' veered port. With an increased wind the 'Catalpa' put greater distance between herself and the 'Georgette' which eventually stopped.

The news of the escape took nearly two weeks to reach London, the telegraph between Australia and Java having been cut. John Boyle O'Reilly received the news on the 6th June 1876. Euphoric he wired Devo at once,

"Grand glory and complete success. Ireland triumphs. London dispatch admits all our men safe aboard Catalpa. Watch your cables for more details. Erin Go Bragh".

To the fury of the British government newspapers throughout the USA applauded the rescue and recognised the six military Fenians as political prisoners. On August 19th 1876 the 'Catalpa' slipped into New York harbour. The liberated Fenians were brought to O'Donovan Rossa's hotel in Chatham Square. The following evening a gala reception was held for the men of the 'Catalpa' at New Bedford's Liberty Hall. John Boyle O'Reilly gave the oration. In June 1876 when news of the rescue appeared in Irish newspapers, up to one hundred thousand people marched in euphoric procession through Dublin. All across the world where emigration had established the Irish Diaspora the celebrations continued for weeks. Flushed with it's success Clan Na Gael became the driving force behind the Land League and the Parnellite movement. By 1900 Devo had become the head of Clan Na Gael which laid the foundation for the Gaelic League, Sinn Fein and a rejuvenated IRB which would organise the 1916 Rising.

The success of the rescue mission undertaken by the IRB and the captain of the 'Catalpa' was a source of huge inspiration to the Irish Diaspora, and to those Irishmen in the ranks of the British army, to cling to their faith in an Irish ideal. The captivating story of the 'Catalpa' inspired subsequent generations in their resolve to establish a Sovereign, Independent Irish Republic.

Letters to the Editor

“Why I Left Provisional Sinn Féin”

A chara,

Firstly I would like to wish the four Derry men being interned in Portlaoise gaol, the best of luck, with the ongoing fight against internment by remand. In a recent visit to Maghaberry gaol to see a republican prisoner, my son was searched 4 times and was photographed on 5 occasions, his fingerprints were also taken before being allowed access to the visiting area. At one point a sniffer dog was brought in to search for Drugs, and if this dog sits beside down, your visit will be terminated. These practices only exist for Republican prisoners. These men are not criminals, political status does not exist it was signed away as part of the Good Friday agreement in 1998. This is not what Bobby Sands and his nine brave comrades died for. The Good Friday agreement has criminalised Republicanism. Recently men arrested in Derry under the 'terrorism' act were shown a Bobby Sands book wrapped in plastic and tagged as evidence, it is now criminal to read bobby Sands writings in the eyes of occupation.

Nothing has changed. Britain will never tolerate Republicanism. However, it will tolerate those who subvert to its position.

I have since left Provisional Sinn Féin, it was not an easy decision for me to make, but I felt that SF had strayed away from the core objective of upholding the Republic as outlined in the 1916 proclamation, the current SF strategy had been grossly underpinned by the British. I spoke out against the endorsement of policing at the special Ard Fhies in Dublin last year and from that day to this SF cannot give me one credible example of them holding the RUC/PSNI to account. Instead of accountability the people of Derry have witnesses their children being beaten black and blue by the RUC in the Creggan Estate on Easter Monday.

The people of Derry had given the PSNI a chance to prove that they have changed, they have failed miserably to live up to their promise. If only they could target the current drug scourge that is destroying the youth of my Shantallow homeland with as much vigour and determination as they do

dignified Republican commemorations and funerals, then maybe there would be a little trust.

The Drug problem is a civic issue however, the PSNI seem to only bother about political issues related to Republicanism. Anyone who claims that the PSNI headed by MI5 is a non-political police service is a liar. The PSNI's main priority is to destroy Republicanism and I will not stand by and watch freedoms fight be criminalised.

After leaving Sinn Féin after 40 years membership, I have since joined the 32 County Sovereignty Movement (32csm) who have given me a very warm welcome, I would also urge any disillusioned Republican from the greater Shantallow area to contact me for advice or access to our strategy documents. The 32csm will be setting up a Cumann in the greater Shantallow area very soon and we will be dedicated to upholding the Republic and tackling anti social behaviour and the drug issue head on by using traditional republican methods.

Sheamus Breslin (Derry)

RUC Attack on Newry Community - Eyewitness Report Reveals the Facts.

A Chara,

On the 5th and 6th of February the British Colonial Police force launched an attack on the Republican Community in Newry which started the worst riots in the area in over 15 years. I was present in the Derrybeg/Carnaget area when the RUC/PSNI went on a rampage of destruction and chaos which included breaking into peoples homes, smashing bottles and throwing paint around. I also witnessed them manhandling a young boy in his school uniform in to the back of an armoured landrover for refusing to give his name to a cop dressed in riot gear.

The Republican Youth in the Derrybeg area launched a sustained attack on the crown forces which continued for several hours before they were forced to pull out from the area. I would just like to point out that the RUC/PSNI had no reason to be in the Derrybeg area and a senior cop has admitted that they were only in Derrybeg to draw in youths from the area they were searching in Carnaget. So in other words the RUC/PSNI planned to have a riot in Derrybeg!

In the early hours of Wednesday morning the RUC/PSNI returned to Derrybeg and smashed their way into the home of a Community Activist with a sledgehammer, they then realised that not only were they at the wrong house but they were in the wrong estate!

In the afternoon a number of residents including children were watching the RUC/PSNI operation from the Camlough Rd. within minutes they were being baton charged by about 10 RUC officers in full riot gear. The RUC/PSNI then went and vandalised a kids play park by throwing tins of paint around it. They also tried to confiscate a camera from a Community Activist who was taking photos of the police causing this destruction. During all this the new RUC/PSNI helicopter hovered over the estate.

Here are a few statements I came across issued by 2 separate Community groups in the Derrybeg area.

