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# THE Sovereign Nation

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## BRITISH END POLITICAL STATUS

The British Northern Ireland Office (NIO) has announced that it was ending de facto political status for political offences occurring after the April 10th "Good Friday Agreement" or "Stormont Deal." It was an announcement all but overlooked by mainstream newspapers, but which is a potential recipe for tragedy.

### *Criminalisation*

It is clearly another British Attempt to implement a policy of "Criminalisation". The British seek to portray Irish resistance to British rule, as the actions of mere criminals rather than the struggle of patriots.

Again and again historically Republicans with the courage and commitment to resist British rule, have refused to be labelled as criminals.

In the past the British have repeatedly attempted to enforce their criminalisation strategy by an escalating series of brutal measures. Most notably, more than two decades ago the British announced that those imprisoned for actions after an arbitrary date of March 1st 1976 would be treated as criminals. Resistance began immediately with the refusal of Kieran Nugent to wear a criminal uniform. The British would be defeated but only after the blanket protest and the deaths of ten Irish patriots on hunger strike led by Bobby Sands M.P.

### *Call*

Republicans clearly do not wish to see the British starting once again on a policy which could end in such suffering and tragedy. We call upon the wider Republican family, civil and human officials to act now and halt the British before it is too late.

## FIRST EDITION - SOVEREIGN NATION LAUNCHED

*This is the first edition of the "Sovereign Nation", the publication of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement. We begin somewhat modestly, as a monthly news-sheet. We are committed to developing into a full newspaper. This news-sheet will provide an analysis of political events in Ireland from a Republican perspective.*

It is our starting point that conflict in Ireland is caused by Britain's illegitimate rule in the six counties, by Britain's denial of Irish sovereignty, and by the injustices imposed to sustain that rule.

We publish from the perspective that the "Stormont Deal" or "Good Friday Agreement" is morally and politically wrong. It is morally wrong because it abandons the basic principle of Irish Republicans, the infeasible right of the Irish people to sovereignty across the

national territory, and legitimises British rule, and the loyalist veto.

It is pragmatically wrong because it will delay rather than hasten Irish re-unification and thus prolong the very elements that bring suffering, injustice and conflict in Ireland. The way to ending British rule, achieving Irish national sovereignty and a lasting peace does not pass through Stormont.

We will highlight the issue of Irish national sovereignty, because all of the key issues can only be understood in the

context of Britain's denial of Irish sovereignty.

Drumcree cannot be understood outside the context of Britain's historic fostering an Orange supremacist ideology and catering to any loyalist backlash, as part of its system for ruling Ireland.

The Bloody Sunday inquiry after twenty-six years, is even now being delayed and impeded because British interests still require a whitewash of the shoot-to-kill tactics of British crown forces. What expectation can we have for upcoming reports on the R.U.C.?

Decommissioning, or the symbolic surrender of weapons by the Irish Republican Army now sought by the British and loyalists, the absence of a Bill of Rights from the Settlement Act, the weakness of David Trimble and the Stormont Assembly, etc., are all issues directly related to Irish sovereignty.

We believe that full independence is a pre-requisite for peace rather than a bargaining chip to be bartered for peace.

We intend to be a vehicle for co-operation amongst all of those who wish to pressure the British to leave Ireland. We oppose the current British strategy of insulating itself from responsibility by wrongly portraying the divisions between loyalists and nationalists as a cause of conflict to be resolved at Stormont, rather than the result of British manipulation and the denial of Irish national sovereignty to be resolved as part of the British withdrawal from Ireland.

We support an Ireland that will belong with the equal rights and citizenship to all of its people regardless of the religious or other differences manipulated by the British in order to continue British hegemony.



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# “STRATEGIC SLIPPAGE” – “STRATEGIC CAPITULATION”

ANTHONY MCINTYRE, REPUBLICAN WRITERS' GROUP.

In a recent edition of *Parliamentary Brief*, Mitchel McLaughlin, the chairperson of Sinn Fein, admitted that the British state had to an extent succeeded in securing its long term strategic goal of legitimising its rule in the North of Ireland. What made this possible was the decision by his party to join others in accepting the Stormont Agreement of April 10. What this agreement amounted to was a declaration of intent by the British to remain in Ireland on the very terms which Provisional Irish republicanism had opposed for much of its existence. It is not, therefore, surprising that David Goodall (a senior British diplomat central to the formulation of the Anglo Irish Agreement) should pen an article titled ‘Actually it’s all working out almost exactly to plan’.

## Beginning

When Provisional republicanism exploded onto the scene in late 1969 a central strategic objective of the movement was the abolition of the Northern Parliament. This objective sharply distinguished the Provisionals from the Goulding/McGiolla axis which had previously held sway within the broad republican project. With the British state utilising repression to maintain the regime which Goulding/McGiolla also wanted preserved, the Provisionals quickly mushroomed in a fertile nationalist base whose basic common sense permitted no comprehension of any logic favourable to maintaining a Northern parliament.

