



# INC NEWS

Freedom  
Unity  
Peace

Nuacht Comhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann



Saoirse

Aontacht

Síocháin

## TRANSFORMATION AHEAD

**2010 will see probably one of the most unpredictable Westminster general elections for a generation.**

In the North of Ireland, North Antrim, North Belfast, North Down, South Down, South Belfast, and Fermanagh South Tyrone are all seats that could possibly change hands. The electoral outcome in these seats could be crucial in determining who forms the next British Government.

The British Conservative party has a huge mountain to climb, as they need to take about 75 seats from Labour to become the biggest single party and more than 100 seats in order to win an overall majority. These considerations motivated the Ulster Unionist and British Conservative parties to create the Ulster Conservative and Unionist New Force (UCNF) electoral pact.

Recently the global economic crisis has made the British people re-examine their economic and political priorities. Consequently the electoral lead of the British Conservative party has evaporated to such an extent that the number of seats won by the Unionist parties in the North may prove vital for a Conservative majority. The potential, as in the mid 1990's, for Unionists to use this electoral leverage to demand concessions, which could damage the peace process, is a realistic one.

The entrance of Jim Alister's ultra rejectionist 'Traditional Unionist Voice' and the recent financial and sexual scandals in the Robinson family have made some DUP MP's fear for their seats and enter into secret negotiations about electoral pacts with the Ulster Unionists. These discussions were brokered by the Orange Order and the Conservative Marquise of Salisbury, better known to us as Viscount Cranborne (an arch securocrat and opponent not only of the peace process but also the Conservative leader David Cameron).

Even if the British Conservatives were to win an overall majority this may ironically play into the



**Above: The leaders of the pact, David Cameron and Reg Empey announce their Ulster Conservative and Unionist New Force (UCNF) electoral pact.**

hands of Irish nationalism. The prospect of being governed by a sleek, Southern English toff may push the Scots and Welsh further towards independence and the break-up of Britain. The 'British' Conservative party has been an endangered species in Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and many large English cities like Newcastle, Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds for more than 10 years.

Even if the Liberal Democrats were to hold the balance of power this may help to transform British politics and society, if they demanded the introduction of proportional representation, which would make coalition governments more common.

In order to prevent Unionism from derailing devolution and the peace process the Irish Government must play a much more proactive roll and use their influence in America to ensure the co-operation of whatever British government may emerge. Recent comments by former Taoiseach Bertie Ahern that a 50% + 1 situation would not be sufficient for Irish unity and comments from Martin Manseragh that because of the economic crisis the prospect of Irish unity would have to be postponed for a generation are unhelpful.

...continued overleaf

The Irish Government must wake up to the fact that the North of Ireland is sitting on a demographic timebomb.

The census, due out next year, will almost certainly show that Catholics will become a majority in towns like Belfast, Loughbrickland, Castledawson and Moneymore and many more 'District Electoral Areas' will change from 'orange' to 'green'.

Both Britain and the North of Ireland are in the process of escalating transformation.

Britain no longer has the economic or military capability to play the role of a global superpower in the future and she must painfully redefine her role in the world.

The North of Ireland will become more Catholic and Republican, but not uniformly so, and its political institutions and links with the Republic will have to reflect this.

While it is understandable that the Irish government is preoccupied with the current economic crisis it must not become distracted from its responsibilities to the Northern Nationalist community. In 2001, 17% of Protestants were aged over 65.

Because of this demographic age profile and higher Catholic birth rates, it is a realistic possibility that within the next ten years the North of Ireland may have a Catholic majority.

How Unionist extremists may react to this prospect is difficult to predict, however, the Irish government should start making preparations for this eventuality now, as to stumble blindly into a crisis will only increase the chances of turning it into a disaster.

— Paul McGuill

Runai

## MOORE STREET DEBACLE

The decision by An Bord Pleanála to approve permission for the development of the Carlton site represents an unprecedented and unnecessary interference with a Monument of National importance at 14 to 17 Moore Street.

