



## Another Fine Mess!

We must not underestimate the seriousness of the political crisis that will arise from the aftermath of the November 26<sup>th</sup> elections. It is no exaggeration to state that we have now come to a major turning point in the history of the artificial six county state.

In the centre pages of this newsletter, we carry a balance sheet of the Belfast Agreement to date. We ask you to study it carefully. It makes for shocking and sobering reading. It shows clearly and starkly, how the unionist leadership under David Trimble, have repeatedly blocked the working of the agreement, thus deliberately making it inoperable. The institutions have been suspended on four occasions since 1999.

The facts outlined in the balance sheet show an utterly different picture to the one being presented by the British and Irish mainstream media and establishment sources. On the unionist side we expect anti agreement candidates to sweep the board, possibly endangering Trimble's leadership. Sinn Féin will probably emerge as the largest nationalist party.

Given this likely election outcome, there is no prospect whatsoever of an administration in its present manifestation being formed. This would suit many unionists as it becomes ever more apparent that their true objective is the permanent exclusion of republicans from government, at any cost, rather than decommissioning and devolution.

What the British are looking for are compliant republicans who will serve as 'the administrators of the internment camp' (to coin the Israeli phrase regarding their 'peace process') otherwise they will seek republicanism's destruction. What the Barron, Stevens and Cory investigations into Britain's collusion show us is that neither Britain nor unionism can tolerate republicans governing part of the 'United Kingdom' and they will use every means necessary and every opportunity that presents itself to split republicanism with increasingly humiliating 'acts of completion'. Britain's long-term strategy for Ireland lies not in her disengagement but in our re-incorporation and to achieve this republicans must be either brought to heel or put to sleep.



An Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern with British Prime Minister Tony Blair discussing the future of the peace process. Nationalists, Republicans and the Irish government must wake up to the fact that Britain is an amoral protagonist not a neutral umpire.

To avoid this nightmare scenario we must wake up to the fact that Britain is an amoral protagonist not a neutral umpire and we must be permanently on our guard against her attempts to dilute or distract key republican objectives and ideals. Twice the IRA has disarmed and has received nothing in return but unionist scorn. Unionists have gained the most from the 1998 agreement and following the 2003 election they will try to re-negotiate further concessions. This must not be allowed to happen, as the Chinese proverb states 'fool me once shame on you, fool me twice shame on me'.

What republicans, nationalists and the Irish Government must do is agree a united long-term strategy, to circumvent unionist obstruction and British complicity and to achieve our shared long-term objectives.

### Irish National Congress Comhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann

We would like to extend seasons  
greetings to all our members and  
supporters in Ireland and overseas

*nollaig faoi shéan  
is faoi mhaíse*



# SO YOU THINK WE SHOULD REJOIN THE COMMONWEALTH?

The Irish state formally left the British Commonwealth in 1949 with the establishment of the Republic of Ireland. At that time, this policy was seen as a natural further step in the direction of a fully sovereign Irish state, separate from Great Britain.

Today, a full 54 years later, there are Irish figures of the political elite, calling for the restoration of the Commonwealth link. These voices fall into two categories.

Firstly, there are those who sincerely, but somewhat foolishly think that British Commonwealth restoration could actually favour nationalist Ireland with regard to the North, and to possible future re-unification! They should know better by now.

The second category consist of the 'usual suspects'; that small, unrepresentative, Anglo-centric neo-unionist minority, wishing to restore the 'British Dimension' to the 26 county state. they appear to have influence out of all proportion to their actual size.

But what would the Irish political landscape look like if we were to reverse the 1949 decision and rejoin? We need to examine this seriously. There are indications that moves could be made on this issue in the next few years.

One thing must always be kept in mind though, despite the machinations of the political elite, there is no significant degree of support amongst the population for British Commonwealth re-entry. This is not a demand that is coming from the people.

Rejoining the Commonwealth would be a backward and retrograde step. It would have the effect of gradually "re-Britishing" the Irish state. It would amount to a rejection of the separatist aspect of Irish nationalism.

