

The Sovereign Nation

An náisiún ceannasach
The Republican Voice



BLOODY SUNDAY:

Thousands march for justice



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On Sunday 2nd of February an estimated 5,000 people took to the streets of Derry to mark the 42nd anniversary of Bloody Sunday, where British Paratroopers brutally murdered 14 innocent people who were marching for their civil rights. Forty-two years have passed and the families of the victims have still not got justice and not one member of the Regi-

ment has been charged for their actions in Derry. That same regiment of the British Army, the Parachute Regiment are also responsible for the killings of 11 innocent people in what became known as the “Ballymurphy Massacre” in Belfast three months previous to Bloody Sunday.

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Glór na Poblachta

British Army recruitment posters pulled down

British Crown forces "insult" removed by Republicans



Derry 32CSM members removed the offensive recruitment posters that were placed along the route of Bloody Sunday march

The vast legion of spin-doctors in the NIO were doubtless pleased with their work in 2013. Their quisling Deputy First Minister and his party were never off the media promoting Derry as a UK City of Culture. What was once the job of the British Army's propaganda and misinformation units was now being done for free by the Paddy's themselves.

As 2014 dawned, the NIO moved on to the next phase of their plan. Their logic was impeccable: if Irish people in Derry accept that their city is a proud part of the United Kingdom then they could scarcely object to other trappings of the UK. So what about a British Armed Forces recruitment drive in the

Bogside or Brandywell? After all, a lot of Catholics are already carrying British guns for the PSNI.

People of the Brandywell and other areas were shocked to wake up to the New Year only to find a female figure in British Army battle fatigues on a huge recruitment billboard for the

Royal Air Force. The billboard was situated yards from the route of the Bloody Sunday march in a residential area where victims of the Bloody Sunday massacre live.

Outraged local people immediately contacted local members of 32 County Sovereignty Movement. The bill-

board was photographed and then torn down as the PSNI watched from their heavily armored vehicles and filmed. Local residents thanked the 32CSM for their intervention.

The Royal Air Force subsequently apologized and said that they had put up the billboards around the city to ensure "equality of opportunity". The apology was, of course, fake but the explanation was logical: if Derry was going to

market itself as a UK city then it should get the full treatment.

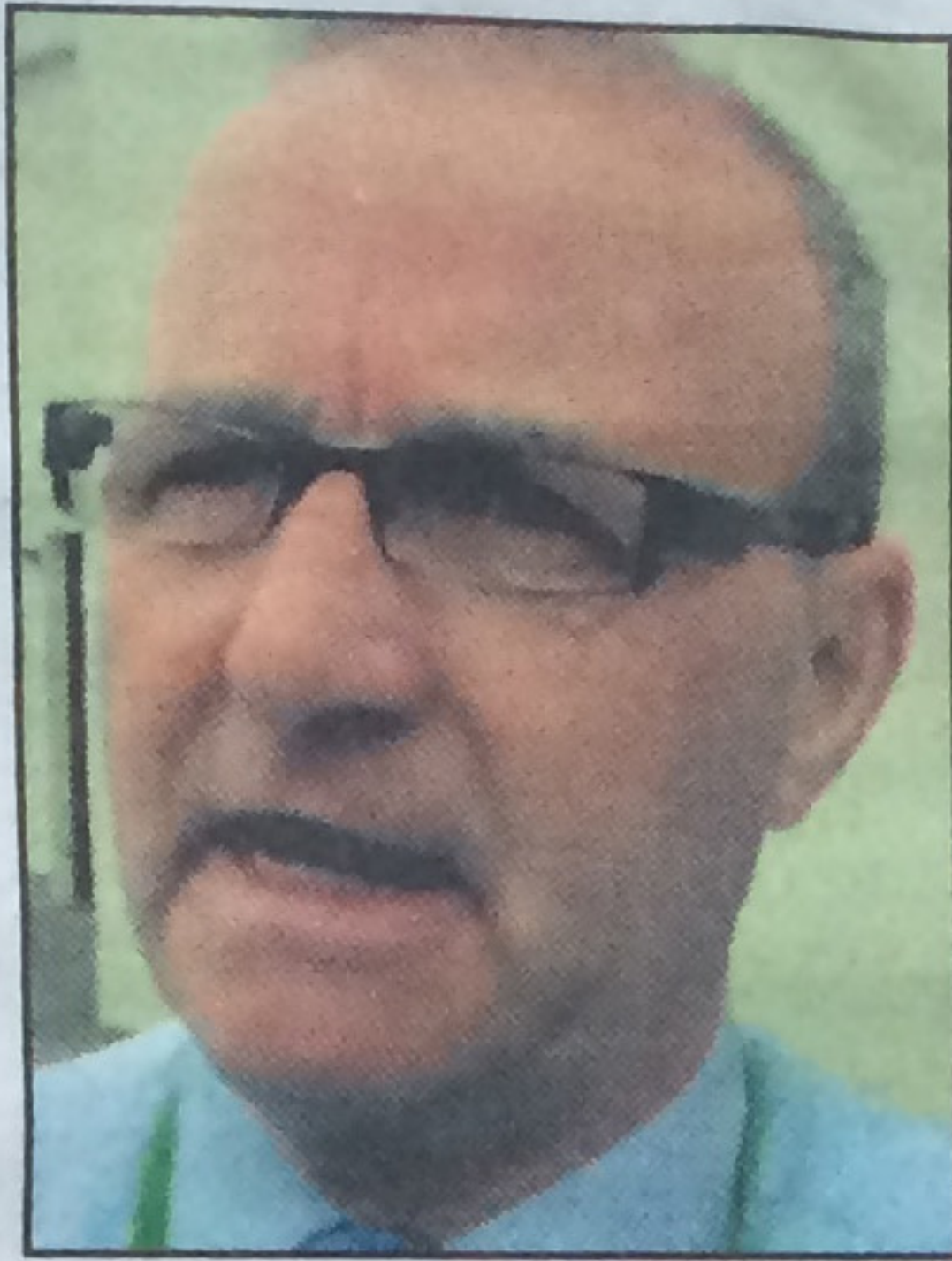
In the weeks since the billboard was torn down, the PSNI has been knocking doors, harassing Republicans and compiling a file for the PPS with a view to prosecuting those who acted on behalf of their community. The billboard was publically condemned by Bloody Sunday victims, the 32 CSM and by the SDLP. Not a word from Sinn Fein.