## Stormont

During the course of researching his recent book, Malachi O’Doherty put it to Alex Maskey of Belfast Sinn Fein that in the event of an IRA cessation the party composition of Stormont would be so vastly different from before that Stormont ‘would be nothing like it was’. Maskey replied, ‘we would see no difference’. And yet Sinn Fein, as a result of the recent assembly elections, are now poised not only to enter Stormont but also to become British Government ministers there.

But all of that is self-evident. Of more importance is why Sinn Fein ever came to reach such a

position. Any answer to that can at best be only speculative. The real answer shall only emerge when those who can piece it together come forward and out of a sense of duty permit the republican base to see what they have the right to know.

## Misleading

In any event, central to developments has been a process of misleading. And this can be seen in the manner in which the Provisional Republican Movement underwent change. Loosely speaking, from 1970 until 1986 republican strategic behaviour was to a large extent confined within the contours of traditional ideology. Northern republicanism, because of specific dynamics, felt strategically hidebound by ‘ideological republicanism’ and opted to become a more ‘strategic republicanism’. Strategic innovation occurred in 1986 with the dropping of the abstentionist policy in relation to Leinster House. On that occasion Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness moved to allay a triple fear of many - that strategic innovation represented a ‘Sticky’ turn, eventual participation in Stormont, and an end to armed struggle. Adams contended that ‘to compare us with the Stickies is an obscenity’, they had abandoned the armed struggle whereas his leadership maintained support for the IRA. McGuinness promised ‘a commitment on behalf of the leadership that we have absolutely

no intention of going to Westminster or Stormont’ and that ‘our position is clear and it will never, never, never change. The war against British rule must continue until freedom is achieved’.

## Partitionist Nationalism

In the late eighties contact with partitionist nationalism was justified on the grounds that those parties’ ‘grass roots must be provided with the leadership they deserve’ instead of the largely partitionist leadership they laboured under. At this point ‘strategic innovation’ became ‘strategic slippage’. Sinn Fein entered into an alliance headed by the leaderships of partitionist nationalism.

## Convention

In January 1994, Martin McGuinness in an interview with the Sunday Business Post claimed that for a cease-fire of prolonged duration there would need to be a general army convention of the IRA. That year’s cease-fire was announced without any such convention. The volunteers who had fought the war were treated with disdain. Once this situation was arrived at it was only a matter of time before ‘strategic slippage’ became ‘strategic capitulation’.

Much more needs to be said. Space at present determines otherwise.

# WHERE WE STAND

1. Britain has denied Ireland’s right to national sovereignty. This denial of National Sovereignty resulting in the continuing British rule in the North Eastern Counties is the key problem in Ireland today. The 32 County Sovereignty Movement was established to pursue the ideal of 32 County Sovereignty as outlined in the 1919 Declaration of Independence.
2. This movement solely stands to uphold the Declaration of Independence as proclaimed by Dail Eireann on January 21st 1919.
3. To this end, the movement calls for:
  - (i) Total British disengagement from Ireland.
  - (ii) Opposition to any internal settlement in the six occupied counties or any settlement, which provides for continued British Rule in any form.
  - (iii) Opposition to all groups who call for any such internal settlements.
  - (iv) The co-ordination of active opposition to the renewal of partition in Ireland.
  - (v) We declare null and void any documents that usurp the sovereignty of our nation as declared in the 1919 Declaration of Independence.
  - (vi) The immediate and unconditional release of all Republican Prisoners throughout the world.
  - (vii) The encouragement/fostering of democratic debate within the republican family.
  - (viii) We oppose the Mitchell Document and any document, which provides for continued British rule in any form. By fostering a unionist veto, it subverts moves towards national sovereignty and can only lead to a partitionist solution.
  - (ix) We oppose any attempt to subvert the spirit of the Declaration of Independence.
  - (x) We reject neo-unionist attempts to subvert the sovereignty of Ireland.
  - (xi) We advocate non-participation in Westminster or Stormont in any form, or any type of administration which copper-fashions partition - for such participation subverts the ideal of 32 County Sovereignty.
  - (xii) The immediate withdrawal of all Irish representatives from Westminster. We call on them to adhere to the sovereign position as declared in the Declaration in Independence of 21st January 1919.
4. The 32 County Sovereignty Movement seeks to achieve broad unity among the republican family on the single issue of sovereignty. The movement encourages the formation of local committees, to establish and develop international links with republicans throughout the world.

# JOIN US IN OUR CAMPAIGN!

# WHY I LEFT SINN FÉIN

BY FRANCIE MACKEY

*Omagh Councillor Francis Mackey, a member of Sinn Féin for twenty years and an elected representative for thirteen was suspended by Sinn Féin and excluded from the 1998 Ard Fheis. He left the party after its endorsement of the "Stormont Deal".*

*Here in an exclusive article he tells The Sovereign Nation why.*

I think it is sad that after all that Republicans have endured over the past thirty years and beyond, that we have come to this position. There is no way I as a republican could be part of setting up a British parliament in Ireland or be part of implementing British laws here. This Assembly will prolong the day whereby the Irish people can determine our own future free from British interference. The change in Sinn Fein's constitution to take part in a British parliament, dilutes and ignores the sovereignty of the Irish people as established and in effect recognises partition and Britain's illegal claim to part of our country.

