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Saoirse

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## OUR NEIGHBOUR – OUR ADVERS

"Acts of international terrorism that were colluded in by the British security forces"

These were the stark, uncompromising words of last November's final report of the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Justice, to describe British state inspired terrorist attacks in the republic of Ireland, which have left 50 people dead

In January of this year, the report of the police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland, gave extensive details of how the RUC and PSNI were in fact controlling and directing the activities of unionist murder gangs. Incredibly, there will be no criminal prosecutions arising from these revelations, and furthermore, one of the most senior police officers implicated; Flanagan, is today "Her Majesty's Inspector of Constabularies," throughout the territory of the UK! This fact alone, just about sums up the attitude of the British state in this matter.

Only now is the extent of the British dirty war against the Irish people starting to come out. Credit for finally bringing these facts into the open must go to private citizens such as Belfast man Raymond McCord; and to citizen campaigning groups such as Justice for the Forgotten in Dublin; Relatives for Justice in Belfast, and Derry's Pat Finucane Centre. Their efforts are now showing results only because of dogged determination over the years and painstaking trawling through official documentation to get at the truth. This is the type of work that should really have been done by the Irish state intelligence services and by the Dublin media.

However, apart from a few honourable exceptions, very little credit can be given to the institution of the Irish state, or to successive Irish governments over the years in relation to confronting the British record in Ireland. As the Oireachtas report put it; "The authorities in this jurisdiction, at all levels, could have been far more vigorous in their attempts to identify and bring to justice the perpetrators". Indeed, It is widely believed that some servants of the state knowingly and criminally colluded in covering up the evidence that would have implicated the UK in terrorist crime. This is potentially the most explosive political scandal ever, in the 85-year history of the Irish state.

The abandonment of the north, and the mostly hostile indifference of Dublin towards the 6 counties nationalist population, played no small part in prolonging the armed conflict and bloodshed, and gave Britain the clear impression that it could do pretty well as it liked, knowing that Dublin was reluctant to intervene politically and diplomatically. Future historians of this period will be scathing of Dublin's role in all of this. ... continued P2



On Friday, 17 May 1974, three no-warning car bombs ripped through the heart of Dublin at 5.30 pm. Twentysix people (including a French and Italian citizen) and an unborn baby lost their lives. Parnell Street (pictured above), Talbot Street and South Leinster Street were devastated. Ninety minutes later, a fourth car bomb exploded outside Greacen's Pub (pictured below) in North Road, Monaghan town where a further seven people died. This has been the greatest loss of life in a single day of the Troubles, even including the Omagh atrocity of 15 August 1998.

The no-warning Dublin car bombs exploded during the Friday evening rush hour, the busiest time on the busiest day of the week, ensuring maximum casualties. An entire family, a young father and mother and their two baby daughters, was wiped out in Parnell Street.



One of the real problems we in the 26 counties face is the culture of official denial, and the absolute refusal of those in authority to confront the reality of the nature of British power in Ireland.

The British state is not that well understood in Ireland, even by the highest levels inside our government. Indeed its inner workings are a mystery to most British people as well. Certainly the really important decisions of the state on issues of going to war, or regarding the so-called security services, are often taken without too much reference to parliament and to democratic accountability.

So why did the British state secretly create terrorist gangs and militia in the 6 Counties, then embark on starting ethnic war on the streets of Belfast, and go on eventually to arrange for the planting of car bombs and the killing of targeted individuals in the republic? Why did Britain engage in these activities using so-called deniable agents, at a time when she was in the process of dismantling most of the remains of her former empire?

The United Kingdom is not a normal nation state in the accepted European sense. Britain, one of the worlds oldest states, came into being through a centuries long process of war, aggression and conquest. Even today, the alleged post colonial UK, remains essentially a predatory imperial state, currently involved in two major wars, with the threat of more wars to come. In recent years, Britain has cemented a brutal military alliance with the Bush regime in the U.S, and the effects of this alliance can be seen in the devastation of Iraq, and the attempts being made by Anglo-US interests to plunder that tragic country's oil wealth.

Today even, Britain still very much sees herself as a world power; a global player and nuclear-armed member of the G8, with a permanent seat on the UN Security Council. The absolute key to maintaining this position is Britain's ability to be able to project size and power. Holding on to the territorial integrity of the UK state is pivotal in this regard. England, the core nation of the UK, is simply too small on it's own to play global politics.

It is the addition of the Celtic subject nations of Scotland, Wales, Cornwall and occupied Ireland, that enables the entity called Britain, to puff itself up in size and to strut belligerently on the world stage, and pose as the equal of France and Germany in Europe.

The British policy in Ireland has always been to keep the country divided, poor, weak and at odds with itself. By holding the 6 counties, Britain effectively controls the destiny of the whole island. The loss of "Northern Ireland" could eventually lead to the loss of Scotland also. The rump British state would then be faced with the collapse of its European and global status. These then are the stakes; Britain cannot afford to lose in Ireland. This is why the dirty war was started in response to the civil rights movement, and the subsequent insurgency in the nationalist community.