GIBNEY'S COMMENTS CONTEMPTIBLE

Francie Mackey's reply to Jim Gibney's article

The despicable attempt by Provisional Sinn Fein's (PSF) Jim Gibney (Irish News 23rd January 2014) to blame Republicans for British policing practices in the occupied six counties demonstrates how low that party has gone in their cover up of their participation in the core cause of conflict, the violation of Irish National Sovereignty.

Jim quite rightly goes through the miscarriages of justice when referring to the Martin Corey and Marian Price situations and then goes on to the revisionist agenda as if he and PSF had nothing to do with it. Sadly the treatment of Martin Corey and Marian Price and all the other miscarriages of justice since the 1998 Treaty has PSF's fingerprints on it.



Jim Gibney

They cannot sit now comfortably in Stormont and do the Pontius Pilot act because it won't wash with the Nationalist and Republican communities. PSF must carry the responsibility of every act carried out against the Republican Community because that is what they signed up to in their acceptance of British Policing in Ireland.

Jim says, "the injustice of partition and the political, economic and judicial system that sustained it played a major role in fuelling the armed conflict".

Today the same injustice of partition remains and those who accept and administer British rule in Ireland are treated more favourably than those of us who highlight that same injustice today. Not only do we have the Internment by remand, but we witness daily attempts to harass individuals into becoming informers and we now know there is no accountability and no mechanism of investigation. In other words, the Brits can do what they like. This is not what the Irish people were told by PSF when they accepted the Patten proposals on policing and subsequent implementation.

The attempt to blame Republicans for these injustices is contemptible coming from someone who has violated the sovereignty of the Irish people and has to depend on revisionism to attempt to justify the present position.

Irish National Sovereignty has always been the cause of conflict and in our long history when republican insurgents went out to defend the sovereignty of their nation they did so on that understanding. I expect in today's context that to be the same *raison d'être*.

Through Jim maybe PSF, will he at least be honest and tell the republican community why they failed to protect Irish sovereignty instead of participating in it's violation and when they are at it maybe they will tell us how they intend to end the British Governments violation of Irish national sovereignty.



The 32 County Sovereignty Movement welcome home Martin Corey and Stephen Murney

The Ard Chomhairle and membership of the 32CSM welcome the recent releases from British captivity of republican activists Martin Corey of Armagh and Stephen Murney from Newry, both of whom have suffered lengthy periods of unjust internment, in the case of Martin Corey, four years! We are delighted to hear both men are now at home with their families where they belong.

We extend high praise to the Republican and humanitarian activists who bravely went against the grain and worked tirelessly to highlight both mens plight and secure their immediate release.

32CSM cumainn and activists are proud to have contributed to both campaigns which at times coincided with the campaign to see Marian Price released, who thankfully was also liberated from British incarceration.

We feel this type of inclusive and passionate activism amounted to a demonstration of selfless republican unity, a unity which must be maintained and built on, because as welcome as the release of Stephen and Martin is, we must not lose sight that many others are currently being subjected to the hideous limbo of political internment both in the Six and 26 County States.

The 32CSM membership, whose morale has been lifted on learning of this welcome news, renew our pledge to do our utmost to challenge political internment and support political prisoners in Ireland and abroad. We call on all Republican and revolutionary organisations, humanitarians and community activists to engage with each other to maximise an all encompassing campaign to smash internment in whatever form it may take, and not let this evil be reintroduced and normalised on our shores.

Anti-internment protest held in Temple Bar



The Dublin 32CSM recently staged an anti-internment protest in Temple Bar, Dublin to highlight the ongoing internment of Irish Republicans. The Dublin Anti Internment Committee also came out in support

Editorial

The SOVEREIGN NATION

The essential ingredient of any revolutionary struggle is the ability to communicate its core tenets and political programme.

Throughout the history of the Irish republican struggle the written word has proved a most effective weapon.

When the Society of the United Irishmen was founded one of its first acts was to disseminate its ideas through pamphlets and a newspaper entitled *The Northern Star*. Since that epoch making era Irish republicans have established a plethora of revolutionary newspapers compromising a corpus of profound thinking and strategic brilliance.

Each distinct phase of our struggle has produced a newspaper to reflect the contemporary *thinking in the historical lineage*. Each phase required a voice as a mark of distinction from the established order.

From the seminal writings of Wolfe Tone, the groundbreaking ideas of Fintan Lalor and the secular luminosity of the Fenian Movement it was the newspaper which proved the most effective vehicle for change.

There was no more a potent revolutionary symbol than a newspaper spreading a revolutionary vocabulary against the oppression of both Church and State. And there was no more a counter-revolutionary symbol when those voices were suppressed and their printing presses smashed.

Censorship has always been a recurring theme throughout our struggle. Lies, misrepresentation and propaganda have been the stock in trade of the establishment as they seek to sway opinion away from the revolutionary path.

Republican newspapers were at

the coalface to attack the policies of criminalisation and normalisation and in latter years against Ulsterisation. Central to this critical battle was the issue of the legitimacy of Irish resistance to British rule in Ireland.

A new vernacular was required which spoke in terms of *The Irish Republic, Volunteers, Prisoners of War, Internment and the language of the socialist alternatives*. These terms were anathema to the occupying power and heresy to the pulpit. To articulate an alternative was fundamental to the struggle.

The mechanics of oppression as dispensed through laws and legislation were also countered. The education of citizens and revolutionaries as to their rights under these laws proved most effective in limiting their impact.

Republican movements knew that an educated support base regarding rights and policies was an unstoppable force and their newspapers were the vanguard of that process.

The voices of Republican newspapers were also the voices of

Republican Prisoners. Representing the very heart of the struggle the dignified discipline of republican prisoners defined the legitimacy struggle itself.

It was in the prisons that the British attempted to break the will of Irish resistance. Through transportation, imprisonment and brutality the occupying power utilised their impressive resources against which they wrongly believed was the weakest flank of the struggle. It was a battle of quantity over quality, force over will and it was through the writings of these prisoners that the world knew of their plight and their fortitude.

