



32 County  
Sovereignty  
Movement  
Publications

The

# Sovereign Nation

*The Republican Voice*

October - December  
2004

## Fundamentals of British Agreement Remain Intact.

*- Irish Sovereignty  
Still Not on the Agenda*



*Adams and Paisley: "Opposites Attract?"*

The much heralded deal to save the agreement is almost done. All the parties and the governments have to do now is to dot the i's and cross the t's. The signatories to the deal have all accepted to a greater or lesser extent that there is significant agreement and in reality what we are witnessing at present is macho posturing in order to appear 'hard-line' to their respective constituencies. The squabbling over the intricate detail of the actual implementation of the agreement is a fudge designed to mask, in Sinn Fein's case, some of the more unpalatable aspects of what they signed up to.

For the two nationalist parties the agreement appears to be sacrosanct, both parties continually tell us that the fundamentals of the agreement must be protected at all costs. It may be helpful at this point to outline what they mean by the fundamentals exactly. The SDLP and Sinn Fein appear to put a lot of stock in power sharing and cross border institutions as well as something they refer to as the equality agenda but in reality what do they mean? The issue now preventing a final deal being done is not decommissioning or policing and justice but rather 'accountability'. The issue of accountability appears to be perfectly reasonable, the only thing nationalists have against it is the fact that the DUP have raised it. This brings us to another fundamental flaw in the agreement that is unlikely to be dealt with in

these talks (or any other) and that is its sectarianism. This sectarian aspect of the agreement in the words of Patrick Murphy *"supports the view that 30 years of violence here was not a struggle for Irish Independence but little more than a prolonged religious riot."* For some neo-nationalists this does not present any significant problem in that their war was to defend their street or their territory rather than the republic. However for republicans the institutionalisation of sectarianism is unacceptable. It merely reinforces our view that sectarianism is vital to the existence of the northern state whether that sectarianism manifests itself in a violent or electoral fashion.

It is important for republicans not to allow the facts to be obscured by spin or fudge. This sectarian agreement can accommodate both extremes as long as they accept the real fundamentals of that agreement. Let's look at this closely:

What are the DUP's conditions for entering government with Sinn Fein?

1. Disbandment of the IRA.
2. Recognition by republicans that all previous action was criminal.
3. All arms held for the defence of the republic to be surrendered to the British in a manner acceptable to unionism.

4. Any cross-border activity to be purely practical between two separate states (As with Germany and France)

5. All talk of political union of Ireland to be seen in the context that there are two states in Ireland and that 1916, 1918 and 1919 are relegated merely to a 'historical' status.

Contrast this with the constitutional nationalist requirements of the DUP, basically that they are allowed to share power in a partitionist assembly and we are left with the unavoidable conclusion that the fundamentals of the agreement are intact and are being implemented. Those fundamentals being:

- 1) the unionist veto is upheld,
- 2) that the union is not up for discussion,
- 3) that the southern state has no sovereign claim,
- 4) that sectarianism is institutionalised,

All of the above being recognised will result in the nationalist population having their human rights upheld by the British state.

Some may argue that Michael Collins didn't get half as bad a deal for the Irish People in his time.

*Glór na poblachta*

## Know Your Rights.

The following is a serialisation of a pamphlet issued by the Irish Council for Civil Liberties.

Given the current political climate, we in the 32 County Sovereignty Movement believe that it is vital for all political activists to be aware of their rights. Some knowledge of our legal rights is very important and may prevent people from becoming victims of a miscarriage of justice.

The following relates to the law in the Free State only (one for the Six Counties will be published in a later issue).

### ARREST:

#### GENERAL INFORMATION

You can be stopped by a garda and arrested on the street, or at your home or place of work. If this happens, you should stay calm, not panic and remember the following things:

- You are entitled to ask the garda to identify him or herself. Ask for their identity number and, if they are in plain clothes, their identity card. If you are asked for your name and address you should give these to the garda.
- You are entitled to be told why you are being stopped, and under what power. If the garda is not exercising a lawful power to stop you, you are entitled to go.
- If you are asked to go with a garda to the Garda Station, you should ask if you are being arrested. You are not obliged to go with gardaí to "help them with their enquiries" or for questioning, if you are not under arrest. If you do go with them voluntarily, you are entitled to leave at any time and they should tell you this.
- If you are told that you are being arrested, ask what for and under what power. You can be arrested to be charged and brought before a court and you can be arrested and detained for questioning.
- If you are arrested make sure that you tell a friend or relative and tell them what Garda Station you are being taken

to. You are entitled to contact your solicitor and you should do this immediately. If you do not know a solicitor, the garda Member in Charge of the station will call one for you. d) When your solicitor arrives, make sure you tell him or her all the details of your arrest.

#### POWERS OF ARREST

*When can I be arrested? Must I have committed an offence?*

You do not have to have committed an offence to be arrested. There are a wide variety of powers under which you can be arrested. Most of these provide that you can be arrested if a garda suspects that you have committed an offence. Normally you would then be arrested and detained for questioning. You may not be arrested if the garda does not suspect you have committed an offence, but believes that you could help with an investigation into someone else's offence.

*What happens when I am arrested?*

This depends on whether you are arrested for the purpose of being charged, or arrested and detained for questioning. The main purpose of arresting someone is to charge them with a crime and bring them before a District Court within a reasonable time. While gardaí have no general power to arrest you for questioning or to gather evidence, certain statutes have created powers under which you can be arrested and then detained at a Garda Station for a specified length of time for the purposes of questioning and, under certain sections, the taking of samples. The procedure to be followed if you are arrested and charged is different to the procedure to be followed if you are detained for questioning.

#### ARREST AND CHARGE

If you are arrested so that you can be charged with a crime, you must be told what crime you are being charged with unless this is very clear from the circumstances. After you have been charged, you must be cautioned. This means that the garda must say to you: "You are not obliged to say anything unless you wish to do so, but whatever you say will be taken down in writing and may be given in evidence."

At the Garda Station, the details of the crime with which you have been charged must be set out in a "charge

sheet". You must be given a copy of this. You will then be formally charged and cautioned after each charge is read out. The gardaí must make a note of any response you give to the charge or charges.

After you have been charged and cautioned you must either be released on bail or brought before the District Court as soon as possible.

#### ARREST AND DETENTION FOR QUESTIONING

Detention for questioning is permitted under a number of statutes. For example, you can be detained for up to 12 hours for questioning under Section 4 of the Criminal Justice Act 1984. Under this power a garda can arrest you if you are over 18 and the garda reasonably suspects that you have committed a crime serious enough to be punished by a five year jail sentence. This means that it applies to most crimes except very minor ones. You can also be detained for questioning for up to seven days under section 2 of the Criminal Justice (Drug Trafficking) Act 1996. This is if the garda suspects that you have committed an offence of drugs trafficking or you are concealing drugs on your person. To detain you for up to seven days you will need to be brought before a judge.

You can be detained for up to 72 hours under section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act 1939. It is important to be aware that this Act does not only apply to politically motivated offences. It also applies to a number of more "ordinary" offences, such as numerous firearms and weapons related offences.

If you are arrested and detained for questioning, you will be taken to a Garda Station and detained there for a maximum of the period allowed under the section under which you are arrested. There are strict rules and regulations in relation to being detained in a Garda Station. These are explained in the section "Detention".

*Do members of the Garda need a warrant to arrest me?*

No, although you can be arrested under a valid warrant, a warrant is not required under certain statutes, like the Criminal Law Act 1997. This Act is very widely used and applies to offences which are punishable by five or more years imprisonment. This means that it applies to most crimes, except very minor ones. You can also be arrested without a warrant at common law, if a garda reasonably believes or suspects that you have committed treason, a serious offence or a breach of the peace. It does not matter whether you have actually committed the offence or not. If you are arrested at common law, you must be brought before a court as soon as is practicable. You may not be detained for questioning if you are arrested at common law.

If you are arrested without a warrant, you are entitled to be told in ordinary, easily understandable language why you are being arrested, unless this is obvious to you from the circumstances.

#### ARREST UNDER THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE (PUBLIC ORDER) ACT 1994

This Act covers a wide range of public order offences and gives the Garda extensive powers to deal with such offences. The Act creates some more minor offences, such as intoxication in a public place, disorderly conduct in a public place and threatening, abusive or insulting behaviour in a public place. It also creates more serious offences such as riot, violent disorder and affray, all of which involve a number of people behaving in a violent and threatening manner. Some of these more serious offences can be committed in a public or in a private place.

It further creates offences relating to trespass and obstruction of vehicles or people and gives the gardaí extensive powers to control crowds at public events.

It is important to be aware that the Act also creates an offence of failure to comply with a direction of a member of An Garda Síochána. The Act gives the gardaí extensive powers to ask you to stop acting in a certain way, or move out of the area peacefully. If you do not comply with such a direction, this is an offence under the Act. You can be arrested without a warrant if you are found committing an offence under this Act. In addition to this, if a garda thinks you have committed such an offence, he can demand your name and address.

If you refuse to give these, or the garda believes the name and address you have given are false or misleading, you can be arrested without a warrant. If you are approached by a garda, you should always give your name and address when asked, and if you are asked to leave a place or stop acting in a certain manner, do so, otherwise you could be committing an offence under the Act and a garda is entitled to arrest you.

## 32 County Sovereignty Movement: Who We Are.

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement was formed in late 1997 by Irish Republicans who were increasingly concerned with the ideological retreat within Republicanism preceding the signing of the Belfast Agreement in April 1998. Prior to the signing of the Agreement the 32 County Sovereignty Movement lodged a submission at the United Nations in New York challenging the legality of British rule in Ireland. This submission was followed in March 2001 by an addendum elaborating on the initial petition and requesting that the UN uphold Ireland's fundamental right to National Sovereignty. The 32 County Sovereignty Movement are the only organisation in Ireland challenging British Interference in Ireland and we call on all Republicans and anti-imperialists to support our efforts through the United Nations:

The organisation is based upon the following fundamental democratic principles:

- That the sovereignty and unity of Ireland are inalienable and indefeasible.
- That the organisation solely stands to uphold the Declaration of Independence, in word, deed and spirit, as established in 1918 and ratified by Dáil Éireann on January 21st 1919.
- That only the Irish people as a whole acting freely and without external impediment can mandate government for the Irish people.
- That the Irish people have a right to national self-determination.
- That partition is illegal
- That recognising the denial of national sovereignty to the Irish people through British occupation of part of the national territory; we hold that all administrations and assemblies purporting to act as lawful government for the Irish people, or otherwise

functioning as partitionist entities, to be illegal under international law as they usurp Irish sovereignty.

(g) We hold that it is both a right and a duty of all Irish people to uphold Irish sovereignty.

(h) We reaffirm the right of the Irish people to use all legitimate means necessary to restore National Sovereignty as declared in the Declaration of Independence 1919.

#### OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement are -

- The Defence of Irish National Sovereignty.
  - To seek to achieve unity among the Irish people on the issue of restoring National Sovereignty and to promote the Revolutionary ideals of Republicanism and to this end involve itself in resisting all forms of colonialism and imperialism.
  - To seek the immediate and unconditional release of all Irish Republican Prisoners throughout the world.
- #### MEANS
- The encouragement/fostering of democratic debate within the Nation
  - To establish a committee structure to engage in an educational programme, agitation and fundraising.
  - That the National Executive seek to establish and develop international links in support of our objectives.
  - To initiate and co-ordinate a campaign to demand the right of the Irish people to freely exercise national self-determination, without external impediment.

#### RESISTANCE

"The 32 County Sovereignty Movement uphold the right of the Irish People to resist occupation by any means necessary"

**Next Issue: Detention.**

**South Down  
32 County Sovereignty  
Movement condemn British Army  
siege of Kilcoo.**



*British Troops on Irish Roads*

The South Down branch of the Sovereignty Movement has condemned the recent siege of the small village of Kilcoo and the destruction wrought by British Troops on the land of a local nationalist farmer.

A spokesperson from the branch outlined the events and described how the British Army, RUC, DMSU and forensic officers occupied the property of a local farmer. The farmer in question has lost count of the number of occasions that this has happened and every time a substantial amount of damage has been done to his property for which he is only partially compensated.

A legal representative for the man in question was asked to come and witness the damage and he stated that he had lost count of the number of British personnel somewhere after 100. Heavy Army machinery was used to bulldoze ditches, fencing and dry stone walls that had only just been repaired since the last British Army occupation of the area. The Sovereignty spokesperson commented "The British Army spokesperson has commented that this was an operation against 'dissident' republicans but that is ridiculous. The same army have continually harassed locals kept them prisoners in their homes and on occasion desecrated church property. The term 'dissident' is used by British Army and RUC spokespeople whenever they do not want to explain their actions however more and more people in the area are demanding explanations, not just from the British but also from their elected representatives who claim to campaign for human rights yet say very little when the people of this area's rights are trampled over by occupation troops."

**Get Well Soon!**

**The 32 County Sovereignty Movement would like to send all our best to our friend and trusted comrade Rory Dougan following his recent triple heart by-pass.**

Rory has been a life-long Republican who has given many years faithful service to the Republican Movement and we trust he has many more years service to give.

We would like to assure Rory that he is in our thoughts and our prayers at this time as are his immediate family and extended family circle.

Get well soon a chara from:

National Executive 32 County Sovereignty Movement,

Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association,

Flanna na hEireann,

and the entire Republican Movement.

**Reaction to Strabane  
Protest Highlights  
Pro-Agreement  
Nationalist  
Hypocrisy**

A recent protest in Strabane has highlighted the hypocrisy of the media and the pro-agreement parties in regard to human rights. The protest was staged by the IRPWA and the Free Seamus Doherty Campaign group and aimed to highlight the continued incarceration of Strabane Republican John Brady who is still being held in Maghaberry despite charges against him being dropped.

The protestors also highlighted the case of Seamus Doherty. The reaction of the media and nationalist politicians was predictable. The outrage displayed by Sinn Fein, the SDLP and the media that some protestors would climb onto a roof to protest was in direct contrast to their silence when Republicans in the area are harassed by the RUC. On numerous occasions Republicans have been subjected to arbitrary and often destructive searches by the same paramilitary force that Mr. McMenemy seeks to legitimise and yet there is no public outcry.

Reckless media reports of the incident claimed that the RIRA attacked Mr McMenemy's house and that these 'dissidents' were attempting to get a RIRA man 'back onto the streets'. This bias reporting is a deliberate attempt to avoid addressing the issue that these people were protesting about.

The IRPWA and the Free Seamus Doherty campaign group are entirely legal and have nothing to hide. This attempt to associate them with other groups is a deliberate and insidious attempt to criminalise any protest that questions the status quo.

The fact that the media reported that Mr Brady is a 'RIRA' man is also the epitome of lazy journalism and verges on the defamatory. At no stage has Mr Brady been charged with membership of the Real IRA, indeed that was the whole point of the protest, the fact that he is in jail when there are no charges against him. Andy Martin of the National Executive of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement commented in relation to the incident:

*"Eugene McMenemy has stated that he will meet the protestors but the 32 County Sovereignty Movement believe that it is incumbent on Mr McMenemy to publicly state where he stands in relation to the cases of John and Ben Brady, Brendan O Connor, Seamus Doherty and Seán Hoey all of whom are imprisoned on flimsy, fabricated or non-existent evidence not to mention the three victims of miscarriages of justice in English jails. Mr McMenemy has claimed that he has had his privacy invaded, well these men have their privacy invaded on a daily basis as well as their liberty. I commend the work of the protestors and hope to see many similar protests in the near future."*



*John Brady:  
Political Hostage.*

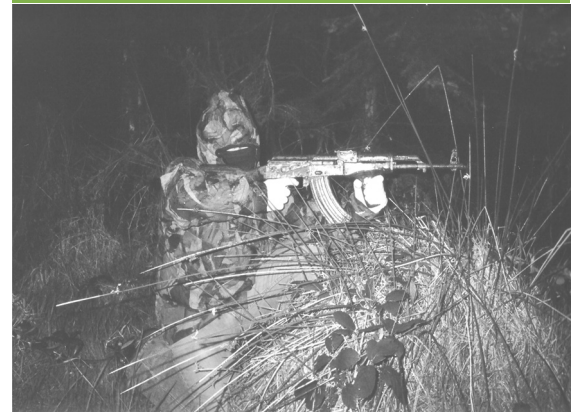
**Sovereignty Movement in Derry  
Deny Ramsay Claims.**

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement in Derry City have hit out at allegations that recent attacks on the SDLP's Pat Ramsay have been orchestrated by Republicans. Ramsay has been the target of a number of attacks in recent months with many pointing to his uncritical support of the RUC as the motivation.

Mickey Gallagher of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement in the city stated to The Sovereign Nation,

*"It is incorrect for Ramsay and the RUC to state that the attacks against him are orchestrated by the Republican Movement. The information that we have is that this is the work of a few young people in the area. The movement has done much good work in the area trying to give the youth some sort of guidance, however young people in Derry do not need the Republican movement to tell them to attack Mr Ramsay. When these youngsters see Pat Ramsay applauding the same police force that constantly harasses and tortures them then it is probably inevitable that some of them are going to resent him and this frustration may spill over into violent actions - that is not to say we condone it but we certainly understand it."*

**Óglaigh na hÉireann Banish  
Car Criminals.**



The IRA in South Down have taken action against two notorious car criminals in the Castlewella area. The two hoods have been expelled from the area following repeated offences against the community.

In a statement released to the sovereign nation the brigade stated:

*"The South Down Brigade Óglaigh na hÉireann have ordered two car thieves to leave the Castlewella district following appeals from the local community. These individuals have been warned on a number of occasions about their anti-social behaviour yet they persisted in making life a misery for people in this area. The two thieves were punished physically before being expelled. A number of other anti-social elements in the area take note, the IRA will not stand by and allow you to give the police an excuse to infiltrate our community. We further wish to claim the attack on District Policing Partnership chair Eamonn O Neill with an anti-personnel device. O Neill was fortunate that the device did not detonate but he should be warned if he continues to legitimise the RUC then he leaves himself open to further attacks on himself and his collaborator colleagues. Finally we wish to state that we have built up an extensive dossier on individuals and businesses across the South Down area that are providing services to the RUC and the British Army. Those concerned know who we are referring to and if they continue they are placing their persons and property at grave risk."*

**Join the 32 County Sovereignty Movement!**

For Membership Details Contact  
csm\_secretary@hotmail.com  
Also Visit our Website:  
www.32csm.netfirms.com

Write to:  
The Sovereign Nation  
PO BOX 40  
Navan, Co. Meath.  
Ireland

Donations:  
Account Number - 274 754 95  
Bank of Ireland.  
Smithfield,  
Dublin 1.

## Editorial:

### **Sinn Féin are not the only pragmatists.**

**The recent talks at Leeds castle and their aftermath have led many to speculate that a final solution to the Irish Problem is imminent.**

No doubt this illusion was aided by the indecent haste with which it was revealed that the Provisional movement were about to do something 'significant' in order to achieve an agreement. This move may have been designed to put pressure on the DUP to make a deal however it appears to have had the opposite effect. Having signalled that they would disarm and disband the Provos have shown their hand and now have nothing left to bargain with except their much talked about 'mandate'. Armed with the knowledge that the Provisional nationalism would accede to unionist demands that they become 'true' democrats, political unionism was then free to make further demands on the other parties and the British and Dublin governments.

The media have put much significance in the fact that the DUP have visited Dublin twice in a number of weeks. First we had the Clontibret commando Peter Robinson bedazzling Free State capitalists at a small business event then we had Ian Paisley speaking to Bertie and his namesake Dermot, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs. The reason the DUP now feel comfortable visiting Dublin is not that they have seen the need for an all Ireland dimension but that since the 26 counties dropped their territorial claim they have nothing to fear from the south. The southern establishment and the pro-agreement parties have accepted that the state of 'Northern Ireland' has a right to exist. It was only a matter of time before the DUP would realise that the agreement offers them everything Unionism has ever asked for. The pragmatists in that party will not allow an old mans bigotry to prevent their Great leap forward.

## Letters to the Editor:

### **A Word of Thanks to Cllr. Cunningham**

A Chairde,

Through the columns of your paper, we would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Cllr. Martin Cunningham for the raising the continued incarceration in Maghaberry Gaol of Seamus Doherty from Derry. Cllr Cunningham raised this injustice at the monthly meeting of Newry and Mourne District Council on Monday 4th October. Cllr Cunningham proposed a motion calling for the immediate release of Seamus Doherty in the light of a Sunday newspaper article which revealed that the Police Ombudsman's office has recommended to the D.P.P that the senior detective in charge of Seamus Doherty's arrest, (Derek Williamson) be prosecuted for perverting the course of justice in the case of Mark Carroll and myself. Although it would seem that Cllr Cunningham had some

difficulty in getting the motion seconded as other so called republicans seemed to be struck dumb for a time. This difficulty was overcome; the motion was put to a vote and carried by a large majority.

We would like also to take this opportunity to call on other councillors, in other council districts to follow Cllr Cunningham's example in highlighting this and other human rights abuses by British State forces, taking place in our country and call for them to pass similar motions in support of Seamus Doherty's release.

**Is mise le meas  
Máirtín Ó Brogain**

## **£90 Million to British Special Branch**

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement has been monitoring the recent serious attacks on civil liberties by the British Government. Over the last two years, Britain has detained innocent Muslim men in Belmarsh Prison as well as similarly using internment by remand within the British occupied six north eastern counties of Ireland. This is a worrying and criminal policy that the British Government seems determined to pursue and is a clear violation of the European Convention on Human Rights.

It is also with increasing concern that the 32CSM have learnt that Mr. Blunket, the British home secretary, has announced that the British State is going to spend £90m for 'counter terrorism'. The money will include spending on more Special Branch officers to match the current drive to double its size.