Here is a summary of the political consequences we can expect, if the Irish state were to rejoin the British Commonwealth:

- The direct link between the Irish state and the British Crown, severed in 1949, will be restored.
- Because the British monarch is always Head of the Commonwealth, this would mean that symbolically speaking, the monarch would occupy a higher position politically, than that of our own democratically elected Head of State! Think about that one carefully. We could find ourselves being embarrassed or even humiliated in the course of future royal visits, or state ceremonial occasions involving representatives of 'Her Majesty.'
- A 'British Dimension' would be restored to our political life. We would find ourselves being drawn ever closer politically to the United Kingdom. The long term aim of some British (and Irish!) establishment strategists, is the creation of a Federation of the British Isles which would include the 26 counties! Commonwealth re-entry, by restoring Britishness to the Irish state, makes that longer-term goal (20-30 years) easier to accomplish.



- Commonwealth re-entry would create a climate favourable to the re-birth of Hiberno-Unionism, or Redmondism, as it is more commonly known. This ideology, which up to now has been the preserve of fools and fantasists, could once again become a significant minority political force, with connections to like-minded groupings in the UK. A potential fifth column.
- In terms of international affairs, we would once again become a White Commonwealth Dominion on a par with Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Much of Europe would interpret our move as a 'return to the fold' and a rejection of our former policies of separation from Great Britain.
- Alongside the armies of Britain and the other three white Commonwealth dominions, the Irish Defence Forces too, will be expected to participate in Armistice Day ceremonies, and to ensure that personnel wear The Poppy. Don't make the mistake of thinking that this cannot happen. Look at the concessions that have already been made to the Royal British Legion lobby since 1983. Remembrance Sunday is the most solemn day in the calendar of the white Commonwealth, a sort of Holy Day of Obligation. Even French Canada must show due respect. No allowances will be made for the Irish, who will, in time be expected to participate fully and to conform!
- Last but by no means least; the re-Britishing of the 26 counties would once again bring about attitudes of subservience and servility amongst sections of our political and social elite. A return to the days of The Castle and the Viceregal Lodge as it were. Britain undoubtedly, would continue the practice of handing out 'gongs' to selected Irish Citizens in the form of Knighthoods and other titles of 'nobility'. We would be shamed once again by the obsequious antics of those whom General Tom Barry once described as 'sycophants and lickspittles'. Remember the disgusting spectacle of John Bruton grovelling before Prince Charles?



But what about the possible benefits that could come about from Commonwealth re-entry? Yes, what about them? This is where the advocates of British Commonwealth re-entry fall down, big time. There are simply no discernible tangible benefits for nationalist Ireland.

For instance; there will be no big transfer of funds to Ireland, unlike the position regarding our membership since 1973 of the European Union. There are no new trade, cultural or diplomatic opportunities to be had. In any case, our trade policies are determined by reference to our membership of the EU, and moreover much of the Commonwealth is terribly poor.

There is nothing therefore that we don't already have in relation to the Commonwealth nations. We enjoy excellent relations with all of them. In fact we seem to enjoy better relations with the Commonwealth countries, than they in turn have with the so-called Mother Country. Commonwealth leaders have often castigated the British monarchy and British political leaders for what they see as patronising arrogance and condescension towards their former colonies. African Commonwealth leaders have never forgiven Britain for its support for the evil apartheid regime despite the fact that racist South Africa abruptly left the Commonwealth in 1960!

The restoration of ties to the British Commonwealth will not make the positive contribution towards the situation in the North, that its advocates would claim. Indeed, it could make matters worse by emboldening reactionary Unionism and sowing demoralisation amongst nationalists.

It is quite likely that in the next few years a 'package deal' maybe cobbled together by the two governments. Some sort of re-unification of the island, in return for re-entry into the Commonwealth, together with other re-Britishing measures. This should be firmly rejected.

In conclusion, it is to me, that there is nothing here for nationalist Ireland. Those who advocate British Commonwealth re-entry, should be made to spell-out what they see are the specific benefits. They should not be allowed to get away with making broad general claims. A special watch needs to be kept upon our government to ensure that it does not make undue concessions in this matter, to Britain or to the Unionists. We as a nation cannot afford another defeat, similar to the one inflicted upon us over the issues of Articles Two & Three.

**– Francis Martin**

**(Dubliner Francis Martin is a member of the INC)**



The original Union flag was invented in 1606, combining 2 flags, the "cross of St. George" (England) and the "cross of St. Andrew" (Scotland).



The Union flag today, after the Act of Union 1801 the "cross of St. Patrick" was added, representing the "perpetual" union between Great Britain and Ireland!