Terror, fear and divide and rule, were as always, the methods used. Britain is currently engaged in trying to bury the record of its recent misdeeds, through obstructing outside investigations. It is important that this not be allowed to succeed, not for the purpose of humiliating Britain, or seeking scapegoats for past crimes, but rather to ensure, that once exposed fully, Britain will think twice before ever resorting to promoting terror and ethnic conflict in Ireland again.

## **LOST LIVES**

### 17 May 1974 Dublin & Monaghan Bombings:

- Patrick Askin (44) Co. Monaghan
- · Josie Bradley (21) Co. Offaly
- Marie Butler (21) Co. Waterford
- Anne Byrne (35) Dublin
- Thomas Campbell (52) Co. Monaghan
- Simone Chetrit (30) France
- · Thomas Croarkin (36) Co. Monaghan
- John Dargle (80) Dublin
- · Concepta Dempsey (65) Co. Louth
- Colette Doherty (20) Dublin
- · Baby Doherty (full term unborn) Dublin\*
- · Patrick Fay (47), Dublin & Co. Louth
- Elizabeth Fitzgerald (59) Dublin
- Breda Bernadette Grace (34) Dublin and Co. Kerry
- Archie Harper (73) Co. Monaghan
- · Antonio Magliocco, (37) Dublin & Italy
- May McKenna (55) Co. Tyrone
- · Anne Marren (20) Co. Sligo
- Anna Massey (21) Dublin
- · Dorothy Morris (57) Dublin
- John (24), Anna (22), Jacqueline (17 months) & Anne-Marie (5 months) O'Brien, Dublin
- · Christina O'Loughlin (51), Dublin
- · Edward John O'Neill (39), Dublin
- Marie Phelan (20), Co. Waterford
- · Siobhán Roice (19), Wexford Town
- · Maureen Shields (46), Dublin
- Jack Travers (28), Monaghan Town
- Breda Turner (21), Co. Tipperary
- John Walsh (27), Dublin
- Peggy White (44), Monaghan Town
- George Williamson (72), Co. Monaghan

\*Baby Doherty was recognised as the 34th victim of the Bombings by the Coroner for the City of Dublin during the course of the Inquests held in April and May 2004.

Below: May 2002, Talbot St., Dublin. An Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern lays a wreath in memory of those who were murdered



## Dublin & Monaghan Bombings "Final Report"

The final report by the Commission of Investigation into the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of May 1974 by Mr Patrick MacEntee SC, the sole member of the Commission, was published and presented to victim's families and members of the Justice for the Forgotten Committee.

It is important to remember that the Commission was not asked to conduct an investigation into the bombings, but to review the investigative progress carried out by the Garda investigative team. Several members of the executive committee of the Irish National Congress were present in the Alexander Hotel in Dublin to be told by Mr Gregg O'Neill, the legal representative for Justice for the Forgotten, about "an appalling and lamentable chronicle of failure and errors by our police force...Because of a level of carelessness and a lack of concern which is frightening, the commission was, to a large extent, unable to discharge its functions because of the absence of documentation".

Barrister Cormac O'Dulachain, who has represented the families involved, said there was now a need for the Oireachtas to pursue "the heart of the matter" – who carried out the bombings and if there was collusion involved. We believe that the footprints of collusion, which are all over the Dublin and Monaghan bombings, contaminate and pollute the British state. The loss of intelligence material falls into four categories according to Mr MacEntee's report:

- 1. Misplacing of files
- Destruction of files by fire/flood/accident
- 3. Deliberate destruction of files
- 4. Unauthorised removal of files

During the 1970s British agents were very active in the 26 counties. These included the Littlejohn brothers. British spy John Wyman infiltrated the Garda Special Branch with the aid of Special Branchman Patrick Crinnion. Garda Crinnion, and most probably other Gardaí employed as British agents, supplied the British with information on Republicans and undoubtedly these spies may well have removed documents illegally from the buildings which house the C3 section of An Garda Siochana. The suggestion by the Garda Commissioner that some of the files on the bombings may have been pulped accidentally, in addition to the "possibility and opportunity for human error in destroying files", is stretching credibility to extremes.

Despite the fact that the Dublin and Monaghan bombings was the biggest mass murder in the history of the state, the investigation report of August 9<sup>th</sup> 1974 was the last comprehensive report into the bombings by An Garda Síochána. When asked why the investigation was wound down so soon, the Garda Commissioner expressed the view to the Commission that "in the opinion of the senior



Above: Our President, Mary McAleese, dedicates a memorial at Monaghan to mark the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Dublin & Monaghan bombings.

officers in charge, nothing else that could be done with the information then available to An Garda Siochana was likely to further the investigation". The Garda Commissioner further expressed the view, not shared by the Hamilton-Barron Inquiry, that "the outrages were thoroughly and efficiently investigated and were pursued in so far as the available evidence would warrant". The disappearance and destruction of the Dublin and Monaghan files was so extensive that it must be assumed that it was far worse than deficiencies within the Garda. The failure of the Gardai in securing and retaining evidence was abysmal, perhaps even sinister.