I will continue to represent the people of Omagh town who gave me the mandate based on Republican philosophy to represent their interests and I will continue to

oppose British rule and all its injustices where possible.

This return to Stormont, is the failure of successive British governments to deal effectively with the problems which the people of Ireland have endured for so long.

Their proposals contain the same old military solutions and recent weeks we have witnessed the increased patrols of the forces of occupation and an increase in harassment by the discredited R.U.C.

It is obvious from the agreement that this British institution does not have within its parameters the essential ingredients to recognise the sovereignty of the Irish Nation and as it will contain a veto to Unionists, the call for such issues as, Disband the R.U.C. has already failed.

It has failed because it was never on the agenda, what is on the agenda is Police reforms and from experience the Nationalist people know the R.U.C. are not reformable. They are totally unacceptable to the vast majority of the Nationalist populace and their campaign of harassment and intimidation will not be tolerated.

Those who accept British rule in Ireland by their participation in a British Parliament must bear some responsibility for future repressive measures against the Nationalist people.

Newly elected chairperson and local spokesman for the 32 County Sovereignty Movement Councillor Francis Mackey said, "No one in the Nationalist community could ever have envisaged a return to Stormont. The Nationalist people know

that such a step in recognising British rule in Ireland is a failed attempt at dealing with the root cause of problems. British misrule here and their continued failure to accept or recognise the wish of the Irish people to be free is the core issue. Nowhere in the present proposals have the British government shown good faith by saying they have no political interests here. Instead they have chosen to revamp their failed parliament at Stormont with the assistance of nationalists.

This is not a new type Stormont as some would have us believe, it is a British Parliament upholding British laws in our country and deciding how British laws can become more acceptable to our people. British rule in any form is not acceptable to the Irish people, no matter who participates in Stormont.

I call on the nationalist parties to examine your motives and to withdraw from setting up another British Parliament in Ireland. Stormont can only prolong the day when Irishmen and Irishwomen will be free, free from British interference to determine our future.

I have no doubt that day will come; however the Nationalist people will continue to suffer the injustices of British rule until it does.

An end to British rule in Ireland is the real answer concludes Councillor Mackey.

## U.N. CHALLENGE TO BRITISH RULE

*In a direct challenge to British rule the 32 County Sovereignty Movement has lodged a petition at the United Nations charging the British with violating Ireland's right to self-determination.*

*The petition was launched in a press conference at the United Nations secretariat in New York.*

Since then there is growing support both nationally and internationally for the submission.

The basis of the submission is to challenge the denial by Britain of Irish national sovereignty and the impediment to self-determination of the Irish people as a whole.

In particular, the right to self determination is enshrined in the two United Nations' Covenants of 1966 - *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* and *The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights*.

#### Article 1 of each Covenant states:

"1. All peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of that right they determine their economic, social and cultural development."

The landmark *Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations* declares:

"...all people have the right freely to determine, without external influence, their political status and to pursue their economic, social and cultural development and every state has the duty to respect this right in accordance with the provisions of the charter"

"It is our believe the British government is clearly in breach of several U.N. covenants and declarations." Mr. Rory Duggan a member of the delegation stated in an interview with "The Sovereign Nation" this week. "We intend to pursue this vigorously, to highlight our national rights seeking international support for the submission

and we would appeal especially to our comrades and friends abroad to lobby their politicians.

I believe this offers us an unique opportunity, to harness the desire for freedom of our country, that is in all our people at home and abroad and encourage them to participate and contribute to this campaign."

The repression and partition of Ireland also contravenes *The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples*. (Adopted on 14th December 1960).

#### Article 4 states:

"All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected."

#### Article 6 states:

"Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the charter of the United Nations."

"We hold that Britain has no right to determine the future of Ireland as a sovereign nation. Therefore the joint referenda in May carried out in an atmosphere of fear and duress cannot be viewed as anything other than illegal." Mr Duggan said.

*Editors note: A complete copy of the submission can be ordered, contact us at P.O Box 6328 Rutland St. Dublin*



*Bernadette Sands-McKevitt presenting submission on behalf of 32 County Sovereignty Committee.*



*32 County Sovereignty Committee delegation meet with U.N. officials.*

# STATE SIDE FENIAN VIEW

BY  
MARTIN  
GALVIN

## AMERICAN DEBATE ON STORMONT DEAL

It was described by one headline writer as the "Battle for Irish-American Hearts and Minds."

Within days of the publication of what was being alternatively described as the "Stormont Deal" or "Good Friday Agreement," a number of prominent Republican political leaders arrived in the United States to brief core Republican sympathisers.

What was strikingly different, is that there were now competing tours reflecting the sharp divisions within the Republican family. A 32-County Sovereignty Committee delegation including Bernadette Sands-McKevitt, Councillor Francis Mackey and Rory Duggan, had scheduled a tour to express opposition. Almost immediately thereafter a tour by Sinn Fein headed by Barbre de Brun and Owen Smyth was set for most of the same cities and venues.

### Visa Censorship

The debate began with ominous overtones. For more than two decades a policy of censorship by visa denial had been implemented by the United States at the behest of the British. Virtually all prominent Republicans, including Gerry Adams, had been denied entry to America to prevent them from putting their views to the American people, in open debate.

