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AMERICAN IRISH NEWSLETTER Political Education Committee of the American Ireland Education Foundation

Volume 25, Number 12

December 2000

Police Reform is Key to Implementing Agreement

By Brendan O'Leary, Professor of Political Science at the London School of Economics and coauthor of Policing Northern Ireland (Reprinted from the Aug. 30 Financial Times)

IMPLEMENTING the Mitchell Agreement was always going to be difficult, but the intra-loyalist feud is no reason for fundamental misgivings. The wholesale transformation of some paramilitaries into Mafiosi was predictable. The power to imprison re-offending paramilitaries was a prudent protection against abuses of the prisoner-release program and has been wisely used by Peter Mandelson, the Northern Ireland secretary.

The principal danger to the full implementation of the Agreement lies elsewhere—with the mismanagement of police reform. To have police rooted in, and legitimate with, both Catholic and Protestant communities is critical. Effective policing will help extirpate that species of paramilitarism fast becoming an exclusively criminal enterprise and foster a law-abiding climate for business.

A reformed police was mandated by the Agreement and rigorously set out in the Patten Report, a coherent compromise between the hard-line republican demand for the disbanding of the RUC and the equally hard-line unionist view that the RUC already met the terms of reference of the Agreement.

The UK government promised to implement Patten and this year presented its second Northern Ireland Police Bill as intended to do just that. That was a public lie, demonstrated by the government's acceptance of more than 60 amendments to bring the Bill more into line with Patten.

What has been happening? Mandelson's officials appear to think that Patten is a nationalist report, rather than the compromise, and that they have the right to leave aside those elements they find unacceptable, premature, or likely to cause difficulties for pro-Agreement unionists or the RUC.

Patten recommended that an Oversight Commissioner "supervise the implementation of our recommendations." The commissioner's office has now been put on a statutory basis but confined to overseeing changes "decided by the government." If Mandelson were committed to Patten, he would charge the Commissioner with recommending legislative and other changes necessary for

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Patten Report is 'Gutted'

On the eve of the Police Bill's third reading in the House of Lords Nov. 15. Patten commissioner Prof. Clifford Sheering said in the Guardian newspaper that the Report had been gutted.

He said that the British government's policy had failed to fulfil the hopes and vision of the Mitchell Agreement.

The professor was critical of the Police Bill because it "abandons the notion of policing as a collective community policing and fails to heed the Patten report's plea to us-andthem concepts of policing."

Shearing said he subjected the Police Bill to a line-by-line analysis to prove it bore little relation to the original recommendations.

"The Patten report has not been cherry-picked, it has been gutted," he said. "The Bill does not fulfil the hopes and vision of the Belfast Agreement. Nor does it satisfy the very clear mandate set out in the commission's terms of reference. It is not a new beginning. It will not serve the people of Northern Ireland. Nor will it serve the many, many dedicated persons in the RUC who have been looking for a new vision for policing that will move and inspire them to police in partnership with the communities they serve," he said.

Shearing is the second member of the Patten Commission to voice criticism of the policing bill. Previously, Dr. Gerard Lynch of New York's John Jay College, had warned that the Police Bill should not alter the recommendations of the Patten Report.

Our View:

Who's Calling the Democracy Bluff?

THE TRANSFORMATION of some paramilitaries into Mafiosi was predictable. So was a little inter-necine strife. So were unionist growing pains. Nonetheless, the British and Irish governments would have it, police reform would come. Two and one-half years after the promise, the Newsletter can boast two well-written articles on the causes and effects of Britain's failure to deliver the policing reforms.

O'Leary's argues that Britain's failure thus far to enact the Patten Report's recommendations has played a key role in the current level of loyalist violence and slowed the development of normal democratic culture as it might be measured in economic development.

The PEC would argue that Britain's failure to enact Patten is a measure of Britain's inability to govern in Ireland. We would say to all who endorsed the Mitchell Agreement as the harbinger of peace and progress that the whole plan has one central flaw: Britain is a dominant actor in the whole scheme. We expressed these reservations when the Agreement came into being.

Adams argues that the solution to the policing and other civil rights matters is for the British to fully implement Patten. Such a gesture would mean that Britain would withdraw itself from several key areas of Northern life. Such a gesture would mean that Britain was serious about the Agreement and democracy. Such a gesture would tell First Minister David Trimble, the UUP, et al, to quit calling Britain's bluff by stalling the Executive, the Assembly, and every other Agreementrelated mechanism. The "we don't have to play fair because Big Brother will beat you up if we don't get our way" school of unionism would have to learn to behave or expel itself. Without Britain, who would listen?

