



INC NEWS

Freedom
Unity
Peace

Nuacht Comhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann

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Saoirse

Aontacht

Síocháin

BRITAIN MUST CHANGE

More than ten years after the first IRA ceasefire, and six years after the signing of the Belfast Agreement, the Northern institutions remain in a state of permanent suspension and perpetual crisis. The most backward and reactionary forces of Unionism retain a veto on political, institutional and constitutional progress.

This year, Ian Paisley used his 12th July address to the Independent Orange Order to declare that the Democratic Unionist Party would only enter into coalition with Sinn Féin "over my dead body". Yet the Irish and British Government continue with the charade that the restoration of the institutions is possible. But for Ian Paisley, *'no means no!'*

Last year we stated that the Belfast Agreement had aborted. It did so for a variety of reasons:

- Unionism was incited by the British security establishment and by Tony O'Reilly's anti-Irish Independent media group, to put obstacles in the way of the implementation of the agreement and to retroactively rewrite it to insert IRA disarmament as a precondition. Unionism has frequently adopted this "strategy of delay" in the past in the hope that circumstances and events would bring about favourable change in its direction.
- The more pro-Irish and interventionist Clinton administration was replaced by the pro-British Bush regime. Britain and the new US administration cemented a new imperial alliance, by embarking on an illegal invasion of Iraq, in open defiance of international law, and by the neo-colonial occupation of Afghanistan. The Irish 'peace process' became less of a priority in Washington. The British view of the Irish situation was more readily accepted in America.
- The Irish Government, now lacking powerful American government influence in putting pressure on Britain and the Unionists is shown to be bereft of any significant policies of its own. In order not to appear impotent to public opinion, they engage instead in trying to blame their Republican electoral rivals for the current stalemate. Next years election in the Republic could be a very ugly affair. The big loser will be the Irish national interest.
- Many Irish Nationalists and Republicans underestimated the truly predatory nature of the British state thinking that Britain's 1997 withdrawal from Hong Kong signalled the end of her old global imperial role, and the beginnings of her acceptance of reduced power status. Many in Ireland fell for the stated claim that Britain had *"no selfish, strategic or economic interest"* in Ireland.



Tuesday, April 8, 2003: American President George W. Bush walks with British Prime Minister Tony Blair and our Taoiseach Bertie Ahern in the gardens of Hillsborough Castle, near Belfast. In 2001 Blair and the Bush administration cemented a new imperial alliance; by embarking on an illegal invasion of Iraq. The Irish 'peace process' became less of a priority in Washington. The British view of the Irish situation is now more readily accepted in America.

Historically, Britain has for centuries used aggressive war in pursuit of her global strategic interests. The illegal invasion of Iraq in 2003, alongside the armies of the US and Australia, was a blatant attempt by the 'Anglosphere' to retain global dominance; to seize oil resources, and to prevent the rise of rival powers such as China.

The course of action that Britain has embarked upon as a junior partner to the Bush regime has made our world a very dangerous and uncertain place. What Britain is doing in other parts of the world has implications for us in Ireland too. Just because British troops are currently preoccupied with killing and brutalising Iraqi civilians does not mean that in future they will not return to do the same to Irish civilians. Britain's construction of a vast, new MI5 spying centre in Hollywood Co. Down raises serious questions about her real intentions in Ireland.

As well as intimidation and bribery, Britain also employs 'strategies of deception' to attain her diplomatic objectives. These tactics seek to deceive an opponent into believing they are working towards one goal when in fact they are working towards another, more compatible with British interests.

Could the Irish government have fallen for this type of tactical trap? For example; recent Irish government policy decisions regarding the acceptance of British 'honours' and titles by Irish citizens and the Irish state commemorating

British military figures and events, were ostensibly aimed at 'extending the hand of friendship' towards northern Unionists, and attempting to present the Irish state as a 'less hostile' place to their ethos. However, many would argue that the real effect of these measures has been to restore a 'British dimension' and to undermine the very basis of the Irish state.

This July's bizarre 'Somme commemoration' is a case in point. For years our President has attended the official British Legion Remembrance Sunday ceremony in St Patrick's Cathedral Dublin for Irishmen who died while serving in the British army. The Irish state also officially commemorates all Irishmen who died in foreign wars and on UN service in the National Day of Commemoration in the Royal Hospital Kilmanham in July. But why the Somme? Why not Gallipoli, Fontenoy or Gettysburg? The answer of course is that the Somme was the 'loyalist holocaust' and this is part of the Irish governments transparent attempts to court Loyalist extremists.

North of the border both governments continue to bend over backwards to accommodate the most implacable elements of Loyalism. The Orange Order was given a £100,000 government grant (confiscated from the genuinely cross community Féile an Phobail) to re-brand 'the Twelfth' as 'Orangefest' and Loyalist areas were given £3 million to paint over Loyalist paramilitary murals.