Republicans living within the occupied six counties and in Britain should view this news with extreme caution. We should particularly remember the cases of Brogan and Carroll, and that of the Tyrone four (as well as the recent case of Seamus Doherty who has been interned on remand since 13 June 2003) which pointed to the conclusion that 'dirty tricks' are systemic within the Special Branch.

The farcical notion of British 'Justice' and general police practice was shown shortly before Seamus Doherty's arrest when an RUC search team entered his home using their own key. Seamus was restrained while a number of the search team wandered around his flat unhindered. Eventually when Seamus managed to cry for help the intruders hurriedly vacated his apartment shouting "Wrong flat, let's go". This and other covert operations directed by

the special branch will, under Mr. Blunket's plan, no doubt become a more frequent occurrence. It's not surprising to view the timing of this announcement, given that the policy of 'internment' is currently being challenged in the British House of Lords. Clearly if Mr. Blunket loses his right to 'intern' people without trial or through the use of remand then he has his own 'private army' skilled in

the art of manipulating evidence and stitching people up.. For Republicans the British 'dirty war' in Ireland never stopped, and based on Mr Blunket's announcement he intends to step up this war to include the British population. Tried, tested and proven dirty tricks finely conceived throughout the Irish struggle will now be deployed against sections of the British public.

The implications for civil liberties are enormous, and the full scale of this has perhaps not yet been fully recognized by the unsuspecting.

The advice from the 32CSM in Britain is beware and be aware!



**Eliza Manningham-Buller:**  
*"Head of MI5 and David Blunkett's Bulldog in the intelligence war".*

## **From Socialists to Socialites**

**The scandal surrounding Belfast's Short Strand Sinn Féin councillor Joe O'Donnell and his intention to build three luxury townhouses on ground he'd purchased from the Housing Executive for £1000 (to initially extend his garden) left a number of grassroots supporters with red faces and mumbled half-apologies.**

A motion by the DUP that the council was unconvinced by Mr. O'Donnell's claims that he was not seeking to profit personally from the construction of the properties was carried with cross party support by 24 votes to 10.

It was also revealed that the planning permission had been rejected due to the possibility of creating overdevelopment and destroying the character of the surrounding area. For the uninitiated this is a necessity that prevents places like small working class communities (like the Short Strand) being dominated by large yuppie owned privately built houses and businesses.

The howls of indignation from staunch supporters of the Sinn Féin bureaucracy were quick in coming. Top prize would have to go to Sinn Féin Councillor Eoin O'Broin who was rapidly ushered into the media spotlight to give it the Stormont spin. Blinking like a deer caught in the headlights he stammered his way through a statement which included the explanation that Joe had been "trying to solve a local housing shortage" and was eventually going to "donate the property to a Housing Association" (unknown to the Housing Association it seems). I'm sure this deft attempt at mental gymnastics almost had Councillor O'Broin believing his own bluff, nevertheless members of

the local community were not so 'on message'.

Even the usually compliant South Belfast News quickly noticed the bemusement of the Nationalist population and quickly pasted together an editorial that described Mr. O'Donnell's actions as akin to a foolish mistake (although to be honest I've never heard of anyone building three townhouses by accident!).

The Sinn Féin statement made a final desperate appeal to victimhood by claiming that in fact the whole affair had been "politically motivated" by those in opposition. However, it seems that the real motivation comes from a formerly radical and revolutionary movement that is now at ease with the trappings of power. To the extent that it is willing to excuse the activities of those members who wish to indulge in gross personal financial initiatives - even when those activities are neither to the benefit and indeed are (more often than not) detrimental to their own communities.

It is important to remember that many of these people reaping the benefit of Stormont salaries and British Government paid jobs were only given these positions because they were the representatives of an insurgent and hostile community that was challenging British rule. Hence one of the most effective strategies against this resistance was to co-opt these leaders and pacify the population through government grants, community jobs and other social and financial initiatives. The phrases "paid off" and "sold out" are usually met with derision, and none are more irritated by these words than those who have been so

eager to sit at the master's table and wear the master's clothes. Unfortunately the day has long been upon us where former heroes and heroines of the revolution are now nothing more than grey faced and grey suited corpses on our TV screens, sadly gripping onto the false hope that the system they once fought can be reformed from the inside.



**Joe O'Donnell:**  
*"Extolling the virtues of Landlordism"*

It is also common knowledge, especially at universities around the country, that joining Sinn Féin is now actually considered more like a career option than having anything to do with guerilla insurgency. The Sinn Féin Cumann at Queen's University Belfast was told several years ago that an influx of Middle Class politically uneducated students didn't matter "as long as they could vote and looked good on the doorstep". No wonder those in the Sinn Féin leadership have no problem with the destruction of traditional Republican communities to make way for overpriced yuppie flats, after all these days they share exactly the same class membership and interests as those very same big money developers.

# European Social Forum

## - Isolation of Political Prisoners is a Deliberate Abuse of Human Rights

The following is the text of the speech delivered by IRPWA delegate and 32 County Sovereignty Movement secretary Matt Brown at the European Social Forum in London. The IRPWA were invited by the International Symposium against Isolation to attend as affiliates despite the objections of Sinn Fein linked organisations.

The forum addressed by the delegate was on the subject of the isolation of political prisoners and included speakers from Turkey, the Basque Country and Palestine. The European Social Forum took place from the 15th-17th of October and consisted of a large number of organisations from around the world speaking on a wide range of social and political issues.

The term political prisoner accurately reflects the reason many prisoners find themselves incarcerated in gaol; because they have stood up to the might of the invader to uphold the rights of their people and to uphold the sovereignty of their nation.

The term terrorist is used by the invader/superpower to degrade the individual and the organisation that he/she belongs to and to prevent support at national and international levels.

The reality is that such political prisoners are freedom fighters and are thus in gaol for political reasons and are entitled to defend their nation and their sovereignty.

To expand on this subject in an Irish context the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association was created to provide moral and material support for Republican Prisoners who opposed those former comrades who had failed to protect Irish National Sovereignty in negotiations which led to another internal partitionist agreement. This fore-mentioned agreement allows the British Government to hold on to their illegal sovereign claim to the occupied six counties.

The volunteers of the Irish Republican Army were split on this issue. Some chose the rightful decision to continue the campaign to protect and uphold Irish sovereignty, which has been established by the Irish people in 1918 and has been denied by successive British governments. The Irish people have continuously been denied this fundamental right to national self-determination.

As a result of Irish men and women standing up to the might of the foreign invader (i.e. The British Army of occupation and their political masters in government) many find themselves incarcerated in gaol for defending their fundamental right against such a forcefully imposed British rule.

This has been an ongoing situation in Ireland since the British government refused to recognise the democratic right of the people and forced partition through the threat of (quote) "immediate and terrible war".

Throughout our history republican prisoners have suffered the most torturous regimes in an attempt to break their spirit and their will to defend their nation and oppose all that is wrong with British rule in Ireland. The attempts to isolate republican POW's {Prisoners of War} have failed and will continue to fail because of the resilience these men and women display.

The most recognised fight for the rights of POW's happened in 1981 when the then British Prime Minister Maggie Thatcher intensified the criminalisation of republicans to an almost unbearable level.

She ultimately failed in this task simply because the prisoners refused to be broken or categorised as criminals. The protests intensified within the gaols resulting in what became known as the "Dirty Protest" while simultaneously street protests on the outside intensified in support of the POW's.

Despite world opinion the British government steadfastly refused to move on this issue in their attempt to



isolate and criminalize republicans. However, the more they inflicted on the prisoners the more resilient these men and women became in defiance of their oppressor and they stood firm in their objective to be recognized as political prisoners.

They eventually embarked on their last option, hunger strike and the British government allowed ten brave men to die for their rights before political status was eventually granted.

In 1998 with the signing of the illegal Good Friday Agreement, the British government reverted back to the tactic of criminalizing anyone who disagreed with the continuance of British rule in Ireland.

The continued existence of draconian and unjust laws and special no jury courts help to secure the false sentencing of political activists. British judges who preside over these bogus trials usually find the suspect guilty on the flimsiest of unsubstantiated evidence. Indeed over the past few months it has been established that in cases where forensic evidence was submitted, the evidence has been tampered with to secure conviction. Senior police officers are proved to have used their influence at what was supposed to be an independent laboratory, to have evidence tampered with and contaminated in order to secure the conviction of innocent people.

Political status was effectively removed under the Good Friday Agreement and republican POW's were forced to integrate with loyalist murderers and common criminals. There was a great sense of betrayal toward those who had signed such an agreement, and particularly with Sinn Fein who agreed to all of these conditions in negotiations. The republican leaders (Adams and Mc Guinness et al) had fallen for the British trick of 'divide and conquer'. The movement was split between those who maintained the republican position of defending the right of the Irish people to national self determination and protecting and upholding Irish National Sovereignty and those who made the choice to simply accept British rule with a

***"The administering of British rule by Sinn Fein in the occupied part of Ireland is something no one could have believed some years ago, but now it is there for all to see. The sheer frenzy in securing seats at the master's table is as alarming as it is shameful."***

devolved British Assembly and actively take part in administering British rule in Ireland.

The administering of British rule by Sinn Fein in the occupied part of Ireland is something no one could have believed some years ago, but now it is there for all to see. The sheer frenzy in securing seats at the master's table is as alarming as it is shameful.

However the attempts to isolate and criminalize republican POW's have again failed. The POW's, their families and their supporters have struggled against many hardships to once again establish segregation whereby prisoners have a right to a wing of their own with free association.

This was not won without a fight and the volunteers of the IRA again embarked on a series of protests; beginning with a no wash protest and progressing onto other tactics such as cell smashing and a dirty protest. On the outside, street protests began to gain momentum and despite attempts by the British government and their press to have a media blackout on what was happening, republicans again ensured that their message was getting out to the people.

Those who betrayed the sovereignty of the Irish nation began to realise that such a protest was gaining support and that their position was now untenable. The British Government knew also that their position could not be sustained and (given the failure of the Good Friday Agreement to address the core cause of conflict) they were forced to back down from their criminalisation and isolation

policy.

This isolation policy is not unique to Ireland, many here will recognize that it is the policy of superpowers like America and Russia to criminalize those who disagree with their colonial mentality.

Across the world whether it be in Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, Kashmir, Chechnya, The Basque region or Ireland (to name but a few countries that have had their sovereignty denied) political prisoners are degraded, dehumanized and isolated with the intention of labelling them as terrorists or criminals.

The real terrorists in this sense are those who have invaded and taken over countries against the democratic wishes of their people.

Given the attempts by colonial powers to isolate and criminalize people for protecting and defending their sovereignty and their right to national self determination, free from external impediment, it is incumbent on all of us at an international level to unite on this issue. We need to expose the hypocrisy of the oppressor and to build campaigns which will assist in highlighting such injustices across the world.

It is with this fact in mind that The Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association supports the 32 County Sovereignty Movement in upholding Irish National Sovereignty, and their challenge to the British Government lodged at the United Nations in America. The legality of British rule under international law is now part of our overall challenge and strategy.

