

PROJECT MONNET NEWSLETTER NO. 9

29 February 2008

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1.LET US REMEMBER SOME OF THE THOUSANDS OF INNOCENT VICTIMS OF TERRORISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND WHO DIED DURING THE LAST WEEKS OF FEBRUARY OF EACH YEAR BETWEEN 1969 AND 2008

17 February 1978: La Mon House firebomb – Thomas Neeson (52, 3 children) and his mother-in-law Sarah (Sally) Wilson Cooper (62, several children), Sandra Morris (27, 2 children) and her sister-in-law Carol Mills (27, married), Christine Lockhart (32, married), Ian and Elizabeth McCracken (both 25), Daniel Magill (married), Gordon and Joan Crothers (30 and 26, 1 child), Paul and Dorothy Nelson (37 and 35, 2 children), all died in one of the most horrific IRA attacks in the terrorist campaign, a fireball which also injured 30 people.

- 17 February 1985: Patrick Kerr, a 37-year-old Catholic prison officer, married with three children, was shot by two IRA gunmen as he left mass in St Patrick's Cathedral, Armagh, in front of two of his children aged five and eight. It was reported that he had been engaged in improving security at the Maze Prison following the 1983 IRA breakout.
- **20 February 1973: Malcolm Shaw** (23) **and Robert Pearson** (19), both soldiers in the Coldstream Guards, were killed when their army mobile patrol came under gun and bomb attack by the IRA in West Belfast. An army spokesman said the incident was so well planned that some local people must have been aware of the IRA's intentions.

- 21 February 1985: Frank Murphy, a 30-year-old Catholic RUC member of the community relations branch, married with three children, was shot in an unmarked minibus just after returning 15 schoolchildren and two teachers to their school, 5 miles away from Armagh city. The children were in their classroom watching him leave when three IRA gunmen raked the minibus with machine-gun fire, with two bullets striking the classroom.
- 24 February 1979: James Keenan and Martin McGuigan, both 16, Catholic civilians, were killed when an IRA bomb intended for security services went off beside a stolen trailer on a road between Keady and Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh. One other Catholic youth lost an arm and a fourth was confined to a wheelchair with partial paralysis due to the explosion.
- **24 February 1992: Anne Marie Smyth,** 26 years, a single Catholic civilian with two children, died in an horrific sectarian killing after straying into the company of extreme loyalist elements in east Belfast.
- 25 February 1973: William Gordon Gallagher, a 9-year-old Catholic schoolboy, died in hospital after an IRA landmine exploded in the corner of the garden where he was playing at his home on the Creggan estate, Londonderry city. Troops arriving at the scene were stoned by a crowd of around 300 youths.
- **25 February 1983: Cecil McNeill**, a Protestant welder and UDR Corporal, was shot as he got out of his car outside the engineering plant where he worked at Ballygawley, Co. Tyrone. The 22-year-old had been engaged to be married just a month previously.
- **26 February 1976: Joseph McCullough,** a 57-year-old farmer, UDR member and chaplain of Tullyvallen Orange Lodge, was stabbed to death in a laneway near his farm in Newtownhamilton, although he had been staying with neighbours to avoid attack. A cousin, several neighbours and UDR colleagues as well as the previous chaplain, John Johnston, had also been killed by the IRA.
- **27 February 1971: Cecil Patterson** (46, one child) **and Robert Buckley** (32, two children), Protestant RUC Detective-Inspector and Constable respectively, were shot during gunfire and rioting in the Ardoyne district. The RUC Chief Constable decided that same night to withdraw all unarmed patrols in Belfast and issue revolvers to any officers going on duty.
- **27 February 1973: William Raymond Wylie** (26, one child) **and Ronald McCauley** (43, two sons), RUC Constables, were shot in an IRA ambush at Aghagallon near Lurgan. Constable Wylie's elderly mother, two brothers and sister live in the Omagh area.
- **27 February 1977: John Lee**, a 35-year-old Catholic and former member of the Parachute Regiment, married with three children, was shot by the IRA as he left a Social Club in the Ardoyne area of Belfast with his wife after celebrating their 17th wedding anniversary.
- **28 February 1973: Alan Kennington**, 20 years, a soldier in the Light Infantry, was part of a "lollipop patrol" to protect schoolchildren from sectarian clashes, but was shot by the IRA in a lunchtime gun attack in the Ardoyne district of Belfast even as children in the area left schools.
- 28 February 1985: Alexander Donaldson (41, three children), Ivy Winifred Kelly (29, married), Geoffrey K. Campbell (24, married), John Thomas Dowd (31, married), Denis Anthony Price (22, Catholic), Rosemary Elizabeth Gookin (27, married), Sean Brian McHenry (19), David Peter Topping (22), and Paul Hilary McFerran (28), were nine RUC officers killed

in an IRA mortar attack on Newry police station, the biggest single loss of police personnel in any incident during the terrorist campaign.