The issue had become the top plank on the Irish American agenda, culminating in the 1992 pledge by then candidate Bill Clinton in response to a question which this reporter had been selected to pose. Two years later the policy was broken and a visa was indeed granted to Gerry Adams and then to other prominent Sinn Fein leaders.

Now Francis Mackey was stopped at the airport on the pretext of an offence, which amounted to little more than causing injury to the hands of Royal Ulster Constabulary members with his face as he was punched. The denial may well not signal a reintroduction of the censorship policy. He may as represented by American officials be permitted to travel next time with more advance notice.

The action raised concerns amongst long time Irish activists, particularly when it emerged that Bernadette Sands-McKevitt was only permitted entry after an intervention by Congressman Peter King.

Future applications would be closely monitored. Such policies had never been used to favour Republicans in the American debate.

### Sovereignty

The audience, which the Sovereignty Committee attracted, consisted mainly of long time supporters of the Irish Republican Army's struggle and of Sinn Fein.

Bernadette Sands-McKevitt and Rory Dougan based their arguments upon historic Republican principles.

Republicanism begins with the first principles of Irish national sovereignty, and the right of national self-determination throughout the national territory, the island of Ireland. This was a right expressed in international law by UN charter and covenants, and expressed in an Irish context by Pearse, Connolly, the 1916 Proclamation, and indeed which Pearse traced back through the first Irish who resisted the British invaders.

Republican ideology begins with the belief that British rule in Ireland is illegitimate and wrong with the corollary that the nature of this rule imposed by crown forces, loyalist dynamic, civil rights violations necessary to sustain that rule are the cause of conflict.

The right of the Irish people to national sovereignty - this first principle of Republicans, was embodied in The right of the Irish people to national sovereignty- this first of principle of Republicans, was embodied in Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution. Article 2 stated that the national territory of Ireland consists of the entire island. In other words that as of right, Armagh, Tyrone, Belfast and Derry are Irish, British rule there is illegitimate, and people born or living there are entitled jure to rights of national sovereignty. While article 3 be referred to "pending integration of national territory", meaning that while Britain hold six counties of Ireland, this hold is illegitimate and temporary pending reunification of Ireland.

This constitutional imperative reflects that what the British call "consent" and what Republicans call a loyalist veto by a small minority, and until a few months ago camouflage for Britain's desire to maintain its rule in Ireland, was wrong and illegitimate.

The 1916 Proclamation uses the phrase sovereign and infeasible - being a legal term, for what cannot be sold, bartered, given or even willed away. Yet in the Stormont deal after years of demands and insistence by the British and loyalists, the Irish people were being asked to abrogate and surrender this first principle. Republicans are being asked to surrender part of the national territory.



Peter Vallone, New York City Council President, presents Proclamation to 32 County Sovereignty Movement Delegation.

Republicans were thus being urged to abandon the cornerstone principle of Republicanism, to legitimise British rule and to agree to enter into Stormont.

Republicans were being walked into a Stormont trap, which would lead not to a united Ireland but to a glossy new partition. Indeed the core Republicans analysis was being jettisoned and we were replacing it with the framework of the S.D.L.P.

### Supporters

The supporters of the document clearly had advantages in personnel, advertising, budget and visas.

Their arguments seemed to rely for more on the names of those endorsing the Stormont Deal, rather than on the provisions of the document.

It was argued that the Irish Republican Army, the Sinn Fein leaders and Republican prisoners, endorsed the deal.

This was of course a compelling argument but not a conclusive one. It was argued that all of the Republican prisoners would be released, which was clearly the most well received provision.

It was finally argued that Stormont would lead to an accommodation, which would allow the British to leave without further loss of life or political prisoners.

In a later tour it would be suggested by Joe Cahill that this united Ireland might be secured before the 200th anniversary of Robert Emmett's death in 2003.

Finally Articles 2&3, it was claimed, were inconsequential because successive Irish governments had never enforced the Constitutional principles.

### Questions

The arguments of proponents seemed to raise more questions than they answered. How could the Stormont deal lead to a united Ireland?

Why did Articles 2 and 3 mean little because of Dublin's refusal to implement its own constitution, but the same government meeting in cross-border bodies with a Trimble led Assembly mean so much?

How could Republicans ever endorse a deal, which gave legitimacy to British rule and a loyalist veto?

Network television coverage and national news publications like "Newsweek" would feature the debate. Indeed a series of debates would be held featuring several prominent Republican activists including this writer speaking in opposition.

The debate in terms of core Republicans continue to rage.

### Conclusion

At stake is a significant section of the core Republicans community that has shown the ability and commitment to support the cause of Irish national freedom for the past thirty years.

Two questions will decide this debate. There is growing scepticism that the path of a re-united Ireland lies through Stormont. America's Irish Republicans will be watching closely to see whether the Trimble in new Stormont is really moving towards Irish Sovereignty or whether it is like the old Stormont committed to British rule and operating to secure loyalist ascendancy, as Trimble himself had told his supporters it would be.