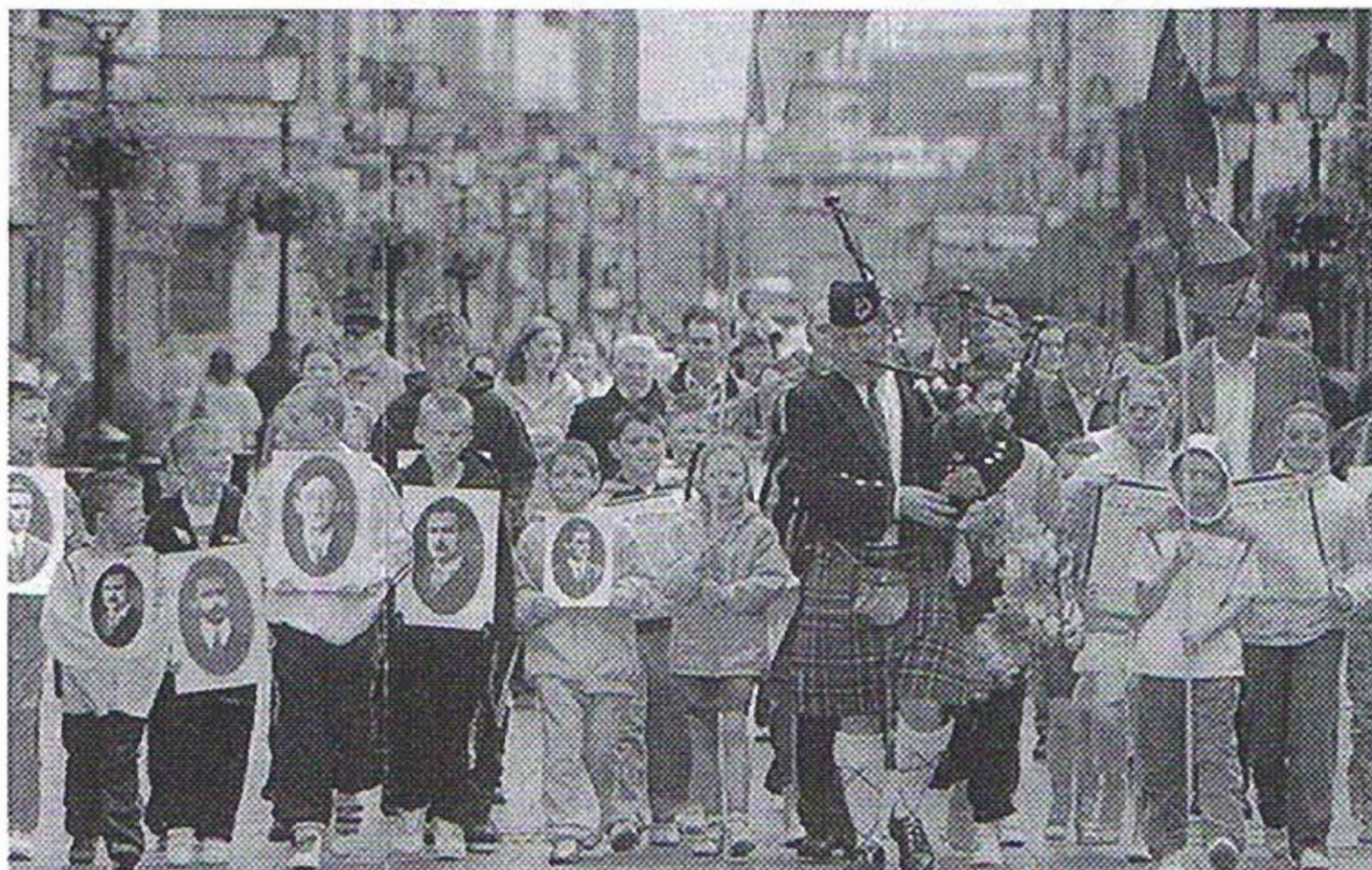
For years the Irish government and media have attempted to palm off the appeasement of sectarian bigotry as pluralism in the disproved belief that platitudes if liberally

applied can turn bigots into democrats. However, this approach ignores the fact that a significant proportion of Unionism does not want to be 'reached out to, embraced or cherished' by the South all they want is the indefinite perpetuation of their supremacy.

The only thing, which will make this section of Unionism embrace power-sharing, equality and all Ireland bodies is the realistic prospect of something worse. That is why if the British and Irish governments are genuine in their desire to make the agreement work they should introduce joint sovereignty immediately.

However, we now suspect that this may not be the case and if Ireland is ever to be united the nature of the British state itself must change fundamentally. You cannot have 'normal friendly neighbourly relations' with a predator state no more than a gazelle can have normal friendly neighbourly relations with a jackal. For Ireland to have peace, unity and freedom Britain must cease to be a perpetually belligerent predator state and to do this she must be liberated from her ruling establishment and evolve into a normal 'post imperial' state. Britain's hidden centres of power in her vast intelligence apparatus would have to be dismantled and her nuclear arsenal decommissioned. Such change is both possible and desirable not only from the view point of Ireland's interest but also from the point of view of the British people. Such a process of transformation was commenced but not completed. It is one of the tasks of Irish Republicans working alongside British democrats to help bring about these changes.