Some may question why we support this route. The IRPWA believe the United Nations are the only recognised international body set up to protect the rights of small nations. We cannot be held responsible for its failings or the interference in its work by American influence but we can continue to highlight, through the Human Rights Commission in Geneva, the failure of the UN to address the injustices and human rights abuses which undoubtedly arise from invasion and the denial of the national people's right to determine their future free from outside interference.

Since the 32 County Sovereignty Movement lodged the challenge at the UN both our members and those of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement have been prevented from entering America and our movement there has been banned. Nevertheless we are not too dismayed, because this extreme reaction by the US authorities demonstrates the strength and threat of our position. It will not deter Irish men and women from upholding the democratic rights of our people and a submission has since been lodged at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

Indeed through cooperation with other Non-Government Organisations (NGO's) the 32 CCSM secured speaking rights at the commission.

Since the movement was banned in America it is now more difficult to gain access to the Human Rights commission and as part of the overall strategy at an international level the 32 CSM advocates greater cooperation at an international level to secure attendance and speaking rights at the UN. We all need to get NGO's to undertake the plight of political prisoners and to get the reasons why POW's exist addressed by the UN. There is an urgent need to have all the injustices across the world highlighted and to put in place the proper infrastructure to ensure that these issues are adequately addressed to bring an end to the sufferings and injustice of invasion by colonial powers. From an Irish perspective the IRPWA will continue to uphold the rights of the Irish people to protect their sovereignty and will continue to pursue the rights of our people to national self-determination free from British interference.

The Irish people long to end British rule but are continuously and shamefully denied that right.

Together, at an international level, we truly believe that we can all secure the rights of our people and along with this the rights and eventual release of all political prisoners must be concentrated foremost in our minds.

**Next Issue: Full Report on European Social Forum**

# Why We Went to the United Nations.

## By Joe Dillon.

The decision in 1998 by the newly formed 32 County Sovereignty Committee which comprised members of Sinn Fein and recently resigned members to send a delegation to the United Nations H.Q. in America was based on the Declaration of Independence being ignored during the recent negotiations which led to what is now known as the Good Friday Agreement. The leadership of Sinn Fein took it upon themselves not only to violate the country's national sovereignty but also the constitutional position of their own party.

The point that makes the 1998 referenda illegal is that it was called specifically to abandon the territorial claim to the 6 north eastern counties which are in fact illegally held under British rule by force of arms - a denial of national sovereignty.

The Dublin administration find it convenient not to admit that while it was legally and constitutionally correct in 1937 to hold a referendum for a new constitution to replace the one imposed on the Irish people by the British parliament in 1921, the holding of a referendum in the 26 counties and inserting Articles 2 and 3 was merely restating the legal position and was in

no way violating national sovereignty but for the Dublin administration to argue that because they had the right to hold a referendum in 1937 in the 26 county area inserting Articles 2 and 3 they now had a right to hold a referendum to remove these Articles. The actual position is this, that it would have been illegal in 1937 to hold a referendum without including the territorial position and for the same reason it was illegal to hold a referendum to remove them. So the reader will see from the above arguments.



The UN: Recognized body for settling International disputes.

That it was the duty of the Sinn Fein leadership from their position to persuade John Hume of the correct political objectives of the Irish people, and not for him to persuade them of his analysis, as the analysis that he was putting forward has been totally rejected by the Irish people

**“(Under Good Friday) The facts of the matter are that two referenda were held; one in the 26 counties to remove Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution (which are basically the territorial articles) and one in the six counties being called as consultative by the parliament of Westminster. Both of these referenda are equally illegal.”**

in the declaration of Independence. Therefore all future political moves that were relevant to protecting Irish National Sovereignty should have been pursued through the international bodies namely at this point in time -The United Nations.

I would remind our readers that our fore-fathers sent delegations to all of the previous international bodies set up, such as Versailles the League of Nations and also called upon the nations of the world to support this small nation against imperial England.

The claim that the Good Friday agreement was to bring peace may have been genuinely held by sincere people therefore it was necessary to create a situation where the people were told that a referendum would be held on the island of Ireland for the decision of the Irish people.

One can on the surface see how the people of Ireland could be led to believe that this was going to be a democratic decision of the Irish nation which would override the 1918 decision. The facts of the matter are that two referenda were held; one in the 26 counties to remove Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution (which are basically the territorial articles) and one in the six counties being called as consultative by the parliament of Westminster. Both of these referenda are *equally illegal* as it was for this reason

that the Sovereignty committee lodged with the U.N under the relevant acts which allow citizens of a country to challenge their governments violation of their human rights. Bearing in mind the first principle being the right to national self determination a position already taken by the Irish people not that long ago in 1918 and ratified by the Declaration of Independence in 1919 by the national parliament in Dublin.

It is not the Unionist people as they are called who violate Irish sovereignty. Their aspirations and loyalties can be accepted as being genuine. It is a foreign imperial parliament legislating for their aspirations that constitutes the violation of Irish national sovereignty. Irrespective of what differences exist inside any national territory only a domestic political arrangement decided by the sovereign people of that country could be legally implemented. The Sinn Fein leadership far from being astute in the negotiations leading up to Good Friday were in fact totally out of their depth, and incapable of pursuing the national position. I specifically refer to the Sinn Fein leadership as they were at the head of the revolutionary movement during the negotiations. The constitutional parties as they are commonly called were in handcuffs due to their own position, both morally and politically incapable of raising the issue of the nations right to freedom. Our readers should be reminded that at the very onset of these negotiations or peace process whichever view people may prefer, from the onset the issue of the union of the 6 counties with the British parliament was not on the agenda. Therefore there was nothing for the Sinn Fein leadership to negotiate. It is important to remember that the war in Ireland was being fought to expel the violence of the British presence in Ireland. One only has to look around to see the fortifications armoured cars war-planes the graves of thousands of Irish freedom fighters, the thousands upon thousands of prisoners who had been injured or detained and the general mayhem on the island of Ireland that has resulted from British denial of Irish national sovereignty.

Instead we have a situation where agreement was reached under a mountain of fudge and deception that will not bring either peace or justice. This is the case the 32 County Sovereignty Movement has lodged with the United Nations.

## “Democracy Still Denied to the Irish People” - A Personal Response to Roy Garland

In Roy Garland's article (Monday 7th September) he highlights the sectarian aspect of the Good Friday Agreement and equates democracy with consensus. Democracy should not exclude anyone, however it is the lack of democracy in Ireland that has allowed sectarianism to flourish in the absence of recognising the cause of our turbulent past.

Roy continues to ignore this in his ongoing effort to be perceived a moderate whilst choosing to espouse the British connection and states on this occasion that the pro-British minority in the south are so cowed that at times only radical catholics and others could reflect their interests. Is the truth not more like when they felt betrayed by the British they were unable to get a democratic way to promote their interests.

Ireland is a proud nation. What other nation would have it's citizens espouse interference from a foreign government. Ireland was invaded and I do not have to go into detail of the terror imposed on the Irish people by this foreign parliament.

The reality to this present day is that the Irish people have stated their position at election, the British government continue to ignore the wish of the Irish people by imposing partition and their illegal sovereign claim here and protect it with their army of occupation. The continuance of giving legitimacy to the illegal claim further divides the Irish people and the result is sectarian conflict.

Those elected to Stormont must share their responsibility in this as they continue to deny the Irish nation and deny the Irish people their right to national self-

determination free from outside interference.

The issue of upholding Irish national sovereignty is a real and just cause for all the citizens of this country and Roy is well aware that choosing to ignore it, will not wish it away.

The British government have no legal rights in Ireland yet Roy uses the language of threat when he states that if Irish unity is achieved through 50% plus one it is a recipe for chaos and bloodshed. From where will this bloodshed come.

When I last met Roy he later wrote I was a fundamentalist as if there was something wrong about stating

**“When I last met Roy he later wrote I was a fundamentalist as if there was something wrong about stating the primary and essential elements of what is wrong with British interference in Irish affairs.”**

the primary and essential elements of what is wrong with British interference in Irish affairs.

Maybe at a future meeting Roy will explain his position and attempt to understand the feelings of a broad spectrum of our people when they say they wish to break the British connection.

The starting point in this will require the British government to relinquish their illegal sovereign claim and then all of the people on this island can determine how they wish to be governed in a peaceful and harmonious way.

There are a number of draft policies from various

organisations that have been around for years that could be a starting point for discussion leading to a framework for government in Ireland that would incorporate all of the people.

What is preventing them from being aired or treated seriously is the denial of national sovereignty.

If the British continue on their present course, history has taught us sectarianism will flourish as an integral part of maintaining British rule in Ireland through the use of and the threat of force.

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement have lodged a challenge to the legitimacy of British rule and we see this as a peaceful alternative to the sectarian GFA which fosters Roy's own argument of protecting the pro-British agenda.

International arbitration on the single issue of sovereignty will allow the Irish people as a whole to formulate an agreed position free from outside interference and can remove the prop to sectarianism in our divided loyalties.

I look forward to further debate on this issue.

**Francis Mackey  
Chairman  
32 County Sovereignty Movement.**

# 32CSM Challenges Sinn Fein's Contradictions

## - A Response to Pat Doherty's Recent Geneva Address

In 1998 the 32 County Sovereignty Movement challenged the leadership of the Provisional Movement to a public debate on the issue of Irish national sovereignty. They refused and indeed on a number of occasions since have withdrawn their spokespersons from radio debate when they learned that members of our movement were on air. Since then they have consistently refused to debate this single important issue from their perspective versus the challenge by the 32 County Sovereignty Movement at the United Nations. Indeed some Sinn Fein personnel have cast aspersion on the UN.

The Sinn Fein position from a republican perspective is now narrowed to dealing with domestic issues within the confines of the Good Friday Agreement. The British and Dublin governments now claim the national question is resolved and it is down to the political parties to implement what they signed up to in the agreement.

However the cracks are widening in the Sinn Fein strategy with members resigning and in some cases being forced out in favour of more middle of the road politicians.

The republican base are now becoming more vocal in their concerns of the Adams strategy. This weight of opinion was further highlighted recently when Sinn Fein's Pat Doherty addressed the IHRAAM conference in Geneva. Here he stated the GFA has failed the Irish people in their right to self-determination. He stated SF were seeking an end to British sovereignty, partition and the denial of basic and human rights.

He said, "An internal six county arrangement cannot work. The partition of Ireland has failed".

Pat continued to acknowledge the legitimate and democratic vote of the people in 1918 and the re-establishment of the Irish Nation, as a sovereign decision of the people.

He states Partition is in contravention of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and he goes on to cite the Charters in the UN which are there to protect the sovereignty of small nations.

In reading Pat Doherty's address one must be forgiven for questioning his rationale in such an address at this international forum given that he has entered negotiations with the foreign British Government and failed to uphold and protect the sovereignty of the Irish Nation.

Instead Sinn fein not only accepted the legality of the British position, they entered a partitionist establishment in Stormont and administered British Rule in Ireland.