Disenchantment with the Stormont deal will not be enough. America's Irish Republicans want to see an alternative political strategy and organisation that display the potential to achieve what the Stormont deal does not - an Ireland free of British rule.

# EDITORIAL

## RESTRUCTURED BRITISH RULE

BY DAVE SWEENEY

It is a sad irony that in this year, the 200th anniversary of the United Irish rebellion of 1798, Irish Republicanism has suffered the most serious setback in its long and noble history.

Not only did those who claim to represent Republican Ireland sign up to a set of proposals which grant a veto to Unionism to block national sovereignty, but these same elements will be a part of the British administration which will implement restructured British rule in Ireland.

### STORMONT

It is important that Irish Republicans acknowledge the extent of the set-

back the Stormont agreement represents in order that we can re-focus and re-double our opposition to British rule.

An analysis of the means by which Britain achieved this re-structuring of its rule in Ireland and of how it co-opted a political leadership so many Irish Republicans put faith in, is of course of vital importance. It should, however, not become an end in itself, nor should we allow our energies be side-tracked into recrimination.

As Republican activists who will be at the forefront of opposition to British rule, we must always remember that no political administration or party political clique has the right to forfeit

our people's right to national self-determination.

### NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

To friends of Irish freedom throughout the world, we say now is the time to lobby your political representatives to support the 32-County Sovereignty Movement's campaign at the UN, to have the right of the people of Ireland to have their National Sovereignty upheld.

To the new members of the movement who have recently joined, we say "Welcome".

## Opinion

The debacle at Drumcree afforded Irish Republicans another chance to see the workings of the political process of the last number of years in their true light.

Those who observed the mass intimidation's, burnings and inevitable murder of Catholics over the 12th period will find it a sobering thought no doubt, to realise that the so called "First Minister", David Trimble and the man responsible for security measures in the six counties, Adam Ingram, are current and former members of the Orange Order respectively. Indeed, Trimble is still a member of the Porterdown District, which even after the murders of the Quinn children, insisted on laying siege to the people of the Garvaghy Road. This is the calibre of the man who will spearhead the "New Beginning." Unionism's behaviour is no surprise, but the manner in which it was sanitised by the very political forces certain elements claimed would help achieve Republican objectives, is far more instructive.

At the height of tensions, the Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams sought to give assurances. To whom? To the Orange Order, whom he assured that he would use all his influence to ensure they march the Garvaghy Road in future years, if they first compromised this year. It seems that in Gerry Adams "big picture", the survival of the Stormont Agreement is more important than establishing the principle that the people of the Garvaghy Road have a right to live without fear, every year.

How did the present Leinster House government's presidential candidate react to the naked hatred of

the orange order? Several days into the Orange rampage and a few short hours before the murder of the Quinn boys, she invited the Orange Order to Aras an Uachtainn where she enjoyed the "cultural" playing of sectarian tunes. Compare this rationalisation of the unacceptable with the official response given to inquiries about why no official representative of the president attended the Quinn funeral, those who asked were told "it might upset some people"!

Where were all the "peace" gangs? How many marches were organised to call on the Orange Order to S T O P?

Take a few short minutes and reflect on how the death of two children in Warrington, England was treated in comparison to the death of three children in Ballymoney, Ireland.

Two days after the Quinn murders the Independent Orange Order marched past the house where they were slain, an uncle of the boys explained on RTE television how members of the march taunted him. Don't let time allow you to forget the Paisley and Trimble dance on the streets of Porterdown in the wake of the brutalisation of the Garvaghy Road residents in 1996. Don't forget the meeting Trimble held with Billy Wright while he supported the Orange Order position of no negotiation, - remember Michael Mc Goldrick.

Very sadly it looks like, the Garvaghy Road situation is set to mirror the wider political situation, in terms of a situation where by basic human and civil rights are to be bartered for promises of less

oppression! I say this in light of reports that "economic incentives" are to be offered in return for local acceptance of sectarianism. One can only hope the leaders of the Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition would not betray local people in such a manner.

As I read the reports of the mass intimidation and the eviction of over one hundred catholic families the following Bob Dylan lyrics came to mind, "you who philosophise disgrace and criticise all fears, bury that rag deep in your face now is the time for your tears."

### Letters to the Editor

*We wish to encourage debate and welcome all contributions.*

Please address all letters to:  
The Editor, "The Sovereign Nation"  
P.O. Box  
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Dublin 1.

# BRITISH RENEW CRIMINALISATION

Why is it that after all these years (never mind centuries), the British still continue to make the same old mistakes? The latest casualty of the "Belfast Agreement" was announced last week by the British government, the withdrawal of "Special Category Status" for anyone convicted of political offences after April 10th - date of the "Belfast Agreement."

Several attempts over the last thirty years have been made by the British to implement such a policy, each time it has been resisted vigorously by Republicans. Each time it has failed, - at a terrible price.

As a consequence of the criminalisation policy introduced by the then British Labour government under Merlyn Rees in May 1976 political status was withdrawn. Prisoners convicted after the specified date were sent to the newly constructed H Blocks instead of the Nissan huts that housed those already with political status.

