



AGREEMENT IN MELTDOWN

The 1998 Belfast Agreement, painstakingly negotiated and endorsed throughout the whole of Ireland by referenda, is now effectively dead. It is going the same way as Sunningdale and all the other failed political initiatives in the North of Ireland that have been tried since 1974.

The agreement is collapsing due to a deliberate, repeated and sustained strategy of sabotage and obstructionism carried out by the representatives of political Unionism in the North. The Democratic Unionist Party, now the largest political party with 25.7% of the vote in last November's election (up 7.6%), has embarked upon a policy of ensuring perpetual suspension of the institutions set up under the agreement, effectively preventing the restoration of a cross community power sharing administration. It is believed that the DUP plan to spin out the current review process until after the next Westminster election in 2005, which would leave the agreement in suspension for more than three years!

The British State in refusing to confront and face down this wreckers charter, is emboldening reactionary Unionism and contributing to the erosion of the Agreement. The British, of course, have their own agendas. In addition to republican disarmament, they are seeking in the long term the defeat and destruction of the Irish separatist political project. Sinn Féin will be expected in the long term to conform, adapt to British political norms, and become more like other nationalist parties such as Plaid Cymru or the Scottish Nationalist Party. Failure to do so will result in the full resources of the British state being used to pull Sinn Féin apart.

More worryingly is the attitude of the Irish state in all this. Recently the government in Dublin has gone on a propaganda offensive against Sinn Féin, trying to portray that party as being the cause of the difficulties concerning the re-activation of the Belfast Agreement. The INC is highly critical of the role being played by our government. The people elected our Government to fight the corner for Irish national



May 2002, Talbot St., Dublin. An Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern lays a wreath in memory of those who were murdered by synchronised, no-warning bombs in Dublin & Monaghan on May 17th 1974. Our Taoiseach recently stated in the Dáil that it was his personal belief that no further information would be forthcoming from the British government and that it was therefore futile to hold an inquiry into the bombings, in other words – lets just forget about them. The INC believes that the issues surrounding the bombings go right to the heart of Anglo Irish relations. In this issue of *INC News*, we argue that the issues at stake for the Irish State are not just the vindication of the rights of the dead and injured but also the very sovereign integrity of this State itself. To fail to hold a full investigation of the matter on the grounds that it was a long time ago, or that it would cost too much, or that Britain is unlikely to co-operate would be an outrageous abdication of Sovereign responsibility.

— Picture courtesy of Justice for the Forgotten.

interests rather than act as the cheerleaders for implacable Unionist and British rejectionists. The Irish Government should stop playing junior partner to the British State; it needs to start behaving like a Sovereign state rather than a devolved British administration. Dublin must not sacrifice Irish national objectives upon the altar of short-term electoral expediency and antipathy towards Sinn Féin.

Unionism may settle for direct rule under the guise of perpetual crises and review however, Irish nationalists most definitely will not and they will be unsparing in their treatment of any national leadership who may seek to sell this fraud as a 'new dispensation'. Unless Irish nationalism reasserts itself and demonstrates to Unionism and Britain that they are not the only ones who can make demands and ultimatums, the rising tide of disillusionment with the Agreement may wash away the very foundations of the peace process itself.

INC Address Joint Oireachtas Sub Committee on Barron

An INC delegation led by Cathaoirleach Tom Cooper addressed the Joint Oireachtas Sub Committee on the Barron report and answered questions about our written submission on the 18th February 2004, 24 hours after the initially appointed time. This delay was caused by the unexpected appearance at the hearing by former British intelligence 'Psycops' officer Colin Wallace.

Following a welcome by Committee Chairperson Sean Ardagh TD, INC Cathaoirleach, Tom Cooper made an opening statement in which he attacked successive Irish governments for their indifference towards collusion in general and the Dublin and Monaghan bombings in particular. He accused the Gardaí of spending more time and energy harassing people engaged in legitimate political activity as well as the relatives and victims of the bombings than they did in finding the bombers themselves.

The INC Secretary Paul McGuill then made a statement outlining The INC's belief that the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings were part of an officially sanctioned policy of institutional collusion between British security forces and loyalist paramilitaries. The basis for this belief is the uncharacteristically sophisticated nature of the bombs themselves and the broader historical and international pattern of collusion between pro state paramilitaries and the state itself.