Despite the granting of permission to develop the Carlton site, the INC, in conjunction with other like-minded individuals and organisations, will be calling for a judicial review by the Irish courts on this decision by An Bord Pleanála and we will also be demanding the re-opening of oral hearings on this issue. We owe this not just to past generations but those yet to come. What an indictment on us it would be if it were our generation that allowed the commercial interests of wealthy developers to take precedence over the women and men of 1916.

Any demolition of a National Monument must have the consent and approval of the Minister for the Environment. We call on the Minister to refuse to consent to any development of the Carlton site that does not guarantee and honour the status of the 1916 National Monument. In this regard, we urge our members and the wider public to support calls for its preservation and security by writing to:

John Gormley, TD,  
Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local  
Government,  
The Custom House,  
Dublin 1.

## Comhbhrón

It is with sadness that we in the Irish National Congress learned of the death of Anne McGrath, wife of the Dublin North Central Independent TD Finian McGrath following a long illness last November.

Finian was one of the founding members of the Irish National Congress and served as Leas-Cathaoirleach and Runai of the Congress.

Finian was a member of the National Executive for many years, continues to be an active member, and has been the principle guest speaker at a number of our AGM's.

We extend our deepest condolences to Finian, his daughters Caoimhe and Clíodhna, and extended families.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a h-anam dilis.

Literally as we go to print, we in the INC have sadly just learned of the death of long-time member of the Irish National Congress, Hugo (Hugo) Flinn.

Hugo was a very generous benefactor of the INC throughout the years, and was most supportive in providing practical assistance to the many projects the INC undertook, especially in our early years.

Issues like the Dublin and Monaghan bombings and the retention of Articles Two and Three of Bunreacht na hÉireann were just some of the many issues which Hugo supported.

We offer deepest condolences on behalf of all in the Irish National Congress to Hugo's wife Vivienne, their children and extended family.

We also thank Hugo for his many years of friendship, counsel and support, and acknowledge our gratitude to Hugo for his assistance in enabling us to pursue issues, which might not have been possible without his generous help. He will be sadly missed by all who knew him.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a h-anam dilis.

## Donations Needed Donations Needed

Unlike the Orange Order, who recently received €1,000,000 from Minister Eamon O'Cuiv TD, we have no big financial backer to pay our bills. We only survive on the voluntary contributions of our supporters.

Please send what you can to:

Irish National Congress,  
P.O. Box 2814, Dublin 7.

All contributions will be acknowledged.

# Fr. Seán McManus - A Calling For Justice

For almost forty years, Fr. Sean Mc Manus, originally from the parish of Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh, has been in the forefront of the movement to get the United States to put pressure on the British Government to end injustice and oppression in the North of Ireland.

Former Chairman of the House International Relations Committee, Congressman Ben Gilman (R-NY,) has said:

*"No one has done more than Father McManus to keep the U.S. Congress on track regarding justice and peace in Ireland. Indeed, I believe historians will record that no one since John Devoy has done more to organise American pressure for justice in Ireland. (The only difference being that Father Mc Manus - in keeping with his priestly calling - is committed to non-violence)".*



*"Any criticism of the British government will be seen as an endorsement of the IRA", was their joint plea.*

This passing the buck was hard enough to take from American politicians, but it was really sickening when came from American Bishops too.

When I arrived America, October 2, 1972, I naively thought that the obvious constituency to lobby would be the Left Wing of the Democratic Party and Catholic Bishops.

While I knew the English and Irish Bishops did not have a great record in standing up for Irish justice, I felt there was a chance the American Bishops might show some guts. And, furthermore, you see, on November 30, 1971, the World Synod of Bishops, meeting in Rome, had issued a very important document, 'Justice in the World' in which they declared: *"Action on behalf of justice ... is a CONSTITUTIVE DIMENSION OF THE PREACHING OF THE GOSPEL"*

In August 1979, the Irish National Caucus led a successful campaign to have a ban put on the sale of U.S. weapons to the RUC. Later on in January 1981, Archbishop Hickey of Washington and Bishop Thomas Kelly, Secretary General of the US Catholic Conference, met in The White House to urge President Reagan to continue the ban on military aid to El Salvador.