Derrybeg Community Association

"On Tuesday afternoon the Derrybeg Community was shocked when PSNI Land Rovers drove through the estate at high speed. In one incident a PSNI officer smashed a bottle in Second Avenue. When a member of the community approached him and asked him why this was done, the officer refused to answer him. On Wednesday morning a member of the Community Association who lives in Main Avenue was contacted by a neighbour to inform him that the PSNI had forced their way into his house. When the Community Association member went to his house to see why this had happened he was told by the PSNI that they had got the wrong address. The Derrybeg Community Association will be forwarding a letter to the local District Policing Partnership to

complain about the above incidents."

Derrybeg Community Watch

*On Tuesday 5th February and Wednesday 6th February Residents and members of the Community Watch witnessed an atrocious display of anti social behaviour in the estate. For once the anti social behaviour wasn't being carried out by youths but by the police. The police operation was being carried out in Carnaget so serious questions need to be asked as to why 5 armoured landrovers entered Derrybeg. Throughout the course of the whole day the landrovers sped through the estate with their lights flashing and sirens blasting and they were also giving the youths the "V Sign" in an attempt to get a reaction from the young people in the estate. In Second Avenue 2 Members of the Community Watch witnessed Police officers dressed in riot gear smashing glass bottles beside the play park. The Community Watch wouldn't let youngsters do this in the area and they certainly weren't going to stand idly by and watch the Police do it. The Community Watch immediately confronted the police and pointed out that a young child could fall and seriously injure themselves. Their reply to this in full view of residents and children was "SO F***ING WHAT".*

The police have admitted that the reason they were in Derrybeg was to draw young people out of the Parkhead area so they could continue with their search. It is unbelievable that the police actually orchestrated and planned this riot in an attempt to damage the good people and name of Derrybeg.

In the early hours of Wednesday morning the police went to the home of a resident who is a member of the Community Watch and also the Community Association. They smashed their way into his house with a sledge hammer and when he confronted them they said they got the wrong house and left without even an apology. In the afternoon they returned to the estate dressed in full riot gear complete with helmets, batons and shields. They proceeded to Baton charge a number of terrified young people including girls who were watching the police operation from the Camlough Rd bus shelters. We must stress that none of these youngsters were throwing anything at the time and this incident was captured on video by a member of the Community Watch.

The police then ran into Second Avenue with their batons and shields and went over to the kids Play Park where they threw tins of paint all over place. They then walked back up Second Avenue towards the bus shelters where they lifted another tin of paint and threw it over the footpath and wall outside a pensioner's house. A member of the Community Watch was taking photographs of these incidents and the police unsuccessfully attempted to confiscate his camera. This was nothing but sheer vandalism and harassment!

We haven't witnessed scenes like this since the 80s

and the Community Watch totally condemn the actions of the police who had NO REASON WHATSOEVER TO BE ANYWHERE NEAR DERRYBEG. The blame for any trouble lies squarely with the PSNI for vandalising our area, harassing residents, Community workers and provoking our young people.

And here is an article published in the Newry Democrat along with a statement issued by the local Provisional SF Councillor Marian Mathers who lives in Derrybeg. Derrybeg based Sinn Féin councillor Marian Mathers told the Democrat that she had contacted the PSNI in relation to their presence in the estate following complaints from local people.

According to councillor Mathers, she was told that the police were in Derrybeg to draw youths away from the Camlough Road.

"I spoke to some of the young ones and asked them to refrain from what they were doing, especially because there was traffic on the Camlough Road and I got reports of a bus being struck in the crossfire," she said. "However, they didn't stop until the PSNI withdrew from the area. Most of them were only 12 or 13 years of age. There was nothing political behind it, I think they just saw the chance for whatever fun they were getting out of it. There was nothing sinister about it."

Ms Mathers declined to comment on whether or not she viewed the youths' actions as understandable. Marian Mathers was not present during the incident on Tuesday she hid in the house and phoned the RUC/PSNI. And on Wednesday when she "spoke to some of the young ones and asked them to refrain from what they were doing" they rightfully ignored her and continued to defend their area which shows the lack of authority she and PSF have in the area.

When you compare the statements from 2 separate Community Groups in the area with Councillor Mather's statement you can clearly see how she is avoiding the seriousness of these incidents. Why didn't she confront the RUC/PSNI and ask them to refrain from what THEY were doing? For two days the British forces had our communities under siege, at one stage I counted 17 armoured landrovers, 2 British Army Lorries and the new RUC/PSNI chopper. They kidnapped our people, broke into peoples houses, vandalised our community's facilities and harassed our young people.

Fair play to the Republican Youth of Newry who battled with the British Crown Forces when they and their community came under attack. Maybe the enemy will think twice next time they try to attack the Republican Community in Newry .

Newry Republican.

Editor's Note - Guest Opinion's are the views of contributing individuals, and not necessarily those of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement. This column exists solely to promote open debate amongst Republicans.

Since 1970 a very large volume of literature dealing with 'the Northern Ireland problem' has been produced. The dominant paradigm for some years is that as in Kosovo and other 'deeply divided' regions of 'ethno-national conflict', violence in the six counties is at root based on a clash of 'identities'. The emergence of so-called 'ethnic conflicts' in Eastern Europe and elsewhere during the 1990s can to an extent account for the popularity of this type of analysis.

What is less known is that the increasing use of concepts like 'identity', 'ethnic conflict' etc is part of a deliberate offensive against Republicanism; both at the level of state and academic discourses: "Alongside the military campaign the protagonists have fought an ideological campaign.