As technology evolved into more sophisticated means of communication so too did the political and propaganda messages they conveyed. Crude censorship evolved into insidious revisionism. Calls for freedom were replaced with calls for equality within the status quo. The term peace was prostituted to sanitise the term sell out.

In line with this change has also changed the focus of republican newspapers; they are now the official voice of policy. The national conversations are now the preserve of the internet but



the topics for those conversations are now the preserve of republican newspapers.

The political message of republican activism must be focussed through republican newspapers as a prelude to dissemination throughout electronic media. For the 32 County Sovereignty Movement *The Sovereign Nation* is now that hub.

For this to be successful 32CSM activists must take ownership of their newspaper in terms of both content and direction. Your activism is its content and your political message is its direction. *The Sovereign Nation* once again takes its place amongst that noble tradition of advocating the revolutionary voice in a wilderness of noise and misrepresentation.

The Sovereign Nation will advocate 32CSM policy, will pursue Republican unity, will provoke political and ideological debate, will highlight the issue of republican prisoners, will challenge and refute revisionism no matter its source and place Irish national sovereignty at the heart of conflict resolution in Ireland.

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement has long argued that loyalty to the Republican objective must be synonymous with its pursuit. Our loyalty to securing an end to the violation of our national sovereignty must be measured by our political activism in its pursuit.

The Sovereign Nation will be the official voice of your activism.

Deadline for submissions

Anybody wishing to submit articles, letters, events or photographs should send them to:

editor.sovnation@gmail.com.

The DEADLINE for the next issue is Wednesday April 9th at 5pm.

PSF/Haas Talks Amounts To Stormont Collapse

What Was Haas All About?

The recent collapse of talks relating to Flags, The Past and Parades demonstrates how thin the ice is upon which Stormont is built and how the future of Stormont is unpredictable and indeed may well collapse.

Stormont is built on the lie that everything was resolved in the 1998 GFA whereas the reality is very much different. The political parties were not united in accepting this treaty and it took further talks and compromises from PSF in St Andrews to get a vestige of devolved government up and running. Even with that it has spluttered along.

The reality is somewhat different for people on the ground in the 6 occupied counties. The referendum was illegal in that it violated the sovereignty of the Irish people.

Irish National Sovereignty as outlined in the Proclamation of 1916 and ratified by the people in 1918 resulted in Ireland's Declaration of Independence on 21st January 1919. Since then Irish

Sovereignty has been violated when the British refused to accept the democratic will of the Irish people. Every attempt by the British Government to legitimise their illegal position has failed and it is clear the treaty of 1998 is failing to the point of whether or not it can survive.

If we look at the flags issue it is obvious that Unionists/Loyalists uphold the British Governments illegal position and it is also clear that Provisional Sinn Fein/SDLP have been neutered regarding the legitimacy of the Nationalist/Republican position on upholding and protecting the Sovereignty of the Irish Nation. That is the crux in the flags dispute regarding legitimacy the issue of sovereignty.

That is why Haas failed. If the British Government are serious to



resolve the flags issue then the Westminster Government must address the issue of sovereignty upon which all national flags fly.

If that issue is resolved then the issue of the past and parades becomes much easier as the core cause of conflict is resolved and the climate for dealing with the past will have greatly changed.

For our part, the 32 County Sov-

ereignty Movement will continue in the absence of resolution to challenge the legitimacy of the British Governments position.

So where now for Stormont in light of the Haas failure? Will Unionism/Loyalism roll over? No they wont but they will put pressure on PSF/SDLP to embed themselves further in to administering British Rule on their terms. The question remains to be seen if both these parties will oblige again or will they see they cannot give anymore.

Recent statements of hardened positions could well be sectarianism for the elections but there is enough discontent to suggest it is deeper and in that context Stormont's future is by no means guaranteed.

Back to the drawing board only this time let Nationalists/Republicans be more prepared to ensure the protection of Irish Nationalist Sovereignty is foremost on the agenda and that it is protected. Time will tell.

Sectarian tensions heightened across Belfast

It's well known throughout Ireland that Ardoyne in North Belfast has been a centre point of sectarian parades for years. In 2013 the parades commission banned the Orange Order from marching through Ardoyne on the 12th of July.

This determination was welcomed by the residents of Ardoyne, however the Protestant/Loyalist community along with their leaders opposed the ruling and from 12th of July until the present day a local Loyalist band have for almost every night since then marched illegally to the Twaddle and Crumlin Road junction where each night they are stopped from marching onto the Crumlin Road.

Although they aren't stopped from playing music while wearing masks to hide their identities, the pinnacle of this has been the formation of the so-called Civil Rights Camp at Twaddle spear-

headed by Loyalist paramilitary leaders from the UDA and UVF who are supported by political representatives from the DUP, PUP, TUV and other diehard Loyalists bigots such as Willie Frazer.

This so called 'camp' has been strategically positioned for the sole purpose of raising tensions in the local area with numerous flags and banners on show provoking local residents going about their daily lives. Flutes and Lambeg drums being played to their loudest capacity, families being verbally abused and threatened while walking past the Camp trying to get to the local Tesco supermarket and nightly rit-



uals of a heavy RUC/PSNI presence in and around the area.

Throughout all this, the Ardoyne community have stayed dignified and strong. Not a single person has risen or retaliated in any way to the sectarian lure presented to them on a daily basis. They have shown the world the true nature of the people of Ardoyne, where as before they have been shown by the media to be a community of violence.

We also feel for the shop keepers who have lost business and some

have had to close because of the nightly protests. Over the past few months Loyalists have tried but to no avail to bring out the worst in areas such as Ardoyne and Short Strand. We must all learn from and follow the example set by these areas and not bow down and give in to the expectations of the Loyalist bigots.

We are strong people and must continue in a dignified manner to oppose all forms of sectarianism. Beir Bua.

32 County Sovereignty Movement Ard Fheis 2013

Chairman's Address

The two great challenges that face Irish Republicanism today are relevance and our ability to deliver it. These represent challenges because they involve change and re-organisation. This is the theme I wish to address to you for the forthcoming year.

I want this year's Chairman's Address to take the form of a series of challenges; basic challenges as to where we are, where we need to go and how we are to get there. I want you to understand that Republican policy is sometimes best served by robust examination and sometimes least served by blind pursuit.