Parád na bPáistí: The children of the Inner City of Dublin, accompanied by members of the regional Folklore Group, paraded to the GPO on Easter Monday last, where a wreath was laid, at 12 noon, by Jason Brady and Aidan Ring, who are direct descendants of members of the 1916 garrison. Jason and Aidan's friends' -Gerard O'Neill, Kellie Harrington, Noel O'Reilly & Aine Lambe read the Proclamation prior to the wreath laying. The children had paraded from James Joyce St. to the site. Ironically the very prominent edifice on the corner of this street with Talbot St., is the new Office of that bastion of neo-imperialism, Independent Newspapers (prop. Tony O'Reilly)! Let's hope that, by the time these estimable youngsters are buying daily papers on a regular basis, there will be a selection available to them owned and staffed by people who are proud of their ancestry and heritage. - Fergus Fleming, INC National Executive



THE FRAMING OF MICHAEL McKEVITT



A recent booklet about a Dublin court case reads like something from the worst days of the European dictators (*"The Framing of Michael McKevitt"*). Michael McKevitt (pictured) from Dundalk was brought to court on charges of being involved with an illegal organisation.

The chief witness giving evidence against him said, *"I don't remember"* more than a thousand times in answer to questions. This witness was described in court and acknowledged by the prosecution as a person who cheated and lied and worked for intelligence agencies for money. He had made a publishing deal, which would net him about a million dollars - if Michael McKevitt was found guilty. He said about himself, *"I'm a whore"*.

Some of the evidence presented by the prosecution was contradictory, very little of it was corroborated. The chief witness, an American called Rupert, was employed by American and British intelligence agencies both of whom were acknowledged as working in Ireland with the knowledge of the Irish authorities, spying on Irish citizens in, for example, pubs and holiday caravan sites.

The judges declared this man to be *"a credible witness"*, the defendant not to be so. It would have helped the prosecution's claim to fairness if the court had not been so packed with police, American and other intelligence people. It might have helped also if the defence had been given all necessary documents freely rather than as a result of repeated demands through the courts and repeated declarations by Irish legal authorities that they could not do anything about it. And if when they got the documents so many of them had not been partially blacked out and made partially unintelligible *"for security reasons"*.

Listening to the case as it made its way through Green Street court one could - reflect on how these proceedings reminded us of the northern courts in which evidence was often slight, often specially created or tailored to suit and sometimes straight perjury. They reminded us of that, then made us realise that this was much more serious than anything that had been done in the north. After all, in the north we expected nothing better but in Dublin we found our best hopes dashed and our worst fears realised, fears, which were so awful that we hardly dared speak them.

The north is not an independent sovereign state after all, but the south is. And the sign and reality of a sovereign and self-respecting state must be in courts independent of political dictates. In Green Street we were witnessing one of the most bizarre episodes in the bizarre history of that court. A prosecuting lawyer remarked at the beginning of his speech that we had to understand that if Michael McKevitt's appeal were to succeed it would have serious implications for an international agreement, or words to that effect.

Because of an intense media campaign against him long before he was arrested and during and after his trials people were given to believe he was charged with the Omagh bombing. He was not, but the media most of whom refuse even to listen to appeals to re-think what they have done, have implanted the idea in people's minds so firmly that this is what the public believes. He was never charged with any such thing. In one of the court hearings a man from Omagh was even allowed by the judges to interrupt the court proceedings to connect him with it.

The media programme of vilification was only one aspect of an outside-of-court campaign. Police harassed the family as well as himself. They stopped their vehicles outside the family home and shone searchlights into the children's bedroom while they were trying to sleep; the family lost their business in a campaign, which seemed remarkably like a throwback to the anti-communist injustices of the fifties.

This case of Michael McKevitt will probably go to the European courts before at least some of the matter is remedied. It should not have to. Meanwhile we have to ask if we have allowed our courts to be degraded, in the interests of government's needs, or *"national security"* as both dictators and some elected governments have claimed they should be.

The proper standards of evidence, the rights of defendants as well as protagonists have to be protected. And the influence of media and their manipulation in the interests of governmental and party policy have to be examined. All that and much more is what the present campaign concerning Michael McKevitt is about. It needs help for all our sakes.

For further information:

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— Des Wilson

(Des Wilson is a Catholic priest working in West Belfast. He was a curate from 1966 to 1975, when he resigned from his clerical position because he disagreed with his superiors about the use of church resources in the 6 counties. He then helped found an adult education centre within the local community. In the last 20 years he has been awarded several international peace prizes. He is a founding member of the INC)

Below: Aftermath of the 1998 RIRA Omagh Bombing, which claimed the lives of 29 people.



PAX BRITINICA?

Irish revisionists have sought to portray 19th Century Irish resistance to British oppression as a peculiar and unique expression of the ingratitude of the 'spoilt Irish child' to the benevolent and civilising influence of the British Empire.

They have also sought to reinvent the British Empire as a progressive, liberal, open and democratic institution. But as we shall see, then as now, there was nothing unique about Irish resistance to British domination. Indeed so common was such resistance that we lack the space to examine episodes such as the three Afghan Wars, The 1857 Indian Mutiny, Sikh Wars, Chinese Opium Wars and revolts in New Zealand, Sri Lanka and elsewhere. It was not unnatural for the Irish people to seek to resist imperialist racism and exploitation indeed what does seem unnatural is the wish of some revisionists to undo Ireland's struggle for independence and advocate re-incorporation into a new Greater Britain.