He then outlined the three main types of collusion, the first being 'organic' where grass root 'bad apple' members of the security forces motivated by revenge or bigotry assist in acts of terrorism. Given that more than 320 members of the UDR were convicted of various offences between 1970-1990 this type of collusion is an incontrovertible historical fact.

The second type of collusion is 'instrumental' where members of the security forces seek to gain cover and credibility by committing acts of terrorism during a penetration of a paramilitary organisation while the real objective is the destruction of that organisation. Britain claims its activities were of this type.

Thirdly there is official or institutional collusion where paramilitaries are used and directed as deniable and dispensable cannon fodder to achieve the long term policy objectives of the British state. The most cunning aspect to this policy is that it can disguise itself as the previous two types of collusion, where paramilitaries and junior security forces members may believe they are engaged in organic or instrumental collusion but are in fact being manipulated to achieve the objectives of institutional collusion.

Central to any official policy of collusion is 'plausible deniability' where distance is placed between those who authorise or plan operations and those who carry them out. This can be achieved when authorisation for collusion originates from an intentionally vague or ambiguous policy directive from a previous administration which permitted the downward delegation of policy making to a committee of civil servants who in turn delegate operational decisions to military or intelligence



17th May 1974. Parnell St., Dublin. The aftermath of the synchronised, no-warning bombs in which 34 people were murdered. — Pictures courtesy of Justice for the Forgotten.

officers who in turn delegate day to day details to junior officers on the ground. Their actions can then be plausibly denied on the grounds that they overstepped their remit.

The historic and international experience of investigating such conspiracies encounters five layers of denial, like peeling the layers of an onion. Firstly any allegation of collusion will be emphatically denied. Secondly as evidence of collusion emerges the involvement of intelligence services will be denied. Thirdly if their involvement can be demonstrated the illegality of their actions will be denied. Fourthly if illegality can be demonstrated the knowledge or consent of their superiors will be denied. Fifthly if the knowledge and consent of superiors can be demonstrated the actions will be justified on the grounds of national security or the greater good.

While the task of unweaving this spell of intrigue is an extremely difficult one this does not mean that it should not be attempted or that it cannot be successful as long as the government is resolute enough to face down British obstructionism.

There then followed questions from members of the committee Maire Hctor TD and former INC Secretary Finian Mc Grath TD who thanked the INC for the service it has provided to Irish nationalism over the past 15 years.

The INC's written submission centred around the bomb composition forensics and raised questions as to whether the amount of ANFO (home made fertiliser based explosives) needed to produce the explosions would have fitted into the cars used. (this question was subsequently answered by Commandant Patrick Trears who said that 250lb of ANFO would fit into a milk churn.)

Other questions raised related to the assumption that the Monaghan bomb was the result of a normal low-grade loyalist explosive device, which appeared to be at odds with the immediate army and Gardaí opinion after the bombing which was that the explosion was caused by commercial explosives. (Commandant Trears testimony also repeated the allegation that the British bomb disposal expert who tried to recruit him as a spy, Peter Maynard, armed the Monaghan bomb and delayed the forensic samples on their way to the laboratory in Belfast, this led to a temporary adjournment of the hearings as the committee met in private session.)

The INC also questioned the report's conclusions that loyalists were capable of smuggling sufficient quantities of explosives necessary from Scotland or Canada to carry out the attacks pointing out that the type and quantity of explosives smuggled from Scotland by William Fulton in the summer of 1974 are not specified in the report and that other loyalist explosive smuggling exercised were of a small scale and amateurish nature.

Our submission also questioned the reports conclusion that just because loyalists **didn't** use timing units or manufacture re-crystallised home made explosives doesn't mean that they **couldn't** do so as being highly improbable. We stated that the report failed to cite a single other example of a loyalist explosive device which failed to leave either explosive residue or remains of the timing unit. We also pointed out that most other loyalist bombs of this period, including those planted by the Glenane death squad believed responsible for the Dublin and Monaghan bombings, were of a much smaller size. The bomb supplied by a UDR officer and used in the Rock bar in Keady consisted of only 10lb of gelignite. The reports opinion that explosive ANFO residue may have been washed away by the fire brigade cannot be confirmed as the report failed to establish if the bomb sites, other than South Leinster Street, were hosed down by the fire brigade.

The INC challenged the report's dismissal of the possibility that seized PIRA explosives could have been used in the bombings considering that all official records of the seizure and disposal of explosives at Balykinler have been destroyed. The INC suggested that further investigations be conducted into any possible irregularities in the disposal of seized explosives and the use of military explosives during this period.