Each year this annual address follows a given format, revolutionary greetings to comrades and friends, solidarity greetings to families of the fallen and the imprisoned and an expression of gratitude to our members and supporters for their diligent and selfless work throughout the year.

I want to depart somewhat from that format by injecting a dose of realism and directness to all the above categories by paying them the pragmatic respect of involving them in addressing the challenges I will outline.

Before I outline these challenges I want you to consider two guiding principles within which your considerations of these challenges should be guided.

The first of these principles is this: Every generation of Irish people has the right to fight for the ending of the violation of their national sovereignty according to their own ingenuities and in the political contexts they find themselves. That means us here today.

The second of these principles is that our right to national self-determination is not predicated on our people determining that our analysis and vision of a United Ireland must have their prior agreement. The right to choose involves the right to reject. That means their right to accept or reject us.

The key point here in both principles is relevance: our relevance as a force to end the violation of our national sovereignty today and our rele-

vance as an argument to ensure that an expression of national self-determination can determine a more just future for our people tomorrow.

Either way we are key players on this stage because we have chosen to be here but only if we recognise that being right is simply not enough, that being historically true is simply not enough and that being ideologically pure is simply not enough. We must be relevant before we can influence and we must be influential in order to secure change.

Republicanism Today

Where Republicanism stands today is not where Republicanism ought to be. We are in the shadow of yet another partitionist agreement which is foundering every day and yet Republicanism is not positioned to fill the ever increasing vacuum left in its wake.

Our people had the honest expectation that peace and justice would flow from Good Friday. They are entitled to this, but yet Republicanism finds itself cast as the enemy of their peace and no matter how astute our political analysis was in predicting the failure of that process what we have to offer in providing that peace is still viewed as a violent negative.

This is largely due to Republicans being seen as perpetual critics, obstructionists to any efforts that fail to satisfy the ghosts of Republican history. In our people's minds our definition of progress is a simple homage to historic events as opposed to a dynamic to shape events yet to come.

The answer to this negativity cannot be found in the past. The very act of seeking it there reinforces the people's belief in this negativity. The simple truth is that our vision and proposals for a sovereign united Ireland are deemed irrelevant by the

very people we hold this vision for.

This goes to the heart of the challenges I alluded to earlier. The seminal Republican document outlining a Republican blueprint for a United Ireland is Eire Nua and its subsequent addendum Saol Nua. And though both are visions of great merit the basic truth remains that both are more associated with a Republican split in the mid eighties than they are with what they intended to be.

Can we honestly say that any debate on Eire Nua will not inevitably lead back to a debate on that split?

Isn't it a fundamental truth that Republican debates on a United Ireland lead back to a century ago as opposed to a moment yet to dawn? And this epitomises the problem: Republicans believing that all our debates must have a retrospective trajectory, that atoning for the past is more important than planning for the future. It's a disastrous failure. And the people have every right to reject us for Good Friday is in very real danger of collapsing.

Republicanism as it stands does not represent a political force to be reckoned with in the event of this collapse.

We are seen as fragmented, reactionary, poised to say 'we told you so' but offering no realistic prospect of delivering change.

We have made our objections to Good Friday. We have done so on the proper grounds and in the proper forum. We have no need to anchor ourselves to a perpetual rehashing of these objections. Our task now is to formulate our alternatives in the positive context in which they belong, our inalienable right to self-determination.

We have spoken much on Republican unity. We have drafted discussion and position papers to assist this project. We have outlined the logic of it and the necessity of it. We have convened public meetings so that our support base could take part in this debate. We have done so in the absence of any reasoned or presented counter argument against such unity.



The greatest obstacle to the necessity of Republican unity is our obsession with the past. And for anyone who voices opposition to it, irrespective as to their reasons why, we issue this challenge to them; give us an argument that looks forward? Do not tell us that political inertia is a principled position. Do not confuse sticking to principles with principles that are stuck. Do not argue the spurious notion that the reasons for our existence are rooted in the past. Do not try and tell us that mere existence is a political activity.

We cannot claim to act on behalf of the sovereignty of the Irish people knowing full well that such acts are not the best we can offer. How can we promote with any sincerity our political vision knowing full well that our actions in their pursuit are not in themselves sincere because we know them to be less than one hundred percent?

If we are rightly to be judged by our actions then we are doing a grave disservice to our objectives. The challenge ahead is to end this contradiction.

Organisation

Before we seek to influence political change we must first examine our own organisational abilities to do so. What we aspire to and what we can do are not one and the same.

And before we address organisational abilities we must first address the abilities and expectations of the individual Republican. This is possibly the greatest challenge of all.

Challenge yourselves today; what am I doing that I can do better? What more can I do? What do I need to learn before I can advance?

In today's environment the individual Republican holds more responsibility than their counterpart twenty years ago. Every Republican with a mobile phone can speak to the world in an instant. It is an awesome power, the true dread of which lies in not understanding it.

This demands of all Republicans an acute awareness that a real discipline is required when it comes to membership of a Republican organisation. It's not enough to know who the Hunger Strikers were, or who signed the Proclamation or who died in such an operation.

Each Republican needs to be well versed in current Republican policy, both in its content and in the various strategies employed to advance them. You need to know your role in this organisation and you need to understand how this organisation can only function because of that role. You are the most important cog in this machine:

ALL your actions and pronouncements impact on the organisation as a whole.

The recruitment bar needs to be set high, the continuing membership bar set even higher.

How should we organise ourselves? What sort of movement should we be? How should our organisation function?

The party political model for Irish Republicanism has failed. The political party known as Sinn Féin is the only political party in Ireland to have negotiated and signed two partitionist treaties with the occupying power. Out of that political party has evolved further partitionist groupings such as Fianna Fáil and Provisional Sinn Féin.

It is the nature of a party based political organisation to conform to the party political system which defines it.

Party politics is parochial politics. Parochial politics is the death knell for a national movement. It is a uni-

versal error to believe that abstentionism from such a political system is the antidote to this conformity or that practicing such abstentionism preserves revolutionary identity. It does neither because abstentionism needs to be a revolutionary activity and not a negative political position.

Becoming a political party negates abstention from a party political system. Adopting such a position merely reinforces the fact that the very system you claim to reject is the same system you have allowed to define you.