The term 'identity' emerged and has been deployed as a category of practice as part of a broader ideological battle. The main object of attack in this ideological battle was Irish Republicanism, and one of the main forms that the attack took was a challenge to traditional Irish nationalist ideology." (Chris Gilligan, The Irish question and the concept of 'identity' in the 1980s, Nations and Nationalism 13(4), 2007, p.607) A look at some of the most influential authors in the field of "ethno-national conflict" will show that academics can act not just in realm of pure reason but as objective agents of the British state. John Whyte, the author of Interpreting Northern Ireland (1991) was an advisor to the Gardiner Commission which recommended the abolition of Special Category Status. Advocating paradigms like 'internal conflict analysis' or 'consociationalism' complemented the criminalisation of Republicanism. Brendan O Leary and John McGarry are the joint authors of influential books such as Explaining Northern Ireland (1995). O Leary was a policy advisor to the British Labour Party regarding the North, and is currently an international advisor in the Kurdish area of occupied Iraq. John McGarry is linked to the Center for the Study of Democracy, which promoted the so-called 'Orange Revolution' in Ukraine and other 'civil society' movements. Their criticisms of Republican politics go hand in hand with their work for the British state.

Their ideas on policing for example are considered to have had a significant influence on the work of the Independent Commission on Policing for Northern Ireland. (Belfast Telegraph 18 Sept 99) The concept of Irish identity advanced by these authors "made the aspiration to a united Ireland an issue of self-conception and cultural recognition, rather than an issue of self-determination." This shifts away the aims away from self-determination "a concept which expresses political will and future destiny" to national identity

ty "which emphasizes belonging and continuity with the past." As Chris Gilligan explains: "The shift registers a move from an understanding of conflict which downgrades political contestation - opposition to British rule - in favour of cultural recognition. Republicans, attempting to challenge and overturn the existing institutional structures employed will-based concepts.

Their opponents, attempting to bolster the legitimacy of the existing state institutions, have employed concepts which emphasise belonging and shift from an understanding of conflict which is primarily political to one which is primarily cultural and psychological." (608-609, 614)

This is not just some academic question. The idea that the conflict in the North is a matter of ethno-national identity is central to the 1993 Downing Street Declaration, the 1995 Framework Documents and the 1998 Belfast Agreement. Ethno-national politics can be understood as action whether individual or collective which is "governed by particularistic self-understandings rather than by putatively universal self-interest". Republicanism however is not a form of ethno-nationalism. For Republicans, the people of Ireland

"The two governments "employed the language of identity as a means to provide a smokescreen around the issue of sovereignty." They encouraged people to abandon struggles for political sovereignty in return for measures which recognised their cultural identities."

are divided in their political allegiance between Nationalists, Republicans and Unionists. "Differences are acknowledged, but these are characterised as ones of political allegiance, not 'ethnic' difference. Republicans have sought to persuade the Irish people that they are one, a bounded, distinctive solidarity group, not on the basis of a particularist self-understanding but on the basis of putative universal self-interest." They employ the language of democratic rights not the language of identity. "This conception of politics is universal in the sense that the contemporary social world is universally divided up into sovereign nation-states. It is putatively universal in the sense that the existence of nation-states of necessity divides humanity up into particular groups, defined by nationality." The two governments "employed the language of identity as a means to provide a smokescreen around the issue of sovereignty." They encouraged people to abandon struggles for political sovereignty in return for measures which recognised their cultural identities. (Chris Gilligan, op.cit. 611-612) Their theoretical justification for this can be found in the vast bulk of recent literature on the nature of nation-

alism. (see Richard English's 2006 book Irish Freedom for a general survey) Contemporary mainstream theories tend to focus on subjective factors such as culture, ideology, religion and other super-structural phenomena in examining the origins and development of nations and nationalism. It leads to an overemphasis on ethnic and cultural phenomena to explain their origin and development. Culture and ethnic difference divorced from class forces in society thus take a life of their own and form the basis of social relations and social movements and their ideologies such as nationalism or republicanism.

Most of the influential writers on the topic tend to agree with this. In his book Nations and Nationalism (1983) Ernest Gellner argues that "it is nationalism which engenders nations, and not the other way round." For this right-wing author, culture plays the decisive role in defining national identity.

Things are little different on the left, with Benedict Anderson asserting in his book Imagined Communities (1983) that the nation is an imagined cultural community and nationalism is a product of the collective imagination that is as real as religion. Eric Hobsbawm's Nations and Nationalism since 1780 (1992) treats nationalism as an irrational invented ideology that is based on an imaginary allegiance to the nation independent of any direct links to class and social processes. Hobsbawm's view of Irish Republicanism is particularly negative, assimilating it to barbarism. The views of these authors have informed much writing about Irish nationalism.

Republicans have very good reasons to reject these dominant views of nationalism and identity. They would argue "that nations are real (not imagined) communities and exist as collective units with definite cultural, linguistic, territorial, and social characteristics. Moreover, these unique attributes are a manifestation of specific historical and social processes that are based on class relations and class struggles." (Berch Berberoglu, Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict, 2004, 111) Such a materialist analysis was attempted for example by James Connolly in Labour in Irish History. Republicans criticise the fact that politics have been collapsed into culture and that the language of political discussion has shifted from traditional concepts of power, authority and legitimation to the area of culture and identity resulting in parity of esteem being privileged over self-determination. Republicans do not just reject the concept of 'identity' because it makes the northern problem an issue of cultural recognition rather than one of national self-determination.

Apart from the reifying connotations of the concept of identity, the politics of identity and of the 'two traditions' are deeply conservative as they are based upon the rejection of forms of politics which advocate transcending existing categories of identity and tradition. As a result, the politics of change have been replaced by the politics of management and regulation. The best they can ever produce in the North is balanced sectarianism.

Republicans and the Drug Problem - An Analysis.

Since the mid 1990's (or perhaps earlier in certain areas in Ireland) the drug problem has exploded to become a cancerous epidemic in urban areas, and worryingly, in traditionally Republican urban areas. In recent times however, this problem has spread into the small towns, villages and rural areas.