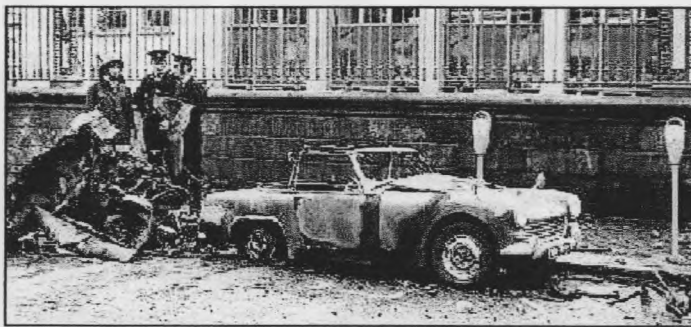
The Barron report believed that individual security force members were involved in the bombing and that the investigation into it may have been hampered by a wish to protect informers, yet it stated that the possibility of official or high level collusion remains only a suspicion. However, the INC believes that the refusal of Britain to co-operate fully with the Barron inquiry on grounds of 'national security' allows us to draw a 'negative inference' from their silence and obstructionism in the same way as the state draws negative inferences from citizens who chose to exercise their right to silence.

The INC also believes that the report ignored other similar attacks in Beirut in 1985 and Bologna in 1980. Which provides an international context for the standard of behaviour expected from intelligence agencies and Special Forces.

The INC recommended the establishment of an inter jurisdictional inquiry with powers to compel the attendance of witnesses and of access to all documents. This inquiry should seek to establish if those loyalists suspected of the bombing were recruited as agents or informers, if so for how long, by whom and what information was obtained.

It should also examine who monitored and what parameters were placed upon the activities of Special Branch and British Intelligence and examine the personnel files of those security force suspects to see if inappropriate contact with loyalist paramilitaries was known of and what sanctions were implemented.

The INC submission also asked what precautions were taken by the Irish state to prevent information given by Irish security forces to British security forces from



17th May 1974. South Leinster St, Dublin. The aftermath of the synchronised, no-warning bombs in which 34 people were murdered. – Pictures courtesy of Justice for the Forgotten.

falling into the hands of loyalist paramilitaries given that the Irish authorities had been officially warned of such links since the early 1970's.

What steps were taken to prevent further attempts by British intelligence from recruiting as spies other members of the southern security forces after the Garda Crinnion affair in 1972. In order to counter this threat the INC recommended the creation of a full time professional counter espionage agency to prevent espionage by foreign states in Ireland.

The INC also believe that it was a national scandal that the Gardai and Department of Justice files on the Dublin bombings are missing and that former deputy head of C3 (national internal security) Detective J.P. Mc Mahon claimed that he had never seen the Dublin bombings file. We suggested that an urgent inquiry be established to examine what happened to these most sensitive documents in particular and into the Gardai handling of the investigation in general. The possibility of a 'files amnesty' should be examined where former Ministers and officials can return files to their departments, which they may have 'inadvertently' retained after their term of office ended.

The INC believes that the issues surrounding the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings go right to the heart of Anglo Irish relations. If the British state was responsible for these bombings she should admit her role, make amends to the victims and put structures in place, which will ensure that their intelligence and security apparatus can never carry out acts like this in future. Anglo Irish relations can survive, and perhaps could be strengthened, by such revelations. What they cannot survive however is the ongoing poisonous suspicion and infuriating British obstructionism which could sow the 'dragon's teeth' of future animosity.

The issues at stake for the Irish State are not just the vindication of the rights of the dead and injured but also the very sovereign integrity of this State itself. If we allow another state to bomb our cities and murder our citizens with impunity not only are we inviting future attacks from around the world but also we are undermining the very justification and reason d'être of this State itself.

To fail to hold a full investigation of the matter on the grounds that it was a long time ago or that it would cost too much or that Britain is unlikely to co-operate would be an outrageous abdication of Sovereign responsibility.

In international relations it may be true that 'sometimes you have to take a beating from the school bully' but you certainly do not have to take it lying down.



THE DUBLIN & MONAGHAN BOMBINGS THE CASE FOR AN INQUIRY

Almost 30 years have passed since the Dublin and Monaghan bombings occurred and it has taken the bereaved families and survivors more than a decade of active campaigning to reach this point where the Barron report has been published and the Joint Oireachtas Committee public hearings have been completed. The goal of a public tribunal of inquiry has still to be achieved.