## TRIBUTE TO OLIVER KEARNEY

**Oliver Kearney, civil rights activist, equality campaigner, tireless worker for social justice and founder member of the INC passed away on 24th July this year, following a long illness.**

Despite having been diagnosed as having lung cancer almost a decade ago, Oliver simply hadn't time to die! There was still work to be done, and such inconveniences as terminal illness were not a priority. Oliver was sadly predeceased by his wife, Brigid, in May 2001. Brigid was his constant companion, his support and inspiration in all his many endeavours.

Oliver was involved in republican politics in the North right from the earliest days of the civil rights campaign, and over the years it is true to say that there has scarcely been a campaign that hasn't benefited from his help.

He is perhaps best known for his work in the USA, promoting the Mc Bride principles for fair employment, ensuring that American investment in the six counties would not be used to perpetuate anti-catholic discrimination. This year, in recognition of his work the Irish American Unity Conference dedicated their 20th anniversary convention in New York to Oliver. At home, his detailed study of employment practises here, The Directory of Discrimination, was a superb exposé of the systematic and ruthless way in which discrimination was used as a tool of the Orange state. The chillingly congruent way in which anti-nationalist employment practises, and the disenfranchisement and emigration which of necessity resulted, ensured a continuing Unionist hegemony makes stark reading. Quite simply had Oliver not undertaken this work, it would not have been done. With the formation of the Equality Group, and in a series of direct action campaigns against such institutions as the Northern Bank and Bushmills Whiskey, Oliver was instrumental not only in raising awareness of the issues, but of bringing about change in unjust practises.

Oliver was a staunch and vigorous defender of Articles 2&3 of Bunreacht na hÉireann. He understood the difference between a pious hope, and a constitutional imperative with respect to the 26 county government's obligations towards the northern state.

Those who knew him best, however remember not only the talented orator, the committed worker and the man whose love of his country coloured all his actions- they remember the father, grandfather, mentor and friend whose favourite expression was-"its better to light a candle than to curse the dark". Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam

**– Anne McCloskey**

**(Ann McCloskey is a GP, living and working in Derry. She has been a member of the INC since 1992 and joined the National Executive in 2002. Ann McCloskey is Leas Cathaoirleach of the INC)**



# The Belfast Agreement: A Balance Sheet

**Ever since the signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998 pro British media and politicians have tried to justify repeated unionist intransigence and political sabotage by belittling nationalist and republican concessions while exaggerating those on the British side.**

It would be useful at this stage to outline the litany of insincere unionist procrastination, which has passed for political engagement thus far, while recalling the painful and unprecedented concessions made by the nationalist and republican community.

- **Dec. 93:** UUP refuses to enter into talks with Sinn Fein until there was a cease-fire.
- **Aug. 94:** After the IRA cease-fire the UUP refused to enter into talks until it was declared permanent.
- **Oct. 94:** Unionists refused to participate in the Forum for Peace and Reconciliation and refused to enter into talks with the Dublin Government until articles two and three were removed.
- **Sept. 95:** After more than a year on cease-fire the new unionist leader David Trimble demanded IRA decommissioning before talks.
- **April 98:** The UUP only entered into talks and signed the Belfast agreement after enormous pressure from the British, American and Irish governments.
- **July 99:** Seamus Mallon resigns as deputy first minister after the UUP refuses to nominate ministers to the executive.
- **Nov. 99:** 20 months after the agreement the UUP reluctantly nominate ministers to the executive and set up all Ireland bodies.
- **Feb. 00:** Less than two months later the institutions of the agreement are suspended by Peter Mandelson at the behest of the UUP without the consent of the Irish government or pro agreement parties or electorate, they were only restored three months later in May 00 after Trimble narrowly won a leadership contest against Rev. Martin Smith.
- **Oct. 00:** Trimble illegally excludes Sinn Fein ministers from all Ireland bodies until Nov 01.
- **July 01:** Trimble resigns as first minister as part of an ultimatum on decommissioning. in Aug. 01 the institutions are suspended for 1 day to buy more time for negotiations only to be suspended for a third time at the end of Sept. 01.
- **Oct. 01:** DUP and UUP ministers resign from executive forcing the PIRA to decommission at the end of the month following this the institutions are restored in Nov.
- **Oct. 02:** Despite a second unilateral act of PIRA decommissioning in April the institutions are suspended for a fourth time due to UUP ultimatums for PIRA disbandment.
- **Oct. 03:** Following the third and largest act of PIRA decommissioning to date Trimble contemptuously threw it back in the face of republicans because it wasn't 'transparent' enough.