I wrote to them, urging them to also urge President Reagan to continue the ban on the sale of US weapons to the RUC.

On February 6, 1981, Archbishop Hickey responded saying, *"Bishop Kelly and I will be in touch with our counterparts in Northern Ireland to seek their advice in this vexing question. Our intervention will depend on their response."*

Bishop Kelly responded on January 29, 1981 and said *"...We have known of your position [on the RUC] for some time... In the case of El Salvador, we have been encouraged to take what action we have taken by the local hierarchy. We have not, at this time, received such encouragement from the Irish hierarchy on the subject you have brought to our attention..."*

*"During the past 30 years, the fingerprints of Father Mc Manus are over every piece of Congressional action on Ireland: from the formation of the Ad Hoc Congressional Committee For Irish Affairs in 1977 (which in turn sparked the formation of the Friends of Ireland in 1981) to Congressional Hearings on Northern Ireland, once banned until I became Chairman of the International Relations Committee in 1995; from individual human rights cases, like the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four to the political assassinations cases of Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson; from the Hunger Strikes of Bobby Sands and his nine colleagues to the general mistreatment of political prisoners; from individual cases of anti-Catholic discrimination to the full, frontal and triumphal campaign of the McBride Principles; from stopping the sale of U.S. weapons to the RUC to putting human rights conditions on U.S. dealings with the Northern Ireland police.*

*Summarily, Father McManus's doctrine 'that the United States must not subsidize anti-Catholic discrimination in Northern Ireland' has now become U.S. law and policy. Accordingly, it has been my honour and privilege to give Congressional shape to Father McManus' dream for his beloved Ireland."*

Here Fr. McManus, who is now writing his own memoirs, reflects on his forty-year American struggle for Irish justice:

I knew I had my work cut out for me when Tippi O'Neill put his big hand on my shoulder and said, *"Come on now, Fr. Seán, how can you expect me to be more patriotic than Mr. Cosgrave, the Irish Prime Minister?"*

*"That wouldn't be hard", I shot back.*

Although my rejoinder was spot on, I nonetheless knew that Tippi had been given a clever line to evade my pressure. Though in fairness, it must be said that originally Tippi was eager to help until the Irish Embassy conspired with the British Embassy to blackmail him into silence:

I told Cardinal Hickey that it was one thing for politicians to seek that cop-out but it was unacceptable for Bishops. "It would be like the Good Samaritan seeking permission from the local High Priest before he could help the man who fell among thieves". "Ah, Fr. McManus, that's not fair", said the good Cardinal ever so plaintively.

Yet despite it all – despite the opposition of the Irish, British and American Governments and the Catholic Bishops (with a few honourable exceptions) – the Irish National Caucus flourished. And it was not driven by big money or big power – the rich and the powerful didn't want to know – which made me feel certain we were on the right path!

I was frankly less surprised by the fall of the Soviet Union than I was by the Irish Government finally doing the right thing, under Taoiseach Albert Reynolds, by backing the peace-process. On April 5, 1992 Irish-Americans got presidential Candidate Bill Clinton to make his famous pledges to become effectively involved in Northern Ireland. I may have been one of the first to spot the significance of Reynolds's welcoming Clinton's pledges. And I had very good reasons.

On October 27, 1976, just six days before the Presidential election, the Irish National Caucus organised a meeting with Jimmy Carter in Pittsburgh, PA. and got him to say "... it is a mistake for our country's Government to stand quiet on the struggle of the Irish for peace for the respect of human rights and for unifying Ireland..."