29 February 1972: Henry Dickson, Protestant train driver and UDR member, 46, married with three children, was shot at his home in Lurgan by two IRA gunmen, in front of his 11-year-old daughter who was also hit in the leg. His wife, out at the time, had to be treated for shock. Trains stopped across the province as a mark of respect during his funeral.

2. JIM ALLISTER, MEP TELLS EUROPE ABOUT COMPROMISING WITH TERRORISTS: "LEARN FROM OUR MISTAKES"

During a debate which took place in the European Parliament in Strasbourg on terrorism within the European Union and dealing with a report on human rights, the Traditional Unionist Voice leader, Jim Allister, MEP, spoke of Northern Ireland's experience of terrorism and gave a powerful warning of the disasters of appeasing terrorism by way of political compromise with terrorist-related politicians.

In his statement Mr Allister said:

"As a representative for Northern Ireland, which suffered decades of vicious terrorism, I give you two points from our experience.

- 1. Terrorism should never be appeased, rather it must be defeated. Start treating with terrorism, giving its prisoners 'special status', and ultimately early release, and soon you'll end up, like Northern Ireland, with unrepentant terrorists at the heart of your government. Appeasement only whets the insatiable appetite of terrorists.
- 2. Whereas state abuse is not right, the naïve belief as evident in this report that lavishing so-called 'human rights' on terrorists will neutralise them, will, in fact only strengthen their cause, as they expertly exploit and misuse every such right to their own advantage, while they go on denying to their victims the most basic human rights of them all, the right to life.

Because of the excesses of their murderous strategy, sometimes the defense of society requires a choice between uninhibited rights for the terrorist and the rights of the innocent. In such circumstances, I have no difficulty in choosing the right of society to defend itself over the supposed human rights of the terrorist. The battle against terrorism is a battle of good against evil and, if need be, the rights of the terrorist is secondary to that of society."

But is Europe ready to <u>listen</u> and <u>learn the lesson?</u>

3. RECLASSIFY THE IRA TERRORIST CAMPAIGN AS "WAR" SUGGEST THE CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON THE PAST

The Consultative Group on the Past is headed by former Church of Ireland Primate Lord Eames and ex-Policing Board Vice-Chairman, Denis Bradley. This body was appointed by the British Government to make proposals as to how to deal with the legacy of the terrorist campaign in Northern Ireland. During the consultation process the Consultative Group made the most obnoxious suggestion, i.e. to reclassify the terrorist campaign as a "war".

This proposal is right in line with the agenda of IRA / Sinn Fein, who want to rewrite history so as to justify and cover up thirty years of criminal activity. To call a terrorist campaign a "war" would enable terrorists to position themselves as equal with security forces, the police and the army. They would then draw a huge political benefit from such recognition in order to undermine the British authorities even further, blaming them for countering their terrorist

campaign. It would also enable them to elevate terrorists who lost their lives as a result of their evil deeds and make them victims of war and – why not? – heroes.

All right-thinking people would reject outright such a contemptible suggestion. It is evident that the security forces in Northern Ireland were dealing with an unjustifiable, sustained terrorist campaign that has claimed the lives of thousands of innocent victims.

4. THE BELFAST AGREEMENT: A COMPROMISE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND TERRORISM

At the time it was made the St Andrews Agreement was presented by some political parties as a "new" agreement, to replace the Belfast Agreement. It was supposed to bring about peace and a final settlement to Northern Ireland's constitutional instability. But the St Andrews agreement did not replace the Belfast Agreement, nor did it fundamentally modify it. It merely introduced practical changes to the working of the Northern Ireland institutions already set up following the Belfast Agreement.

This can be seen in the legislation that these agreements have led to and which has been passed in Westminster. The Belfast Agreement resulted in the *Northern Ireland Act 1998* which determines the powers and duties of Northern Ireland institutions and their functioning and can be described as the Constitution of Northern Ireland. The St Andrews agreement led to the *Northern Ireland (St Andrews Agreement) Act 2006*, which amends minor aspects of the *Northern Ireland Act 1998*.

The Northern Ireland institutions were established on an unstable basis: (1) first, a compulsory partnership between democrats and terrorist-related politicians, (2) second, the absence of collective responsibility of the Ministers before the Assembly and (3) third, the interdependence between the Executive Committee in Northern Ireland and the international North-South Ministerial Council.