When Pat returned from Geneva he went into further negotiations with the British to have devolved government from Westminster re-established at Stormont. SF are on record as stating that Stormont must be restored and that the GFA must be restored. Such contradictions coming from SF must be clarified. They actively took part against the wishes of their own people in negotiation which failed the Irish people and when it suits them they return to the language of republicanism which is no where near their position sitting in Stormont.

When challenged on his position as stated in Geneva, Pat Doherty has consistently refused to answer legitimate

***"When challenged on his position as stated in Geneva, Pat Doherty has consistently refused to answer legitimate queries. These include the stated objective of the 1918 election and how Pat claims to uphold the right of the people to National self-determination and goes on to do the exact opposite in the GFA."***

queries. These include the stated objective of the 1918 election and how Pat claims to uphold the right of the people to National self-determination and goes on to do the exact opposite in the GFA.

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement upheld and protected these principles and further extends the offer to publicly debate the issue with the SF leadership. The Irish people have a right to the truth, they need these issues clarified. If SF believe the claims Pat Doherty made in Geneva will they publicly support the challenge at the United Nations and the case brought against the British Government under international law challenging the legitimacy of British rule in Ireland.

Speaking this week Mr Francis Mackey Chairman of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement says he is encouraged from soundings across Ireland that we in the 32CSM are

correct in our analysis and we have a moral responsibility to seek the peaceful alternative via the UN.

The position of the 32 CSM is now being seen as the way forward despite vilification by the pro-establishment parties and the continuance of the SF party to refuse either clarity on their contradictions or partake in open and public debate.

We are confident that our case will be heard, however it can be heard much earlier with a clear and unambiguous support from those who espouse it at an international level but do the opposite when in talks with the Brits.

In that context we call on all Irish people to support us on this single issue which is the obstacle to peace.

We call on all republican groups to debate this issue and to join with us in establishing a more powerful voice at the UN. We call on republicans working with and voting for SF to analyse their position. Can the administering of British rule in Ireland deliver the objectives of Pearse and the 1916 leaders or will it continue the suffering and injustices imposed by a foreign government in our country.

Sinn Fein's double speak is now opening up the contradictions of their position. They must accept the failure of the GFA as part of their failure to put the issue of National Sovereignty at the heart of the negotiations. They cannot hide behind their former position having signed away National Sovereignty in the agreement which they say is internationally binding.

Republicans must recognise the damage done to the struggle and we must recognise the rights of all of the people in this great nation. Our struggle has never been easy and now more than ever we must be prepared for whatever the British Government throws at us.

The republican position has stood the test of time. Principled leadership coming from the 32 County Sovereignty Movement is the way forward in not alone challenging those who espouse British rule in Ireland but in confronting it in an active way.

The contradictions and lies must be exposed to allow and return democratic debate to republicans.

The development of the 32 CSM over the past few years shows there is a silent debate taking place. Let that now be developed to ending British interference in Irish affairs.

Together and with the correct analysis republicans will deliver an Ireland of equals without British rule.

## Unionists: The Real Coercionists!

One of the main myths continually pedalled by our political enemies is that Republicanism is 'coercionist', in that it seeks, and has always sought, to coerce Unionists into becoming part of a sovereign and independent Irish nation. However an objective reading of history shows that it is Unionists who have united, and continue to unite with their British guarantors in an attempt to coerce Irish Republicanism and the Irish people into abandoning their right to national sovereignty.

Take the case of the first Dail (All Ireland Parliament): Prior to the proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916 and the setting up of the first Dail in 1919, Unionists had united with the most reactionary elements of British Conservatism to oppose devolved Home Rule. This opposition did not involve flowery oratory; it involved the arming to the teeth of the UVF and the threat of pogroms against Northern Nationalists.

Dail Eireann was established with the overwhelming support of Irish voters in the 1918 election. All the deputies that were elected were then invited to attend the Mansion House in January 1919, including Unionists. But instead of attending, the handful of Unionists chose instead to attend a British devolved puppet parliament, placing them outside of any influence that they could have exerted on the First Dail. Had they attended they would have seen that they formed only a small minority among those present.

Yet Unionists have consistently complained that the nature and the ethos of the first Dail, an all Ireland parliament, leaned heavily against the Unionist position. Surely it is time that the blame was placed squarely on the shoulders of the abstentionist delegates from the Unionist position.

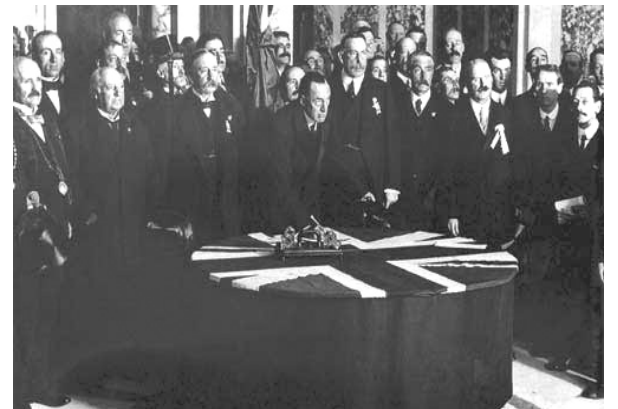
Instead of participating in a democratic Irish parliament, Unionists sought refuge in a British attempt to assert herself in defiance of the democratic will of the Irish people by attempting to set up a puppet parliament and by continuing to give active support to the British campaign of armed aggression against Dail Eireann.

It is clear that the false cry of coercionist against the Irish National Parliament, compared with Unionist support for British coercion is laughable.

When one reads the democratic programme of Dail Eireann and contrasts it with the centuries of unadulterated religious/political persecution of the Irish people by Westminster, one cannot but be of the view that the first Dail attempted to reach out to all sections of religious and political opinion on the island.

If the Unionist deputies had attended, it is fair to say that their input would have been considerable and their own needs and interests advanced. Instead they cried that Home Rule was Rome Rule. It seems that one of the main motives for the Unionists not attending was to ensure that this false image of the Irish Nation would be the excuse to give a pseudo form of legitimacy to the Northern Protestants to reject the democratic wishes of the Irish people who had voted overwhelmingly for National Sovereignty at the ballot box.

When one recalls the 1912 revolt against the imminent devolution for Ireland under the Home Rule bill (passed by Westminster and rejected by an armed minority in the north) based on the phoney British mutiny in the Curragh. This was a cleverly contrived plot created an atmosphere of crisis with the main purpose being to manoeuvre suspension of the Home Rule bill with a world war looming.



**Unionism: "Has always supported the threat of British force against Irish unity and democracy".**

However partition as a solution had now been mooted and was firmly in the minds of the Imperial power and institutionalised in the British Army. Of course the basis for partition lay not in the democratic will of the Irish people but rather its denial through manipulation, coercion and the use of terror a situation that exists to this day.

Irish Republicanism has stood for the development of full national sovereignty and the unfettered control of Irish destinies. Unionism has taken the road of denial and coercion. Britain and its Unionist allies succeeded in coercing the Irish people. Instead of a Sovereign all Ireland parliament we had two British devolved parliaments. Unionism and its British masters had succeeded in unleashing a carnival of reaction.

Had Unionism abandoned its alliance with the most reactionary elements of British politics things could have been so different. That is still the challenge for Unionism.

## A 32 County Sovereignty Movement Report on the Anti-Imperialist Camp Assisi, Italy 2004.



**Anti-Imperialist Camp Delegates including IRPWA representative  
Martin Brogan (far left of picture) at the conference.**

It was during the month of August that a delegation from the 32 County Sovereignty Movement and Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association fulfilled an invitation to the Anti-imperialist Camp 2004 at Assisi in Italy for 5 days. In attendance were delegations from all over the world; most notable were delegations from countries where there is conflict taking place today. These included support groups from Palestine, Turkey, The Basque Country, Mexico/Bolivia, Iraq, Venezuela, Kashmir and Ireland to name but a few.

The Irish delegates were invited to speak at 3 different Forums, but as with all support groups, were allowed to make contributions from the floor to the Forums panel, which we duly did when the occasion required it.

The Irish delegations first Forum was on the second day of the five day camp. The title of this Forum was Anti-Globalisation process and the debate about non-violence. Also on the panel were Italian editors and lawyers, the delegates from Colombia and Norway and a representative of the Anti-imperialist Camp.

The Irish delegate explained that globalisation was nothing more than the internationalisation of capital; this can be seen on a day to day basis, when large multi-national companies consume smaller companies from different individual countries, thus diminishing those individual countries economic and political control

A recent example was pointed out in the case of Ireland. As American Capitalist and Political power are one and the same, America was able to force the Free State Government to hand over the use of Shannon Airport (not that there was much opposition from the Free State Government which goes to show how Capitalists of a feather flock together) to aid the war in Iraq. Many Irish people feared that if the Free State government refused to comply then America would pull out its investment. This

example shows how much the sovereignty of individual nations can be eroded when multi-national companies take hold of a nation's workforce and economy. It was also pointed out by the Irish delegation, that everyone who has a social conscience has an obligation to boycott goods and

***"The Irish delegation made it very clear, that as long as British interference in Ireland continued the Irish people have the right to resist occupation by any and all means necessary and this included armed resistance, the delegate went on to say that this right of resistance applied to all nations that find their sovereignty impinged upon, this view was widely applauded from the audience and other delegations."***

services of these multi-national companies who are the engine of globalisation. It is not good enough to condemn globalisation on the one hand and wear Nike and drink Coca-Cola on the other.

The second part of the Forum engaged in a debate about non-violence. The Irish delegation made it very clear, that as long as British interference in Ireland continued the Irish people have the right to resist occupation by any and all means necessary and this included armed resistance, the delegate went on to say that this right of resistance applied to all nations that find their sovereignty impinged upon, this view was widely applauded from the audience and other delegations.

The next Forum on our invitation took place the

next day, titled "Symphony of Freedom." Delegates attended from several different countries including the Basque Country, Palestine, Iraq, Russia, Turkey, Kashmir, Italy and a delegate from the Anti-imperialist Camp and renowned philosopher, Francesco Giuntoli. Delegates from Palestine spoke first and outlined the history and ongoing situation there with the imprisonment of its Secretary General and the incarceration of near 10,000 Palestinians in mass internment camps. The Basque delegate produced a lengthy document, outlining its past and what they see as the way forward for them. They called on other delegations there present to study their document and lend support to it. The 32 County Sovereignty Movement is now in the process of studying the Basque document with a view to submitting its opinions.

The Irish delegate was next up and spoke at length about past, present and future of Ireland's struggle against imperialism under a discussion forum entitled, "Their Europe and ours: The American Imperial strategy and the future of Europe." The Irish delegate spoke from a document entitled Anti-Imperialism-An Irish Republican perspective: See opposite page.

The third Forum, the Irish Delegation were invited to the panel which took place on the last day of the camp. This Forum was on the issue of political prisoners throughout the world and the struggle against colonialism. The Irish delegate from I.R.P.W.A outlined Ireland's 800 year old struggle and the important part that Republican prisoners have played in that struggle from the Young Irelanders to the present day. There is no doubt that political prisoners by their example and determination in the face of adversity, give strength and resolve to any liberation struggle. From Terence Mac Sweeney in the early 20th Century and Bobby Sands and the Blanketmen in the latter part of the 20th Century right through to the Dirty Protests of 2003 and the present day struggle in the prisons for political status, shows that a nations right to be free cannot be broken if that nations people are prepared to struggle and fight for the rights of the nation, no matter how long that struggle takes.