This sparked "the blanket protest", and escalated later to a "no wash protest" as a consequence of increased torture and barbaric treatment meted out to the prisoners to force them to break.

The memory of the 1981 Hunger strike still haunts us all when ten young Irish men lost their lives. The prisoners realised that what was at stake was more than loss of political status; the British had tried to break the prisoners in order to break the struggle for freedom and independence of our country. As Bobby Sands wrote in his diary on commencing his hunger strike: "I am dying not just to attempt to end the barbarity of H-Block, or to gain the rightful recognition of a political prisoner, but primarily because what is lost in here is lost for the Republic". We cannot allow this to happen again.

## WE MUST NOT ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN AGAIN

The whole process that led to the "Belfast Agreement" was flawed; it did not address the root cause of the conflict in our country. Young men and women did not go out to fight to secure peace in our country. They were not prepared to forfeit their freedom or their lives to be treated as equal British citizens. They did not languish in gaols at home or abroad and endure the inhumane brutal treatment meted out to them to secure parity of esteem. They did not embark on hunger strike to secure the political power base of a party.

They fought and died because they believed in the right of the Irish people to their freedom and independence, they rejected the right of the British to occupy or interfere in the affairs of our country. This has not been addressed in this agreement, and no amount of fancy words can disguise that.

It is only a matter of time when the gaols begin to house Republicans who will not accept British rule in Ireland, these Republicans will be faced with the same situation as Republicans faced in 1976, they too will not accept the badge of a criminal. We are back on the loop.

But what of those who were actively involved in the campaign against the withdrawal of political status in the seventies and eighties? Those who frequently hark back to the hunger strikers, seeking to bolster their own political strategies by evoking their memory. Why have they not raised any objections? What do they intend to do to prevent this terrible situation developing again?

Perhaps it will be an embarrassment to newly elected British ministers and sitting T.D.s, to be reminded of the hypocritical position they now find themselves in, when the protest against the withdrawal of political status escalates!

# "RONAN McLOUGHLIN" DEPENDENTS BENEFIT NIGHT



*On Saturday night 11/7/98 comrades, friends and neighbours gathered to remember and honour the late Volunteer Ronan McLoughlin Oglagh na hEireann R.I.P. who died on active service in County Wicklow in May 1998.*

Over a thousand people packed the Noggin Inn, Dublin among them Ronan's partner Grainne and mother Roisin, as well as other family members. It was an especially poignant night as it was the Birthday of Ronan who would have been 28 if he had lived.

Rory Dougan from Dundalk announced the setting up of the Republican Prisoner Welfare Assoc, before reading a statement from the Republican P.O.W.s Portlaoise gaol.

The statement read: "It was with a sense of great loss and sadness that we find ourselves conveying these words to you this evening. Tonight is in honour of the memory of Ronan McLoughlin who was killed in action. We would like to express our deepest sympathy's to the family of Ronan, his partner Grainne and their children, his mother and father, brother and sisters and his comrades and

friends. We wish you all well in the coming days and months ahead.

Ronan McLoughlin joined the Irish Republican Army in his early teens and was an active volunteer prior to his death. His commitment and determination were

an inspiration to all those who knew and fought with him. Ronan kept his focus on the core issues of National self-determination without interference, and the belief of the right of Irish men and women to armed struggle. For those beliefs, Ronan paid the ultimate sacrifice, when he gave his life to the cause of Irish Freedom.

We shall remember Ronan with great pride and loss and thoughts and concerns are especially with Grainne and their young children. We are sure as Republicans we will embrace Ronan's family in the difficult days ahead."

American Irish Republican Martin Galvin was invited over especially as guest speaker and was given a warm welcome by the crowd.

He outlined Ronan's involvement in the Republican movement, his rejection of the "Good Friday Agreement" and his steadfast refusal to accept and recognise British rule in Ireland. He questioned the circumstances, which led up to the death of Ronan, and supported the family's call for a public inquiry.

Mr. Galvin made a special presentation of a framed mirror with Ronan's picture to Grainne, Ronan's partner and his Mother, Roisin.



Volunteer Ronan McLoughlin Oglagh na hEireann

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# DRUMCREE'S IMPLICATIONS

## Real Issue

The tragedy of Drumcree Mark IV ended amidst shock and revulsion at the murder of the three young Quinn children. It ended only after days of escalating Orange riots and sectarian intimidation. On the surface, the issue was a march by the Orange Order down the nationalist Garvaghy Road from Drumcree Church. In reality the issues go far deeper and with ominous implications across the political spectrum.

## American Interest

The issue was never really about rights of way for a religious procession. For centuries, as part of the British system of ruling Ireland, loyalists were accorded a privileged status in exchange for their allegiance to British hegemony. This ascendancy was not only reflected in employment rates, political patronage or treatment by crown forces. Loyalists were encouraged to celebrate their superiority by triumphalist processions through nationalist territory, as a visible re-affirmation of the superior position. Indeed the trampling on the territory of the croppies became the highlight of the day's celebration. British hegemony rested on the support of the loyalists and so these processions were facilitated, even when necessary by large numbers of British troops or the Royal Ulster Constabulary was employed. There has been a change in the equation. Garvaghy Road residents led by Brendan McKenna, and the lower Ormeau Road residents led by Gerard Rice had organised and lobbied successfully for international attention. McKenna and Rice particularly had enlisted support in the United States. International observers from a number of countries had volunteered to attend including Congressman Donald Payne.