Peace Process Update

October 9

FIRST Minister David Trimble survives a DUP-tabled noconfidence motion in the Assembly.

October 10

The Civic Forum, set up under the Mitchell Agreement to advise the Assembly on cultural, economic, and social issues, begins work. On the eve of Downing Street talks with British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern makes it clear at a meeting of British and Irish politicians that the new policing bill is not acceptable. Ahern's comments lessen the chances of his government's offering a compromise on Patten in a bid to bail out Trimble, whose position as leader of the Ulster Unionist Party is at serious risk.

October 11

The Irish and British prime ministers agree to meet to further discuss policing reforms.

October 13

No group claims responsibility for the murder of Real IRA leader Joseph O'Connor of West Belfast. The IRA later says it is not responsible.

October 15

Sinn Fein MLA Gerry Kelly says he believes a second inspection of IRA arms dumps will occur. He says it would have taken place by now if the British government had honored its "commitments on policing and demilitarization."

October 19

Tibetan leader the Dalai Lama visits Northern Ireland and leads a seminar entitled The Way of Peace at Belfast's Waterfront Hall. The seminar explores practical ways in which religious harmony can contribute to peacemaking.

October 24

Northern Secretary Peter Mandelson says that Trimble's leadership of the UUP is an essential part of achieving both

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National President John J. Finucane Membership/Subscription Coordinator Loretta Fitzgibbons Recording Secretary Kathy Regan Newsletter Editor Sandy CarlsonEdward Dzitko

Newsletter Mailing Address:

Five Woods Way, Woodbury, CT 06798

PEC & Newsletter Email Address: alpec@homestead.com **National Headquarters**

> P.O. Box 102, Blauvelt, NY 10913-9915 (845) 947-2726 Fax (845) 947-2599

PEC Web Site Address: http://alpec.homestead.com Supported in part by the Emerald Society, **NYC Fire Department**

STATE DIRECTORS: Jack O'Brien, 11109 Belton St., Upper Marlboro, MARYLAND 20772-(301)336-5167; Leah Curtin, Hibernian Life, 790 Cleveland Ave., Ste. 221, St. Paul, MINNESOTA 55116-(612)690-3888; Kathy Regan, 7 Balint Dr., Apt 714, Yonkers, NEW YORK 10710-(914)395-1995; Frank O'Day, 21 Pierce Ln., Madison, CONNECTICUT06443-(203)245-4739; Bob West, 683 Walnut Rd., Wauconda, ILLINOIS 60084-(847)526-6520; Terry Deem Reilly, 1123 Clarkson, Denver, COLORADO 80218-(303)837-9443; Ned A. Delaney, 1211 El Grande St., Lafayette, INDIANA 47905-(317)474-2546; Larry Doyle, 2036 Calhoun, Bellevue, NEBRASKA 68005-(402)292-5291; Kathy Whitford, 15910 Lucille Dr., Cleveland, OHIO 44111- (216) 251-7551; Paul D. McGuigan, 7607-8th Ave.,NW, #201, Seattle, WASHINGTON 98117 - (206) 782-5567; Nancy Love, 14151/2 Grand Ave., Racine, WISCONSIN 53402 - (414) 633-4085; Dr. John T. Giesen, 1107 Ironwood Dr., Coeur D'Alene, IDAHO 83814-(208) 667-7459; Hal Cousins, 905 Shalimar Dr., Del City, OKLAHOMA 73115 - (405) 677-3623; Elizabeth McElligott, 7747 E. Dele Ln. Scottsdale, ARIZONA 85262 - (602)585-3602; Robert J. Fuhrel, 1901 Rio Canyon Ct. #202, Las Vegas, NEVADA 89128-(702) 255-9619; Mary Holford, 6555 Tam O'Shanter Dr., San Jose, CALIFORNIA, 95120-(408) 268-4548 GREAT HUNGER AWARENESS CAMPAIGN DIRECTOR: Frank Morris, Jr., 821 Briarvood Ln., Camp Hill, PA 17011-(717) 737-7013
NATIONAL ORGANIZER: Pete Foley, 3615 Greystone Ave., Bronx, NY 10463 - (718) 884-2220

From the North:

By Robert Heatley, co-founder of the campaign for Democracy, a predominantly Protestant organization, Belfast, Northern Ireland

AND SO, THE BRITISH, in cahoots with their Ulster Unionist Party underlings, have manufactured yet another phoney crisis in the Mitchell Agreement's induced peace process.