It is now well known that Garret Fitzgerald, who was then Irish Foreign Minister, instead of welcoming Carter's statement, spent a lot of time forcing Jimmy Carter to back off his commitment. The Boston Globe reported: "Irish embassy officials protested vehemently to Carter aides. Carter, under pressure, agreed to send a telegram of clarification ... According to the Irish government, the Carter aides agreed to send the telegram only on condition it not be released publicly in the United States". ("Hub priest denies he backs IRA". Monday Morning, April 18, 1977).

Over all these years, I have been haunted by this thought: What might have happened had Garret Fitzgerald welcomed Carter's statement, instead of sabotaging it? How many lives would have been saved, just as lives were saved by Clinton's involvement?

## McBride Principles – 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary

CAPITOL HILL – NOVEMBER 20, 2009 – The month of November 2009 marked the 25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the launching of the McBride Principles by the Capitol Hill based *Irish National Caucus*. The Principles are a corporate code of conduct for American companies doing business in Northern Ireland; they have been passed into law by 18 States, many cities, and by the U.S. Congress. Furthermore, many U.S. companies in Northern Ireland have signed the Principles. Caucus president, Fr. Sean McManus, explained: "On October 18, 1984, I formally

wrote to Sean proposing and enclosing the Principles, and asking his permission to name them after him. He graciously gave me permission, having supported our work for a long time. The Irish National Caucus then announced the launching of the MacBride Principles."

In Ireland, the announcement was reported by The Sunday Tribune: "New US company code endangers NI investment – The nine-point employment code, which was drawn up by the Washington based Irish National Caucus (I.N.C.) is sponsored by Sean MacBride S.C.," (November 4, 1984).

In America, the Irish Echo recorded the historic event in this way: "Caucus Proposes New Initiative to Stop Discrimination in Northern Ireland." (November 10, 1984).

"That was the first time the name The MacBride Principles were mentioned on either side of the Atlantic," said Fr. McManus. "At that time my good friend Michael Farrell, author of the Sunday Tribune article, laughed when I told him that the MacBride campaign would be the most important American campaign since the time of John Devoy. He would later write that it was typical, "Irish-American hyperbole", though he was, indeed, the first journalist in Ireland to recognise the significance of the MacBride Principles, and the leverage they could provide for equality and fair employment. Farrell himself was a leading expert on anti-Catholic discrimination and sectarianism in Northern Ireland, and the author of the important book, *The Orange State*. My prediction about the effectiveness of our campaign, however, proved correct".

Fr. McManus concluded: "I shall always be grateful to the great Sean MacBride whose support was so crucial. He stood by me when so many were attacking our work. I was honoured and humbled by his graciousness and solidarity. Actually, I was always a bit over awed in his presence. I also want to pay tribute to Sean's 'right hand' – his personal assistant, the super-efficient Catriona Lawlor of Dublin who provided so much invaluable help."

## The McBride Principles

The List initiated, proposed, and launched by the Irish National Caucus in November 1984 (Amplifications issued by Seán MacBride in 1986):

(1) Increasing the representation of individuals, from under-represented religious groups in the workforce, including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical, and technical jobs.

A workforce that is severely unbalanced may indicate *prima facie* that full equality of opportunity is not being afforded all segments of the community in Northern Ireland.

Each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make every reasonable lawful effort to increase the representation of under-represented religious groups at all levels of its operations in Northern Ireland.

(2) Adequate security for the protection of minority employees at the workplace.



Above: Seán McBride and Fr. Seán McManus. Spring, 1976. New York City.

While total security can be guaranteed nowhere today in Northern Ireland, each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to protect workers against intimidation and physical abuse at the workplace. Signatories must also make reasonable good faith efforts to ensure that applicants are not deterred from seeking employment because of fear for their personal safety at the workplace.

(3) Banning provocative sectarian or political emblems from the workplace.

Each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to prevent the display of provocative sectarian emblems at their plants in Northern Ireland.

(4) Providing that all job openings be advertised publicly and providing that special recruitment efforts be made to attract applicants from underrepresented religious groups.