The Fine Gael lead coalition government between 1973 and 1977 must be held accountable for the events surrounding the investigation into the bombings. Although Garda Crinnion had been tumbled prior to 1974, other Garda agents were believed to be supplying the British with information on republicans, and other files, which might implicate British security forces, or their loyalist agents, into the bombings of May 1974. Article 9-2 of Bunreacht na hÉireann states "fidelity to the nation and loyalty to the state are fundamental political duties of all citizens". Despite this, a senior government minister in the Fine Gael/Labour coalition of 1973-1977, publicly stated that he was opposed to Irish reunification and subsequently joined the UKUP. With the exception of Mr Justin Keating, the former minister for agriculture in Cosgrave's coalition, no words of apology or regret for the events of 1974 were expressed. Shame on them.

Following the biggest mass murder in British history, relatives of those killed at Lockerbie must feel that the sheer determination of the police in their painstaking structured and systematic approach to their inquiries as to who was responsible was the reason for gaining convictions. Is it unreasonable, therefore, for the relatives and friends of those who were killed in the biggest mass murder in Irish history to expect the same commitment from our government and Gardaí in their quest to track down those responsible?

- Tom Cooper Cathaoirleach

# 'Perfidious Albion

seamless continuity, a bloody trail littered with dishonoured treaties and the discarded debris of plundered resources. She has ruthlessly attacked friend, foe and neutral bystanders alike. She has fomented sectarian and racial animosities to allow her to 'divide and rule' and cynically used her 'values' to camouflage the ruthless pursuit of her 'interests'.

### Guvana:

Guyana is South America's only English speaking country. The territory was first settled by the Dutch in 1616 who ceded it to Britain in 1814. The aboriginal Carib and Arawak Indians were virtually wiped out by the colonial invaders and today account for only 7% of the population. Black slaves from Africa were imported to harvest the sugar crop and their descendants now account for 36% of the population. When slavery was abolished in 1833 Britain then imported Hindu and Moslem Indians to work as indentured labourers, and today they account for 49% of the countries 800,000 people. In 1953 Dr Cheddi Jagan's Peoples Progressive Party won a general election on an anticolonial programme. Britain responded by suspending the constitution and deliberately fomented strikes and race riots between the Black and Indian populations which left over 100 dead in 1961, that year the black leader Forbes Burnham split the PPP along racial lines to form the less radical non Indian PNC. In 1963 President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan agreed to postpone independence until they could find a way of preventing Dr. Jagan from becoming leader. MI5 destabilised Jagan's rule with race riots, which left 176 dead in 1964. When Guyana finally gained its independence from Britain in 1966 Burnham became Prime Minister his party remained in power by rigging elections until 1992 when Dr. Jagan was elected.

### Denmark:

At the time of the Napoleonic war Denmark was a small neutral peaceful state. That was until Britain's perceived 'interests' were at stake. From the 3rd to the 5th September 1807 the British Navy engaged in an unprovoked bombardment city of Copenhagen, over 3000 innocent civilians were killed, 400 homes destroyed, 2000 damaged and the entire Danish naval fleet stolen. The reason for this 'pre-emptive' attack was to prevent the Danish fleet from falling into Napoleon's

The path of British diplomacy over hands. Nor was this Britain's last 'pre- Afghanistan: the past 400 years has been one of emptive strike on Danish territory. During World War Two Britain invaded and occupied Iceland and the Faroe islands on 9th May 1940 'to prevent them from falling into German hands'. Ironically, by comparison with Britain's bloody attack of 1807 the Nazi conquest of Denmark in April 1940 resulted in only16 Danish military deaths. Although, British occupation was not unpopular and Iceland was handed over to the Americans before independence in 1944. The Faroe islands plans for independence were sabotaged by Britain.

### Palestine:

The British Statesman, Leo Amery, advised the British Government that the acquisition of Iraq imperialist Palestine should become a British war aim and by the 9th March 1916 Britain and France had entered into the 'Sykes-Picot treaty', which divided the Ottoman Empire between them. However, this was not compatible with US President Wilson's policy of self-determination so this treaty was kept secret. Instead in June 1916 in order to defeat the Turkish Ottoman Empire Britain encouraged the Arab population to revolt with the promise of self-determination. Although at that time Palestine had a population of 50,000 Jews and 500,000 Arabs in order to encourage America to join the war and to keep Russia in the war Britain's 'Balfour declaration' promised international Zionism a 'national home for the Jewish people'. After the war both Arab and Jew felt betrayed by British treachery when she made Palestine her 'mandate' in order to safeguard the northern approach to Suez. Continuing British imperial rule and increasing Jewish immigration into Palestine led to the Arab revolt of 1936-39 in which about 5000 Arabs, 800 Jews and 200 British were killed. During the revolt 40 Arabs were executed by the British who also colluded with Jewish extremists in attacks against Arabs. The revolt brought a five year pause in Jewish emigration into Palestine this in turn sparked a Jewish revolt against Britain. In 1944 Lord Moyne was assassinated in Cairo by 'Lehi' or the Stern gang, two of which were later executed. From April 1946- May 1948, 252 British, over 1500 Arabs and about 800 Jews were killed in a three way struggle which forced Britain to withdraw from Palestine. British diplomatic duplicity and imperialist ambition exacerbated the tensions, which led to the partition the region, the expulsion of 720,000 Arabs and an invasion by neighbouring Arab states from 1948-9 which cost 25,000 lives. This legacy of mutual hatred lasts to this day.