Trimble occasioned the latest one by his probably illegal exclusion of Sinn Fein's two Stormont Executive members from their electorallymandated right to participate in the North/South ministerial council meetings. In other words, from their equality rights in respect of strand two of the Agreement.

The pretext is the purported failure of the Provisional IRA to make sufficient progress in decommissioning its arms, but the real reason is to save the UUP leader from his anti-Agreement opponents in the UUP.

Saving Trimble is a strategy the British have used since the Agreement was signed to slow its implementation, water them down, and, above all, to force the IRA to decommission its arms on unionist terms. Trimble's action is merely a continuation of that strategy.

In the wake of his consultations with both British Prime Minister Tony
Blair and Northern Ireland proconsul
Peter Mandelson, he was permitted to outflank his openly anti-Agreement
UUP opponents by giving in to their demands, although in a slightly camouflaged fashion.

Though the British would deny this thesis, can they expect to get away with a policy that turns both the Mitchell Agreement and its offshoot, the Patten Report, into mere shadows of what they were proposed to be? As well as buying more time for Trimble, whose pro-Agreement credentials and now even more lacking in credibility,

this move has reactivated British pressure on the IRA to give up arms on Whitehall's terms. Britain is giving a failed tactic another run, though it puts the peace process in further jeopardy.

The terms for which the British are clamoring, through the mouths of their unionist surrogates, are nowhere to be found in either the Mitchell Agreement itself or in the *modus vivendi* reached in May of this year at Hillsborough between the London and Dublin governments and the IRA. This compact enabled the Assembly institutions to restart after the proconsul had unilaterally and illegally suspended them. It got Mandelson off a hook on which his good-natured solicitude for Trimble had suspended him at the time.

He appears not to have learned anything positive from that experience. On that occasion, he had broken an international treaty with Dublin that formed the legal basis for the Mitchell Agreement. Nonetheless, the May agreement at Hillsborough seemed to have gotten everyone out of that British- and unionist-fabricated crisis in the peace process.

Now it appears that is not so—the old pretext of IRA decommissioning will just not go away. This is despite the fact that neither the compact at Hillsborough nor the Agreement demands anything like the deadlines and formulae Trimble is concocting with Mandelson's prompting.

These men know this to be the case, so their motive must lie elsewhere. The clue lies in the list of other demands Trimble is now making, including a moratorium on the implementation of the Patten Report as well as other infringements of the equality provisions of the Mitchell

Agreement in relation to the Irish nationality of the North. Along with Trimble's assumption of his ownership of the Stormont institutions (he refused to call an emergency meeting of the Executive when the SDLP and SF asked for one), take two examples.

Sophie Rhys-Jones is the wife of England's Prince Edward. The proconsul has drawn up a list of days on which the "Union Flag" must be flown over government buildings. No harm to Sophie, but more than 43 percent of the people here vote for Irish nationalist or republican political parties. Nevertheless, the proconsul has issued an edict that the "Union Flag" must be displayed on her birthday. The same "Union Flag" must also be flown on Saint Patrick's Day-a holiday that is at long last recognized. Sinn Fein has begun proceedings to have the matter examined in court.

Republicans have made it clear that they will abide totally with the decommissioning requirements of both the Mitchell Agreement and the May Hillsborough compact. The main requirement still stands. The British must implement both the Agreement and the Patten Report. They have failed to do so-and are still failing. Acceptable policing, equal respect for Irish nationality in the North, and credible demilitarization are outstanding matters. The guns of mainstream republicanism have been silent for six years now. International arms inspectors have investigated arms bunkers and have reported good faith. If there has been a problem in relation to General John De Chastelain's Commission, then that would be because of the British tactic of hiding behind Trimble and failing to deliver in time and adequately on their own commitments.