Republicans need to move away from the negative connotations of abstentionism and begin to promote the positive alternative of a distinct and revolutionary engagement within our communities. The challenge that faces us is not to stay outside of their system but to build the system that will replace it. This is not an exercise in resurrecting ghosts nor does it need ghostly approval. We are here, this is now and our communities deserve our full attention just as we require theirs.

This will not be achieved with an abstract argument or a historical homily. It will require functioning structures that know how to cooperate and communicate. We need to demonstrate to our communities that political change is not the preserve of the establishment nor dependant on being part of that establishment. And if we can guide our communities to achieve change for themselves we will have made the most powerful argument for their ability to secure national change.

That is the essence of the idea of Republican relevance.

Political Programme

There is no social utopia nor utopian method of achieving one. A political programme is not a list of aspirations but a plan of action based upon our abilities to pursue and implement them. And this is the key point; the effectiveness of our political programme is wholly dependent upon the willingness of our members to make themselves more effective.

A political programme does not originate from the nameless and faceless in a backroom but from the abilities of our members acting in an organised way. The less you are ef-

fective the lesser effective our political programme will be. There is no escaping the logic of this truism.

Our message to our communities is that sovereignty matters. The objectives of our political programme are to demonstrate that by acting in a sovereign capacity individuals and communities can effect change for the better. As Republicans we want to see this action translated into national change. We want our community activism deeply rooted in our pursuit for the restoration of our national sovereignty.

The current economic and financial crisis has taught us some very telling lessons. To squander these lessons with a rant against capitalism is to miss the lessons it is teaching us. Where was socialism when capitalism was in crisis? Is this a mirror image of where is Republicanism when Good Friday is in crisis?

And just as we are perceived as being negative so too is socialism. Socialism is indelibly linked with failure. It is linked to dictatorship, censorship, social enslavement and economic deprivation. We may not like to hear these truths; we may prefer our rants against capitalism but the absence of any meaningful expression of socialist discontent on the streets in the midst of this crisis speaks volumes.

And we can immerse ourselves in abstract debates on the history of socialism and pat ourselves on the back when we invent a new ism as a comfort blanket but we do so at the cost of even further isolation.

We cannot build a political programme predicated on having to explain failure. We cannot go into our communities offering change on the back of outdated slogans. We cannot resurrect past conflicts as a means to make our solutions look more relevant than what they actually are for today's problems. We either take our objectives and policies into modernity or we go home. No more glorious defeats. No more keeping the flame aglow. No more workers utopia. No more populist electoralism.

Formulating Policy

I want to draw your attention to our initiative on drug abuse entitled *Addressing the Drugs Crisis, A Para-*

digm Shift in the Republican Approach. I'm not using the chairman's address to argue its merits or not, that is properly the function of the delegates to debate openly at this Ard Fheis. I want to draw your attention to its structure.

There is no doubt that drug abuse is a huge problem in every community in Ireland. It is a problem republicans cannot ignore nor approach in an ill thought through capacity. It's far too serious an issue for that.

Republicans have always taken a stern line on drug dealing. The death of Volunteer Alan Ryan is testimony to this. But his death is also a wake up call that republicans must take a realistic approach to policy making that reflects both a basic logic and a pragmatic appraisal of abilities and resources.

The initiative begins with an impartial and critical look at the nature and extent of the problem. It does not present the problem so it dovetails into a pre-existing solution. It examines current approaches to dealing with it and outlines the conclusions of those approaches. In similar vein it scrutinises republican efforts and thinking and applies a critical review of those also. It examines experiences in other countries and outlines the initiatives they have taken and details the results thereof.

From this detailed analysis it proceeds to formulate a working policy which republicans can carry into their communities as part of a national political programme.

Irrespective of whether you agree with the conclusions or not the salient point is that the drafting of a policy in such a format allows us to make a more informed decision either way.

This is the mechanism that republicans must employ when formulating policy on any matter. Policing, organisation, finance, elections, republican unity all deserve our full and critical attention if we are to be effective in dealing with these crucial matters.

In conclusion I want to reiterate that the year ahead must be about grasping these challenges and moving republicanism forward. They are challenges for individual members and our movement as a whole. Each requires the other. Each needs to play their part.

Campaign stepped up in Scotland

The 32 County Sovereignty Movement (32CSM) in Scotland has, over the past few months, stepped up our campaign in highlighting the plight of Republican POWs.

Recently, members of the Volunteer Charles Carrigan Cumann stormed the BBC Scotland Headquarters at Pacific Quay in Glasgow, demanding an end to the silence of the broadcast media and that they proactively address the physical and mental torture and the ongoing human rights abuses faced by Republican prisoners on a daily basis.

Activists in Scotland have also raised awareness of Republican prisoners at soccer matches and other such public events: this visible street presence also highlights the continued denial of Ireland's

national sovereignty.

This activism has not gone unnoticed. Members of the 32CSM in Scotland have noted a stepping up of the campaign of intimidation against them, being subjected to severe harassment including having their homes invaded, being intimidated and harassed whilst going about their daily business, and on several occasions being attacked by the police - the slavish and devoted organs of the British state - during peaceful, legal protests. The behaviour of the police is clearly inspired by their fear of the grow-



ing success of the 32CSM. As with the miners' strike in Britain, the police choose to protect the state over the class, and this is manifested in the dirty tactics they use to try and terrorise those who continue to support a full and unilateral British withdrawal from Ireland and the establishment of an all-Ireland socialist republic.

32CSM members in Scotland will continue to strive tirelessly to raise awareness of Irish issues, and look forward to doing the same on issues here. In particular, we look forward to campaigning for the insertion of the first wedge into the edifice of the British state itself by winning an independent socialist republic for Scotland in September

32CSM expanding in the South-East

The Carlow/Kildare cumann of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement have announced that they have expanded into the South East of Ireland. Following a series of meetings held by like minded Republicans, plans were discussed to revive the 32CSM in a number of areas across the South East.

After months of long discussions and recruitment campaigns, the 32CSM are now up and running in areas such as -Carlow, Kildare, Wicklow, Wexford and Kilkenny. The 32CSM are now well represented in these areas and will continue to build the Move-

ment from strength to strength in the coming months.