Northern and southern nationalists and republicans, on the other hand, voted overwhelmingly for the Belfast Agreement in 1998 in the sincere expectation of radical change. However, the experience since then has been one of bitter disappointment and broken promises. The right of the people of the North to determine their own future 'without external impediment' has been exposed as a mendacious confidence trick as the agreements institutions have been suspended four times by unilateral fiat of a British Secretary of State without the consent or consultation of the Irish Government, northern parties and northern electorate at the behest of the leader of Ulster Unionism. As ever when Britain can no longer 'rule the waves' she 'waives the rules' tearing up democratically endorsed international agreements whenever she judges it politically expedient.

- The Agreement promised 'the right to freedom from sectarian harassment' yet loyalists have made over 700 pipe bombs, have driven hundreds of people from their homes, have carried out 20 sectarian murders, and besieged isolated nationalist communities in Belfast, Portadown, Larne, Coleraine and elsewhere since 1998. Orange parades are still forced through many hostile and vulnerable Catholic enclaves, while those that are re-routed often result in months of disruption and harassment.

- The Agreement promised reform of policing yet despite cosmetic name and uniform changes the force is still deeply sectarian and militarised so much so that it has been frequently criticised by the Ombudsman Nuala O'Loan and even its own Chief Constable, Hugh Orde over collusion and the investigation of serious incidents like the Omagh bombings. The special branch continues to operate as a conspiratorial force within a force. Membership of secret oath bound sectarian, supremacist organisations is still permitted; the force is still heavily armed and still uses plastic bullets, mostly against nationalist youths.

- Nationalists and republicans are expected to share executive power with unreconstructed sectarian unionist politicians who think Catholics should be 'house trained' and that the Republic is a 'pathetic mono-cultural sectarian state.' Clearly unionists are as reluctant to share power with Catholics today as they were in the past and have engendered spurious crisis after crisis in order to ensure that the executive and cross border bodies spend more time in suspension than in operation while at the same time drawing huge ministerial salaries without exercising ministerial responsibility.

- The people of the Republic sacrificed their claim of legal right to the North contained in Articles 2 & 3 and in return received no meaningful change in the British claim to the North. By doing so we have retroactively legitimised the 1920 partition and may encourage a repeat in the future. Effectively the Irish people have handed a veto over national reunification to an artificial majority in the six counties. Given the unwritten nature of the British constitution it is much easier for them to retract any constitutional concessions at a future date by means of an act of Parliament whereas any (unlikely) return to Articles 2 & 3 would require a referendum in the South.



- The agreement promised nationalists meaningful cross border bodies with executive powers. Yet DUP ministers are allowed to boycott all cross border meetings and the UUP are allowed to illegally exclude Sinn Fein ministers without protest or 'alternative arrangements' being implemented by either government. The bodies that emerged in 1998 were much less powerful than those proposed in 1972 and 1921 and are unlikely to evolve into a federal Ireland as envisaged by the 1983 new Ireland Forum. To date cross border bodies have made no practical impact on peoples lives North or South and have farcically spent longer in suspension than in operation.

- Progress on the equality agenda has been painfully slow and nearly 5 years on no bill of rights has yet been drafted. While nationalists still suffer disproportionate levels of poverty and unemployment. Equality is not some exotic luxury to be dispensed as a reward for good behaviour but a universal, fundamental human right to be demanded. It is very unlikely that a British state, which has routinely abused human rights and denied equality for decades can be trusted to deliver the necessary reforms.

- Despite the IRA taking the historically unprecedented step of decommissioning twice these acts have gone unreciprocated by the UVF and UDA. While British demilitarisation has been merely cosmetic. Thousands of full and part time RIR and PSNI remain fully armed on and off duty while evidence of continuing collusion emerges weekly. Thousands of British soldiers remain and regularly patrol the streets in nationalist areas while some of their fortified bases have actually been renovated and expanded. 150,000 legally held firearms still remain mostly in the hands of unionists.