The I.R.P.W.A delegate went on to outline British state oppression, the use of Diplock non-jury trials, emergency laws and powers, state collusion with Ulster Loyalists and armed Pro-Agreement forces, extensive breaches of due process at initial arrest and detention, the unequal treatment of Republicans at High Court bail applications, intimidation of defence lawyers, the tampering by governments security forces of forensics evidence before and after arrest of detainees and the physical abuse and mental torture of Republican prisoners which included isolation cells and the use of "white noise." The plight of our prisoners struck a cord with the Basque, Turkish and Palestinians who shared similar experiences. The Turkish delegate spoke about their prison struggle and outlined the on-going hunger strike in Turkish gaols and how their prisoners took inspiration from Bobby Sands and his comrades in the Hunger Strikes of 1981. The Basque delegate relayed how their prisoners are dispersed throughout Spain, France and even further a field which made it difficult for family visits. (A tactic used by the British against Irish P.O.Ws) This tactic was and is being used to try and break the prisoners resolve.

In conclusion, the five day camp was very successful and delegations from all countries felt that the solidarity of resistance struggles against imperialism has been strengthened because of such camps. One thing that was very prominent throughout all the struggles in different parts of the world was that governments use the same tactics of oppression against liberation struggles, the only thing that is different is the degree of severity and when the eyes of the world aren't looking this degree of severity can be very extreme indeed, all the more reason for worldwide solidarity.

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement and the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association would like to thank the organisers of the Anti-imperialist Camp 2004 for a very memorable week in Assisi.

### **STOP PRESS: IRAQI PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE RESISTANCE LEADER ARRESTED IN BAGHDAD.**

President of the Iraqi Patriotic Alliance, and supporter of the Anti-Imperialist Camp, Abduljabbar al-Kubaysi was arrested by US forces in Baghdad on September 3rd. Despite living in exile for the past 30 years he had decided to return to Iraq to help the popular insurgent forces in their struggle against the occupation. According to eye witnesses the house he was sheltering in at the time was surrounded by several American tanks and assorted fighting vehicles along with helicopters and over a hundred ground troops. His commitment to his people and the sovereignty of his country was already recognized by the US puppet government of Ayad Allawi who had issued instructions for him to be personally hunted down. In a statement issued to the Anti-Imperialist Camp the Iraqi Patriotic Alliance stated that "we condemn the arrest of our leader Abduljabbar al-Kubaysi, and we hold the occupying forces responsible for the health and life of al-Kubaysi. We commit ourselves to work together with our brothers and sisters in- and outside Iraq for an international campaign for the liberation of al-Kubaysi's. We hereby reconfirm that our resistance is legitimate according to international law and the UN Charter, including the right to resort to armed means. Facing a supreme power with few guns and a strong belief in our right cause make us stronger and more resilient".

## Anti-Imperialism

### - An Irish Republican Perspective.

**As an Irish separatist organization we in the 32 County Sovereignty Movement believe it is vital for all small nations to have control of their own destiny. In order to have control of their own destiny it is imperative that we are allowed the right to national self determination free from external threat or from outside interference.**

Ireland has not had this right respected since first she came under the scope of her larger neighbour's imperial gaze well over 800 years ago. In common with many victims of imperial adventure Ireland has been blamed for her resistance in the past and indeed to this day those of us that refuse to recognize any authority other than the wishes of the Irish people are labeled as Terrorists, dreamers, criminals, malcontents or dissidents.

Ireland has always resisted imperial rule as alien. Her people have struggled against foreign domination since the first Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 right up to today's puppet regimes in Stormont and Leinster House. It took Britain 400 years to complete her occupation of Ireland and since that time the Irish people have engaged in periodic uprisings and resistance struggles for national liberation, the latest of which is still ongoing. The nature of this resistance to British Imperialism has changed in character over the centuries taking on a republican nature in the 1790's with the United Irishmen and adding to this a socialist element in the early 1900's with the great James Connolly and his comrades in the 1916 Easter Rising. Following Britain's ruthless suppression of the rebels the Irish people focused their demand for independence which culminated in the general election victory of 1918 in which the Irish people overwhelmingly voted for National Independence and Sovereignty. On the 21st January 1919 the republican government elected by the Irish people declared their independence in defiance of the British who reacted by declaring a state of martial law. What followed has been misleadingly referred to as the War of Independence, with the Army of the Irish Republic, the IRA, fighting the British Army to a standstill. Negotiations took place following a truce between the two sides and in the first in a long line of acts of collaboration, Irish representatives agreed to the partition of Ireland that allowed Britain total control of the 6 north eastern counties of the nation and partial control of the rest, a situation that exists effectively to this day.

There are those who have hailed the latest update of British Imperialism in Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement, as evidence of a change of heart in the British establishment. Others believe that it is a stepping stone to a united Ireland whereas still others believe that because of it the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland is secure. One thing is for sure it cannot be all things to all people. Far from being a mechanism for a British disengagement from Ireland the agreement merely modernizes British rule making it more acceptable to inward investment for multi-national capital. The British Government were able to sell an agreement that set the Irish struggle for independence back generations to Irish nationalists with the vague promise of equality and an Irish dimension in the colonial government of the six counties. One might wonder how after such a valiant struggle against the British, some Irish republicans accepted this new partition treaty just as their predecessors had done in 1921. The answers are not straight forward, just as after the 1919-21 tan war (War of Independence) many were war weary and many could not stomach an updated version of Lloyd George's threat of "immediate and terrible war". Still others truly believed that Britain really did want to disengage and that a democratization of the northern state would lead to its downfall whereas others accepted the agreement out of personal or political pragmatism and opportunism.

Britain has been able to convince many that she is a "persuader for peace" and that she has no selfish, strategic or economic interests in Ireland. This is a lie. If Britain didn't want to be in Ireland she would have left a long time ago. Britain retreated from other parts of her empire post world war 2 where many more lives were lost than would ever have been lost in Ireland. The reality is that Britain's claims to be here to keep the two tribes apart and prevent a bloodbath are a weak attempt to give her presence legitimacy and absolve her from responsibility for

the mess she has created. Britain fed and bred sectarianism and created a sectarian state to justify and protect her presence in Ireland so in effect sectarianism is here because of the British, the British aren't here because of sectarianism. Irish capitalism in the south has conspired with the British state in the north to pacify the six county region in order to end the threat of instability. Real Irish republicanism, because of its revolutionary nature, is perceived as a threat to the whole social structure thus making it unacceptable to capitalists in Britain, Ireland and most especially America.

As has already been alluded to, the reason that Britain, America and the Irish capitalist class fear an independent sovereign republican Ireland is because anything that is not under their control is a threat. An Independent Ireland as proclaimed by the rebels of 1916, as ratified by the voters of 1918 and declared by the Irish elected representatives in 1919, would be neutral, non-aligned and most likely socialist in character. In the words of the Democratic Programme adopted by the first all Ireland republican parliament, Dail Eireann, "The nation's sovereignty extends

**"Many believed that closer European integration would help offset America's economic and therefore political supremacy. For us as anti-imperialists, a European super state in as unwanted as an American one."**

not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions; the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and wealth producing processes within the nation and... we reaffirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare" Hardly an attractive set up for multi national capitalism. With American Imperialism the new colossus on the world stage, Britain and her collaborator allies in Ireland need to prove that they are capable of providing a stable region for American and multi-national capital, the only way to do this is to foster a stable partition with the illusion that this is what everybody wants. This hegemony is reinforced through the media and with the ruthless suppression of opponents of their new order both north and south. Today in Ireland and in Britain there are over 100 political prisoners yet politicians even so called nationalist and republican politicians refuse to acknowledge there are any. Many of these men have been sent to prison under extremely dubious circumstances and the police and army in the six counties stand accused of many incidences of fabricating and planting evidence. The media have been involved in a black propaganda campaign labeling all opponents of British rule as criminals, gangsters and thugs. In the United States of America the government has banned both the 32 County Sovereignty Movement and the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association claiming they are terrorist organizations, this ought to show exactly where America stands in regard to Ireland. Over the years in nationalist Ireland there has been a belief that some how the Irish American lobby has made an impact on Irish affairs, the evidence shows that American policy in Ireland has rarely risen above absolute disinterest and when it has it has



*IRPWA members Kevin Rainey (left) and Martin Brogan (right) with Palestinian delegate at Anti-Imperialist Camp, Italy.*

been in favour of the British. Whereas the powerful Jewish lobby has undoubtedly influenced American policy regarding Palestine in support of the Zionist occupation, Irish America was never let its heart rule its head. America's ally in Europe has always been Britain, who shares her values rather than a potential Cuba of the British coast which would threaten American interests in the region. America has refused to condemn British rule in Ireland as illegal while Irish republicans have been refused access to the US because they are 'terrorists'.

American imperial strategy today differs somewhat from the British and European Imperialism of the last century in that America in most cases seeks to control other nation's economies and therefore influence their governments rather than compel them by occupying their territory. As has been evidenced in Iraq, Saudi, Iran, Afghanistan and Israel, to name but a few, America will set up puppet governments for their own self interest and will in some cases attack those same governments when they cease to be of use or become a problem. America has a blueprint for the world, one that is based on them being the dominant force. With the break-up of the Soviet Union it is patently obvious that they are the only superpower. As the only military and economic superpower the USA have been able to ignore the Kyoto treaty, attack Iraq without UN support as well as provide both material and moral support to the illegal occupation of Palestine by Israel. It is obvious that in Ireland, despite her supposed neutrality, that he who pays the piper calls the tune. American warplanes and troops make a mockery of The Dublin Governments claims of neutrality by loading weapons and personnel in Shannon Airport. The freedom loving Americans leaving one occupied country to bomb another occupied country. That is the new peaceful Ireland after the Good Friday Agreement, American warplanes in the south and British war helicopters in the north. American support for the Good Friday Agreement and her investment to stabilize the peace process has obviously come at a price.

The price of American Patronage is too expensive for Sovereign Nations to pay, that price is loss of Sovereignty.

American imperialism and its interest in other nations is primarily the interest in markets. It is no secret that the American political and business elite are one and the same. It is big business and the multi-nationals who decide American foreign policy and it was the world trade centre who decided which countries merited aid and which were not such a sound investment.