Newsbits

WITH news emerging that the Stevens inquiry team may be about to arrest British agent and loyalist quartermaster Brian Nelson, further information detailing how British intelligence officers viewed loyalist killers gangs as an "operational arm" of the British Army is emerging. The Stevens team investigating collusion allegations has the cooperation of a former member of the FRU, a secret military unit, who approached the Stevens team after a series of media revelations. After a tip-off, the Stevens team seized secret documents that detailed the activities of the FRU, as well as who knew what about what. The documents enabled the team to identify 30 former members of the FRU, two of whom they have already arrested and questioned. The documents reveal details of the killing of west Belfast pensioner Francisco Notorantonio, ordered by the FRU to protect one of their agents. Nelson is believed to have passed information, including personal details about Notorantonio, to his loyalist killers. The Stevens team is believed to have uncovered evidence that some British military intelligence officers regarded loyalist death squads as "an operational arm" to help them with their war against the IRA. Intelligence records suggest that collusion became "institutionalized" within the British army. One British army officer and former member of the FRU, who is at the center of the allegations, was moved out of the Six Counties as soon as the Steven's inquiry began. Known as Captain M, she was involved in handling Nelson and is to be questioned about her role in the Notorantonio killing. According to the media, Captain M is currently working as an instructor at British military intelligence headquarters in Bedfordshire, England, and is expected to be questioned, along with Brian

Nelson, in the next few weeks. (RM Dist. 10/10/00)

A Sunday newspaper has been prevented from publishing further details of allegations of British security force collusion with loyalist paramilitaries [See Nov. Newsbits]. For the second week running, the British Defence Secretary Geoff Hoon has obtained a court order against the Northern Ireland edition of the Sunday People. The paper has published reports alleging that a special army unit had colluded with loyalists in a number of attacks on nationalists, including the killing of Francisco Notorantonio in Belfast in 1987. In a statement released on Saturday, the newspaper said it had gone back to the High Court on Friday to fight the gagging order for a second time but had failed in its attempt to overturn it. "Incredibly, the judge again ruled that the result be kept secret from the public," the newspaper said in a statement. It added that "even more draconian measures to silence and censor" the Sunday People had now been introduced but it was not allowed to say what those measures were. "But we do vow to fight this latest astonishing attack on press freedom." The newspaper said the measures sought by Hoon contravened the right to freedom of expression as enshrined in the European Convention of Human Rights. "It puts him totally at odds with the Human Rights Act 1998, which comes into force next week," said the paper. Sunday People editor Neil Wallis said he was furious at the legal challenge. "It is amazing that the government and security services should be able to gag what is supposed to be a free press." Sunday People Northern Ireland editor Greg Harkin said the allegations the paper was making were clearly in the public's interest, and he criticized the

newspaper. "It means other allegations of great significance cannot be brought to the attention of the public." (*IAIS* 10/10/00)

The RUC have admitted destroying a vital piece of forensic evidence in the case against Belfast's Christy Walsh. This is the second piece of forensic evidence to be destroyed by the RUC in connection with this case. In 1991, Walsh was convicted of possession of a coffee jar bomb and jailed, despite the IRA's taking the unusual step of admitting Walsh had no involvement in the planned attack. Walsh served his full sentence but throughout his trial, during his imprisonment; and since his release, he has insisted he took no part in the incident The Criminal Cases Review Commission ruled last March that the trial judge had wrongly described the lack of forensic evidence on the jacket Walsh was wearing at the time as neutral rather than exculpatory. The Commission accused the judge of adopting a speculative theory that was unsupported by any evidence. The judge had claimed that the bomb had been carefully prepared to ensure that there would be no contamination of any person carrying the device. Lawyers acting for Walsh recently requested that the jacket be made available to the forensic scientist making inquiries into the case. The RUC replied that the jacket had been destroyed during a routine review in December 1998. The RUC had already admitted destroying the coffee jar bomb. Significantly the RUC held onto the jacket for six years and only ordered its destruction after the reopening of the case became a likely possibility. (RM Dist. 10/30/00)

Continue Supporting the Peace Process by Continuing Membership in the AIEF-PEC Renew Now

government for trying to silence his

Offensive Situations

Members Speak out Against Racist Images

TWO PEC MEMBERS are urging you to take action against two anti-Irish images—one of the Irish as drinkers and the other, of the Irish as loyal British subjects.