Signatories to the MacBride Principles must exert special efforts to attract employment applications from the sectarian community that is substantially under-represented in the workforce. This should not be construed to imply a diminution of opportunity for other applicants.

(5) Providing that layoff, recall and termination procedures do not favour a particular religious group.

Each signatory to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to ensure that layoff, recall and termination procedures do not penalize religious groups disproportionately. Layoff and termination practices that involve seniority solely can result in discrimination against a particular religious group if the bulk of employees with greatest seniority are disproportionately from another religious group.

(6) Abolishing job reservations, apprenticeship restrictions and differential employment criteria which discriminate on the basis of religion.

Signatories to the MacBride Principles must make reasonable good faith efforts to abolish all differential employment criteria whose effect is discrimination on the basis of religion. For example, job reservations and apprenticeship regulations that favour relatives of current or former employees can, in practice, promote religious

discrimination if the company's workforce has historically been disproportionately drawn from another religious group.

(7) Providing for the development of training programs that will prepare substantial numbers of minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of existing programs and the creation of new programs to train, upgrade and improve the skills of minority employees.

This does not imply that such programs should not be open to all members of the workforce equally.

(8) Establishing procedures to assess, identify and actively recruit minority employees with the potential for further advancement.

This section does not imply that such procedures should not apply to all employees equally.

(9) Providing for the appointment of a senior management staff member to be responsible for the employment efforts of the entity and, within a reasonable period of time, the implementation of the principles described above.

In addition to the above, each signatory to the MacBride Principles is required to report annually to an independent monitoring agency on its progress in the implementation of these Principles.

## Support for the McBride Principles

In March 1994, the European Parliament issued a Report on discrimination in Northern Ireland. The Report stated that American pressure was "...responsible for reopening the question of discrimination in Northern Ireland..." This Report also states "Northern Ireland Catholics see the worldwide 'MacBride Principles' campaign as a great source of support in overcoming their problems and [this Report] endorses the campaign's moral principles..."

Recently the Protestant and Catholic Churches in Ireland joined with the Protestant and Catholic Churches of the United States of America and issued a call for Fair Employment and Investment in Northern Ireland. This is what they said about the MacBride Principles: "Many Americans support the MacBride Principles, as amplified, as good faith, non-violent means to promote fair employment. We urge that any support of these amplified principles, which offer positive values and focus on fair employment, be joined with continued support for strong fair employment measures and an active commitment to investment and job creation. The amplified principles, as many of their advocates agree, should not be used to discourage investment or encourage dis-investment."

88 US Companies have agreed in writing to make all lawful efforts to implement the Fair Employment Practices embodied in the MacBride Principles in their Northern Ireland operations (some of these companies no longer operate in Northern Ireland or have been bought by another company). The Agreements were made with the New York City Comptroller. Overall, there are 135 companies doing business in Northern Ireland. But only 72 publicly traded companies have more than 10 employees. (It is only publicly traded companies with over 10 employees that are obliged by British law to keep a statistical breakdown of the workforce by religion.

# The Good Friday Agreement, Partition & Irish Unity

**It has been said that the 'Good Friday' (or 'Belfast') Agreement was "Sunningdale for slow learners".**

In fact, this is historically, politically and legally inaccurate. That is because, for the first time, provision was made in British constitutional law, specifically in the Northern Ireland Act 1998, for the secession of the six counties from the United Kingdom and their incorporation in a united Ireland, if a majority voted for that in a poll in the north.

That goes well beyond a pledge in the Sunningdale Communiqué of 1973 and the reiteration of that pledge in the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. It meant that, for only the second time in the 20th century, the Act of Union, which was supposed to endure "for ever after", had implicitly and definitely been amended (the first time being in 1922 following the Treaty).

Furthermore, the '98 Act reflects the amendments to the Irish Constitution, which provide for an all-Ireland Ministerial Council and all-Ireland Implementation Bodies.

A particularly important contrast between the '73 and '98 accords is that, in respect of the Northern Ireland Assembly and the all-Ireland Ministerial Council, each is a condition of the other; thus the possibility of the Council being shelved in favour of the Assembly, as happened in 1974, no longer exists.