Since 2001, 50 British soldiers have been killed fighting in Afghanistan however this is at least the fourth war to protect her 'interests' that Britain has fought in this country over the past 200 years.

After Britain gained its hegemonic control over India in the seven years war of the 18th century she became increasingly paranoid about a Russian invasion of India from the west and sought to set up puppet states to defend her frontier. In the early 19th century British agents fomented civil war in the Afghan state, which emerged in the mid 18th century in order to keep out influence. By the 1830's French Afghanistan had lost its provinces of Kashmir and Punjab to the neighbouring Indian Sikhs. In 1838, after years of British interference, which pushed the Afghan Amir Dost Mohammed into an alliance with Russia, Britain invaded with an army of 10,000 British and Indian troops and 6000 Afghan supporters of the British puppet, Shah Shuja, who became ruler in April 1839. The usurper however was not accepted by his subjects who mounted a bloody revolt against his rule. Out of the 16,500 strong British and Indian garrison which fled Kabul on 5th January 1842 only one, Surgeon William Brydon, survived to reach India on the 13th at least 3000 were killed in ambushes while most of the rest died of hunger and exposure in the winter mountain passes. Afghanistan remained a centre for intrigue and espionage in the 'great game' as Britain and Russia vied to control the region. In 1878 the British Foreign secretary Lord Cranbrooke manufactured a cause for war officer Neville a frontier when Chamberlain was refused entry into the country. On the 21st November 1878 a British and Indian army invaded Afghanistan and by February 1879 the Amir Sher ali Khan fled to Russia. Britain then installed the arrogant Louis Cavagnari as its resident who was assassinated along with his staff on 3rd September 1879. General Roberts (of the Boer war) led a campaign of retribution which included indiscriminate hangings and burning of villages. In1880 Abdor Rahman Khan was installed as the new British puppet ruler. Intermittent tribal uprisings continued and between June 1897 and April 1898 a dispute over the Durand border line between British India and Afghanistan led to an uprising by the Afridis tribe in the Tirah area which cost the lives of 287 British and well over 2100 Afghans in a British scorched earth policy of looting and wanton destruction. In 1919 the pro British Afghan ruler, Hasbibollah Khan, was assassinated for not supporting Turkey his more nationalist son Amanollah who had been received. The British then declared full independence. accused him of Russian Bolshevik sympathies and in the brief third Anglo-Afghan war British planes bombed Jellallabad and Kabul in May 1919 before recognising Afghan independence in the treaty of Rawalpindi.

In 1839 Emperor Daoguang of China appointed an imperial commissioner. Lin Zexu, to stamp out the illegal opium trade in China. As part of this campaign Lin ordered the blockade of all foreign Opium factories on Chinese soil until their opium supplies were handed over. Most Opium was supplied by the British East India Company who made 18 million Mexican dollars a year from the addiction of 12 million Chinese: this money was used to buy tea to sell in Britain. The tax on this tea accounted for 8% of the British exchequer's revenue. Britain reacted with outrage to this interference with 'free trade' and also to the demand that the Briton who murdered a Chinese peasant in a drunken brawl face Chinese justice. The British withdrew to Hong Kong where they defeated a Chinese flotilla on the 3rd November 1839. The million strong Chinese army was thinly spread across the country, poorly trained and led, and armed with antiquated muskets and spears. Britain bombarded and captured Chausan island, the Bogue forts and besieged Canton, all with heavy Chinese casualties. After rejecting a possible peace deal the British army, led by, Sir Henry Potinger and General Hugh Gough (both were born in Ireland), pressed on to murder, rape and loot its way across China from Canton to the former capital of Nanking in a drunken orgy of destruction. At least 3000 Chinese troops were killed and many more women and children either committed suicide or were killed by their fellow countrymen to avoid the shame of being captured or raped by the British. The British lost with over 500 killed, but in return in the treaty of Nanking on the 29th August 1842, the Chinese offered to pay \$21million in compensation, cede Hong Kong to Britain and open up many of her ports to foreign trade including the trade in opium. This peace was to be short-lived and in October 1856 Britain fought her second opium war when Chinese police arrested the crew of 'the Arrow', one of whom they suspected as a pirate. The boat's British registration had expired on the 27th September but the 28-year-old British Consul to Canton, Harry Parkes portrayed the incident as an insolent attack on British sovereignty. On the 23 October Britain bombarded and captured the forts on the Pearl river. When the Chinese released the prisoners to the

in the First World War, he was replaced by British they were sent back as no apology Britain increased their demands saying all foreigners should have the same access to Canton as the other free ports. When no reply was received they bombarded and stormed Canton's government buildings and its outlying forts while its suburbs were burned. These attacks were censured as a violation of international law by the British parliament but Palmerston's government responded by calling an election, which they won and then sent out a military expeditionary force.