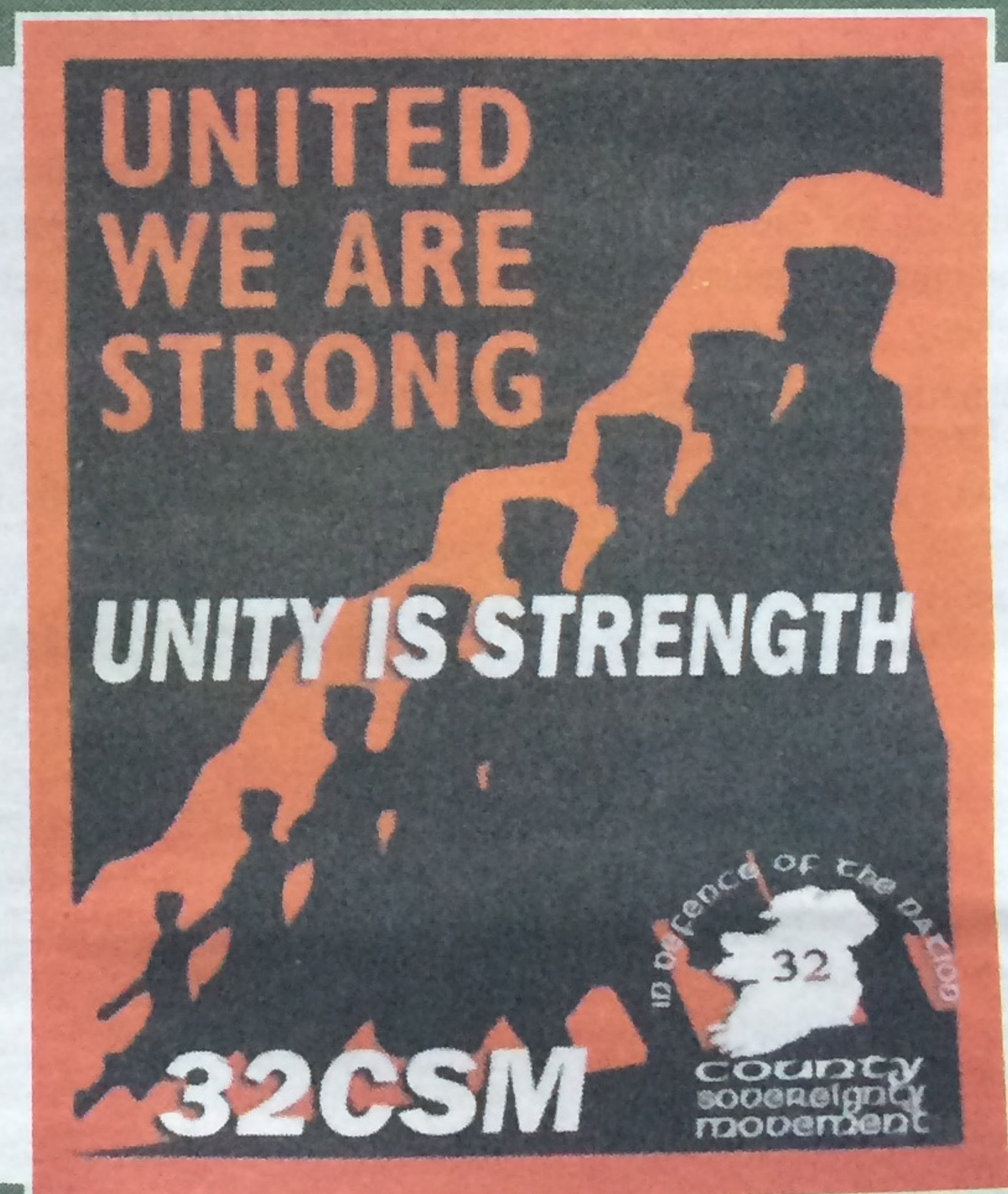
The recent intimidation campaign by pro-Brit elements and the Garda Special Branch will not derail or stop our members and they will continue to carry out their duties.

In January the Carlow/Kildare cumann held a very successful commemoration to honour Volunteer James Lillis who was murdered by Fee State forces during the Civil War (see page 11).

To join the 32CSM in the South-East contact:

csmlcarlow@gmail.com

Join the 32CSM today!



Contact your local cumann
or

www.facebook.com/32CountySovereigntyMovement

Cork 32CSM oppose the lockout

In recent years the introduction of the property tax, water charges and other unfair measures aimed at bleeding income from people's homes has led to varying degrees of opposition. As Republican Socialists it is our belief that Ireland belongs to the people, and that all people should be guaranteed the right to live in their own country without being held to ransom. In the words of the Irish proclamation of independence we 'declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland'

Every Irish person has a right to free access to their water, to live un-harassed by imposed demands for money at threat of imprisonment and to reap the benefits of our natural resources and all of our countries services. Yet this is not the reality as we live in the Irish Free State, a government which was established to help crush the revolutionary aims of Republican Socialists after the Irish civil war. We have now witnessed generations of gangsterism, criminality and state sponsored corruption. This fact is no more apparent as it is today as capitalism allows our country to be exploited and sold to not only British corporate interests, but international corporate interests who benefit only the wealthy and influential in Ireland. Yes it seems the audacious self-serving behaviour of the government is in plain view for all to see, and the silence of the vast majority of Irish people is now an internationally known disgrace. This has even witnessed demonstrations in Greece and Portugal chanting 'we are Greek, not Irish, we fight back'. But all this has in recent months been brought to a new low. A telling statistic has recently emerged that over 60% of people in prison in the Free State are in their due to unpaid fines.

Those who opposed the introduction of these shameful measures in the guise of the property tax and water charges, had formed together to offer political opposition.

Many people promised they would never pay and demanded that the government back track. Eventually as people refused to pay, the government issued final deadlines and promised to come after those who refused to pay which intimidated many into paying for fear of large fines or court. As Republicans we supported the opposition to these measures but insisted clearly that all calls for reform would in the end be in vain for two reasons. Firstly if they did not generate capital from water charges and property taxes, they would simply get it elsewhere and target other sections of society, aside of course from the wealthy. Secondly, to simply campaign against a symptom of the Free State and Capitalism, is to miss the big point, that as long as Capitalism exists in Ireland corruption will be reoccurring and inherent in its existence.