Jamaica

Oliver Cromwell's army had captured Jamaica from Spain in 1660 after a five-year conflict. There had been local black rebellions in 1760 and 1831. Former slave hill farmers faced many economic hardships which the racist and fervently Anglican Governor of Jamaica, Edward Eyre blamed on 'their own indolence, improvidence and vice'. From the 7th to 12th October 1865 a dispute over rent led to rioting in Morant Bay led by a local black agitator Paul Bogle which left about 20 people dead, half of them white. Governor Eyre blamed the coloured Baptist minister George Gordon, who had an Irish wife, for inciting the riots. He accused Gordon of seeking an end to white rule and seeking a West Indian Republic. On the 20th October Gordon was tried and hanged for treason, martial law was declared and in the following five weeks of British reprisals 439 blacks were killed (354 after summary court martial), over 1000 homes were burned, 100 were imprisoned and over 600 were mercilessly flogged. The ferocity of the reprisals led to the establishment of an inquiry, which cleared Eyre and after two failed attempts to prosecute him for murder he retired on a state pension in 1874 and died in 1901.

Sudan

Since 1881 Britain had been fighting an Islamic insurrection led by the Mahdi in



Above: In this 19th Century British cartoon by Tom Merry we see a tearful Queen Victoria looking out at "Pat" (representing Ireland); her only "ungrateful child".

Sudan. In November 1883 a British column led by Colonel William Hicks was ambushed at Shaykan resulting in the loss of their weapons. In 1884 96 British Officers and 2225 Sudanese Gendarmes led by General Valentine Baker (who had been convicted of indecently assaulting a young lady in a railway carriage in 1875) were killed by Ansar Dervishes in El Teb. However, Britain was soon to have her revenge when British soldiers killed 2000 Ansars at El Teb, Baker was one of the 189 British casualties. In Khartoum General Gordon disobeyed his own government and refused to evacuate the city. In January 1885 a British relief column defeated an Ansar attack at Abu Kela however Khartoum fell to the Mahdi's army of the 28 January resulting in the death of Gordon and 4000 others. His death provoked jingoistic outrage in Britain but with the death of the Mahdi later that year and the defeat of his successor's (Adullah bin Muhammad) army at Toski in 1889 the jingoism faded. However, when it seemed that the French might claim the headwaters of the river Nile in the late 1890's it once again became a British priority to re-conquer Sudan and the Irish born General, Sir Herbert Kitchener, was chosen to lead an army of 7500 British and 12,500 Egyptians to 'crusade for civilisation and avenge Gordon'. On the 2nd September 1898 at the 'battle' of Omdurman 11,000 "Fuzzy Wuzzies" were killed and 16,000 wounded were left to die by General Kitchener when, armed with spears and clubs, they led a frontal assault on batteries of British Vickers machine guns. Despite their technological advantage the British may still have been defeated had it

not been for ferocity of imperial war hero 'General Hector 'Fighting Mac' McDonald' (a man who was later to later commit suicide in a Paris hotel room after allegations emerged that he had sexually assaulted a group of schoolboys on a train in Ceylon in 1903).

Kitchener proceeded to loot Khartoum and Major Sir John Maxwell summarily executed the leaders of the rebellion as he would later do in Dublin in 1916. Kitchener had the Mahdi's body dug up and considered turning his skull into a cup before throwing it in the Nile. In November 1899 hundreds of Khalifah's Asner rebels were again cut down by British machine-guns in another suicidal frontal assault at Umm Diwaykarat (a tactic which was to be copied again and again on the western front in World War One by the British Commander that day Major, later Field Marshal Haig). It took over 30 years and 33 punitive expeditions for Britain to bring the light of civilisation to Sudan using tactics like summary public hangings, crop and village burning and aerial strafing and bombing. No wonder as Lord Cromer observed "The less attention drawn to these matters the better".

Australia

At least 20,000 Aboriginals were killed by British settlers in Australia with about 1000 white settlers being killed by the Aboriginals. In Tasmania the entire Aboriginal population was exterminated between 1802 and 1876. Aboriginal men were shot by convicts for sport and their wives raped and killed, aboriginal babies were buried up to their necks and had their heads kicked off in front of their mothers.

In 1851 gold was discovered in Victoria and the settler population jumped from 75,000 to 290,000 in four years. The miners or 'diggers' had to pay the government a poll tax of £1 a month yet they had no vote. When a hotelier who murdered a Scots miner was corruptly set free the diggers led by Peter Lalor (brother of James Fintan Lalor who led the Young Ireland uprising in Cappoquin Co. Waterford on 16th September 1849) burned down his hotel. Three diggers were arrested at random and convicted of arson. Fed up with the corruption of the legal system and taxation without representation the diggers decided to make a stand for Australian independence and raised their own 'Southern Cross' flag above the Eureka stockade in Ballarat. The British authorities decided to suppress this rebellion and attacked the stockade on the 3rd of December 1854 six soldiers and 24 diggers were killed, 10 of them Irish. Some of the diggers were tried for treason but were found not guilty. The poll tax was replaced with a £1 a year mining licence and the diggers were given the vote. Peter Lalor (who lost an arm in the uprising) was the first digger elected to the assembly and later became its speaker. The 'Southern cross' still remains the flag of Australian republicanism.