As for the overall significance of partition today, it was never simply just a line on the map or a question of who exercised sovereignty over the six counties. It was also about religious & political discrimination in jobs, housing, and allocation of communal resources; about gerrymandering, abolition of PR, absence of one person one vote, and the maintenance of a one party statelet; about lack of free speech and expression, and restriction of civil liberties generally; about the police being the paramilitary wing of the unionist party; about the curtailment of Irish cultural identity and the attempted imposition of British identity.

All these things have largely gone. It was also about the denial of the all-Ireland framework and that has been addressed, although much remains to be done. The nominal sovereignty of Britain over the six counties remains, but partition in the deeper sense has been hollowed out. Moreover, the Ministerial Council and Implementation Bodies have established the principle and to some extent the practice of all-Ireland governance, immediately entailing at least a diminution in the *de facto* sovereignty of Britain over the six counties.

As for the possibility of securing a majority for unity of 50%+1 in a poll in the six counties on Irish unity, a number of factors could arise: comparative fertility of 'Catholics' and 'Protestants', policy of the British (e.g. adoption of a positive pro-unity stance), emigration of unionists, immigration of nationalists, and persuasion of and demoralisation among unionists.

In the latter instance, unionists are aware of the negative attitude of most British people towards them and many have become disillusioned with the British government in its distancing of itself from the north, even if there has not been an actual declaration of intent to disengage.

This could affect participation in a poll and there are already signs that unionists are generally voting less and less. Such disillusionment could also incline some unionists, to a degree, depending on social class or business interests, to contemplate some form of united Ireland.

Therefore, it is not inconceivable at some point in the future that the confluence of all these factors could produce a majority of 50%+1. And, we have to remember, that that is all that is required; not a majority of the people (which includes those below voting age), not a majority of the electorate, not a majority of unionists, but a majority of those voting.

What we have to consider is how we can move towards the objective of a united Ireland in the circumstances that we now find ourselves in.

Of course, it is important to think about *what* we mean by a united Ireland. There is more than one model on the agenda, as became apparent at the time of the New Ireland Forum. Confederal, federal, and unitary models have been suggested, apart from joint sovereignty or authority.

Even republican Sinn Féin does not insist on a unitary Irish Republic, as is evident from its *Éire Nua* policy. Realistically, we need to reflect particularly on how we might advance on the basis of the constitutional structures on the island.

At an all-Ireland level, the Good Friday Agreement provides for a Ministerial Council, a Parliamentary Forum (yet to be set up) and Implementation Bodies. There is also provision for other all-Ireland phenomena such as a Forum of Civil Society; however, the first three provisions correlate structurally to three of the basic essentials of a sovereign state, viz. a government, a legislature and a civil service. The fourth essential is a judiciary.

The removal of British sovereignty from Ireland could take place at the three levels of the Good Friday Agreement concerned. The powers, which the British government continues to exercise over the six counties, could be transferred to the Ministerial Council.

The role of the British parliament could be transferred to the Parliamentary Forum. The activities of the British civil service in respect of the north could be transferred to expanded and enhanced Implementation Bodies.

What would then need to be additionally put in place would be an all-Ireland Court to deal with legal cases arising from the activities of the other three all-Ireland institutions, and an appropriate judicial transfer from Britain would have to take place to that as well. (Actually, there is a precedent for this in the Government of Ireland Act 1920 which established a High Court of Ireland that functioned and heard cases for a brief period.)

Of course, these transfers could proceed according to what political scientists call the criterion of gradualism. That is to say, that, if they cannot be made all at once, then let us see how step-by-step progress can be achieved in the desired direction. At the end of all, what this would mean would be the evolution of a federal or confederal Irish State of two component parts, namely 6 and 26 counties.