Europe has been dragged into America's war on terror thus putting it in the firing line as was tragically illustrated in Madrid. The Spanish people reacted bravely by ousting their corrupt government. Other countries including Britain and Ireland appear more fearful of snubbing America and their coalition of the willing. Many believed that closer European integration would help offset America's economic and therefore political supremacy. For us as anti-imperialists, a European super state in as unwanted as an American one. A European Capitalist state would undoubtedly come under the influence of the same multi-nationals that so influence American policy eventually making American and European policy one and the same. If that happens what is the future of small independent non-aligned neutral sovereign nations? Will the capitalist super states allow any such nation to exist? The first step for us would be to oppose any form of centralized European Government; inevitably such a government would lead to a dilution of national sovereignty. Whereas today entry to the European union is only open to those who are fit enough to compete in the free market, a new Europe must be based on a free association of independent nations who have the ability to make treaties with each other when beneficial and end those treaties when they cease to be so. The new Europe ought not to be based on the pursuit of profit but rather the rights of man with the central tenets of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. In a future Europe of free partners in voluntary coalition any nation would have the right to secede without fear of sanction as is their right as a sovereign nation.

Unfortunately the Irish Nation as with other nations and peoples represented at this camp are denied their right to act as a nation within their own territory never mind in a broader Europe. We in the 32 County Sovereignty Movement reject further US and EU expansionism and imperialism as an affront to the whole concept of independence, neutrality, national self-determination and National Sovereignty.

# Planning for Freedom?

- Why Socialism may hold the key to victory.

By Ciaran Cunningham (Irish Republican POW and UNISON member)

For as long as the term Socialism has been in use, the issue of class struggle has caused friction within the Irish Freedom Movement; Fenian assassination conspiracies against Larkin, the IRB abduction of Connolly, the crushing of the Limerick soviets, the rise of the republican congress, the antics of the Officials, the Long Kesh book burnings, all manifesting itself in continuing friction taking us nowhere.

One recent manifestation of this friction may well have been the 2002 debates within the 32 County Sovereignty Movement on the single issue principle. Even some left-wing thinkers within the Movement had doubts as to the wisdom of dropping the single issue position from the constitution. Nevertheless, some thought that the single issue effectively prevented us from organising around social and economic issues and instead let us concentrate only on the central theme of international recognition of 32 County Sovereignty. The constitution was however changed by a vote at the AGM and members were then free to organise themselves as a revolutionary force (as opposed to a pressure group) concerned with the protection of Sovereignty and its defence against all attacks on it whether political or economic.

The actual ability to build as a revolutionary force may well depend on how the movement approaches the ultimate overall social and economic question (something which Socialism itself appears to provide a definitive answer for).

Far from being a separate issue from the 'Brits Out' objective, Socialism is vital when planning for freedom. In terms of Sovereignty it can mean the difference between Iraqi style freedom and Cuban style freedom; both countries are recognised by the UN as Sovereign Nations but in reality only one is a free and independent country. Cuba enjoys true freedom not because its Sovereignty was recognised by other countries (for a long time it wasn't) but because it fiercely asserted it in the face of cruel sanctions both Military and economic. Free Cuba's survival was totally dependent on its ability to build a Socialist economy and as such avoid massive starvation and poverty which would have befallen its people had it remained capitalist and maintained a privileged business class.

No capitalist country is truly free. Its policies, principles and decisions will always revolve around the economic demands of foreign business. For any Irish person who doubts this fact they need only ask why 12,5000 American troops were allowed to pass through Shannon airport on their way to Iraq despite the Free State government's claims to be a neutral country. The very real threat of economic sanctions from Washington (which would have had the potential to collapse the economy overnight) was enough to force the hand of a so-called Sovereign government without firing a shot. A Socialist economy could survive such sanctions, and as such retain its ability to make its own decisions; this is the concept of true Sovereignty and the very essence of freedom.

As far as tactics go the class issue may also prove vital for the Irish Freedom Movement. The antics of the Officials did no favours for genuine Socialists within Irish Republicanism but it must be understood that they could hardly be considered true Socialists, their rhetoric was as empty as that of their idols in Moscow and their retreat from armed struggle, their failure to confront Loyalist incursions and descent into criminality made them a disgrace to both Republicanism and Socialism. In reality they ought to be forgotten about when debating more serious issues. The reason why we ought to consider Socialist principles is not hard to understand. In order to achieve Irish Freedom then clearly we ought to become a significant force as opposed to an eternal underground group? It is not enough (in the long term) to be akin to nothing more than a public order problem where British intentions are concerned. We must instead be a direct and credible challenge to their overall ambitions and their ability to govern and suppress us.

To grow we should aim to appeal to three groups of people; the Catholic Working Class, the Protestant

Working Class and to a degree the English Working Class. The catholic working class have carried and sustained Republicanism throughout the highs and lows of the 20th Century and without their support Republicanism is effectively redundant. The protestant working class is the missing part of the jigsaw, simply put - we will not have a united Ireland without them, and anyone who seriously thinks they can be ignored or isolated is not living in the real world. Furthermore they have been and could be again a real asset to republicanism and they could play a significant part in the New Ireland if separated from orangism. That separation will only occur if the protestant working class can be convinced that they have more in common with their catholic counterparts than the British State or the Orange business class. Socialism is the key message as it offers them more than a crown to idolise or a sash to wear; it offers them a stake as equals in the Irish nation.

Support from the English working class would be advantageous for obvious reasons and again the key to their support is the Socialist message. When Karl Marx tried to organise the English working class he first told them to rid themselves of notions of empire and superiority. Such was the strength of his message that he managed to mobilise over 100,000 people at a London rally in support of Irish Independence and all of this in the midst of a Fenian bombing campaign. Marx was an ardent supporter of the Fenian movement. Such support has never since manifested itself in England.

The character of the Irish Freedom Struggle has by and large been Nationalist, however well meaning and sincere this may be the refusal to adopt social and economic issues has seen Republicanism ignore untapped wells of support. There is no better way to mobilize a people than to offer them a reward for their efforts. A capitalist Ireland offers nothing to the worker but a new flag. A Socialist Republic on the other hand offers them direct ownership of the country itself.

Much of what has been proposed here is not new thinking and has consistently been a bone of contention within the Republican movement - which is precisely why we need to confront it. Former Republicans have used the issues of socialism and sectarianism to retreat

***"The actual ability to build as a revolutionary force may well depend on how the movement approaches the ultimate overall social and economic question (something which Socialism itself appears to provide a definitive answer to)."***

from the fundamental tenets of Republicanism and fatefully slam the progression of the Irish freedom struggle into reverse. The Officials used the excuse of uniting protestant and catholic workers to cease armed resistance to the British State whereas the Provisionals in reaching out the hand of friendship to the unionist community have in reality backed a deal which is profoundly sectarian in content and capitalist in nature. The lurch to the left by the Provisionals in the late 70's and early 80's is now clearly seen as a tactic rather than being prompted by any genuine ideological considerations. The left wing card was used to side-line the southern based leadership and their Eire Nua proposal which Adams and his faction called a "sop to Unionism". Interestingly we are in a situation today where that same faction have abandoned Socialist rhetoric in favour of support from corporate America, along with this they have also abandoned resistance to the Northern state for ministerial roles within that same state.

Refusal to have this debate because others in the past have had the same arguments without resolution leaves us in a very real danger of 'throwing the baby out



**James Connolly:** *He saw no contradiction between Socialism and Republicanism.*

with the bathwater'. We should investigate why there remains such friction between the two strands of thinking within the Republican movement. Republicanism and Socialism, far from being mutually exclusive may well be inextricably linked and the failure to recognise this or act on it may well be another factor holding us back.

In conclusion I would like to add that as a prisoner I realise that it is very easy to suggest perspectives for the movement on the outside, but it is vital that Republicans at least consider these issues before moving on, after all there is no definitive blueprint for victory.

## Letters to the Editor:

### British Ministers Endorse 32csm Position.

A chara,

I wish to further elaborate on the recent comments made by British minister Clare Short, who recently expressed the following view to the international media

"The American public fought against British colonialism with violence, the free French fought against German occupation with violence, the Palestinian people are entitled to resist occupation, I mean, it's in international law (and) the Iraqi people are entitled (to resist occupation)."

Ms Short goes further to state that she "understands the anger and the demand for action and it's not good enough for the world to say state violence is OK and non-state violence is not OK". She went onto state that it is for The United Nations, and that body alone to use international law to bring peaceful resolution to these occupations.

These are interesting comments made by Ms Short as she clearly recognizes the right under international law for people who are under occupation to resist, and use arms if necessary. She goes further to say the only body to bring this to a resolution is the United Nations.

Interesting then to remember what both Blair and Ahern told the Irish people in 1997 that "there was no plan B", (inferring the only alternative was continued war!) - an opinion still carried by the provisional movement to date.

In reality the British, Irish and the provisional movement knew there was no requirement for another Treaty as the solution was already in place; under international law.

This is the position taken by the founder members of the 32CSM, and when they chose to pursue this agenda the state presented its 'dirty tricks' and the provisional movement became part of the British agenda directed at defeating it. They all knew that the position chosen by the 32CSM did indeed hold the solution to ending the conflict in Ireland. This fact was further endorsed by British MP Gerald Kaufman who told an internal conference in 2000, that the Irish Government had never sought the intervention of the United Nations, and further, Sinn Féin knew all along that the Good Friday Agreement was never about a united Ireland but instead was to legitimize the Northern Ireland State.

As time moves on it is becoming clear that the position adopted by the 32CSM is the only solution to resolving the conflict in Ireland. This has unintentionally been endorsed by the aforementioned Claire Short and Gerald Kaufman, both very senior British ministers.

Ciaran Dunbar, County Down.

## Letters to Editor:

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Navan, Co. Meath. Ireland

# International News

## Falling Victim to the Big Lie.

- Reporting the True Extent of Iraqi Resistance

The 32CSM has been covering the Iraqi Resistance for more than a year by publishing on the internet the 'Iraqi Resistance Reports' as a follow-up to our initial step where we outlined a complete list of what the US referred to at that time as "small groups of remnants" (which in fact consisted of over a hundred different resistance groups by December 2003). Since that time the Resistance has developed and advanced steadily. It has now literally spread to every part of occupied Iraq and has successfully challenged virtually every type of hardware used by the US ground forces and their collaborators.

Media coverage of the resistance however has been extremely poor, due in large part to US pressure. When we began publishing resistance information after the US invasion of Iraq, the independent Arabic television networks and several newspapers were reliable sources for information about the struggle - providing coverage that was perhaps partial and inadequate in scale due to the vastness of Iraq, but that nevertheless gave a strong indication of the problem that the Iraqi people were presenting to the occupiers of their homeland. Combined with our own reporter's filings, we have managed to get a reasonably clear view of events on the ground.

The United States (which seeks not only total domination of the world's politics but also its economics and resources) has also asserted control over the global news media. It has since managed to limit coverage including that of various Arabic-language press and media outlets. While some information continues to come through about the humanitarian disaster that has resulted from the US occupation of Iraq, the international and Arab media have generally backed away from any attempt to cover the resistance struggle in depth, taking their own best interests into consideration first.

But the truth has still been seeping out and more and more courageous individuals throughout Iraq have in recent months been contributing to the information collected by us on the unfolding resistance struggle. Translated in English for the 32CSM by Muhammad Abu Nasr, who has worked tirelessly to translate and compile reports from resources inside Iraq, we have promoted this information for western audiences and have been able to provide an in-depth and uncensored view of the resistance efforts to expel the American occupiers.