PEC member Jim Madden notified the PEC in Oct. that ABC is airing a program called the *Madigan Men*. A preview before the show's Oct. 6 premier contained an exchange between adult son Benjamin Madigan (Gabriel Byrne) and his father (Roy Dotrice). The two men and Benjamin's son (John Hensley) are in a bar. Benjamin asks his father why he has taken the 17-year-old boy to a bar. The grandfather replies that he had Benjamin at the bar by the time the boy was six. Benjamin replies, "Oh yes, the Irish Head Start program. I remember it well."

Please contact ABC (see Action Requests, Page 8) to urge the network to eschew anti-Irish racism in this program about a divorced father who is reentering the world of dating after a 20-year marriage.

PEC member **Kevin Brennan** also contacted the PEC in Oct. to express his anger that the Hammes Notre Dame Bookstore is selling a porcelain statue of an Irish Guard. The Irish Guards were part of the British Army. The statue's place in the Notre Dame catalog glosses the British Army's brutal, shameful history in Ireland.

The PEC urges members to contact the Notre Dame bookstore (see Action Requests, Page 8) and urge it to remove the figurine from its catalog.

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a lasting peace and devolution. The British government assumes the authority to order Sinn Féin ministers of the Northern Ireland Executive to fly the Union flag over their offices on specified days.

October 25

The IRA issues a statement saying it will resume contact with the arms decommissioning inspectors.

October 26

Mandelson says Dublin would become more involved in running the North if the Assembly were to collapse. Mandelson's comments come as Blair visits the North for meetings with key figures in the peace process. The IRA releases a statement confirming that international inspectors Cyril Rampahosa and Martti Ahtisaari have inspected a number of IRA arms dumps. President Bill Clinton welcomes the IRA's statement. The inspectors also issue a statement: "We re-inspected the arms dumps, which we previously reported held a substantial amount of military materiel, including explosives and related equipment, as well as weapons and other materiel. The arms dumps had not been tampered with, and we confirm that they have remained

secure. We observed that the weapons and explosives continued to be safely and adequately stored. We remain confident that the weapons and explosives cannot be used without our detection. The IRA has fully honored its commitments and complied with the terms of our engagement, and we are convinced that we will receive the same cooperation in future reinspections."

October 28

Overcoming dissent from hard-line factions within the UUP, Trimble refuses from today to nominate Sinn Fein Ministers to any North-South Ministerial Council meetings until there is what he calls "substantial engagement" with the international decommissioning body. He calls on the arms decommissioning body to become more "pro-active in fulfilling [its] mandate" and calls on the British government to "convene a formal review" in the event of any failure to achieve progress on the arms issue. Nationalists say Trimble's new position contradicts the Mitchell Agreement, but Sinn Fein says it will not walk away from the peace process.

October 30

Three more deaths in the past four days bring to six the number of deaths in connection with the loyalist feud.

November 2

Mandelson calls on Trimble to lift sanctions against Sinn Fein members attending meetings of the North-South Ministerial Council. The SDLP says it will not recognize the sanctions but will meet with Sinn Fein ministers. Deputy First Minister Seamus Mallon criticizes Trimble for vetoing a meeting of the Executive to consider the ban. The crisis arises out of the latest Ulster Unionist Council meeting at Belfast's Waterfront Hall. After four hours of discussion on Saturday, Trimble emerges with marginally more support for his leadership. Fifty-four percent of the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC) vote in favor of Trimble's proposal to use his powers as first minister to exclude Sinn Fein ministers from the North-South Ministerial Council, pending IRA decommissioning according to the UUP's terms. The loyalist feud claims another life. Loyalist vandals damage Catholic churches, a GAA hall, and a Catholicowned business.

November 3

Mallon calls on Mandelson to intervene to ensure that Executive business run as usual, despite Trimble's sanctions against Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein considers legal action against the sanctions.

There can be no Unionist Veto

By Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams

The following is the full text of comments by Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams MP at a meeting of party activists in Castlebellingham, County Louth on Oct. 29. Reprinted from RM Distribution.

THIS week illustrates the unpredictable, spontaneous and often frustrating nature of the peace process and the need for sound, clear, and forward-looking management.

Once again, the IRA demonstrated its commitment to the peace process by honoring commitments it made in May. It did this while Britain has yet to honor its commitments.

The Ulster Unionist Council has resurrected the issue of arms once again in a stupid and unattainable demand for IRA decommissioning on a unionist timetable and in what can only be described as an ungracious rejection of the IRA initiative.