It might be said that, in either instance, the artificial unit of the six counties would be left intact. However, to paraphrase Wilde, historical outcomes are rarely pure and never simple. A federal Ireland of two units, respectively 26 counties and 6 counties, with power-sharing etc. enduring in the latter, would be a residue of history.

It would also involve taking possession of the boundaries of interference and making them serve our own ends. Yet, such an arrangement need not be regarded as permanent. Over time, with the building of confidence and the wisdom of experience, a more streamlined, and what some might consider a more coherent, arrangement could emerge and the two-unit Ireland described be viewed as transitional or – a United Ireland, Mark I.

#### – Daltún Ó Ceallaigh

Daltún Ó Ceallaigh is a member of the INC National Executive. In 1969, he was Press Officer of the Belfast Citizens' Defence Committee. From 1969 to '71, he was also on the executive of the Civil Rights Association in the north. He is author several books, including, *Labour, Nationalism and Irish Freedom* (1991), *Sovereign People or Crown Subjects?* (1993), *Britain & Ireland – Sovereignty & Nationality* (1996), *The Northern Irish Crisis (Multi-party Talks & Models for a Settlement)* (1997) and *Irish Republicanism – Good Friday & After* (2000).

### Family and Pat Finucane Centre welcome Irish Government Award

The brothers of murdered Donegal teenager Henry Cunningham have strongly welcomed the announcement by the Irish Government of an annual human rights award named in memory of 16-year-old Henry. *The Henry Cunningham Human Rights Essay* with an annual award of €500 will be available to any fourth year secondary student in the Inishowen peninsula with the schools short-listing essays to be judged by Professor Christine Bell of the Transitional Justice Institute / University of Ulster.

The presentation of the annual €500 bursary will be made by Robert Cunningham, brother of the deceased. Henry was killed when gunmen opened fire on their minibus on the M2 Motorway near Belfast in 1973. It is thought that the UVF gunmen believed that the occupants of the Donegal registered bus were Catholic. Henry's family are Presbyterian.

Announcing the award Minister Martin said,

"I met with Henry's brother Robert last year and he presented me with a copy of the report prepared by the HET. I was deeply moved by the pain, which Robert Cunningham expressed when we met. Though it is almost 40 years since Henry was murdered, the pain that the family feel has not gone away. At that meeting we discussed how to commemorate Henry's life."

Robert and Herbert Cunningham welcomed the news,

"For many years we feel that Henry was forgotten, even here in Donegal. This award is a positive way of remembering Henry in Inishowen and ensuring that good comes out of something evil – the murder of a 16-year-old boy. In future young people at the five local secondary schools in Inishowen will be encouraged to take part in this annual award by writing an essay about human rights on the island of Ireland. We are remembering our brother in a positive way and hopefully giving something back to young people in the area. We can never bring Henry back but his name will forever be associated with the need to protect human rights and that's a good thing. This present government have shown more concern than the government at the time and that is to be warmly welcomed."

Speaking earlier today Paul O Connor of the PFC said,

"We accompanied family members to a meeting with Minister Micheál Martin TD in July 2009. We presented him with the HET report into the case, which divulged that one of the guns used had been 'stolen' from a UDR base earlier that year. Documents that we uncovered in London showed that the British Army had concluded that this 'theft' involved collusion with members of the UDR in the same base."

"At the meeting with Minister Martin we talked about the idea of remembering Henry within the north Donegal community. It was thought that it would be a positive development if an annual prize could be awarded in his name within the context of a human rights essay for secondary students. After discussion with the five schools in the area it was agreed that this would be a fitting tribute to young Henry. The Department of Foreign Affairs in Dublin have now confirmed to us that monies will be made available."

"The support of the Irish Government is greatly appreciated by both the family and the local community in north Donegal."

# HISTORICAL INACCURACY OR HISTORICAL DECEPTION?

In December 2009, Stephen King, former researcher for the Ulster Unionist Party, spin-doctor to journalists and other media outlets, and current columnist with the *Irish Examiner*, wrote a column on the resignation of former prime minister of Northern Ireland Captain Terence O'Neill.