Nothing is more encouraging than the scale and frequency of the resistance to American occupation that is increasing at a tremendous rate. However, at the same time the sheer number and magnitude of resistance news makes collecting, translating and editing this volume of material on a daily basis extremely difficult. In light of this we have decided to approach resistance news in a new way, with an added focus on analysis and organization in an effort to make clear that the mainstream pro US-agenda media slant is not the real picture of the resistance struggle.

The other issue that we are constantly dealing with in relation to the Iraqi resistance is the number of US casualties that we are now reporting. The fact is that US casualties are rising at a dramatic rate but the mainstream news reporting has been so effective over the years in disseminating disinformation that people simply do not



*The scale of resistance to American occupation is increasing.*

believe American soldiers die - particularly in the large numbers that they have.

This point requires further discussion. We are constantly asked where is the evidence? There are several factors here:

1) Casualties have been purposefully hidden from public view since the time media coverage of war was possible. They were hidden from view in WW2, the Korean War and in Vietnam. The instrument of choice is Missing in Action (MIA's). At the end of the Vietnam war, years later, there are still 7000 missing in action. These are in reality *dead* Americans, and the US military has always been aware of that fact.

***"These (mainstream media) reports lack any credibility because there are no specific details nevertheless it makes the pro US public feel good - which is the intended purpose, and further makes those of an anti-imperialist opinion feel disheartened."***

The other technique that is used is to release casualties details several days following their occurrence and in small numbers, which then goes pretty much un-noticed. We see that happening a lot both in the current Afghanistan and Iraqi wars.

2) Wars are won and lost on public perception. Without public backing, no war will continue for long. In this ongoing war mentality of the US and its allies, public perception is of the most important aspect and we therefore see US military briefings being issued and reported without any verification by a dutiful mainstream press. For example, we read that "80 'insurgents' were killed" however there are no specific details released; no time, no location; no names, nothing. This type of reporting is rife throughout mainstream news and the news wires. Most of the high casualty figures released by the US on Iraqi casualties are the result of air strikes and the US cannot realistically determine dead and wounded whilst 20,000 feet in the air. The cities that are being bombed are the cities that ground forces cannot or will not penetrate. These reports lack any credibility because there are no specific details nevertheless it makes the pro US public feel good which is the intended purpose and further makes the anti-imperialist people disheartened (the other intended purpose).

3) Mainstream news reporters are nowhere near the heat-

ed areas of conflict. If you use CNN or BBC for daily information on the war, you will see that for the most part, these reports are filed from hotels in protected areas. Registered journalists may only travel when and where the US military allows them to. Even during the invasion of Iraq, the "embedded" reporters were not allowed to film US casualties and it is illegal to film coffins arriving back in the US.

4) In Iraq, the US is fighting an urban war in highly populated areas. Any "precision" strike is likely to kill civilians. The technology while advanced is not as 'intelligent' as they would have us believe and more importantly these strikes are conducted on information that may or may not be correct (as we see in the missing WMD). In many cases the US is using outlawed cluster bombs that are considered area munitions; making them impossible to control or use with accuracy. It should come as no surprise that civilians are dying in US air strikes. In reporting, it is only some time later that it emerges that civilians were hit and this information is generally provided by hospital sources. Reporting after the fact also has less impact which is also part of the desired outcome.

Don't forget the US does not "*do numbers*" and these reports of large amounts of so-called militants killed are only for the purpose of painting a rosy picture for the public, and to ease the guilt that civilian casualties bring. It is these reports that we must press for evidence around.

Make no mistake, there is more action these days in Iraq than there was during the initial invasion. The war itself is being waged by ordinary Iraqis who want the US out of their country. The Iraqis are suffering under US occupation and they will not accept this or a US appointed puppet government, no matter how it is packaged.

## The World View

**Australia** - In September The Aboriginal Tent Embassy on the lawns opposite the Old Parliament House was the target of a third firebomb attack in 12 months. The Aboriginal Tent Embassy has been the driving force of the Aboriginal claim to national sovereignty since 1972 and remains a grassroots platform for the voices of the Aboriginal people. Embassy Elder Neville Chappie Williams commented that the attack was obviously orchestrated by right-wing elements to try and silence them. Mr Williams went on to say that "*they have no legitimate way of moving us and attacks like these only make us more determined to stay. It highlights the fact that Aboriginal people are under constant attack. The police are refusing to investigate these things. If the American Embassy were attacked there would be a state of emergency, but because it's the Aboriginal Embassy it barely gets a mention.*"



**Pakistan** - The US Bush Administration have reportedly put pressure on the Pakistani government to deliver HVT's (High Value Targets) in the so-called War on Terror "before the presidential elections" in order to secure a public propaganda victory and hold onto the Presidential seat for a second term. A source within the Pakistani ISI (Intelligence Service) was quoted as saying that "the government has been told that killing or apprehension of HVT's like Bin Ladin and others is an absolute must before the elections". However it is acknowledged that the military operations in the border areas are in fact uniting many local warlords against the Pakistani government and making the hunt for Al-Qaeda figures more difficult than anticipated.

## Email!

**32csm**  
**International Dept**

**inter\_sol32@hotmail.com**

# Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association

## December is POW Month!

With Christmas fast approaching the Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association is beginning its annual drive to fundraise on behalf of the Republican prisoners of war incarcerated in British and Irish gaols.

The Christmas period is notoriously difficult for POW's and their families and brings unwanted additional emotional and financial strain. Many of the Republican prisoners are their families main breadwinners and consequently for the period of their incarceration their families are forced to endure not only the absence of a loved one but also hardships of a financial nature. British justice sees not only the individual as guilty but also forces his or her family to serve a sentence as well. This year as with other years the IRPWA will deliver Christmas envelopes to businesses and individuals across the country and we would urge all to give generously.

We also intend to stage a number of street events to raise the profile of the prisoners and make the general public aware that there are issues still to be addressed. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all who have donated to our collections over the past year and also a big thanks to all our activists for their tireless efforts,  
Go Raibh maith agat.

## IRPWA Open Office in Derry City.

The IRPWA are pleased to announce the opening of a new office in Derry City. The office was officially opened on Friday 8th of October by ex-Hunger Striker Brendan McLaughlin. The office will be opened Monday to Friday between the hours of 11 am and 3pm and will deal with all issues relating to Republican prisoners. The office will also provide advice and assistance to the republican community and indeed since its opening has had numerous inquiries. The IRPWA can be contacted at:

34b William Street Derry or phone:  
028 41 261 063.

The IRPWA wish to stress that this amenity is available to all in the wider republican community.

**POW LIST:** There are currently approximately one hundred Republican Prisoners incarcerated in British and Irish Gaols. The Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association looks after the welfare of the following prisoners and their families.

(If any Republican prisoner wishes their name to be added to our list then they should contact us via The Sovereign Nation address on page 3).

### Maghaberry Gaol

(Roe House), Old Rd, Lisburn,  
Co. Antrim. BT28 2FT.

|                    |            |
|--------------------|------------|
| Terry McCafferty.  | Antrim.    |
| Ciaran Cunningham  | Armagh.    |
| Sean Hoey          | Armagh.    |
| John Paul Hannan   | Armagh.    |
| Patrick O' Mahoney | Cork       |
| Ciaran McLaughlin  | Derry.     |
| Seamus Doherty     | Derry.     |
| Gearóid MagUaid    | Down       |
| John Connolly      | Fermanagh. |
| John Swift         | Fermanagh. |
| Conor Casey        | Tyrone.    |
| Brendan O Connor   | Tyrone.    |
| John Brady         | Tyrone.    |
| Ben Brady          | Tyrone.    |
| Eugene McNulty     | Tyrone.    |
| Mark Diver.        | Tyrone.    |

## Prison Officials Target Doherty Family

The following is a statement from the Seamus Doherty Campaign regarding the continued abuses of not only Seamus' human rights but those of his family and friends.

Since the IRPWA, 32 County Sovereignty Movement and the Free Seamus Doherty Campaign began to highlight his case his family have been subjected to continual harassment by the RUC and in some cases counter revolutionaries in their own community.

The IRPWA stand shoulder to shoulder with the Doherty family and demand that both state and non-state harassment end immediately.

Yet another recent attack has been carried out against Seamus and his family, this time by the Prison administration. Seamus' brother Patrick and one of his closest friends have been informed by letter that they have been banned from the prison.

To quote:

*"Dear Mr. Doherty,  
I write to inform you that from the above date you are banned from visiting at HMP Maghaberry until 1/04/2005.*

*This action has been taken following an incident on the 25/09/2004 when your behavior was in contravention of prison rule 73 (5).*

*Following an investigation into this incident, the office of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has directed that a ban be initiated under Rule 67 (2)".*

At no time was Paddy or his companion informed that they had breached Prison rules or regulations. At no time were they cautioned as to their behavior or conduct.

We can only conclude that this is another attempt by the prison administration to criminalise and isolate not only Seamus but also his visitors.

We call on the prison administration to see sense, they have tried this practice in the past and it failed - as it will do this time. We say to you: "Don't underestimate the determination of the Republican family within your walls."

The Free Seamus Doherty Campaign demand that his visitors be reinstated and that this campaign of censorship be drawn to a close.

### Portlaoise.

E4, Portlaoise Prison, Portlaoise,  
Co. Laois. Ireland

|                  |           |
|------------------|-----------|
| Kieran Doherty   | Derry.    |
| Alan Ryan        | Dublin.   |
| Paul McIntyre    | Dublin.   |
| Patrick Blair    | Louth.    |
| Liam Campbell    | Louth.    |
| Derek Brady      | Louth.    |
| Brian Murphy     | Limerick. |
| Shane O'Sullivan | Limerick. |
| Tom Redmond      | Wexford.  |
| Alan Hickey      | Cork.     |
| Anthony Crowley  | Cork.     |
| John O'Rourke    | Cork.     |

## Newspaper Accuses RUC Man in Doherty Case of Concealing Evidence.

The Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Association are not surprised by the latest revelations in the Sunday Tribune that the RUC member heading the investigation into the discovery of a bomb on the Omeath Road outside Newry last year stands accused of trying to conceal evidence linking a crown agent to the devices.

This confirms what we have stated from the outset, namely that the accused men Martin Brogan and Mark Carroll were the victims of a set-up by agent provocateur Kevin Byrne. These men were released when their defence team proved that forensic evidence being used against them had been deliberately planted by the British Army.

However another innocent man remains behind bars on the same trumped up charges. Seamus Doherty from Derry has been held in connection with this bomb find, the allegation being that traces of his DNA were found on the device. Seamus has protested his innocence since his arrest and his defence team has applied for an "abuse of process" order, but this application was postponed last Friday after the prosecution indicated they would be applying for a public interest immunity certificate in an effort to protect their agent.

We in the IRPWA call for the unconditional release of Seamus Doherty who is just one of the many men in Maghaberry Gaol being held on a form of selective internment. The case of Brendan O'Connor, a young man from Tyrone who having been found innocent of charges against him continues to be held on suspect evidence, is further proof that these men are being held as political hostages. We stand solidly behind these men and will not be deflected from their cause until they are free.

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