- 5 years after the agreement the Irish government still refuses to release its remaining prisoners under the Belfast agreement. We have also seen an increase rather than a decrease in the amount of repressive legislation with republicans being convicted even though Garda evidence has shown to be fabricated. While Britain has sought to reintroduce its criminalisation policy into northern prisons which failed so dramatically in the 1980's by ending segregation and eroding political status. Juryless courts still operate North and South and the state harassment and espionage on political activists continues unabated.

The hypocritical and politically bankrupt unionist leadership have been responsible for bringing down the North's institutions four times since 1999. They have escalated their demands from cease-fire, to permanence, to decommissioning, to disbandment and invented imaginary republican threats while ignoring real loyalist violence. While unionists refuse to talk to republicans and storm out of meetings with the Irish government Willie McCrea and David Trimble could talk to Billy Wright and the UUP and British government can talk to the Loyalist Commission. If the Belfast Agreement is to retain any credibility the Irish and British governments must ensure that unionism delivers on its commitments or else considers 'alternative arrangements' to prevent continuous unionist political sabotage. The rising number of northern nationalists have lost patience with British and Unionist procrastination either all the northern parties must share executive power or the two governments should.

— **Paul McGuill**

(Paul McGuill has been an INC activist since 1994; he is Secretary of the INC)

## WAR IN IRAQ CONTINUES

**The image of Paul Wolfowitz, U.S. deputy defence secretary and architect-in-chief of the American invasion, fleeing in his underwear from the bombing of the al-Rashid Hotel last week must have prompted a few grim smiles among the plain people of Iraq. They can empathise with his experience.**

The once imposing façade of this hotel, which has come to be symbolic of the US presence in Baghdad, is crumbling and cracked from mortar shells. The message to the American administration is clear-you aren't wanted here.

The carnage of recent weeks, with attacks on targets such as Red Cross buildings and police stations, as well as American military personnel, serve only to reinforce the fact that the war, which we were told was over six months ago may well have some time to run! On the ground in Iraq, public opinion is hardening against what are seen less and less as liberators, and more and more as an occupying army. One hears that American forces, in a campaign to root out Baath party supporters in Hawajja, west of Kirkuk, have dismissed 14 out of 18 doctors in the local hospital, as well as 200 teachers! The investigative journalist, Robert Fisk has estimated, from hospital records and burial statistics (such as the censors allow to be seen) that as many as 1000 Iraqi civilians are dying each week from the zealous efforts of the coalition forces to stamp out "terror". Little wonder the natives are so unappreciative.

Opposition comes not only from those loyal to Saddam. Hatred of the occupiers is expressed openly among Sunni and Shia alike. Even the Kurds, the grouping, which had most to gain from forging new allegiances with a new regime, are falling away, not least because of the American's proposal that Turkish troops police the peace! Old animosities are being shelved, and replaced by a shared resentment at the invaders. The carve up of the country's wealth and resources, the haggling over contracts to rebuild the infrastructure destroyed by twelve years of bombing and sanctions, the random brutality-it is small wonder that the qualified welcome given in the heady days of last March has been replaced by the clenched fist of resistance.

The solution? Well, answers on a postcard please. It's always a lot easier to destroy than to rebuild. The invasion was carried out in contravention of international law, and without a UN mandate. However, Mr. Bush has generously suggested that the UN now to go in and tidy up the mess, please. Not to mention donate a few billion to replace the infrastructure that was among the most developed in the Middle East prior to 1990. A decade ago, an Iraqi child affected by dysentery had a 1 in 600 chance of dying. Today that is 1 in 25. Electricity, clean water, basic medicines, and public services - all are in ruins.

Saddam was a monster, but what monster will replace him? How can peace, justice and democracy be restored to a people who have suffered so much? And, in passing, just where are those weapons of mass destruction?

There is a widely expressed opinion that there must be an international element in the transition to peace in Iraq. This may well be so in the short term, but it seems to me that the sooner the people of Iraq are allowed to choose their own government and future, the sooner will a lasting and stable peace be possible.

But does anyone really believe that such is the desired outcome for Bush and Blair? We in Ireland know well that when such people say they have no strategic or economic interest in an area, they speak from the heart. Of course it's not about oil or money. It's the war against terror, stupid.

Meantime, outside of the "axis of evil" its business as usual. Israel has begun "pre-emptive strikes" on Syria, and the Americans have admitted that children as young as 13 are among those held without charge in Guantanamo Bay, and the paras are still defending their actions in Derry in 1972. It's a funny old world.