In 1857 the French joined the British on this expedition after a Catholic priest and two Chinese converts were killed. Canton and its governor and commissioner were captured in early 1858. The British advanced to the city of Tientsin where a treaty was signed on 26 June 1858. China had to pay reparations, open 10 more ports to European trade, legalise the opium trade, allow free movement to Europeans, open embassies in Peking and allow British criminals caught in China to be tried under British law. The following year when the British envoy was impeded from reaching Peking British and French forces attacked the Taku forts on the 25th June 1859 but were driven back to Shanghai with the loss of 114 British, 4 French and unknown Chinese lives. The following year a larger Anglo French force captured the Taku forts on the 21st August 1860. The allies then occupied the city of Tientsin and sent Parkes to Tang Chow to negotiate with a Chinese prince. Parkes and his men however were captured by the Chinese who sentenced them to death. The Chinese army was defeated at Pal le Chiao and the death sentences were revoked. When Peking was threatened with bombardment unless the prisoners were released and the city surrendered, the Emperor fled and the city fell to the British on 13th October 1860. The Emperor's Summer palace comparable to the palace at Versailles was looted and burned by the allies, (one who took part was the famous general Charles Gordon who later was killed at Khartoum). The indemnity was increased. Kowloon ceded to Britain and the Emperor was forced to apologise for the 'treachery' of defending his own country. This humiliation and the division of China into European 'zones of influence' (the vast British zone covered most of southern China from Shanghai to the Himalayan border with India in Tibet) further provoked the nationalist Chinese rebellion of January boxer 1900-September 1901 which resulted in another humiliating Chinese defeat. another indemnity, thousands of \$739million Chinese and Europeans dead and the Russian annexation of Manchuria.

### France:

Ever since William the Duke of Normandy conquered England to become its King in 1066 Anglo-French relations have be fraught. The marriage of King Henry II to Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152 gave England possession of vast territories in south-west France. In 1203-4, King Philip Augustus II of France drove England out of most of France with the exception of Gascony, From 1294 to 1303 King Philip IV fought to win back Gascony from England but failed.

The dubious claim by King Edward III of England to the throne of France led to the hundred years war on 24th May 1337. After dozens of battles in which scores of thousand died England captured and then lost most of northern France retaining only the port of Calais by the wars end in 1453. Calais finally fell to the French in 1558 and from that point on England turned her attention away from the conquest of France to the consolidation of her dominance over 'The British Isles' and the creation of a maritime transatlantic empire. However, this quest for a global empire drew her into conflict with her continental rivals. Britain disposed of her initial rivals, Spain in 1588 and the Netherlands with two wars from 1652-4 and 1665-7. There followed centuries of war against France aimed at weakening her power on the continent such as the war of the Grand Alliance 1688-97, War of the Spanish succession 1702-14, seven years war 1756-63 American war of independence 1775-83 and Napoleonic wars 1793-1815. England only renounced her claim to the crown of France in the peace of Amiens in 1802. After 1815 Britain and France in effect divided Africa and Asia between them and fought as allies in the Crimean war against Russia, First and Second World Wars against Germany. During this latter conflict Britain was again responsible for an infamous act of betrayal against an erstwhile ally. On the 3rd July 1940 less than two weeks after France's defeat by Germany and before the end of an ultimatum period for the French navy to surrender itself to the allies British forces launched an unprovoked attack on French warships at Mers-el-Kebir in which 1,297 French seamen were killed. Even today this attack is seen in France as an example of 'perfidious Albion' at her most ruthless.

In view of her ongoing addiction to 'hard power' and intrigue in Iraq and elsewhere Irish politicians of all parties should remind themselves that when dealing with Britain: "There is only one thing more dangerous than being England's enemy and that is being England's friend."

> - Paul McGuill Runai

# TWO FINGERS TO THE IRISH CONSTITUTION



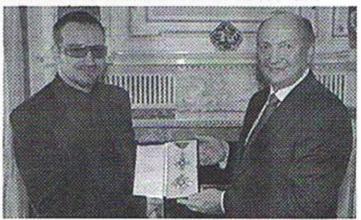
ARISE SIR "BONO": Paul Hewson, aka. "Bono", is one of the latest recipients of the British honours system. Mr. Hewson, an Irish citizen and front man for the band U2, has turned his back on our Constitution and been made a "Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire". The Orders motto is "For God and Empire". He is reported to have been "very flattered" by the award! Indeed.

Mr. Hewson, (pictured above holding his gong) is undoubtedly a very talented entertainer with a large worldwide following. He is also regrettably, an insufferable, pompous, vain and self-regarding individual, not above lecturing us lesser – and less wealthy – individuals, and the Irish government, on our collective responsibilities to the poor in Africa.