Rural Republicans were always quite sympathetic to the plight Republicans and Community workers from urban areas faced in dealing with the problem but we've perhaps never fully understood the grim reality of counteracting it before now.

Possibly the worst part of this worrying development is that the traditional type of criminal scum is not solely to blame - but a new type of criminal which is not suspected or viewed as the stereotypical drug dealer by the community at large.

Younger Teenagers from well to do families are being used by criminals to sell and distribute their drugs in rural areas where it can be easily hid and have the protection of their parents respectability. Added to this is a lack of will or cohesion from the community who traditionally (especially in rural areas like Tyrone, Monaghan and Armagh) like to mind their own business and not to interfere. There is also a tendency of people to view drugs such as cannabis as "harmless" which, despite its 'soft image', is most certainly not the case.

This myth creates a dangerous precedent for a couple of reasons, firstly once people buy those "harmless" drugs there is occasionally a desire for drug takers to try other forms of drugs for different effects - which is certainly aided by degenerate criminals who exploit young people and their curiosity. And secondly the funds gained by selling these "harmless" drugs are used to buy more lethal drugs and all the other materials used by criminals. Drug dealers very rarely limit themselves to one kind of product alone, and if

harder and more dangerous drugs reap higher profits therein lies their motivation. Many of those dealers caught with cannabis etc. have also been caught with stashes of ecstasy pills, amphetamines such as speed or cocaine, and also heroin etc.

This is not a new theory of course but its point cannot be stressed nearly enough.

Thankfully there is a strong body of young people in rural areas and in small towns and villages who are not involved and are quite disgusted by the level of drugs in circulation. However, it is increasingly difficult for Republicans and concerned members of the public to organise actions in attempting to put a stop to it due to the continuing harassment by the British Police and the Special Branch in the south, and our political opponents undermining our efforts. This is due to our potential and effectiveness in preventing drug dealing in these areas. The British and Free State police see it as highlighting their inability or unwillingness to tackle the problem (along with the Republican community's traditional non-recognition of these forces). Also there is the Provisional Movement's decline in influence within this same community who now rightly see them as part of the British and Free State establishments.

These people cannot be allowed to undermine our efforts in tackling the Drugs problem as it and the criminal disease that it brings with it has the potential to destroy Republican communities in a way the British and their imperialist underlings never could.

The British security services and their supporters among our former comrades in Stormont are fully aware of the potential support from the community in a tough line against these criminals. They will no doubt make a concerted effort to shut our movement down and suppress any of the community work and Republican activism that we are currently engaged in (especially now the deadline for policing and justice draws nearer). In fact, it has been wide-

ly recognised in some cases that there is a policy by some of the British security services to allow drug dealing to go on in our communities to create and foster informers in areas where in the past they would have been non-existent.

As bad as the drug situation is, there has been and continues to be plenty of positive action and progress taken by our movement. Most notably in Tyrone and Derry. These actions are very encouraging to the movement as a whole and to other areas where the level of Republican anti drugs activism is not as consistent. These and other actions by our movement are instrumental in the rebuilding of the Republican Movement. The most important aspect of Rebuilding the Republican movement is gaining trust and respect from the community, a type of trust and respect that isn't affected by the Criminalisation Policy directed by MI5 and its subservient native political parties.

A motion at the recent AGM put forward on behalf of one of the committees, reads as follows:

"That the 32CSM produce an all-island policy on Drug Abuse/Anti Social Behaviour to be used by all local committees in the course of their work in dealing with the media and other concerned groups"

This was passed unanimously by the delegates and those present and hopefully this will be put into practice shortly as firm action needs to be taken if the drugs problem is going to be tackled to any great extent.

We in the movement should, as part of the Republican Unity project, seek the opinions of other like minded groups on how to deal with the problem and draw from their experiences. While most of us have a good idea what should be done in terms of drug dealing within individual areas. We have to do the best we can in providing an overall comprehensive strategy.

International News.

Burning the Desert Beneath Their Feet

- An Interview with the Iraqi Resistance.

What follows is an edited interview with Abduljabbar al Kubaysi, a political leader for a section of the Iraqi Resistance, and head of the Iraqi Patriotic Alliance. He was captured by US Forces in September 2004 and held for over a year. During this time he was tortured and suffered sensory deprivation in order to convince him to collaborate with the occupation forces. Due to his standing as an International figure, he was accused by his captors of "having played a pivotal role in mobilising the world's public opinion against the US".

Q: In the last several months the European media, when touching on Iraq have been speaking about only a 'sectarian civil war'. What is really happening?

Actually the US occupiers as well as the government imposed by them are pushing for this sectarian civil war. Also the Iranians have interests in this, as they are looking for a federation in the South as well. They are attempting to make the Sunni, and the Christian communities leave to have a purely Shiite zone. Under the conditions of war this sectarian drive has an immediate effect.

The US uses this as an argument to stay in Iraq as they claim that they would be needed to settle this strife. There is, however, increasing evidence that the intelligence services of the US, of the Iraqi as well as of the Iranian government are the real source of the violence. They have planted bombs or packed them into cars which are then being detonated by remote control or by helicopter in both Shiite and Sunni areas deliberately killing civilians not involved in politics. Thus, they try to spark the sectarian conflict. In the beginning, the media used to check on the site of the blast and often eye-witnesses contradicted the official version that there had been a suicide bomber etc. Now they cordon off the area and stop the media asking questions to the locals. They want to have the news spread that militants did the massacre while it was most likely the governing forces or the US who planted the explosives. In most of the cases there is no other group. In these cases you can be sure that the ruling coalition is involved.