The initiative had two parts. One, which involved the inspection and reinspection of IRA dumps, was a confidence-building measure aimed at reassuring unionist opinion and without doubt at the cost of serious difficulties within republicanism.

The other issue of putting IRA weapons verifiably beyond use is, it seems from the IRA statement, an issue between the IRA and the British

government with a context outlined by the Army Leadership in which this could be accomplished.

While the responsibility and, indeed, the credit for all of the recent IRA initiatives lies with the IRA itself, some of the progress that has been made was because this Sinn Fein leadership sought, through engagements with the British and Irish governments, the unionists and others, to develop ideas to keep the process moving on.

The UUP has arrogantly failed to take any of this into account. Party leader **David Trimble**'s propositions to the Council differ from party colleague **Jeffrey Donaldson**'s only with regard to timing. The attention being paid to Trimble's victory over Donaldson has sidelined the more important issue—that is, the consequences all of this has for the political process.

Trimble should have faced down his opponents by pro-actively promoting the Mitchell Agreement. Instead, he has chosen to step outside that Agreement and, if he follows through on his threat, he will be in breach of the Agreement and in contravention of his Pledge of Office and of his Ministerial code.

Sinn Fein does not hold Executive position by dint of patronage from the

UUP. We have a mandate, and the citizens we represent must have exactly the same rights as all other citizens.

Could it be that Trimble's move today is tacit acknowledgment that unionism isn't up to the challenge of working alongside other citizens or of developing and sustaining a peaceful future based upon equality?

Could it be that he is unable to rise above the role of a party leader, the leader of the UUP, to be a First Minister for all the people?

I have been in touch with both the British and Irish governments today, and I have told them of the need to preserve the political process and the peace process thorough upholding and implementing the Mitchell Agreement. They cannot allow a unionist veto.

The job of responsible political leaders, and especially of British Prime Minister Tony Blair, must now be to provide effective political leadership, fulfil outstanding commitments, and plan the program of change that is essential for the full implementation of the Mitchell Agreement.

While we all have a role to play in this, the primary responsibility for advancing peace and justice and

(continued from Page 1)

the full implementation of the Patten Report. That he refuses to do so speaks volumes.

Now, as the Bill is about to recommence its progress through the Lords, the government has started to shift its public relations. The new line is that Patten in its entirety would render the police less effective, for example, in dealing with criminal paramilitarism. By implication, anyone who disagrees is soft on crime (and its paramilitary causes).

The new line, though more honest, lacks credibility. The Patten Report involves no trade-off between effectiveness

and accountability or between maintaining order and conflict resolution.

Patten recommended a Policing Board to hold the police to account. The Secretary of State will now have the power to prevent inquiries by the Board that would "serve no useful purpose." Mandelson has prevented the truth emerging about the police's past by stopping the Board from inquiring into any act or omission arising before the eventual Act applies. This is an undeclared amnesty for past police misconduct, not proposed by Patten. I would not object to an open amnesty, as part of the peace

democracy rests with the British government. At this time, as we face into another crisis caused by the refusal of unionists to accept the democratic imperative of agreements and responsibilities that they enter into, republicans have serious concerns about the focus and intent of Blair and his colleagues. For examples:

A new beginning to policing was promised. On present evidence the British are producing a repackaged RUC that nationalists and republicans will not support, endorse, or join. Claims that the British government is "faithfully" implementing the Patten report on policing reform does not convince Sinn Fein, the Catholic Church, the SDLP, the Irish government, political opinion in Washington, and a wide range of human rights and justice and victims groups in Ireland.

The solution to this problem is for the British government to implement the Patten report in full.

On demilitarization, the British have delivered a transparent public relations spin that seeks to gloss over the remilitarization of South Armagh, Tyrone, and Fermanagh; the unacceptable presence of British forces in areas such as West Belfast; and the continued use of civilian human shields on Divis Tower and

elsewhere by the British Army. This is not demilitarization. This is rationalization, and it is no part of the Mitchell Agreement or the deal struck at Hillsborough.

The solution to this problem is for the British government to implement the Mitchell Agreement in full.

On Criminal Justice, the review set up by the British government fails to meet the standard set for it by the Agreement two and a half years ago. Nationalists and republicans are not going to support a Criminal Justice system that continues to rely on emergency legislation, the denial of fundamental human rights, a judiciary that has forever disgraced itself working the Diplock Court system, and an inquest system that has colluded in the cover-up of hundreds of state-sponsored killings.