South Africa

In her rule in South Africa Britain proved to be an 'equal opportunities oppressor'. In 1806 Britain took over control of Holland's Cape colony in South Africa. Her abolition of slavery in 1834 led the Boers to establish two Republics, the Transval and Orange Free State who's independence Britain recognised in 1854. In 1843 the British annexed Natal, British policy sought to establish a South African federation. To achieve this strong native tribes would have to be crushed. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Bartle Frere, and his colleague Sir Theophilus Shepstone conspired to provoke a war with the peaceful neighbouring Zulu tribe in the hope of acquiring this population as cheap labour. They provoked King Cetshayo into attacking a 1200 strong British column at Isandwana in January 1879 although the column was wiped out the Zulus lost 5000 men. The Zulus later attacked 139 British soldiers in a mission station at Rourke's Drift but were beaten back with the loss of over 500 men. The Zulu army was finally destroyed at the battle of Ulundi in July. From 1876-8 there had been other native rebellions in South Africa by the Pedi, Xhosas, Basotho, Griquas and Nguni tribes this gave Britain the pretext to invade and occupy Transvaal in 1877. However, when it became clear that the British intended to stay the Boers rebelled in the first Boer war 1880-1 which resulted in the expulsion of the British. When gold was discovered in the Transvaal in 1886 this made the Transvaal the richest country in Africa and

attracted many British miners and investors. Transvaal was growing closer to Britain's imperial and economic rival, Germany, and in order to prevent an alliance and to possess the coveted gold fields Britain hatched a botched rebellion by voteless British 'Uitlander' settlers in Transvaal known as the Jameson raid in 1896. On the 11th October 1899 the second Boer war broke out over Transvaal's failure to give the vote to British miners, something Britain herself was slow to do in Australia. By the time the war ended in May 1902 it had cost the lives of 25,000 Boer, 22,000 British and 12,000 African troops. General Lord Kitchener was responsible for interning innocent Boer women and children in concentration camps where up to 28,000 of them died of disease and malnutrition.

Canada

There were two separate rebellions in Canada in 1837. In the 1834 election the Parti Patriote won three quarters of the vote and represented the majority of Canadians of all backgrounds. Most political and economic power however, was in the hands of an Anglophile Protestant minority elite who were pushing to unite 'Lower Canada' Quebec with 'Upper Canada' (Ontario). After British Prime-minister Lord Russell rejected the Patriots petition for democratic reforms in March 1837 their leader, Louis Joseph Papineau, organised protests and a militia the 'Societe des Fils de la Liberte'. The British administration ordered the arrest of 26 leaders of the Parti Patriote. On the 23rd November 1837 the 'patriots' having seized a manor in Saint Denis, fought a victorious seven-hour battle with the British commander Gore resulting in the death of 12 rebel and six British troops. The rebels were defeated in the battle of Saint Charles two days later resulting in the deaths of 28 rebels and seven British. The victorious British declared martial law burned the village of Saint Denis and rounded up suspected patriots. The remaining patriots, led by Robert Nelson, fled to the USA where they declared the independence of Lower Canada and staged another rebellion on 5th November 1838 when eight rebels were killed by the British at Lacolle, 855 rebels were arrested, 14 were executed and 58 deported to Australia.

Meanwhile in Ontario, William Lyon Mc Kenzie, a Scottish Republican elected representative and the first Mayor of Toronto, led a Republican revolt against the rule of the rich Anglican landowners known as 'the family compact'. They had reserved much valuable land for the Anglican clergy. In Toronto Mc Kenzie's revolt resulted in the death of British Colonel Moodie on the 7th December but they were defeated by a British force under Colonel James Fitzgibbon, two of the captured rebels are later hanged and another died in prison. The remaining rebels fled to Navy Island where they declared the Republic of Canada on the 13th December 1837 but they were forced

to flee once attacked by the British. On the 11 June 1838 a small group of rebels staged another invasion at Fonthill, one was later hanged and others were transported to Tasmania. On the 4th December 1838 another group of Republican rebels called 'hunters lodge' fought a battle at Windsor, which resulted in the deaths of 30 rebels and four Loyalist militia. On the 8th December 12 other rebels captured at an earlier skirmish on the 11th November were executed.

The British conquest of the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan also proved bloody. In 1811 the Earl of Selkirk bought 116,000 square miles from the Rockies to Lake Superior for 10 shillings this land was inhabited by native Americans and a mixed native American and French group of Catholic trappers called the Metis. The first encounter between the Metis and British settlers in 1816 left 24 British dead. In 1869 the Canadian government bought this land and Manitoba was rapidly settled by bigoted Orangemen from Ontario. On the 9th February 1870 Metis and white settlers elected a Metis, Louis Riel as President of their Provisional government. He put down a loyalist rebellion in Winnipeg and one of the loyalist rebels Thomas Scott was executed on the 4th March. Manitoba then agreed to join Canada as a self governing province, not as a colony on the 18th July. However, that August Ontario loyalists demanded revenge, an army of 400 British soldiers and 800 Canadian militia forced Riel to flee to the USA and executed four of the jury who convicted Scott.