Now, however, in an act of the most blatant effrontery and hypocrisy, U2 has removed itself from Ireland to Amsterdam in order to avoid paying increased Irish taxation! How on earth is the Irish government supposed to meet its overseas commitments, if wealthy pop stars and corporate oligarchs (such as Messer's Denis O'Brien and Tony O'Reilly) remove their assets offshore? Should people who behave like this be allowed to hold continued Irish citizenship in the face of this type of civic treachery?

In the past, "Bono" has lambasted Irish republicans with foul-mouthed tirades from the rock concert stage. He would want to be on his best behaviour if he should ever meet "Her Majesty" in person. One wonders what she really thinks of her new shoneen, gombeen, pet plastic paddy in shades.

Below: "Bono" receiving his OBE from British Ambassador, Mr. David Reddaway. Because he is an Irish citizen he won't be able to use the title "sir".



We return, once more, to the issue of the practice of the British state awarding imperial and feudal titles to Irish citizens normally resident in the Republic of Ireland.

We will continue to highlight this subject, until the Irish government does what a sovereign Irish government should do in this situation, namely; defend the Irish republican and separatist ethos upon which the state was built; Uphold the value and dignity of Irish citizenship, and to resolutely oppose any British encroachment into our political and civic space.

This is not a small issue, nor is it a case of the INC engaging in petty, mean-spirited "Brit bashing" or the like, as our detractors might claim. Rather, we see this as an issue of fundamental political principles. Either we are a sovereign republic that has repudiated monarchy, British imperialism, caste politics and feudalism; or, we see ourselves instead, as a part of some sort of a greater Britain. It cannot be both ways, and we for our part have, and will continue to oppose the various attempts at "re-Britishing" the Irish state.

It was in 1986, that the UK really began this policy, with the "honorary" Knighthood bestowed upon Dublin rock-singer Bob Geldof. It is however only in the past few years, that this policy has become regular practice. A significant number of Irish notables and persons of distinction in the area of politics, business, charitable work, journalism and music have been so awarded. By accepting these awards and titles from Queen Elizabeth, Irish notables become, objectively speaking, a part of the British establishment.

Of course, the most egregious example of this policy was the 2001 full knighthood bestowed upon Dr Tony O'Reilly, the billionaire, tax-exile oligarch. Dr O'Reilly, according to reports of the time, insolently demanded that all who had dealings with him - including resident citizens of the republic - would have to reverentially address him by his Britannic nobleman's title! This arrogant individual, a man who thinks he can make or break Irish governments through control of a large media empire, is to the best of our knowledge, allowed to retain Irish citizenship. This, in our opinion, should not be permitted. We should instead, follow the example of Canada, - a British Commonwealth country - in refusing to allow its citizens to accept these titles, upon pain of losing citizenship. The correct and proper course of action a patriotic Irish citizen should adopt, if approached to accept one of these awards, should be to politely but firmly refuse on the grounds of principle. Former SDLP leader, John Hume, Poet, Seamus Heaney, and the late broadcaster, Eamon Andrews, were three people who responded in this way. We salute their example.

The Irish government has remained strangely silent on this issue throughout. There has been, to our knowledge, no significant speech or policy statement regarding what is a major policy shift in relation to Irish citizenship, and the very ethos and identity of the state. Last year, a bizarre and inexplicable ceremony took place at the Irish embassy in London, at which a veteran Irish journalist was conferred with the title of "Most Excellent Order of the British Empire"! This ceremony will undoubtedly be seen as a tacit endorsement by Dublin, of the British "honours" system being extended to the Republic of Ireland. The Irish government owes its citizens, at the very least, a detailed explanation as to why this situation is being permitted, and indeed facilitated.

Do our legislators not get it? Do they not realise the terrible insult and harm being done to our Constitution and to our very political identity and ethos? The British monarch, head of state of a country that occupies part of our nation, is now intervening into our republican system to elevate chosen Irish citizens and to place them symbolically above their fellow Irish! And in this regard it will be interesting to see if oligarch O'Reilly attempts to pull rank with the legal representatives of the Irish state, should he ever be called as a witness before any of the statutory enquiries into corruption in public life.

There is another very good reason as to why the Irish state should reject this system, and that is corruption. The present Blair regime, which advises Queen Elizabeth in the matter of the honours system, is itself the subject of a major criminal investigation by the Metropolitan Police, looking into the possibility that some Knighthoods and Peerages may have been given in return for financial or other favours by wealthy backers of the Blair administration. In the Irish context, the very real danger is that these rewards will be given to Irish citizens in return for serving British interests, inimical to those of the Irish state and nation.

The UK imperial honours system has now been restored in the 26 co's.; the Irish state participates in military ceremonies under the effective control of the Royal British Legion; British imperial and military monuments are been restored in the republic, and new ones commissioned. The Defence Forces participate in British military ceremonies to celebrate past defeats of Irelands historic allies, France and Spain. And now a senior Fine Gael politician is advocating a possible all-Ireland role for the British crown!!

What on earth is going on? Even ten years ago this sort of stuff would have been unthinkable. Does our political elite still believe in an Irish state separate from Great Britain? The people of the Irish state elected the present government, but they were never given consent to undermine the Irish republican and separatist ethos of the state. If they persist with these policies, they will soon meet very serious resistance and perhaps trigger a political and constitutional crisis. Will it soon be necessary for concerned citizens to create something along the lines of Committee's for the Defence of the Republic and the Constitution?