The solution to this problem is for the British government to honor the commitments made in the Mitchell Agreement and create a criminal justice system that is fair and just and defends human rights.

Of course, there is the issue of flags. The spin from London is that the two Sinn Fein ministers will be "ordered" to fly the Union Jack. What happened to the principles of partnership, equality, mutual respect and mutual consent, of

tolerance and sensitivity? The British government has erased these words and themes from the Agreement at the behest of a unionism that still wants to be top dog. Worse, it criminalizes Irish emblems and symbols. This is unacceptable and subverts the ethos of the Mitchell Agreement.

The solution to this problem is for the British government to implement the Agreement.

On these vital issues, as well as the threat to the Agreement now presented by Trimble, the British government holds the key.

The time ahead will present challenges for everyone. Sinn Fein is up to those challenges, and it remains the aim and the function of this party to manage the process in a calm and strategic way.

The Irish government also will be seriously challenged—especially at a time when other issues are preoccupying the southern political establishment. No issue is more important than the question of a just and lasting peace, and I look to the Taoiseach to uphold the rights of all citizens and to use his undoubted good relationship with Blair to persuade the British Prime Minister that pandering to unionism is not the way forward.

process, but this step is dishonest and makes it much less likely that rotten apples will be rooted out, as promised.

Patten recommended that the Ombudsman "should exercise the right to investigate and comment on police policies and practices," whereas, in the Bill the Ombudsman may make reports but not investigate (so it is not a crime to obstruct her work).

The government implies its critics are petty. They are not: these arrangements effectively seal off the past, present, and future avenues through which the police might be held to account.

If the government's true position were that it is premature to implement Patten "before the security situation improves," it would have made preparations to implement all of Patten later. It has not.

Patten recommended an entirely new name: The Northern Ireland Police Service. The Bill styles it The Police Service of Northern Ireland (incorporating the Royal Ulster Constabulary. Patten recommended that the new badge and emblems be free of association with the British or Irish states and that the Union flag should not fly from

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Action Requests

For information, call (800) 777-6807

Please take the actions recommended below. Mention that you are a PEC member.

Contact: ABC, 2040 Avenue of the Stars, Century City, CA 90067, http://abc.go.com

Message: I am deeply offended by your preview trailer for the new series *Madigan Men* because it suggests that the Irish raise their children in bars and that Irish men are seldom out of the pub. Such denigrating stereotyping is offensive and cheap, not to mention inaccurate. Surely, with a cast that includes actor Gabriel Byrne, ABC can develop an intelligent and challenging picture of an American Irish family.

Contact: The Hammes Notre Dame Bookstore, P.O. Box 608, Notre Dame, IN 46556, tele. 219-631-6316, fax 219-631-7842, email ND@bkstr.com

Message: Your Holiday Celebrations 2000 catalog offers a porcelain figurine of an Irish Guard (page 3). This is a highly offensive image because it not only suggests a positive connection between the Irish people and the British Army but also glosses the brutal role the British Army has played in Ireland. I urge you to remove this offensive, insulting item from your catalogs and replace it with a positive one of the Irish as soldiers who have fought for freedom or kept peace around the world.

Campaign 2000 Begins Dialogue

THE PEC HAS SUPPORTED the Election Campaign 2000 initiative, in which concerned voters have contacted candidates for elected offices to survey their knowledge of and support for American Irish political issues. The Campaign hopes to begin a dialogue between all elected officials and their constituents to develop support for the peace process and other matters that concern the US and Ireland.

We urge members to visit the Irish American Unity Conference's Web site at http://www.iauc.org/Campaign2000/index.htm to find out how newly-elected officials responded to the survey. We urge members to follow up by contacting their elected officials to request them to continue their support or to become informed about American Irish issues and begin to support the peace process.

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police buildings. The Bill fails to do this.

Full reform is the correct path under the Agreement, and it is correct, period, as Patten recommended. Unless the UK government fully implements Patten, nationalists, republicans, and the Catholic Church will not commend the police to their constituents and might boycott all the new boards. That would leave the police without Patten's "new beginning" and would make it harder for the IRA to go further in confidence-building, with all that entails. This vista must be avoided.

(The PEC thanks the members who submitted this article and suggested the Newsletter reprint it.)