The Yorkshire television documentary: *Hidden Hand: the forgotten massacre* claimed that the Garda investigation into the bombings was wound down after 12 weeks. Barron confirms this to be the case and, even more disquieting, finds that the Monaghan investigation was, to all intents and purposes, over after seven weeks. The families and survivors now know as a matter of public record that there was an unexplained collapse in the Garda investigation.

Barron accepts that collusion, in some shape or form, did occur. He expresses his belief that former RUC Sergeant John Weir is a credible witness and he was in a position to corroborate from other sources many of Weir's claims. Barron believes that RUC Reservist James Mitchell's farm at Glenanne, Co. Armagh was used to organise the bombing of Dublin and Monaghan. While he also accepts the credibility of Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd, we believe that the Judge should have attached more weight to the contemporaneous documents made available to him such as letters and lists of Loyalists compiled by Colin Wallace and the notebooks of Fred Holroyd.

The Garda Investigation

The main failure of the Garda investigation team, as identified by Barron, was the failure to act promptly. He also identifies serious failures in the use of the information that emerged during the investigation. Appropriate forensic samples were not taken and those that were taken were incorrectly packed and did not reach the Department of Industrial and Forensic Science in Belfast for 11 days.

The failure to follow up obvious leads in this State, heavily criticised by Barron, is inexplicable. There are many examples to be found in his report, too numerous to list here. I will mention just a few: the failure to arrest the known associate of Stewart Young. Young was a Portadown Loyalist and a suspect for the Monaghan bombing from the very beginning. His associate stayed at the Four Courts Hotel during the week before the bombings and openly resided and carried on business in the State afterwards; the failure to interview the truck driver employed by a named Northern Ireland haulage company who was resident in Dublin – all the other drivers of the company were interviewed by the RUC at the request of the Gardaí; the failure to follow up the American woman alleged to have been in the company of another named driver of the haulage firm in a lay-by at Carrickarnon, Dundalk on the evening of the bombings; the failure to distribute or publish photofits; the lack of consistency in showing photographs to potential eye-witnesses.



17th May 1974. Parnell St., Dublin (above) and Monaghan town (below). The aftermath of the synchronised, no-warning bombs in which 34 people were murdered. – Pictures courtesy of Justice for the Forgotten.



Most astonishing of all was the failure to arrest a British officer found in possession of a uniform and weapons at Dublin port within two hours of the Dublin bombings. The only information on this incident in Garda files relates to the registration number of the van driven by the officer. An Army Intelligence report mentions the uniform and weapons. The concerned citizen who became suspicious of the van at lunchtime on 17 May 1974 made several telephone calls to the Gardaí at lunchtime and shortly after 5 pm. They took him seriously only after the bombs had exploded. He accompanied two Gardaí to Dublin port where he successfully identified the van and was present when the uniform was found. He approached *Justice for the Forgotten* and provided a statement to our legal team.

Judge Barron is critical of files missing from the Department of Justice and from C3 Section at Garda Headquarters, as well as the albums containing photographs of suspects. There is now no way of knowing the identity of the people included in the albums, apart from those who were identified by eye-witnesses at the time. This fact alone deserves to be inquired into.

Barron believes that the Monaghan report disclosed an internal cultural belief that a real investigation was impossible because the perpetrators resided outside the jurisdiction. This was powerfully borne out by the presentation given to the Joint Oireachtas Committee by the former Chief Superintendent of Monaghan, J.P. McMahon, on 18 February 2004. He stated:

'I think the Garda conducted a thorough investigation up to a particular point and then it was confronted with what one might call a brick wall in the sense that further investigation would have to be conducted in Northern Ireland. If we were to compare to a suspect being located...in some other centre in the South, say, Cork or Galway, I could see the principal investigators moving to that city, setting up office and conducting further investigations which could well take much longer...'

Collusion

The evidence, as established by Judge Barron, is clearly such that could be found to constitute collusion and in fact satisfies the test set by Judge Peter Cory during the course of his inquiries. The key testimony of Fred Holroyd, Colin Wallace and John Weir stands vindicated and will be of enormous value to any further inquiry.