- Francis Martin Dublin INC

### NORTHERN POLICING ISSUE

The following article by INC member Richard Behal does not necessarily reflect the views of the INC. As an organisation that prides itself on promoting democratic debate we invite our members to submit articles with similar or contrary views.

As an active Republican for over 50 years (non-aligned now) it would be remiss of me not to comment on, and indeed protest at, the latest and very dangerous experiment in dealing with British modern day colonialism and imperialism.

The proposal by the "Provo" leadership to embrace, recognise and work with British law and enforcement agencies is counter to everything that Irish patriots suffered and died for, especially since the clear enunciation of democratic republicanism defined in the 1798 period and ever since.

To accept the P.S.N.I. cum R.U.C. cum R.I.C. is to willingly, or unwillingly, collaborate with a primary political police force, which has and continues to act as the eyes and ears of the British government and imperial interests.

No rational person can dispute the need for the general public to feel a sense of security in daily life and for a purely civilian, totally non-sectarian, non-political service to guarantee that minimum requirement. What with the public exposures of crime and collusion of the Northern police and Loyalist killers, and having many elected representatives in the North, South and to Brussels the 'Provo' leadership surely have sufficient 'aces in their hands' to scrutinise and put manners on the whole police and law apparatus without "getting into bed with them". It is one of the very strict international laws that the civilian population must be given full justice and security of person and property even when under foreign occupation — this must apply equally to the North of Ireland.

Therefore the 'Provo' electoral mandate should be positively utilised to ensure that the British government adhere to international law, pending the re-unification of Ireland. Scrutinise, criticise and make suggestions for improvement in civilian policing but do NOT join them or their boards. Under no circumstances can even a so-called "reformed" R.U.C./P.S.N.I. fall into the category of an impartial police force when it most certainly will act on the biased political agenda 'Information" provided by M15, the British "INTERNAL" intelligence service.

It is sheer nonsense for the 'Provo' leadership to claim that following talks with Prime Minister Blair, that there will be no inter-relationship between the police and M15. By its very nature any intelligence agency, anywhere in the world, works in secretiveness, obfuscation and denial; Blair's assurance will only make M15 more effective in that regard.

When, rather than if, M15 acquire (or likely plant) 'information' about any Irish anti-imperialist political activities it will be acted upon through house raids, harassment, jailings and even shootings, not by M15 operatives but by the very police service that the 'Provo' leadership is proposing to sign up to and work with.

Do not forget the lessons of history. Fianna Fáil broke with the Republican Movement and tradition in 1926 amid erroneous claims that it was necessary to curb Free State police political abuses and prevent it in the future. However, the outcome proved otherwise once they became part of the partitionist system and within a few short years the Garda Special Branch were harassing and then shooting former Republican comrades. The arguments being put forward by the 'Provo' leadership for their policing proposals are frightingly similar to those of Fianna Fáil all those years ago and look at the tragic outcome of that to the present day.

It is not that I am Privy to, aware of, or have any information on, or am herein advocating any Physical Force Resistance against British occupation and Crown Forces, but again the lessons of historic reality would seem to indicate the strong possibility that there will be. Therefore if the 'Provo' movement capitulate to supporting and involving with British Crown Police, Laws and institutions they well may have the oppression of and even perhaps the blood of traditional Republicans on their hands.

The recent revelations about R.U.C. / paramilitary Loyalist killers collusion should NOT be uses as a feeble excuse to support British Law enforcement bodies on the "Blackmail" grounds of: "better being in the system to prevent such collusion in the future". Were that a valid argument then why did not the Patriots in former days not advocate joining the Redcoats, R.I.C., Black and Tans etc, in order to prevent such abuses? Police in any country are there primarily to maintain the 'Status Quo' and in Ireland's case that means continued interference and denial of Freedom.

I sincerely hope that the Ard Fheis delegates this Sunday reject their leadership proposals. Let them ponder the reported triumphilist sneering of none other than Ian Paisley (Jnr)- "a republican who accepts the British police is no longer a republican".

## Richard Behal 24<sup>th</sup> January 2007

(Richard Behal stood as first Sinn Féin candidate in Munster EEC Elections and was director of Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs bureau from 1973 – 1983. He is a member of the INC.)

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### Wolfe Tone & Willie O'Dea:

### Ón Neodracht go Díorma Catha an Aontais

Aibreán na bliana seo d'fhógair an tAire Cosanta, Willie O'Dea, go mbeadh Éire ag glacadh comhpháirtíocht iomlán sa Díorma Catha Nordach (Nordic Battlegroup) mar chuid de dhíormaí catha an Aontas Eorpaigh (A.E.). Is iad Éire, An tSualainn, An Fhionlainn, An Ioruaidh agus An Eastóin baillthíortha an Diorma Catha Nordach (DCN). Beidh an DCN faoi cheannasaíocht na Sualainne agus ag feidhmiú faoi Pholasaí Slándála agus Cosanta an A.E.T á 13 díorma catha ag feidhmiú cheana féin agus spriocuimhir 60,000 saighdiúir troda mar aidhm ag an A.E. faoin mbliain 2010.