— **Anne McCloskey**



# Are the 'Steakknife's' out for the IRA?

*"A French writer has paid the English a very well deserved compliment. He says that they never commit a useless crime. When they hire a man to assassinate an Irish patriot, when they blow a Sepoy from the mouth of a cannon, when they produce a famine in one of their dependencies, they always have an ulterior motive".*

**-Padraic Pearse, The Murder Machine, 1913**

In intelligence matters a very thin line separates paranoia from complacency. The recent allegations (emphatically denied) that Belfastman, Freddie Scappaticci, was a leading member of the PIRA's internal security 'nutting squad' and simultaneously the British Army's alleged supermole, 'Steakknife' would appear to fall into this category.

There are many inconsistencies in this case, while British politicians issue the standard line that 'they do not comment on security matters' behind the scenes 'intelligence sources' have given unprecedented detailed biographical information on their 'jewel in the crown'.

There are a number of possibilities:

1: The allegations are completely false, Steakknife is a British intelligence invention, designed to smear Mr Scappaticci or cause panic and paranoia inside the PIRA leading to a bitter and damaging internal mole hunt and leadership changes similar to what MI5 went through in the 1960's over allegations that the head of MI5, Roger Hoillis, was a KGB agent.

2: The allegations are true, Steakknife has done so much damage to the PIRA's internal security system that to admit he was an informer would cause so much panic and embarrassment it would be disastrous for morale. The 'noble lie' of a cover up, a pardon and co-operation would do less damage than the truth.

3: The allegations are only the tip of the iceberg, Steakknife is only one of many top ranking British informers. British intelligence knows the identity of every PIRA recruit since the late 1970's and has effectively controlled its internal security system to its own advantage since then. By executing or expelling potential rivals and threats as informers or dissidents it has eased the rise of other British agents into leadership positions and dictated the direction of Republican politics.

4: The allegations were deliberately leaked to divert Republican attention away from another British agent or media attention away from the embarrassing facts of prolonged officially state sponsored collusion with loyalist death squads uncovered by the Steven's III inquiry.

5: Steakknife was a triple agent supplying misleading information to British Intelligence on behalf of P.I.R.A. intelligence.

Whichever of the above possibilities is closest to the truth we may never know but what we can be sure of is that Britain knows Irish history better than we know it ourselves for she knows what were the ulterior motives behind her actions throughout Irish history.

She will be aware that the IRA nearly tore itself apart in 1941 when they kidnapped and interrogated their own Chief of Staff, Stephen Hayes as an informer.

She has accumulated hundreds of years of experience in covert actions, espionage and subterfuge, where she is involved nothing is quite what it seems.

Although allegations of an agent named 'Steakknife' have been around for the last few years the exposure of his

identity came at an opportune time for British intelligence just after everyone from the Sovereign down to the lowliest loyalist street thug had been implicated in a state sanctioned death squad murder campaign unprecedented outside Latin America.

After decades of denials Brigadier John Kerr's Force Research Unit was exposed as running as agents, the man who shot Pat Finucane (Ken Barrett), the quartermaster who provided the weapon (William Stobie), the man who gathered the intelligence (Brian Nelson), the man who gave the order (Jim Spence) and the Brigadier of the West Belfast UDA (Tommy Tucker Lyttle). Such a situation extends far beyond mere collusion into instigation and direction.

Not only this but Britain provided and updated loyalists with intelligence information, provided them with weapons and training (by allowing UDA members to join the UDR then encouraging them to steal their arsenals), cleared areas of security forces activity to allow death squads safe entry and exit, and granted senior loyalists effective immunity from prosecution making them in effect state executioners by proxy.

Nor was the FRU of the 1980's a once off, Captain Niarac's 4th Field survey troop controlled the Mid Ulster UVF during the mid 1970's and Brigadier Frank Kitson's, Military Reaction Force started in Belfast in the early 1970's. Clearly for such activities to be carried out over such a long duration and in so many different locations it must have had official sanction from the very top under a variety of different political administrations. Consequently every British Prime-minister, Secretary of State, General, and senior civil servant stands indicted as an accessory in state sponsored murder of hundreds of Irish people. And the Irish government also stand indicted as despite decades of warnings and mountains of evidence they continued to collaborate with a British state, which was directing a murderous campaign against Irish citizens, and therefore they must also stand accused as accessories.