In 1873 Riel was elected to the Canadian Parliament; he saw himself as the saviour of Canada's native Americans. Many Indians had been killed by smallpox-infected blankets in 1870 and in 1873 30 Indians were killed by hunters in the Cypress hills. Riel joined forces with the leader of the Metis in Saskatchewan, Gabriella Demon and the Indian chiefs 'Big Bear' and 'Pound Maker' who were angered over broken treaties with the British. On the 19th March 1885 they declared the provisional government of Saskatchewan. In Ottawa Prime-minister John McDonald formed the first Canadian Army in response to the rebellion. In the conflict between the 26th March and the 13th May 1885 the Canadian forces lost about 80 men and the Metis and Indians lost about the same number including their leader, Louis Riel, who was hanged on 16 November 1885. Saskatchewan joined Canada and in 1888 it was granted a full legislative assembly and representation in the Canadian parliament. These various revolts laid the foundation for Canadian self-government from Britain.

— Paul McGill

(Runai INC National Executive)



Again To Reign Over us?

Consider this: In return for northern Unionists agreeing to a united Ireland, the Irish government would agree to a role for the British Monarch in a new all Ireland state, perhaps even as a joint head of state!!

Bizarre... absurd...or what? Well actually, this idea was put forward by a leading Fine Gael politician, Gay Mitchell TD to a very recent party gathering in Dublin. It is doubtful if Mr. Mitchell would have made this speech without first getting clearance from head office.

Northern Unionists, predictably, were quick to noisily dismiss this idea. In the 26 counties it was treated mainly with scepticism and some derision. However, it needs to be treated more seriously. The very fact that these ideas are now being openly canvassed by establishment figures is a worrying development that needs commenting upon.

To begin with, Gay Mitchell's proposal is probably the first time that any Dublin politician has openly challenged the continued existence of the Republic of Ireland state separate from Britain. A political taboo has been broken, so to speak. In future we can expect similar, but more forthright and detailed proposals put forward.

Mitchell poses the possibility of a joint head of state for a united Ireland; the British monarch, and the President of Ireland. Presumably, this proposal would also have to involve the Irish state rejoining the British Commonwealth. As an experienced politician he should know very well that this would simply be unworkable, legally and constitutionally. There is no credible example of this situation existing anywhere in the world today. A sovereign state is either a republic or a monarchy.

There are aspects of the Mitchell proposal that are deeply repugnant. For example, the Irish state for all its faults is a democratic republic with a carefully crafted written constitution; whereas Britain is a semi-feudal, caste-ridden monarchy with no written constitution. Britain is also a military aggressor and predator on the global stage. Another thing: how will Irish citizens react to the thought that their joint head of state would be the Commander in Chief of the British armed forces, whose record in Ireland needs no re-telling here? What an Insult!!

Gay Mitchell's speech was full of the modern catch phrases in relation to pluralism and inclusively regarding northern Unionists. This was the really dishonest and misleading aspect. Modern Fine Gael, despite its recent united Ireland rhetoric, is for the most part, firmly partitionist. It has no real 'feel' for the North, and even less understanding of ordinary six counties Unionists. Northern nationalists, by contrast, are regarded with hostility and haughty disdain. The Fine Gael record on the national question during periods when it was in government has been abysmal.

The real target audience of the Mitchell speech is the re-emergent Hiberno-Unionist element in the 26 Counties (Such as David Christopher's minuscule 'Irish Unionist Alliance' and Robin Bury's 'Reform Movement') who are now once again openly organising, having been dormant since their overwhelming electoral and political defeat in 1918. These

people, both individuals and groupings are trying to implement the next stage of the project that Irish-Ireland terms 'revisionism'. They are attempting to incrementally deconstruct the Irish state and restore a British dimension.

And their ideal for Ireland; perhaps even a united Ireland? Think of the Irish state pre-1937, or even a country like today's like New Zealand; a sovereign state to be sure, with its own armed forces and foreign policy, but which is nevertheless firmly linked to Britain by membership of the Commonwealth, and by having the English Queen as head of state. The Mitchell speech was designed to encourage those who think along these lines. It was intended for the ears of a purely 26 Co.'s audience. Northern Unionists don't count, except insofar as their existence is useful to further the aims and arguments of the neo-Redmondites.

Nationalist Ireland is going to have to lay down the law to these tiny and unrepresentative cliques working to a pro-British state agenda. They need to be told in no uncertain terms that if they persist, their actions are likely to lead to a serious political and constitutional crisis in the state. Irish separation from the embrace of the British polity and the existence of a Republic are non-negotiable basic principles.

In Conclusion: it was a Fine Gael Taoiseach John A. Costello, who in 1949 ended the last British link over most of Ireland. Let's ensure that some in modern Fine Gael don't try to undo that achievement.

— Francis Martin
(Member INC Dublin)

**The Next King
Billy of the
United Kingdom
of Great Britain
and all of Ireland,
courtesy of
some in Fine
Gael?**



Below: Former Fine Gael TD, Paddy Harte, receives an honorary OBE from Britain's ambassador to Ireland, David Reddaway at a special ceremony in Dublin on Wednesday, 3 October 2006. The British Queen, on the advice of her Foreign Office, awards honorary OBEs on merit, to people who have made an important contribution to British interests. The Orders motto is "For God and Empire". And should she decide to surprise us and hand out awards DIY here in person; the next page contains an emergency DIY leaflet, which you may photocopy and distribute at will.