## Congress

Influential American Congressmen and the administration had communicated their keen interest in the loyalist parades issue to the British government as well to the Parades Commission. The intensity of international pressure could not be ignored by the British. The Garvaghy Road march was prohibited although a number of others including the Lower Ormeau Road were given a go ahead. Loyalists were not satisfied with a change in route for one parade even though they were upheld on all others.

## Concessions

What followed seemed to be a carefully constructed strategy to force the Garvaghy residents to make concessions. Mounting crowds of Orangemen were permitted to besiege the area each night. Nationalists asked why Orangemen were allowed unimpeded access to Drumcree field, when roads could have been sealed off easily.

## Proximity

There were shots fired, charges by the Orangemen which almost succeeded, growing threats and intimidation against nationalists across the north. The Orange leaders refused to talk to Brendan McKenna. Proximity talks were finally arranged amidst what appeared to be an orchestrated plan to force the Garvaghy residents to concede, under threats of a sectarian attack, attacks on nationalists around the north, the political demise of David Trimble, etc.,

## Orange Countenance

The tragedy of the brutal murder of the Quinn children made a continuation of this escalating campaign something, which even the Orange leaders could not countenance.

## Implications

Serious implications remain. The British are attempting to use the tragedy to rehabilitate and shield the R.U.C. from being disbanded or even reformed. The British will also use Garvaghy Road to buttress the Parades Commissioner's position, and make challenges more difficult when the British interests require adverse determinations. The position of David Trimble, and his support within his own party has been clearly undermined. Drumcree Mark IV has ended. The implications for Drumcree Mark V and the Stormont Assembly have yet to be counted, so long as Britain's denial of Irish Sovereignty continues.

## JOIN US!

**The 32 County Sovereignty Movement is a single issue campaign group dedicated to achieving Irish national sovereignty.**

**Membership is open to all who accept and sign the 1919 Declaration of Independence.**

**Contact your local committee or write to:**

**32 County Sovereignty Movement**

**P.O Box 6328**

**Rutland Street Dublin 1**

**e-mail: mackmorb@iol.ie**

**Distributors needed and Paper sellers  
Contact us at the above address.**

# Stepping Stone to a New Partition

This year marks the 200th anniversary of the 1798 insurrection of the United Irishmen led by Wolfe Tone who declared his aim:

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the Independence of my country - these are my objects. To unite the whole of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions these were my means".

Britain responded with the Act of Union. Under secretary Cook wrote in 1799:

"By giving the Irish a hundred members in an Assembly of six hundred and fifty they will be impotent to operate upon that Assembly, but it will be invested with Irish assent to its authority."

As the dust settles after the six county elections, and the cold light of reality filters through, one cannot help wondering what has changed? At each point in our history when we attempt to assert our national right of sovereignty we have been met with the same response from the various British governments, brute force or trickery. After decades of brute force, the present British government has switched tact to using trickery. What we cannot lose sight of in all of this is that the British government, have attempted to legitimise their position in our country by seeking the endorsement of the "Belfast Agreement." It is pursuing its war objectives under the banner of peace, with the assistance of the constitutional nationalist parties in the thirty-two counties.

Some constitutional nationalists would have us believe the end is in sight, - a few more wee taigs produced over the next couple of years and Ireland will be united!

## CHERRY PICKING?

The new Northern Ireland Bill, which the British Government has rushed through, has failed to incorporate provisions improving the status of the Irish language according to human rights groups in the north. The committee on the Administration of Justice said it reacted with "profound disappointment" to the human rights and equality provisions for nationalists in the Bill, while the Unison public services trade union said the proposed law was "a betrayal of commitments made in the Good Friday Agreement".

The Good Friday Agreement contained eight specific proposals to promote the Irish language, yet there is not one mention of them in the new Bill.

The Committee on the Administration of Justice, identified other human rights and equality deficiencies in the Bill which include:

- No provisions to ensure that public symbols and emblems (such as the flying of the Union Jack on RUC stations and public buildings) are used to promote mutual respect rather than division. The Good Friday Agreement said arrangements would be made to monitor this issue but there is nothing in the Bill.
- No provision to eliminate progressively the differences between Catholic and Protestant unemployment rates.
- No provision to prevent the RUC stopping public jobs or contracts going to individuals or companies on national security grounds.
- No provision to force public authorities from discrimination against groups, such as Catholics.
- The Good Friday Agreement "envisaged" an all-Ireland Human Rights body but the NI Bill substitutes this with the phrase that those involved "shall do all they can to facilitate" such a committee.

## BELIEVE IT OR NOT! (Quotes column)

"Partition represented a massive injustice for the North's nationalists. What is being now suggested is a double injustice, in that it reinforces and copperfastens an earlier betrayal."

*Sunday Business Post  
Editorial*

"I think a voluntary decommissioning would be a natural development of the peace process once we get a sense that the arrangements envisaged in the agreement are beginning to function."