'Séard atá i gceist sa DCN ná cathlán amháin (1,500 saighdiúir), maraon le tacaíocht aeir, tacaíocht mara agus tacaíocht lóistíochta. Bheadh ar an bhfórsa seo bheith "réidh chun cruinnithe" lasmuigh den stát laistigh de 5 lá ar ordú Chomhairle an A.E. Ina dhiaidh sin, ba chóir go mbeadh fórsaí an DCN "réidh chun seoladh" laistigh de 5 lá eile. Dá bhrí sin, deich lá tar éis ordú a fháil ó Chomhairle an A.E., ba chóir go mbeadh Fórsaí Cosanta na hÉireann réidh chun dul i mbun "síochána a dhéanamh\*" áit ar bith ar domhan in ainm, agus faoi bhrat, an A.E. Níl gá le sainordú (mandate) ó na Náisiúin Aontaithe agus is deacair a fheiceáil conas is féidir linn muinín a bheith againn a thuilleadh (má bhí riamh) as an "Triple Lock", ceal ama.

 "Peacemaking means imposing, by the use of force, peaceful conditions under the terms laid down by the peacemaker. It is very difficult to distinguish that from warmaking." (John Bruton, Fine Gael TD, Dåil Éireann, 22.10.99)

Ós rud é go bhfuil coincheap an "cogadh ar son na daonnachta" (humanitarian war) á fhógairt mórthimpeall an domhain ag Meiriceá agus ag An Bhreatain, tá sé níos doiléire ná riamh cén difríocht a bheidh ann idir síocháin "a dhéanamh" agus cogadh a fhearadh,go háirithe os rud é go mbeidh dlúthbhaint ag comhghuaillíocht mhíleata NATO leis an scéal ó thús.Níl ar chumas an A.E. na díormaí catha\* a iompar gan NATO os rud é nach bhfuil cabhlach mara ná eitleáin míleata mór go leor acu féin. Ach, ar ámharaí an tsaoil, tá a leithéid de threalamh ag NATO agus ag roinnt tíortha a bhfuil ballraíocht acu i NATO.

Is baill de NATO cheana féin An Ioruaidh agus An Eastóin, ár bpáirtnéirí nua sa DCN.

\* "Battle groups could be used to go to war. Why did the E.U. create the Battle group? It is not just to help rebuild a country. The Battle groups are not for building schools. We shouldn't think the E.U. is for soft power and NATO for hard power." (Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Runai-Ghinearálta NATO, 11/3/2005.)

Más impireacht nua a bheidh san A.E. amach anseo, cén dochar dúinne, mar bhall den Impireacht, ár neodracht mhíleata

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO JOIN THE INC THEN FILL IN THE FORM BELOW AND RETURN IT TO: Irish National Congress, PO Box 2814, Dublin 7.

Membership Fee: waged €10 / unwaged €5

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thraidisiúnta a chaitheamh uainn? Nach buntáiste dúinn é anseo in Éirinn an chogaíocht más buntáiste don Impireacht é?

"What is the Empire? I believe it is understood to mean the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland with independent legislatures, united under one head. But this union of the executive does by no means imply so complete a union of power or of interest, that an injury or benefit to one, is an injury or a benefit to the other; on the contrary, the present emergency shows that occasions may arise wherein the exact opposite is the fact...To talk of the independence of a country and yet to deny her a negative voice in a question of no less import to her well-being than that of peace or war, is impudent nonsense."

Feargus Mac Aogáin
 Coiste Stiúrtha CSN / PANA.

### Christmas Raffle Results

The winners of the Christmas 2006 raffle were:

1st Prize (An Christmas Hamper): Cliona Lawless, Dublin. 2nd Prize, (A Case of Wine.): Cormac McFadden, Galway 3rd Prize, (€100 Book Token): Fergus Fleming, Dublin.

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

### Spring Raffle

The prizes for this years Spring raffle are:

1st: A Hamper

2nd: A Case of Wine

3rd: A Book Token

With this newsletter you will receive a booklet of (6) raffle tickets. Tickets are €2 each or €10 per booklet. 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 16th May, The draw will take place on Saturday 19th May. As ever your support is invaluable and greatly appreciated.

## Irish National Congress Annual General Meeting

Saturday 19<sup>th</sup> May 2007 12pm – 4pm The Teachers Club 36 Parnell Square Dublin.

Guest Speaker: Mark Thompson (Chairperson Relatives for Justice)

Relatives for Justice have campaigned over the years to draw attention to the policy of collusion between the British state and Unionist paramilitary murder gangs.

### **ALL WELCOME**

NEXT ISSUE INC NEWS: While the joint statement of Gerry Adams and Ian Paisley is to be welcomed, we remain sceptical about the DUP's commitment to power sharing. We will reserve comment until after May 8, when the institutions have been re-established.