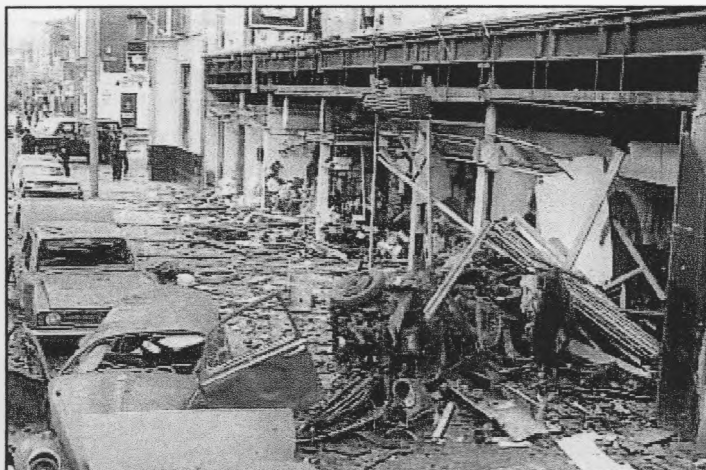
If the expert opinion of former British Army officer, Lieut. Col. Nigel Wylde is correct in relation to the type of explosives used in the bombings, and the lack of access of Loyalists to such explosives, this is evidence of a direct connection between the security forces in Northern Ireland and the bombings. This is a critical aspect that has to be examined fully.

What type of Inquiry?

Both the collapse of the Garda investigation and the question of UK security force collusion in the bombings have to be investigated by a public tribunal of inquiry. It has long been our view that a cross-jurisdictional inquiry would be the preferred model. However, it is not within the gift of the Irish Government to order the UK to participate in the establishment of such a tribunal. Therefore, the obligation of this State in investigating the murder of its own citizens on its own soil should not be conditional on the support or co-operation of another state, particularly when the other state is the one suspected of colluding with the bombers. As the former diplomat and Irish Ambassador to the United States, Seán Donlon, stated to the Joint Oireachtas Committee:

'This [an inquiry] is not simply for the families...there is an issue of sovereignty here. I think that it is very important that a country is confident that its neighbouring country has not, in any sense, attempted to breach its sovereignty...it is for the sake of the families, the relatives and the victims, and also for the sake of our national interest that this should be investigated.'

The Joint Oireachtas Committee hearings are now complete. They continued over eight weeks with presentations by many individuals, including the Taoiseach, current and former Government Ministers, the Garda Commissioner, Army officers, solicitors, barristers and organisations including British Irish Rights Watch, the Pat Finucane Centre and the Irish National Congress.



May 17th 1974, Talbot St., Dublin. The aftermath of one of the synchronised, no-warning bombs – Picture courtesy of Justice for the Forgotten.

These hearings have, in fact, intensified concerns about what occurred in Dublin and Monaghan on 17 May 1974 and afterwards. Issues highlighted and questions raised by the Barron report have not been addressed, e.g., no explanation or elaboration was offered by the Garda Commissioner. The result is a scandal that has increased and has given rise to alarming concerns.

The Government has announced that a public tribunal of inquiry will be established into the murders by the IRA on 20th March 1989 of RUC Chief Superintendent Harry Breen and Superintendent Bob Buchanan. John Weir has claimed that Chief Superintendent Breen colluded in the 1970s with the actual individuals and organisations involved in the Dublin and Monaghan bombings. It would be ironic in the extreme and a further insult to the families of the Dublin and Monaghan victims if a public inquiry were to be held into the murder of an alleged colluder, which took place outside this jurisdiction, while denying such an inquiry into the murder of 34 civilians in its capital city and the town of Monaghan.

I am conscious as I write this article of the appalling Madrid bombings, which occurred on 11th March – synchronised, no-warning bombs on crowded trains during morning rush hour. The response of the British Prime Minister to the Madrid bombings, in light of his Government's attitude to Judge Barron's requests for information, is stomach-churning. He insists that 'terrorism must be defeated' and 'our way of life must be protected', yet Judge Barron did not receive a single original document from the British Government to assist him in his investigation into the synchronised, no-warning bombs in a crowded city centre during evening rush hour almost 30 years ago.

– Margaret Urwin
Campaign Secretary
Justice For The Forgotten

JUSTICE FOR THE FORGOTTEN

The Organisation of Victims & Relatives seeking Justice for the Dublin and Monaghan Bombings of 17th May 1974; the Dublin bombings of 1st December 1972 and 20th January 1973

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November 2001: Justice for the Forgotten protests Britain's zero response outside Dublin Castle. The failure of the Irish Government to establish an Inquiry into the Dublin & Monaghan bombings would be an outrageous abdication of Sovereign responsibility.