Apart from protests, marches and sit-ins, one tactic employed by campaigners to challenge these



measures and those behind them was to enter the Cork City Council during weekly meetings and challenge these political careerists directly.

The Cork 32CSM attended these demonstrations to offer our support and we witnessed members of Fianna Fail, Fianna Gael, Labour and Sinn Fein, ignore the people in the public gallery and scoff and laugh amongst themselves while drinking tea. This was a pompous reaction to ordinary members of the public demanding answers and was reminiscent of the days of 18th century Europe when a privileged and influential aristocracy scoffed at the complaints of those deemed 'below them'. In a further insult the Gardai were called as if those in the public gallery calling for answers to their actions were somehow not welcome in their City Hall.

In reaction to this demonstration a decision was made to bar the City Hall to ordinary members of the public. By the time this decision was made the anti-government fervour by those forced to pay property tax had all but been reduced to a small core of opposition. Many of those who had defiantly refused to pay had in the end for fear of government retribution. The government also claimed that

those who did not willingly pay would simply have it taken from their income one way or another. The refusal of entry to the public gallery was the final nail in the coffin for democratic opposition to these measures in the form of civil disobedience or mass opposition.

A number of weeks later those involved in the campaign against water and household tax including members of the 32CSM, had assembled to march on the City Hall and demanded entry on the basis that the people of Cork had a constitutional right to a public forum where they could challenge those elected.

The doors were locked shut while Sinn Fein, Fianna Gael, Fianna Fail, Labour and other political careerist's remained inside, refusing to address those who had assembled. Some looked out from the windows laughing, waving and mockingly taking pictures of those who had assembled. Meanwhile members of the Special Branch observed from nearby as if ordinary citizens of Cork using their democratic rights to demand answers from those elected is somehow a potentially criminal offence.

Considering the blatant denial of democracy and the actions of the Free State government, it is quite shocking that instead of forty or fifty people present there were not hundreds if not thousands of people in attendance. It is the belief of Republican Socialists that to effectively address the root problems of our country we must address the existence of two failed states, North and South, which continue to deny the Irish people a Republic which functions on the egalitarian principles and Socialist beliefs which our patriots proclaimed and fought for.



Opinion piece:

Challenges faced by Republicans

BY GUEST AUTHOR

**MALACHY STEENSON***Independent Republican,
Solicitor and criminologist*

One of the key challenges facing Republicans is how to get the message of Irish Republicanism out to a wider audience, in a society of mass media where people demand instant information it should not be difficult one would think. The State and Private sector media are all opposed to Irish Republicanism. They are following the position put forward by the establishment since the foundation of this State, both in its overt public acts and its more covert policies like the education system.

The State has brought about a position where most people through

These are the views of the author and do not represent the views of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement.

no fault of their own fail to understand the difference between the Republic of Ireland and The Irish Republic. They are bombarded with messages that the issue of Sovereignty is dealt with, that there is really no difference between the two islands and indeed fighting for Crown Forces 1913 was no different than fighting to establish the Republic in 1916. Similarly those who are currently members of the Crown Forces either in Ireland or Iraq are treated as heroes.

As we approach the centenary of 1916 we will see an avalanche of hype, indeed it has already begun, to portray the conflict in Ireland through the centuries as being the fault of a few misguided Irishmen and that the British Government was an innocent bystander trying to keep the "Paddy's" from killing each other.

It is a sad reality that the whole concept of Republicanism is a dirty word to many, the mass media have no hesitation in running baseless stories concocted by the Hans Christian Andersons of today, we rightly blame the media for ped-

dling these stories which are designed to demean republicans and Republicanism in the minds of ordinary people. Often Republicans contribute to the creation of these stories by their own actions. Irish Republicanism is not something you switch on and off, you are a republican full stop, all of your actions in your daily life reflect on the Republicanism in the minds of those watching. Republicans must be proud and stand on a higher moral plane than others, none of our individual actions should besmirch that ideal which we represent. The Irish Republic lives in our hearts and minds and we must expound that at every opportunity.

As Republicans, how do we confront this naked revisionism, we must firstly educate ourselves, we must be confident on all aspects of Republicanism, we must be able to confidently argue and debate our position in every forum, we must seek to educate others in our family and in our communities. This State and the British State are afraid of the message of Irish Republicanism they are afraid to educate the

people to make up their own minds, they know the Irish Republicanism as put clearly in the Proclamation of 1916 and the Democratic Programme for Government of the First Dáil is a powerful one and its adaptation would lead to the collapse of this morally and financially bankrupt State, they are so afraid of our message that they continually seek to demean it.

In every generation Republicans have seen the necessity of communications and have recognized that we are in a propaganda war and it was vital to have our own newspaper, it is now well past the time that we should have our own radio and TV stations and these are now possible with the advent of the internet. It is vital that every one of us use the mediums that are available to us to promote the concept of Irish Republicanism to a wider audience. We owe it not just to our own generation and generations past but to the generations coming behind us to put firmly in place the correct historical narrative, we must convince people through our word and deeds that we seek not the creation of a 32 County Democratic Republic but its re-establishment. We must show that we are that beacon of light, through our deeds and our actions.

Pictures from the Bloody Sunday march 2014



FOGRA BAIS



February

7/2/1940 Peter **BARNES** and James **MCCORMACK** - Hanged at Winston Green Prison, Birmingham.

9/2/1921 Sean **HALFIN** - Executed by Black and Tans.

12/2/1973 Volunteer Frank **STAGG** - Dies in Wakefield after 62 days on hunger strike

20/2/1921 **TWELVE** IRA Volunteers killed in action in Clonmult, Co. Cork.

27/2/1923 Thomas **GIBSON** - Executed by Free State

forces during the Civil War. 29/2/1921 **SIX** IRA Volunteers executed by British forces in Co. Cork.

29/2/1988 Volunteers Brendan **MOLEY** and Brendan **BURNS** - Died in premature explosion in South Armagh outside Cullyhanna Village.

March

5/3/1942 George **PLANT** - Executed by the Free State in Portlaoise Prison.

6/3/1988 Volunteers Mairead **FARRELL**, Sean **SAVAGE**

and Daniel **McCANN** - Murdered by undercover British forces in Gibraltar.