For example, they changed the name of an important road in the Al Adhamiye district in Baghdad from a Sunni religious figure to a Shiite one during the night. It was the Shiite community of al Adhamiye itself who changed it back to the original name. The US military then came again with their armoured vehicles and once more changed it back. Why would they do this? In this example they did not succeed in creating a rift between local Sunnis and Shiites. In official mainstream politics there exists The Sunni Islamic Party, (which is with the Americans), and the Shiite block, which is with Iran and the US. They litigate along such lines, but they have not succeeded in pushing the ordinary people to go with them. Here and there, there might be some minor conflicts but in substance the broad masses on both sides insist that they are Iraqis regardless of their confession.

Look to Najaf and see the positions of the Arab Shiite Ayatollahs who continue to advocate national unity and oppose the occupation. Or look to Diala province which is composed of 50% Shiites and 50% Sunnis where at the same time there is a strong base of the resistance. Two big Shiites tribes, al Buhishma and the followers of Ayatollah Abdul Karim al Moudheris, are with the resistance and everybody knows it.

The Ayatollah's son himself fell in combat. He was the leader of a big tribal contingent of the resistance. In Baquba, the provincial capital, they cannot do the same cleansing as in Basra with the Sunnis or as in Amara with the Mandeans. In Baquba both Shiite and Sunnis support the resistance. Certainly there are attacks by the different resistance groups on the Iraqi supported government agencies, the US army, Iranian forces and the Shiite parties and militias like the Madhi army which are inside the political process, but you will not hear of sectarian killings.

There is another example: Tal Afar in the Northwest of Iraq near Mosul. Between 50 and 70% of its population is Shiite. Nevertheless it is one of the capitals of the resistance. It lies in the interest of the West and Iran to make the conflict look like a sectarian one. The US wants to justify their presence with the need to impede a sectarian civil war, but also Iran does too. They want not

only to grab the South but they also want to have Baghdad and therefore purge it from Sunnis. With their alliance with the Kurds in the North this would suffice enough to control the whole country.

We do not, however, believe that these plans will work out. There are very big tribes in the Arab world and in Iraq which span the entire country from the North to the South like al Jibouri whose people live from Nasseria to Mosul, al Shamari or al Azouwi. Most of them include both Shiites and Sunnis. There are some smaller tribes which belong only to one sect but most of the bigger ones are mixed and the inter-confessional marriages there continue unabated.

They did not succeed in implanting sectarian strife into the base of the society. It remains on the surface of the parties that co-operate with the US occupation. In the big towns you could also find some ignorant lumpen elements who instigate sectarianism, but they will not be enough to establish a rift within our society that is currently reflected in the mainstream political process that is upheld by the Americans..

Q: At the onset, the Americans set all their hope on the Shiite political parties but later they discovered that the situation ran out of their control. So they developed the redirection strategy which meant

The resistance is now a really popular movement; it is a culture among the people. Everybody contributes their share. And the fact that no government helps us has also its good side.
If they pay then you could always open yourself up to corruption.
The typical Arab facade would have been erected. Now, instead, there is no excuse. Every section is responsible for itself, to organise its people, to train it, to plan the attacks, to raise money, etc.

trying to bring in Sunni forces and also sections of the resistance. Did these efforts yield any results?

As time went by, the US realised that their allies loyalty goes only to Iran. Many of them are even Iranians or of Iranian descent. For example right now 13 MPs are officers in the Iranian army. Or, in the former Governing Council only six members out of 25 were Arabs both Sunnis and Shiites. Another eight were Iraqis belonging to minorities. So the majority were really foreigners! The al Hakim family are for example from Isfahan. Only some years ago al Hakim was still called Abulaziz al Isfahani.

It was the US neo-cons who were responsible for trying to introduce the model of religious and ethnic division. They deliberately wanted to create a Shiite ruling party as they wanted to have a minority in power, a minority with regard to the entire Arab world, which they thought they could control. They originally planned to continue their campaign to Damascus and install the Sunni Muslim Brotherhood there. So Damascus would have supported the Iraqi Sunnis while Tehran would have done the same for the Iraqi Shiites and the war would have carried on for decades - not on the base of anti-imperialism but on sectarian grounds. But the Iraqi resistance foiled these plans.

The Iraqi resistance sprang up rapidly and gained strength so they recognised that they could not cope with them solely by military means. This is the main reason for their strategic shift. They designed the political process and brought in the Sunni Islamic Party. They intended to dry the lake where the resistance fishes swim. But soon the influence of the Islamic Party evaporated and their leaders have been flying to the Green zone or abroad. At the same time they realized that the Iranians had deeply penetrated into the state apparatus beyond the confines of the game. So they moved to also try and curb this process.



Q: What is the situation of the resistance both in a political and a military sense?

The resistance is still gaining strength. Their numbers currently far exceed 100.000 fighters. Their combat capabilities have increased as well. But they have also developed intelligence structures capable of penetrating the Iraqi army and police - and also on occasion that of the US army. So all together the system of resistance includes a great many people, involved in many different roles.

The US army soldiers and their allies are really demoralised. While the resistance fights to liberate its country they only fight for money. Thus they are becoming more and more savage. They increase numbers not only of direct US troops involved, but also of mercenary forces which are even more barbaric. Taken all together they consist perhaps of some one million troops. Looking to the US losses released by the Pentagon itself (which are obviously sugar-coated). If you disregard the months of special military operations like against Falluja or Tal Afar you can see a clear tendency. At the beginning you had some 50 US soldiers killed by month, then later it was up to 80 and now some 100 get killed each month - and this doesn't always include mercenaries or US security contractors..

The resistance is now a really popular movement; it is a culture among the people. Everybody contributes their share. And the fact that no government helps us has also its good side. If they would pay then you could always open yourself up to corruption. The typical Arab facade would have been erected. Now, instead, there is no excuse. Every section is responsible for itself, to organise its people, to train it, to plan the attacks, to raise money, etc. Also politically there have been some strong steps taken. At the beginning there were hundreds of groups but people understood the necessity of unity. Now we can say that there are at least eight main groups. What has so far not been achieved is a unified political command which remains one of the main tasks ahead.