MADRID BOMBINGS

The Irish National Congress wishes to express sympathy and solidarity with the people of Spain in the wake of the appalling and despicable synchronised no warning bomb attacks on the commuter rail system in Madrid on 11th March 2004, which resulted in 200 dead and some 1,700 wounded.

Regardless of the political issues and motivation, there can be no justification whatsoever for attacks on civilian targets.

The INC condemns the lies and distortions of the outgoing Spanish government, in attempting to put the blame onto the ETA military grouping in order to boost its re-election efforts and possibly justify further political repression against the Basque national movement. Even when al-Qa'ida claimed responsibility, the government insisted that they were working with ETA. We would impress upon the new Spanish government the need to address the outstanding national grievances of the Basque and Catalan peoples who reside within the kingdom of Spain.

The Madrid bombings, while being much larger in scale and carnage, have much in common with the Dublin & Monaghan bombings. Both bombings were synchronised with no warning and both were carried out in order to directly influence the political mood of the day. In Spain the conservative government failed to get re-elected, rejected by angry voters who felt betrayed and blamed it for provoking the bombings. The Socialists, who had promised to withdraw Spain's 1,300 troops from Iraq, won the election. In Ireland, the aftermath of the Dublin & Monaghan bombings enabled the Cosgrave minority-led government to get draconian legislation passed by the Dáil, which it would otherwise have failed to do.

However, the Spanish government have vowed to leave no stone unturned in its hunt for those responsible, while the Irish government seems content to leave things buried in the rubble of 30 years ago and now looks set to abdicate its sovereign responsibility to the victims and the Irish people.

ARE THE DUP FIT FOR GOVERNMENT?

Asking if the DUP are fit for government certainly raises issues that need probing.

For very many years the DUP put themselves outside any serious debate with Nationalists. From the safety of political opposition this mish-mash of born again Christians, bible belters, and sectarian reactionaries who have no coherent political ideology, now find themselves from a position of being outside looking in, to a position of being inside looking out and are confused and bewildered.

Marching up the mountains outside Belfast waving shotgun certificates, forcing Orange marches down Garvaghy Road, preventing rugby matches on Sunday, and surviving on slogans while refusing to negotiate with Nationalists will not suffice now that they have been handed power. As the UUP and DUP continue to cannibalise each other, the political structures voted upon by both parts of this island on Good Friday 1998 are still in cold storage. In spite of the fact that under the Good Friday Agreement, Unionists have a constitutional guarantee regarding the political future of the North, an early restoration of the Stormont Executive is most unlikely.

The political reality is that Dr Paisley's philosophy appears to be dedicated to a view of society at variance with that of the Agreement, and

until Unionism agrees to work the political consensus agreed under the Good Friday Agreement there is a danger that the lunatic fringe of rejectionists of both political persuasions will continue to make gains. In spite of the fact that under the Good Friday Agreement, Unionists have a constitutional guarantee regarding the political future of the North, an early restoration of the Stormont Executive is most unlikely.

UUP ECUMENISM?

In withdrawing the Ulster Unionist Party from the review of the Belfast Agreement in protest at the alleged IRA attack on Mr Bobby Tohill in Belfast recently, it would appear that Mr David Trimble has certainly embraced the new political ecumenism called for in the Good Friday Agreement.

Can we now expect Mr Trimble to call for the immediate publication of the Cory Report into the murders of Pat Finucane, Rosemary Nelson, and Robert Hamill, and in the event of the Sub-Committee on the Barron Report into the Dublin and Monaghan bombings recommending a full public inquiry, will Mr Trimble call on the British government to make available all relevant documentation to assist in such an inquiry?

- Tom Cooper
Cathaoirleach

BRITS OUT!

BNP GET OUT OF IRELAND!

It has been widely reported in the media that the British National Party (BNP) is poised to set up a satellite grouping in the 26 Co.'s to contest the forthcoming European and Local elections in June, standing on an anti-immigration platform. We would appeal to our activists and supporters to ensure that this group does not get an easy time of it.

The BNP have launched the "Eire First Fund – Building a future for Irelands children" on their website with the aim of establishing a new political party in the 26 Co.'s. "The fight with Britain is over" it declares "now it's a new fight" and "this is why the BNP is delighted to support and promote the Keep Ireland Irish campaign, which aims to encourage Irish patriots to make a serious effort to organise themselves into a new party which will give the Irish electorate the chance to vote to keep Ireland Irish."