In his column, Mr King attributed the downfall of Capt O'Neill to a series of events, which were perpetrated by the Provisional IRA. The column was long on innuendo but short on fact. The following is a response from the Irish National Congress to Mr King's missive. Long serving founder member of the INC from Macroom in Co Cork, Michael O'Connor, brought the issue to our attention and we were only too pleased to respond.

Stephen King's version of recent political history in Northern Ireland on the circumstances surrounding the resignation from office of former Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence O'Neill is at variance with fact. Mr King's statement that although the North was 'supposed to be pointing in the right direction under Terence O'Neill and then the Provo's rose up from the ashes of Bombay Street', clearly implies that it was the Provisional IRA which was responsible for forcing Captain O'Neill from office. The facts suggest otherwise.

Following the formation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association which was set up to influence British and American public opinion on the lack of civil rights for Catholics in the North, Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence O'Neill, despite fierce opposition from within his own party, looked favourably on the introduction of more moderate policies which included 'one man one vote' for all in the gerrymandered local elections.

This political accommodation of Catholics was regarded as appeasement to IRA violence and enraged the virulently anti-Catholic shadowy figures in loyalism who conspired to 'rid Ulster of this Lundy'. Calls were made for O'Neill to resign. Although not yet prepared to fall on his own sword, sinister forces within loyalism were about to apply the final push. If political pressure alone would not force O'Neill to stand aside, then a few strategically placed bombs might, especially if the IRA was believed to be responsible.

A decision was taken by a coalition of loyalist organisations to attack Belfast's electricity and water supplies in an attempt to cause maximum political damage to O'Neill, who would be unlikely to survive the consequences if these bombings were shown to be the work of republicans. The first target was Castlereagh electricity substation, which was bombed by members of the UVF and the Ulster Protestant Volunteers. This resulted in much of Belfast being plunged into darkness.

The following day Rev Ian Paisley's newspaper the *Protestant Telegraph* reported, "This is the first act of sabotage perpetrated by the IRA since the murderous campaign of 1956...the sheer professionalism of the act indicates the work of the well-equipped IRA. This latest act of terrorism is an ominous indication of what lies ahead for Ulster...Loyalists must now appreciate the struggle that lies ahead and the supreme sacrifice that will have to be made in order that Ulster will remain Protestant". Ironically, Paisley's distribution manager for the *Protestant Telegraph* was one of the loyalist conspirators.

Four days later the loyalist co-conspirators changed targets and, confident that the IRA was the primary suspect, bombed Belfast's main water supply at Dunadry and two weeks later another explosion destroyed the pipeline between the Silent Valley reservoir in the Mourne Mountains and Belfast. A further four explosions on pipelines carrying water supplies from Lough Neagh to Belfast quickly followed, all reportedly carried out by the IRA. Captain Terence O'Neill knew he could no longer survive and resigned just days later. O'Neill later said the explosions "literally blew me out of office".

As the senior political adviser to David Trimble and one of the UUP's smartest apparatchiks, it is unthinkable that Stephen King was not aware of the political intrigue engaged in by O'Neill's fellow unionist political enemies. It is even more unthinkable that Mr King would be unaware that the night Bombay Street was literally burned to the ground, the Stormont Prime Minister was not Terence O'Neill but Major James Chichester-Clarke.

— Tom Cooper.  
Cathaoirleach

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## SPRING RAFFLE 2010

The prizes for this year's Spring raffle are:

- 1<sup>st</sup>: A Hamper
- 2<sup>nd</sup>: €50 Book Token
- 3<sup>rd</sup>: A Bottle of Spirits

With this newsletter you will receive a booklet of raffle tickets. Tickets are €2 each or €10 per booklet. Please note that the date for the draw has been changed. Send your completed stubs and money to I.N.C. P.O. Box 2814, Dublin 7 before the 7th May. The draw will now take place on Saturday, 8th May. As ever your support is invaluable and greatly appreciated.