Q: There are reports of armed clashes between resistance groups and forces related to al Qaeda. What is the relation of the resistance to the Salafi and Takfiri groups?

Let us remember that the West started with insulting the resistance calling it foreigners and followers of the old regime. They wanted to allude to the idea that the resistance has no connection to the Iraqi people. Actually the resistance sprang up at a grass roots level to defend its identity against the enormous provocations of US neo-colonialism. They were former soldiers, tribesmen, nationally and religiously inspired people who acted in their immediate environment. It was neither foreigners nor Baathists who were the driving force of the inception although Baathists were sometimes participating as well.

The way the US deposed Saddam was perceived as an aggression to all Iraqis including those who opposed him. To be honest eventually Saddam himself personally played an important role in pushing his people into the resistance. He did not try to save himself by hiding as was being reported when he was discovered. No, he had actually travelled at times from city to city, from Tikrit to Samarra, Anbar and also Baghdad. He contacted Sheikhs, officers and so on. He said that they should resist not for him as a president, but for the nation and for Islam. He even asked them not use his picture as a rallying symbol. Only in the following months could

Baathists eventually reorganise as a party and join the resistance. From the point of view of the resistance it was a great luck that they could not arrest him for a long time.

Regarding al Qaeda, in the first two years no such thing existed in Iraq under this name and even the Americans mainly spoke of foreigners penetrating from outside, and especially from Syria. They tried to create a pretext to attack Syria although Damascus did absolutely nothing to help the resistance. On the contrary they did 200% what Washington dictated to them to avert an aggression - at least in the first months. In the first two years Al-Qaeda were a very limited force with maybe 1000 to 1500 fighters coming from outside. Also the level of military activity was not very high. In a time frame of two years they themselves claim some 800 attacks in total while the resistance were carrying out 800 attacks per week.

Later they steadily gained ground and they still keep growing. They have a lot of money but they do not spend it on a luxury life, but live a very decent life on minimum needs dedicating everything to the struggle, which shows a very serious and attractive behaviour. They spend the money on the struggle. Most of the youths join them not for their ideology but because they offer a place to resist. In the East you do not need to write books to convince people. If your personal life style is congruent with your mission you will convince people.

When America started the political process it eventually came to the benefit of al Qaeda. Those joining the political process argued that otherwise the Iranians would take over and in this way they would only co-operate a short period and then could kick the Americans out as well. Of course they failed. Al Qaeda argued in a very principled way that only protracted armed struggle will advance their cause and reality confirmed their way of thinking. They offered money also to some resisting tribes with a strong Muslim identity which needed the resources for their struggle and survival. Thus they created a coalition of six groups, one was al Qaeda and five local groups. That gave them a big push. They were not big forces like the Islamic Army but still established roots in Ramadi, Falluja, Haditha etc. They gave their coalition the name "Mujahideen Shura Council". They continue the fight under this label and not purely as Al-Qaeda.

They create a steady supply also from outside while the other groups get nearly nothing from outside. Today maybe we can

say that al Qaeda is the first organisation of the resistance. They go separately from the others but nevertheless in each city there is a kind of council to co-ordinate military action, to chalk out a plan of defence. Islam is a weapon to make the people rise up. The Islamic history, the Islamic figures, the Islamic culture is used to push the people to fight because they consider Islam as their identity. National and religious symbols are being mixed. The Koran says that if the Islamic land is attacked by foreigners armed resistance is obligatory. Jihad becomes a Muslim duty for the people being occupied by foreign invaders like fasting and praying.

So, all the resistance groups whether Islamic or not use this spirit as a tool to mobilise and raise the people. Take for example the statements of the Baath party and of Izzat al Durri personally. Judging by his language you would believe him to be an extreme Islamist. But this does not mean that all of them are really Islamists. The entire environment is Islamic. By just Marxist or nationalist calls you will not attract the young people. Wherever young people go you will find Islamic sentiment and spirit dominating. This indirectly favours Al-Qaeda. People who join them do not feel they are doing something out of the ordinary because the general conditions are Islamic. On the contrary they will believe to only act consistently.

Q: But what about the sectarian attacks? Doesn't al Qaeda bear at least partial responsibility for them?

The responsibility lies with the government both with its Shiite and Sunni components, the US, Israel and Iran. Regarding the attacks attributed to al Qaeda by the West, one has to subtract 95%. And for the remaining 5% you hear only a part of the truth. Sometimes Al-Qaeda retaliates to governmental or militia attacks on Sunni areas by attacking Shiite areas. They want to show the Sunni population that they can defend them and convince them to remain. They thus want to foil the plan to drive the Sunnis out of Baghdad which should become part of the Southern Shiite federal entity. This is pursued by the Shiite parties, Iran and in the beginning also by the US.

But this is not a strategy per se and happened only few times in the last year when reacting to big attacks. And for every attack, they do take the full responsibility. They direct a call to the wise people among the Shiites: "stop the crimes that are being com-

mitted in your name, otherwise you will have to bear the responsibility as well. We are able to strike back with ten times the force." I do not want to defend this approach, but we need to separate the facts from the distortions by the West.

There is another striking example. Al Qaeda started mainly in Falluja. While it is a 100% Sunni town right after the beginning of the occupation about 12.000 Shiite families from the South took refuge in Falluja and Ramadi because they were accused of being Baathist. I was not only an eyewitness, but also involved in organising the relief for them. They were helped by the ordinary population because they regarded them as being with the resistance. Until today about 20.000 Shiite refugees remain in Falluja and not a single hostile act on a sectarian basis could be observed - not even by al Qaeda. There certainly are quarrels between the resistance groups over domination, this is normal, but not on the basis of religion.

Q: What about the foreign support to your cause?