The Pat Finucane murder is just one tiny strand in a global web of state terrorism where Britain sub contracted their 'counter insurgency' skills to despots around the globe. A SAS veteran is believed to have been hired by the CIA to assassinate Hizbollah leader, Sheikh Fadllah, in a Beirut car bombing on 8th March 1985, the Sheikh survived but 80 others were killed<sup>1</sup>. Brigadier Frank Kitson's 1960 book 'Gangs and Counter Gangs' is believed to have been highly influential in unleashing a murderous wave of pro state death squads and disappearances in Latin America which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives over the next decades. Since 1967 British, US, Canadian, Australian and New Zealand counter intelligence experts have attended 18 monthly 'intelligence' sharing conferences under the title CAZAB<sup>2</sup>. While 'Steakknife' may or may be a thorn in the side for the IRA the same may also be true for British intelligence.

<sup>1</sup> Bob Woodward, Veil, Headline, London, 1987, Page 490.

<sup>2</sup> Spy Catcher, Peter Wright, Page 276.





## Captain James Kelly: An Appreciation

**In the course of his eulogy at the graveside of Captain Kelly, the author Tim Pat Coogan referred to him as the Irish Dreyfus. This analogy was apt. Both Army**

**officers were sacrificed by their respective States and by unprincipled politicians. Captain Dreyfus was vindicated after a few years and promoted to Lieutenant Colonel and was honoured by the French State. However Jimmy Kelly spent the next 30 years of his life in a struggle to vindicate his name.**

After his acquittal at the Arms Trial in 1970, Kelly was denied his Army pension for a period by the Lynch administration. The future looked bleak for an unemployed Army officer, but he was ably and loyally supported by his wife Sheila. Jimmy was a gutsy individual who was not prepared to suffer victimhood, so he fought back.

Kelly retreated with his family to his native place in Bailieborough, Co. Cavan. He was an energetic and talented man. He produced woodcarvings and he ran a provincial paper with his wife Sheila. He ran a pub in the town and he turned his hand to writing. His first book "Orders for the Captain" was his perspective on the Arms Trial. He followed with "Genesis of the Revolution" which was a valuable analysis of the political upheavals in the 6 Counties. Later he wrote a novel "The Marrow of the Bone" and just a few years ago he added "The Thimblerriggers" which was an updated version of the Arms Trial Affair. By all accounts times were tough indeed for the ex-army officer, his wife and young family, but Kelly was a survivor.

Kelly joined Aontacht Éireann, the Party founded by his loyal friend Kevin Boland and he served on it's executive until it's demise. He ran unsuccessfully for Public Office as an Independent. Later he joined Fianna Fáil and he was elected to the Ard Comhairle of that party during the Haughey era.

The Kelly family returned to Dublin and Jimmy immersed himself in all good causes from anti-extradition to the miscarriages of justice cases. Two organisations in particular were dear to his heart and deserve mention. He was a founder member of the Irish National Congress and he was a three-time President of the 1916-1921 Club.

If Kelly had a fault it was the intensity in vindicating his name. He had a tendency to discuss the minutiae of the Arms Trial and his own predicament. These details were hard to comprehend by the uninvolved after many decades had elapsed. However he deserved our understanding, compassion and support, because the injustice done to him by the State was monumental.

Most of his contemporaries in the Army accept that Kelly would have reached the upper echelons of his service had not the politicians destroyed his career. States can easily crush individuals but they did not succeed with Jimmy Kelly because he fought back in every forum and he

won. I say won, because the legalistic pronouncements of the State, both before and after his death may not have been as explicit as he deserved, nevertheless most citizens believe that a great wrong was done to him. Somewhat like the story of Robert Emmet, written about by detached historians as a failure, but in the minds of the people a great patriot.

Jimmy Kelly too was a great patriot. He served his State, his service oath was sacrosanct and he made great efforts to bring about the peace process. In a sense he was a precursor of that peace process as he had travelled the country with his plan to bring physical force onto a constitutional path.

His co-defendant in the Arms Trial the Belfast Republican, John Kelly spoke eloquently of Jimmy at the funeral mass. He said that "Jimmy Kelly was a beacon to Northern Nationalists whether of the physical force or constitutional variety". The 6 county Nationalists were first betrayed by the British government into a Statelet they did not wish to belong. Repressed by the Unionist junta for 50 years or so and finally abandoned by successive Dublin governments who stood idly by.