13/3/1923 **SEVEN** Republican Volunteers executed (P.O.Ws) in Cork, Wexford and Mullingar.

14/3/1923 Volunteers Charlie **DALY**, Don **ENRIGHT**, Tim **O'SULLIVAN** and Sean **LARKIN** (Durmboe Martyrs) - Executed.

14/3/1921 **SIX** Volunteers executed in Dublin by British forces -/3/1921 Charlie **REILLY** - Shot by

British forces Coolagh Bridge N12, Co. Cork. He escaped but died a few days later from his wounds.

17/3/75 Volunteer Tom **SMITH** - Shot by security forces while trying to escape from Portlaoise Gaol.

17/3/1963 Volunteer Dessie Swanton - Killed in accidental explosion in Co. Cork.

20/3/1920 Tomas **MAC CURTAIN** (Lord Mayor of Cork) - Brutally murdered by Crown Forces in front of his wife.

Always remembered by the Republican Movement



32 County Sovereignty Movement

National Sponsored Walk

29th March 2014

Assemble: 1pm

**Brendan Hughes Bench
Omeath, County Louth**

Music and refreshments afterwards in a local pub

For more information contact:
northlouth32csm@live.com

Vol. James Lillis remembered

On Sunday 19 January members of various cumainn of the 32 County Sovereignty Movement throughout the country gathered in Dunleckney graveyard, Bagnalstown, Co. Carlow to commemorate IRA Volunteer James Lillis who was executed by the Free State government during the Civil War. A number wreaths were laid and the Proclamation was read out. The main oration was delivered by Ard Comhairle member, Colin Keating. In his address he pointed out the similarities between the Treaty of 1922 and the Good Friday Agreement saying "the Treaty of 1922 and the Good Friday Agreement are one and the same. Both are predicated on a denial of Irish sovereignty and hence both are doomed to failure."

The commemoration finished with the lowering of flags and amhran na bhfiann was played.



Business as usual for Britain in Ireland

Recent revelations concerning the attempted recruitment of a Tyrone Republican as an informer for Mi5 come as little surprise to Republicans. Despite being over a decade and a half since the Good Friday agreement, claims by constitutional nationalists such as Sinn Fein that a reformed, accountable and acceptable police force would be established by remoulding the RUC, are nothing more than an indefensible misrepresentation.

The sustained actions of the Police Service of 'Northern Ireland' continue to reveal exactly what they are: an illegal paramilitary gang whose primary role is to secure, sustain and prop up the British occupation of Ireland's northern six counties. Some of these actions include the daily and consistent harassment of Republicans and Nationalists in the form of stop and searches, house raids, arrests and physical as well as verbal intimidation. As well as the arrest and imprisonment of Irish republicans on spurious charges such as owning band uniforms or stencils such is the case of Stephen Murney who was imprisoned in Maghaberry in November 2012 until he was released on bail at the end of January of this year, while in comparison Loyalist Ryan McDowell has received 2 year's probation and 100 hours community service after being caught planting explosives at a community hall, Catholic primary school and a GAA ground. Further exposing the so called 'accountable and acceptable policing' was the internment of Martin Corey who was held in Maghaberry jail on no charges what so ever for



four years until he was recently released on the condition that he do not speak to any members of the media about his ordeal. Such a condition was a clear admission that Martin's internment was totally unjust and tantamount to kidnap.

Despite the long litany of cases which reveal the true nature of this armed paramilitary force in Ireland, Sinn Fein and those who advocate the Good Friday agreement would have you believe that the days of internment, politically motivated policing and corruption were gone and a part of the 'bad old days'. But while they attempt to gloss over the reality of British policing in Ireland and make it appear they are somehow holding the reigns, the recent case of a Tyrone Republican who was targeted by Mi5 once again highlight the reality of the situation.

The Tyrone Republican in question was first approached while at work, which involved making deliveries in a van to residential areas. One day the man was on a delivery round when he was stopped and searched by members of the PSNI under the Justice and Security Act. After the search he was informed by his employer that the delivery had been cancelled.

A number of weeks later the Ty-

rone Republican was once again in the same area returning home after a cancelled delivery when he was again stopped by a PSNI vehicle and approached by two members of the crown forces. They both proceeded to tell the man that he could 'save lives' and tried to hand the man a roll of cash in return for implicating named Republicans. The Republican refuted there advances and told them bluntly to 'fuck off'.

Again in the following weeks the same Republican was stopped on his way home by two men who flashed ID cards claiming to be from the PSNI. One of them was present at his previous search, except this time they abandoned the friendly approach and assumed an aggressive and threatening manner, menacingly asking the Republican for information. Once again the Republican told them to 'fuck off' and he got in his car and drove home.

The man then contacted Justice Watch Ireland to seek further assistance on the matter and in turn he was directed towards legal assistance with a Belfast based law firm who had experience in dealing with such claims. The PSNI Ombudsman arranged a meeting with the man at the law office where he was essentially in-

formed that it would be looked into.

After this the Republican had received a letter from the Ombudsman claiming that the case of him being approached to become a covert human intelligence source was 'outside the remit of his office'. In other words the PSNI had no power to investigate cases of people being targeted to become informers by British intelligence in the form of Mi5, who in turn were accountable to nobody but those within the halls of the British government in London. The Republican was then advised by the PSNI to contact the Investigatory Powers Tribunal, which has never once upheld a complaint against Mi5.

According to the St. Andrews agreement Mi5 are the primary agency tasked with matters of 'national security' and are not accountable to any local or regional powers. Although the St. Andrews agreement states that PSNI officers working under Mi5 must be held accountable to policing boards, it is the sole decision of Mi5 as to what information they wish to release. In lay man's terms, all matters regarding the security of the state of 'Northern Ireland' are ultimately the concerns of Mi5 (and their masters in London). Mi5 has no obligation to be held accountable and PSNI officers who work under them are safe guarded in Mi5's license to do as they please.

This case is certainly another nail in the coffin for the myth that there can be an acceptable 'police force' in Ulster while British occupation remains. The semblance of regional independence within the United Kingdom was part and parcel of this mirage, used to dress up a resounding defeat as some sort of victory or progressive step towards Independence. In truth the reality is much different and it is business as usual for Britain in Ireland.

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