We are being used by Arab politicians to reproduce their interests, without being offered any real support. They speak of the Iraqi resistance, and about the American crimes while giving press conferences in five star hotels and on the satellite channels. That is all. They could, however, do a lot, for example raise money or take to the streets against their governments in order to close the Iraqi embassies. But they understand that this would mean to pass the red line of "supporting terrorism" as the US puts it. We know from the past about the importance of material support to the Algerian revolution or to the Palestinian struggle. Huge sums were raised and still the ordinary people of the world are ready to pay. But nobody dares to collect this money for the Iraqi resistance. These leaders are actually cheating their followers as they continue to suggest that they offer help in secret. But I assure you we do not get any serious help from outside.

**Contact the 32csm
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Loyalist and Fascist Links are Nothing New.

The recent Loyalist sectarian attack on Cosgrove's Bar in Belfast City Centre after the Old Firm game (which resulted in a Catholic man Hugh McNally being beaten and having his throat slashed) has received prominence in the press due to those involved wearing Fascist regalia and shouting fascist slogans.

Although a supposedly 'high ranked' Loyalist source spoke to the media condemning the actions, and expressed concern regarding what they called a "hooligan element", it's quite hard to accept due to the fact that both Loyalist and Fascist/Nazi groups not only share members but also a kindred ideology. Loyalism and British Fascism have as their cornerstone an unwavering support for British Nationalism and Imperialism. Not only this, but the fact that Loyalism takes its main point of reference the Orange Order notion that there's a Protestant ascendancy, makes fascism an easily acceptable

"Over recent years Loyalist areas such as South Belfast, have seen a huge increase in racist attacks, especially against the local Chinese community. Rather than see this as being "a few bad apples" causing trouble, it should in fact be seen as a nascent outgrowth of Loyalism as an ideology."

mindset. To put it simply if you believe that 'Ulster Loyalists' are God's chosen people and have the same god given right to intimidate, drive out and murder Catholics - then it's not such a great leap to conclude that other people of different religious, ethnic or racial backgrounds should be treated in a similar manner. Over recent years Loyalist areas such as South Belfast, have seen a huge increase in racist attacks, especially against the local Chinese community. Rather than see this as being "a few bad apples" causing trouble, it should in fact be seen as a nascent outgrowth of Loyalism as an ideology.

Not only this, but we of course have the well documented cases of people such as Frank Portinari and Eddie Whicker. Portinari and Whicker were both English Fascists who were also London based members of the UDA. Both were convicted in 1993 of attempting to smuggle guns to Loyalists in the North. Then there's the continued security provided by Combat 18 and other elements for Loyalist events and marches in places like Liverpool, London, Glasgow and Manchester

Victims of 'The Troubles' suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder.

In 1998, after 35 years of political violence, the historic Belfast Agreement was signed in the North of Ireland. Still debatable - ten years later - is the question of whether the agreement is leading to a meaningful transition towards normalcy or a continued surrealist façade of the faux peace process.

Regardless of the realities, or unrealities, of today's dubious "peaceful existence", however, is the stark fact that the Sunningdale Agreement could have saved countless lives and irrepressible amounts of anguish, misery, and economic and moral depression.

Also, lingering in the aftereffect, is the mental health fallout from The Troubles. For example, Orla Muldoon, Ph.D., formerly of Queen's University Belfast, and Ciara Downes, Ph.D., in clinical psychology training at Queen's University Belfast, found that as many as 10 percent of people in the North of Ireland and in the "free state" border counties, may have post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a result of the conflict.

The study - entitled "Social Identification and Post-Traumatic Stress Symptoms in Post-Conflict Northern Ireland" - reported in the August issue of the British Journal of Psychiatry, was based on a telephone survey of 3,000 adults - 2,000 in occupied Ireland and 1,000 in counties bordering the North. The researchers found that of the 3,000 individuals, 42 percent reported that they experienced a traumatic event as a result of "The Troubles."

Those 42 percent were then evaluated with a standardized PTSD Checklist, used by psychiatrists, to determine whether they had probable PTSD, and 10 percent of all 3,000 survey participants had symptoms severe enough to warrant a diagnosis of PTSD.

In an interview in the September 27 issue of Psychiatric News, a U.S.-based publication of the American Psychiatric Association, Muldoon admitted, "We were surprised that the prevalence of PTSD appeared to be as high as it was. There has been an attitude in Northern Ireland for a long time that it is just best to keep going and that 'The Troubles' are a background issue."

Perhaps Muldoon and Downes were surprised at their results. But the climbing depression and suicide rates in the war-torn North and the border counties are probably the likely precursors of the current PTSD rate. Moreover, prevalence rates of PTSD noted in the study were comparable with those observed in other countries with long-term political conflict, such as Palestine and the Balkans.

One enlightening result of the study, however, was that the researchers pinpointed personality types of individuals who developed probable PTSD in the wake of "The Troubles." Such knowledge could prove useful to the community help centers that seek to counsel persons severely affected by The Troubles. According to Muldoon and Downes, individuals more likely to exhibit symptoms of PTSD were:

- More directly impacted by The Troubles;
- Tended to come from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds, which is also often the case with persons who develop PTSD in the wake of long-term political conflicts in other countries; and,
- Rated their national identities as significantly less important than did respondents without PTSD.

Notably, about half of the respondents in the study who exhibited signs of PTSD "never or rarely considered themselves victims of The Troubles." Again, for those working with victims of The Troubles, this is an important finding because it implies that many counseling and mentoring resources may not be reaching many of those who most need help.

It also is important to note that poor community-support networks or isolation and/or alienation from their families due to their ideological beliefs, generally tends to make individuals even more vulnerable to developing PTSD. Those whose allegiances are wholeheartedly accepted by their traditional cultural groups, are less likely to suffer severe mental anguish. One could also assume that those with strong support from their political allies would fare better as well.