The BNP is an avowedly racist and fascist party that has been responsible for whipping up tensions and animosities in major urban centres. In 2001, they played a big part in the orgy of rioting, looting and arson that engulfed the town of Oldham. They play on the fears, prejudices and resentments of "poor whites" left behind by the economic boom. Now they are planning the same fate for us in Ireland.

Any Irish citizen idiotic or stupid enough to stand for a BNP front organisation in the 26 Co.'s cannot be aware of its history. The BNP has a long record of anti-Irish activity. Every year BNP inspired thugs harass Irish marches in Britain; Bloody Sunday, Manchester Martyrs, the James Connolly rally in Edinburgh to name but a few. In 1995 they had a role in organising the riot at the Ireland versus England soccer international in Dublin.

The BNP has always been vociferous in its support for 6 Co.'s loyalists. Large contingents from Britain were always present in support of the Orange Order protests at Drumcree. Now they claim to be pro-Irish and have re-written the 1916 Proclamation to support their appalling agenda!

Their version is called "The Declaration" and reads: "IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood and her identity, Ireland, through us, summons her children to strike for her survival as an Irish nation. Her old political parties having failed her and subjected her both to the rule of a new alien government and to a new foreign invasion, it falls to Ireland's friends, including the sons and daughters of her exiled children in England and America, and her old allies in France, to call on her to remember her own strength and to strike for her very existence." It continues in similar twisted vein and of course the part about cherishing the children of the nation equally, oblivious to carefully fostered divisions, has been deleted completely.

There is no doubt that the sizeable immigration into Ireland is going to become a significant political issue, given the realities of the world that we live in. There will be tensions and there will be problems. Issues arising need to be addressed in honest and open debate. There is however one thing that we don't want and did not ask for; we don't want to hear from the hate-mongers of the BNP and their Irish dupes.

Regardless of your own personal opinions on the issue of immigration, never let the hate-mongers set the agenda. In Belfast today, the thugs who are attacking the Chinese, Muslims and Africans are the same people who are regularly attacking the nationalist community. An anonymous flyer / poster entitled "Yellow Invasion: Who's 'Pass' is it?" was recently distributed throughout the Donegall Pass and its environs. It claims that "The influx of yellow people... is eroding the Britishness and Ulster Protestant culture and heritage from our area more than the IRA could ever have hoped to do." It concludes by calling on loyalists to "Rid our community of these Chinese immigrants and clear the way for Protestant families to move in..." Sound familiar?

The BNP seeks to re-assert British power throughout these Islands and that includes the Irish state. However, that's their small print and they won't be revealing that to the Irish. The BNP, having links with paramilitaries such as Combat 18, the UDA, UVF and LVF, have undoubtedly been infiltrated by the intelligence services of the British State. Need we say more? Reject the British National Party, BRITS OUT!

– Cathal Óg McCarthy

Editor INC News

OMISSION OF IRISH LANGUAGE FROM EU

Like many other organisations and individuals, the Irish National Congress is outraged at the decision of the EU to omit the Irish language from the list of official languages of the European Union.

The National Executive of the INC has written to An Taoiseach Mr Ahern to register our disapproval and to impress upon him his obligation to have this decision reversed. As Ireland is the current holder of the EU Presidency, Mr Ahern must use his office to press Ireland's case. Having lost Articles 2 and 3 of our Constitution, which represented our territorial claim to the island of Ireland, to what appears to be a bogus peace process, we can ill afford the downgrading of our native tongue.

FRIENDS OF GLASNEVIN CEMETERY

On Sunday March 7th, about 70 people, many from South Armagh, attended the unveiling of a headstone in Glasnevin cemetery to Christopher Dowling, a 38-year-old man, probably from Dunboyne in Co Meath. Christopher is, to a great extent, unknown. What is known about him is that he was politically active and was under Dublin Castle surveillance for some considerable time. The Dublin Metropolitan police in attempting to arrest him in Middle Abbey Street in 1882, supposedly accidentally shot him 3 times. Ironically, at his trial Christopher was charged with shooting with intent to murder, but he was not charged with being armed. On the 8th of February 1883, Christopher was convicted at Green Street courthouse, and was sentenced to penal servitude for life. He was released in February 1895 in poor health and died some months later. He was buried in Prospect cemetery (Glasnevin) in an unmarked grave. Representatives from the INC, and in particular Gerry McGowan, were in attendance, as were representatives from other nationalist organisations. Wreaths were laid by former internees from the North.