Her Majesty Elizabeth Alexandra Mary II of Windsor, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and her other Realms and territories, Queen, head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith. Alias, Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom, Alias Colonel in Chief of the Life Guards, Blues and Royals, Royal Scots Dragoon Guards, The Queen's Royal Lancers, Royal Tank Regiment, Corps of Royal Engineers, Grenadier Guards, Coldstream Guards, Irish Guards, Welsh Guards, Scots Guards, Welsh Guards, Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the Queen's Lancashire Regiment, the Royal Green Jackets, the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders etc. etc. etc.

It is believed that the octogenarian head of one of Western Europe's chief crime families 'The Windsors' intends to visit these shores in the near future. This criminal is highly dangerous and should not be approached under any circumstances! A full catalogue of her crimes would be impossible to list here however some of her main offences committed during her reign of shame are:

Getting away with murder: Since becoming head of this crime syndicate in 1952 Mrs Windsor's henchmen have been

responsible for countless killings in Ireland, Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt, Cyprus, Yemen, Kenya, Zimbabwe and elsewhere. In 1992 18 year old Peter Mc Bride was shot in the back and killed by Mark Wright and James Fisher members of the Scots Guards of which she is Colonel in Chief. They were convicted of murder but released in 1998, whereupon they joined the 'Irish Guards' another regiment, which she is Colonel in Chief of, and were subsequently promoted.

Assault on the senses: Tens of thousands of men and women in Ireland and abroad have been incarcerated, beaten, tortured and starved in her prisons by her servants. While many thousands of others have been beaten, gassed, arrested and harassed by the 'police force' of this 'Queen of clubs'.

Daylight Robbery: Although she is one of the world's richest women with an annual civil list payment of £7.9 million from the British taxpayer, until 1993 she paid no income tax. Since then she only pays on a voluntary basis. During her 'reign of shame' she was forced to return nearly 40 countries and territories to their rightful owners however many more like Northern Ireland, the Falkland Islands, Gibraltar and remain in her possession.

For Further Information visit: www.inc.ie

The Irish National Congress (INC) vigorously opposes any proposed state visit by Queen Elizabeth II to the Republic of Ireland and we welcome the opportunity to debate why it is we do so.

This Royal visit has been long in the preparation and previous visits by Prince Charles, Prince Philip and Princess Sophie have been used to 'test the water' as well as to psychologically 'soften up' Irish public opinion for her arrival.

Although this is not the first time she has visited Ireland (She has frequently visited her colonial possession in British occupied Ireland) this will be her first official state visit to Southern Ireland since independence in 1922. This is highly significant. This Royal visit is being portrayed as part of a normalisation process between two friendly neighbouring states and as benefiting the peace process by reassuring Unionism North and South.

However, Anglo Irish relations are not and never have been 'normal' or 'friendly' and this is the result of the aggressive, expansionist and supremacist nature of the British state. Under the British 'constitution' the Sovereign 'personifies the state', is an 'integral part of the legislature, head of the executive and judiciary, commander in chief of all armed forces of

the Crown and supreme governor of the Church of England.'

As Irish nationalists we believe that the British state still illegally and forcefully occupies six counties of our national territory. Her armed forces have killed 370 people since 1969 and have colluded with paramilitaries 'loyal to the Queen' to kill a further 1109 including the 33 people blown apart on the streets of Dublin and Monaghan in May 1974 and the Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane shot dead in 1987 by loyalists operating under the guidance of British Army Brigadier John Kerr's 'Force Research Unit'. The British state still obstructs inquiries into such collusion.

As anti-sectarians the INC opposes the visit of an inherently sectarian Monarch. As well as being the un-elected supreme governor of the Church of England, 26 of who's Bishops she appoints to the House of Lords; the 1701 Act of Settlement still prohibits any Catholic or anyone married to a Catholic from becoming British head of state. Surely this must inspire loyalist sectarian bloodlust.

As Republicans and democrats we find the concept of hereditary monarchy and privilege both absurd and offensive. Whether it be the Emir of Kuwait, Sultan of Brunei or King of Lesotho the idea that a person can act as un-elected head of state for life, can inherit this privilege at birth and pass it on to their successors is an attack on

democratic values and common sense. That such important powers as calling and dismissing parliament, appointing Prime-ministers, bishops and governors, conferring honours and peerages, declaring war and peace, signing bills and treaties and annexing and ceding territory rest in the hands of a 'figurehead' only serve to obscure where accountability really lies among Britain's hidden centres of power.

As egalitarians we object that the Irish taxpayer is expected to extravagantly subsidise a visit by one of the world's richest women. We also believe on a more fundamental level that any society which accepts the principle that some are born to rule while others are born to be ruled over is only one step away from believing that some states are destined to rule while others are destined to be ruled over. It was this philosophical mindset, which gave birth to the British Empire and all the horrors and oppression that it entailed. Unfortunately this imperialist British mind set appears to be re-emerging in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. Regrettably we suspect that Ireland may not be united and that the world may never be free from imperialism until Britain is liberated from this mindset and the archaic and supremacist institutions of privilege which go with it.