With these thoughts in mind, please remember: those who continue the struggle need support from their communities and families. In addition to today's prisoners, a new strata of PTSD victims (from prisoners to civilians) are already in the making - those who suffered mental or physical distress, whilst having to endure the fact that their countrymen sold out the North whilst the lives of relatives and comrades were lost. Additionally, if those without peer-approval are more likely to fall victim to PTSD, then we can assume that the rates of PTSD in the free state may be surprisingly high amongst freedom fighters there. Consider also, those who have supported the struggle from afar, especially from England where comrades often live in marginalised societies and where animosity against the Irish continues to be high. The current PTSD rates are only a small fraction of the actual and existing serious aftereffects of the past and current struggles.

Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association.

Attacked By the Prison Riot Squad For Wearing an Easter Lily

- Republican Prisoner "Beaten Black and Blue".

In a strongly worded statement, both the IRPWA and the 32 County Sovereignty Movement have released a joint statement condemning recent harassment and intimidation of Republican prisoners in Maghaberry Gaol. One of the most recent events involved an assault by the Prison riot squad on a Republican prisoner after he refused to remove an Easter Lily. The statement goes into detail:

"The 32 County Sovereignty Movement, the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association and the wider republican family will not tolerate any further attacks on republican prisoners such as that carried out by the prison riot squad against republican remand prisoner Anton Craig.

Anton, 23 from the Short Strand area of Belfast was returning from the canteen with his food when he was told to remove an Easter Lilly which the prison officer told him was a 'sectarian emblem'. As a republican Anton obviously refused and was then informed that he was on a charge and would face punishment for refusing an order. Anton proceeded to his cell where he staged a token protest by wrecking up certain items such as table, chairs and other furniture.

At around 4.30-5.00 pm, eight members of the prison's riot squad entered Anton's cell and seriously assaulted him leaving him black and blue. They rammed his face into the cell floor asking him who had ordered him to protest and calling him 'nothing but a provie bastard'. The riot squad also trashed the sink, toilet and electrics in his cell.

As a consequence of the actions of the prison staff, Anton Craig has been sitting in a cell with out electric, washing facilities and a toilet that will not flush since Easter Sunday, there is nothing in his cell but a bed. A number of other prisoners were charged with wearing lilies and were charged, adjudicated on and sent to the punishment block the next day for 48 hours, all are back on the republican wing whereas Anton has yet to be adjudicated on and is facing up to seven days solitary confinement on top of the punishment he is

already enduring.

The republican movement urge all republicans to resist this criminalisation and to support republican prisoners in their battle for political status. The attitude of the prison staff against republicans is nothing but the attitude of the British to Irish republican separatists in microcosm.

The republican base can no longer and wil no longer endure attacks on republicanism either within the prisons or outside their walls."

In a follow up interview, a spokesperson for the IRPWA commented that "this issue has been ongoing for sometime. The prison authorities are using gestapo style tactics to crush even the slightest sign of Republican resistance.

The Republican prisoners are wearing their Easter Lillies with dignity and pride, and asserting their right as Irishmen to commemorate the memories of those who have given their lives for their country's free-

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dom.

These assaults must be seen in comparison to the same attempts by the RUC/PSNI to brutalize those people who were peacefully attending this Easter's Commemoration in Derry.

It reveals an almost animal-like mindset within the authorities themselves in displaying such behaviour. However, if they think this will prevent further resistance and protest, they would be well advised to reconsider.

The Republican community will act accordingly in response to any hurt or provocation against its people, either in Gaol or outside."

Portlaoise Prisoners Tell of Medical Neglect.

The following is a recent statement by Republican Prisoners on E3 wing, Portlaoise. It was released to highlight not only the ongoing plight of Aiden Hulme, but also the general conditions suffered by Republican prisoners when in need of necessary medical attention:

"This year marks the 7th anniversary of the death of volunteer Kevin Murray due to the neglect of the Free State prison service and yet again Republican POW's are suffering under this regime. At this moment Aidan Hulme is lying in a cell in Portlaoise in severe pain due to a motor accident that occurred prior to his incarceration by British forces over six years ago.

Since his return home over a year ago he has still not received the surgical attention he requires in order to relieve his pain and aid his mobility. His hope in returning to Ireland was that his fellow country men would help in his plight, but all he has received is a deaf ear and a daily dose of 23 tablets and a morphine patch.

The more Aidan complains the more the authorities attempt to silence him with more and more medication when all that is required is a simple operation. Republican prisoners have experienced this before, Kevin Murray made numerous complaints to the medical staff in the prison and was given glasses for 'bad eyesight' when in actual fact he had a brain tumour.

Aidan was offered an amputation in England despite the fact that a relatively simple operation would solve his problem. Recently he needed to go to hospital but was forced to wait a day and a half owing to the fact that he is a political prisoner whereas criminals have much better access than republicans.

The state of medical attention is sub standard with delays of days to see a doctor and months to see a dentist. This situation is intolerable and we will not wait for the death of another comrade before we act."

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

POW List: In recent months it has been made clear to the Sovereign Nation that both the British and Free State establishments have been using the regular prisoners' list normally published on the back of this publication to somehow infer 'guilt' upon those appearing on it. As anyone knows the prisoners' list is nothing more than a run-down of those who receive help and support from the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association. Some of those currently in gaol are without a doubt completely innocent of the charges ranged against them and have found themselves stitched-up or framed simply as a matter of political expediency and due to their unapologetic Republican principles (as Frank Kitson said: the law is nothing more than a way of getting rid of undesirable members of the public). The use of such weak excuses in political trials just shows how inherently corrupt these so-called justice systems continue to be.

If you wish to receive information about Irish Republican prisoners (writing to individuals, prison address details or even to help out with the IRPWA) then please do not hesitate to use the contacts opposite.

(If any Republican Prisoner wishes to be added to the list then they should likewise contact us immediately. All details will be kept private and will not be open to public scrutiny)