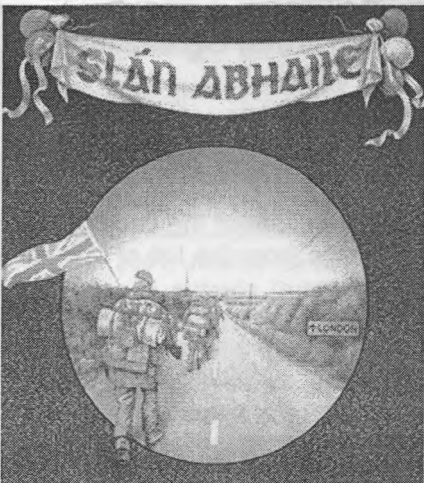
–Tom Cooper
Cathaoirleach



August 1994 was the 25th anniversary of the Introduction of British troops onto the streets of the North of Ireland. Following a meeting of over 200 invited artists, musicians and political activists, the *Time for Peace – Time to Go* campaign was established by the INC.

The campaign was launched at a press conference in Dublin on 23rd March 1994. A series of activities were organised by *Time for Peace – Time to Go* which were highly successful in raising the public's awareness. These included public debates, meetings, photographic exhibitions, a Gala Concert and an International Day of Action culminating with a Concert, Parade and Pageant in Dublin on 20th August 1994.

That was ten years ago and they're still not gone!



To mark the events of ten years ago the INC is pleased to announce the opening of its online gallery at www.inc.ie, which includes a section on *Time for Peace – Time to Go*.

The pictures are mostly of the Parade & Pageant that was held in Dublin on 20th August 1994.

You can also view the contents of the Commemorative Programme - Dublin, August 20th 1994, which was for sale on the day. If you have pictures of *Time for Peace – Time to Go* events that you would like included in our gallery then contact us today.

CHRISTMAS RAFFLE RESULTS

The winners of the Christmas raffle were:

1st prize (€150 hamper): Michael MacEvilly, Dublin

2nd prize, (Christmas cake): Brianán Nic Flannichaidha, Co. Dublin.

3rd Prize, (bottle of spirits): Peter Kavanagh, Co. Wicklow

Congratulations to the winners and many thanks to all our members and supporters who subscribed and without who's help our work would be impossible.

INC EASTER RAFFLE 2004

The prizes for this years raffle are:

1. An Easter Cake
2. An Easter Hamper.
3. A Bottle of Spirits.

With this newsletter you will receive a booklet of (6) raffle tickets. One booklet is €5. If you would like to participate in this draw, please send your completed stubs and money to I.N.C. P.O. Box 2814, Dublin 7 before the 3rd April 2004. As ever your support is invaluable and greatly appreciated as this money is essential to the I.N.C.'s survival.

An Ghaeilge

Tugann Comhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann tacaíocht do fhorbairt na Gaeilge. Ba bhreá linn alt as Gaeilge a bheith i ngach eagrán den "*INC News*", ach tá fadhb mhór againn. Níl a dhóthain líofacht nó muinín ag aon duine ar an gcoiste seo alt mar sin a scríobh. Dá bhri sin, táimid ag brath oraibhse, ár léitheoirí, go háirithe an chuid díobh go bhfuil an Ghaeilge ar thoil agaibh, sliocht a scríobh. Má chuirfidh sibh ábhar oiriúnach chughainn, beidh an teagarthóir thar a bheith sásta é a fhoilsiú.

The INC supports the development of the Irish language. We would love to be in a position to include an article (or even a short paragraph) in Irish in each issue of *INC News*. The main problem is that none of our regular contributors feel competent to tackle such an article. The editor would be overjoyed to receive items in Irish for publication in future issues of *INC News*.

INC TELEPHONE NUMBERS

If you need to contact the INC by telephone, you may do so through the following numbers:

061 44 07 54 / 087 62 87 065

Both numbers have playback, so if your call is not answered immediately, you may leave a message and, if necessary, the INC will return your call.

WRITE FOR THE INC NEWS!


The INC invites its readers to submit letters or articles concerning the national question and other relevant topics. Articles should be under 1500 words, typed or written clearly and posted to:

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

or emailed to: inc32cne@eircom.net

If you would like to learn more about the INC you can log on to our excellent new website

www.inc.ie



IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO JOIN THE INC,
FILL IN THIS FORM AND RETURN IT TO:

Irish National Congress, PO Box 2814, Dublin 7.
MEMBERSHIP FEE €10 WAGED / €5 UNWAGED

Name.....

Address.....

e-mail.....