*Padraic Wilson, O/C  
Provisional IRA, June 1998*

"The Unionist Veto is in fact and in effect a block on progress of any kind."

*Gerry Adams, Irish News,  
May 1997*

"Partition remains but the all-Ireland structures have the potential to build a new reality."

*Caomhghin O Caolainn,  
Sinn Fein T.D. speaking in  
Leinster House 21/4/1998*

"The Partition act is gone."

*Gerry Adams, addressing a  
Noraid conference in  
Connecticut, 1/6/1998,  
referring to the Government  
of Ireland Act (1920)*

"Nationalists must demand the repeal of The Act of Union (1800), The Government of Ireland Act (1920), The Ireland Act (1949) and The Northern Ireland Constitution Act (1973), all of which stand in the way of a settlement."

*An Phoblacht editor in  
AP/RN 2/4/1998*

"After a general declaration, it commences with a view of consent and self-determination that no Irish Republican could accept. That is because it rests on the gerrymander of partition."

*Gerry Adams, referring to  
the Stormont Accord in an  
address to the American-  
Irish Historical society  
27/5/1998*

"This is a high point for Irish Republicanism."

*Gerry Adams speaking of  
the same Stormont Accord at  
an Easter Commemoration  
in Co.Tyrone, 12/4/1998*

"The six-county assembly idea is an attempt to produce an internal settlement. It would move nothing forward."

*An Phoblacht Editorial  
8/2/1998*

"The only transitional arrangements outlined in this agreement are those which seek to change British rule in Ireland from a framework of direct rule to one of an internal assembly"

*Bernadette Sands-McKevitt,  
Irish Times 19/5/1998*

"The only thing any Irish political leader has the authority, moral or otherwise, to negotiate with the British government is exactly how long it will take the British to dis-mantle partition and withdraw its forces and administration from our country."

*Gerry Adams Aug 31st 1994*

"The more distant the war option became for the Provos, the more their negotiating leverage waned. At the end, when the British and Irish governments and the SDLP were caving in to David Trimble, Sinn Fein had nowhere to go."

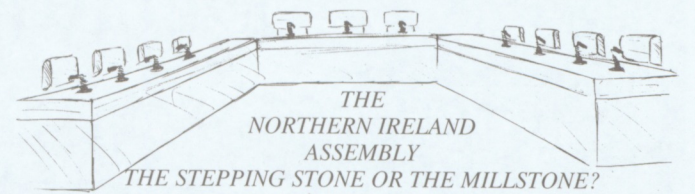
*OP-ED Patrick Farrelly,  
Irish Echo, New York.  
5/5/1998*

"This is a well trodden path in Irish politics - Fianna Fail and the Workers Party have been here already - and history shows that the system changes revolutionaries much more than they change it."

*OP-ED Patrick Farrelly,  
Irish Echo, New York.  
5/5/1998*

"The Prime Minister gave us assurances - the R.U.C. will remain the R.U.C."

*Les Rodgers,  
Chairman of the Police  
Federation*



Gerry Adams stated "The people are sovereign" in answer to a question put to him on the "Lets Talk" programme prior to the election. This begs the questions, why was this not championed as vigorously as the equality and parity of esteem agendas? Why were the people denied the right to freely choose the government that they wanted, by exercising their internationally recognised right to national self-determination without impediment?

Never have our people wanted to be equal British citizens nor wanted their basic human rights traded in for loss of national territory. What has been offered is a diversionary tactic in place of the fundamental right of sovereign independence, and will ultimately be seen to be such. The two referenda and the six county elections cannot be described as fulfilling that right. It is the denial of our national rights by the British government backed up by its war machine that has always led to resistance. We are a peace loving people; we have never invaded any country, all we desire is the freedom to determine our future as we choose, in a free and independent country.



*Bernadette Sands McKevitt unveiling bronze plaque at 1798 Memorial.*

Bernadette Sands McKevitt, Vice-Chairperson of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement, participated in the unveiling of bronze plaques at Curragha in County Meath to commemorate the 1798 Rebellion. Each plaque was inscribed with quotes from poems referring to the Rebellion, these included a piece by Seamus Heaney and Bobby Sands. The event was organised by the South East Meath Bi-Centenary Committee.

**DONATIONS TO:  
32 County Sovereignty Movement,  
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2 Upper Ormond Quay Branch,  
A/C No. 27475495**

# Declaration of Independence

*Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people:*

*And whereas for seven hundred years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and has repeatedly protested in arms against foreign usurpation:*

*And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people:*

*And whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army, acting on behalf of the Irish people:*

*And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defence, to ensure peace at home and good will with all nations, and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will, with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen:*

*And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the General Election of December 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic:*

*Now, therefore, we, the elected Representatives of the ancient Irish people in National Parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command:*

*We ordain that the elected Representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish parliament is the only Parliament to which that people will give its allegiance:*

*We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English Garrison:*

*We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation in the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter;*

*In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through long centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His Divine blessing on this the last stage of the struggle we have pledged ourselves to carry through to freedom.'*

Dail Eireann, January 21st 1919