Kelly was not just a beacon to Northern Nationalists, but he was a beacon for all Irish people with his irrepressible energy, honesty and integrity.

— Seán O'Mahony

(Seán O'Mahony is a Dublin member of the INC)

## PFC Financial Appeal



THE  
PAT  
FINUCANE  
CENTRE

Dear INC Friends,

The Pat Finucane Centre, in Derry, has successfully campaigned on a broad range of human rights and political issues since its inception more than ten years ago. The success of the Centre is due to the dedication of its staff and supporters and has been underpinned by a principle of financial independence. In effect, this means that we have managed to avoid compromising our core values, principles and actions. Our policy also means that we rely entirely on donations from individuals and organisations in Ireland, the US and Europe. However, this also has the effect of creating continuous uncertainty as to the availability of finance at any particular time. We are writing to you, and others, to help us remove this uncertainty in our financial position.

We would like you to consider donating a sum of money to the Centre. Your contribution will go some way to help us maintain our financial and political independence and will ensure the long-term sustainability of our work in the field of human rights.

Please make cheques payable to the Pat Finucane Centre. Dollar and Euro cheques are also acceptable. Thank you for your support

1 Westend Park, Derry, Ireland BT48 9JF

Tel: (048) 7126 8846 Fax: (048) 7126 6453

E-mail: [pfc@www.serve.com](mailto:pfc@www.serve.com)

Website: [www.serve.com/pfc](http://www.serve.com/pfc)



## Ollscoil - Síol agus Ollchéim

Tharla rud suntasach i saol agus streachailt na Gaeilge le gairid nuair a glacadh an céad dream de mhic léinn lánaimseartha isteach i geúrsaí ollscoile i nGaoth Dobhair. Tá cúrsa scileanna teilifíse, ríomhaireachta agus cúrsa do chuntóirí teanga chomh maith le dioplóma sa Ghaeilge ar na céad cúrsaí a bhéas ar fáil. Glacadh and t-ollchéim seo le cuidiú agus dian-obair Chomharchumann Fobairtha Ghaoth Dobhair, an Chrannóg agus Ollscoil Náisiúnta na hÉireann, Gaillimh.

Más mó daoine a bhaineann feidhm as an áis seo más gaiste a thiocfaidh forbairt air. Is céim náisiúnta í seo a bhfuil fréamha saite aici i dtobar na Gaeltachta - ach tá sé ar fáil do dhuine ar bith sa tír! Ón naiscolaíocht tríd an bhunscolaíocht, meánscolaíocht go dtí an ollscoil nua seo, agus ar aghaidh, níl a dhith ach daoine. An uair amháin atá pobal láidir Gaelach ar fud na hÉireann, tiocfaidh athrú níos gaiste ar an leithcheal atá an stát a imirt ar a phobal féin ó buníodh é. Tá an gníomh ag dul a chur deireadh leis!

— Proinsias Mac Bhloscaidh.

(Is ball de CNÉ é Proinsias Mac Bhloscaidh, í Tir Chonaill)

## NEW CATHAOIRLEACH & SUCCESSFUL AGM

The 24th of May saw yet another successful INC AGM. Unfortunately our guest speakers from the Short Strand were unable to attend. However, the attendance of about 30 watched a video on the situation in the Short Strand and heard a report from Finian McGrath TD on the plight of the Columbia three.

A new committee was elected with one new member Mark Urwin from Dublin. Veteran INC activist Tom Cooper has taken over from Cathal Óg McCarthy as our new Cathaoirleach and Dr Ann McCluskey from Derry is our new Leas Cathaoirleach. There was a vote of thanks for outgoing Cathaoirleach Cathal Óg, who remains on the executive and will continue in his role as the editor of *INC News* and as the INC's Webmaster.

## EASTER RAFFLE RESULTS

The winners of the 2003 Easter raffle were:

1st prize (€150 hamper): P.Dundon, Dublin (Ticket No. 5553)

2nd prize, (Easter cake): Roddy Mc Corley Society, Belfast (Ticket No. 4692)

3rd Prize, (bottle of spirits): F. Watson, Roscommon (Ticket No. 4192)

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 CHRISTMAS RAFFLE 2003

The prizes for this years raffle are:

1. A Christmas hamper, to the value of €150.
2. A Christmas cake.
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 8th December. 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 bhrí 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](mailto: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](http://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.....