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A SENSE OF PROPORTION

Ever since the release of Ken Loach's film, *The Wind That Shakes The Barley*, about the war of independence and the first official state commemoration of the 1916 rising since 1971 earlier this year, revisionist commentators in the media have launched a barrage of criticism of the 1916-23 independence struggle in particular and the entire Irish nationalist project in general.

Roger Casement was described as 'one of the most evil men in Europe'. The IRA was accused of ethnically cleansing tens of thousands of Southern Protestants from their homes and the sectarian murder of dozens of Protestants in West Cork in 1922, while the Black and Tans are portrayed as misunderstood. Revisionists use a Orwellian 'double think' tactic of drawing general conclusions from specific examples whether it be 'the IRA killed some Protestants therefore they IRA was responsible for genocidal campaign of sectarian extermination' or 'not all Black and Tans were bad therefore all Black and Tans were good'.

These revisionist allegations echo those made by the DUP in the 1980's of 'Protestant genocide' in the South. However, these revisionist allegations irresponsibly stoke Loyalist fears of being swamped and their paranoia about Kipling's 'hells declared for such as serve not Rome'. A paranoia, which works itself out in the random sectarian murder of innocent Catholics in Northern Ireland.

In 1891 the Protestant population in the South was 10% by 1991 it had declined to 3% a fall of 70% if Protestants continued to decline at this rate there would be none left in the South by 2042. Southern Protestant numbers fell by about 104,000 from 1911 to 1926 and revisionists have used this as the basis of their charge of 'ethnic cleansing'. The reality however is much more complex and much less dramatic. The Southern Protestant population, like the rest of southern population, had been in decline ever since the 1860's from 1901 to 1911 it fell by over 17,000 this decline cannot be blamed on the IRA or a sectarian southern state and one would assume that between 1911 and 1926 the southern Protestant population would have declined by about 26,000 even if the IRA campaign or independence never happened. So this natural decrease accounts for nearly a quarter of the actual decrease in this period. Much of the remaining decline can be attributed to the repatriation of Protestant British soldiers, civil servants and their families after independence; there were about 43,000 British soldiers in Ireland in 1919. Economic emigration has been a constant feature Irish life for the last century and a half and Ireland's poor economic performance in the early 1920's may have increased the numbers of Protestant emigrants. Such postcolonial demographic realignments are common, when independence is achieved members of the colonist community return to the 'motherland'. In the former Soviet Republic of Kyrgyzstan, without massacre or pogrom, the Russian proportion of the population fell from 21.5% in 1989 to 9% in 2005.

As for Protestant genocide, this fact cannot be denied, about 50,000 Irishmen were butchered between 1914-1918, and up to 15,000 were young Southern Protestant males. Tens of thousands more were maimed for life in

either body or mind which further led to the decline in Protestant numbers. However, those responsible were not Pearse, Collins, Breen or De Valera but Churchill, Kitchener, Haig and Carson.

On the 25th April 1922 Commandant O'Neill of the 3rd Cork brigade of the IRA was shot dead at the home of the Protestant Hornbrooks family in Bandon over the next three days 13 Protestants were killed by the IRA in reprisals and an estimated 600 Protestant families were intimidated out of the country in 1922. While these activities were unquestionably sectarian and totally wrong what revisionists seem to lack is a sense of proportion. In the months of June and July 1922 in Belfast alone 257 Catholics were killed, 23,000 were forced from their homes 500 of their businesses were destroyed and up to 11,000 were forced from their jobs, this was real ethnic cleansing and this was not the first nor the last time it has happened.

I do not deny the existence of sectarianism amongst some Nationalists; however, I believe that it dramatically differs from Loyalist sectarianism in both intensity and extent. Over 800 or nearly 75% of the roughly 1100 people killed by Loyalists since 1966 were innocent Catholic civilians most of them targeted at random. Many of the roughly 300 Protestant civilians killed by Loyalists were killed because they were either mistaken for a Catholic or were in a relationship with one. The IRA killed more than 360 Protestant civilians since 1966, which is just over 20% of the IRA's total. Many of these were killed accidentally in premature bomb explosions; others were deliberately targeted. However, in many cases attempts were made to minimise the 'random' sectarian nature of these killings by targeting either former members of the security forces, subcontractors working for the security forces or those they perceived as being 'bigots'. 148 of the 304 Orangemen killed since 1966 were civilians most of whom were killed by the IRA. Since the 1995 IRA cease-fire nationalists have seriously damaged more than 75 Orange halls and Loyalists have seriously damaged more than 97 Catholic schools and 91 Catholic churches.

Sectarianism regardless of from wherever it originates is a monstrous evil, but attempts by Southern revisionists to portray Northern Nationalists and the Southern State as being just as sectarian as their Northern Unionist counterparts are simply lies and like most lies they can have lethal consequences. These lies incite Loyalist paranoia and insecurity, offer a pretext for sectarian murder and provide an obstacle to communal reconciliation.

— Paul McGull

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