1. A COMPULSORY PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRATS AND TERRORIST-RELATED POLITICIANS

The first and predominant characteristic of the constitutional system created as a result of the Belfast Agreement is a compulsory partnership between democrats and terrorist-related politicians at all levels of the institutions, both in the Assembly and in the Executive, and consequently in the international North-South Ministerial Council.

The system of appointment of Ministers (the D'Hondt system) guarantees that the different political parties elected to the Assembly will have the possibility of being represented in the Executive, even if a party is made up of terrorist-related politicians.

This runs contrary to the principle applied in all genuinely democratic systems, where the party or parties which receive the largest vote either form the Government on their own, or seek to ally themselves freely with other democratic parties in order to implement an agreed programme of government.

If such a principle had been enforced in Northern Ireland, it would have allowed only truly democratic parties to form a government and would have prevented terrorist-related politicians from accessing government positions. It would have also discouraged the electorate from voting for those who use undemocratic means to subvert democracy and undermine the democratic society of Northern Ireland in order to fulfil their aims. Indeed no system of

Government that is genuinely democratic could sustain the institutionalisation of a permanent compromise with the forces of terrorism. The principles that underpin a democratic society with respect for freedom and human rights can only be maintained if compromise with terrorist organisations is excluded. Co-existence between democracy and terrorism is impossible. They are irreconcilable enemies. If democracy is to survive in any part of the European Union, it clearly must dissociate itself totally from terrorism.

2. THE ABSENCE OF COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MINISTERS BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY

Once Ministers are appointed to the Executive, they operate independently at the head of their own Department. The First Minister or deputy First Minister cannot give specific directions to be carried out by another Minister. The Executive as a whole is not collectively responsible to the Assembly. The Assembly has no powers to request and obtain the removal of the Executive by way of a motion of confidence, as is possible in democratic parliamentary systems. The principle of separation of power between the Executive and the Legislative is not implemented, and therefore there is no proper system of checks and balances.

A Minister can be removed from office if there is a vote against him/her by the Assembly, provided a resolution is passed with cross-community support after a motion for that resolution is supported by at least 30 members of the Assembly, and is moved by the First Minister and deputy First Minister acting jointly. For example, if a terrorist-related politician breaches the Pledge of Office and there are grounds for him to be removed, a majority of the nationalist designation would have to vote for his removal, along with a majority of the Unionist designation. Even if a breach of the Pledge of Office is established, the removal of the Minister is highly unlikely to take place owing to lack of cross-community support.

Hence, any terrorist-related politician who is a Minister in the Executive is secure in his post. He can continue to undermine democracy by furthering the aims of the terrorist organisation to which he is intrinsically linked, to the detriment of the functioning of Northern Ireland institutions and to the detriment of the people of Northern Ireland.

3. THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND THE INTERNATIONAL NORTH-SOUTH MINISTERIAL COUNCIL (NSMC)

The international North-South Ministerial Council is a body made up of Ministers from the Executive in Northern Ireland and the Irish Government. Its purpose is to ensure cooperation between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland on as many issues as possible that affect the economy of both. It is meant to merge the two economies progressively and move towards an ever closer union with the aim of reaching political union.

The Northern Ireland Act 1998 poses as a Ministerial responsibility the duty for each Minister of the Executive to participate in the North-South Ministerial Council meetings. These provisions, which oblige Ministers to participate in an international body in order to move the integration process forward, do not comply with the principle of the sovereignty and independence of the State, which implies that the government of the State is not constitutionally and unconditionally bound to take part in an international body. International bodies usually proceed from the volition of national governments that have an interest in joining them, not the contrary.

The interdependence between the Executive and the North-South Ministerial Council can only result in the constant instability of the Northern Ireland institutions, which are to be driven by decisions taken in the North-South Ministerial Council. The Northern Ireland economy will therefore be gradually integrated into that of the Republic of Ireland, and this will pave the way for a united Ireland.

Conclusion:

Since devolution took place on 8 May 2007 the Belfast/St Andrews Agreement has been operating in favour of the political aim pursued by IRA/Sinn Fein. By means of violence or the threat of it terrorist-related politicians have succeeded in changing the constitutional arrangements of Northern Ireland so as to enable them to achieve a united Ireland through the integration process initiated by the Belfast Agreement. Meanwhile IRA/Sinn Fein have not disbanded the IRA Army Council and sectarian attacks carried out by republicans are still going on.

5.THE FORGOTTEN VICTIMS – THE ENNISKILLEN POPPY DAY MASSACRE

A SURVIVOR STORY

Chairman of the Ely Centre, Mr. Jim Dixon survived the IRA bombing of the Remembrance Day gathering at the war memorial in Enniskillen on November 8th, 1987. He bears to this day the scars of the terrible injuries that he suffered. He was one of more than 60 people seriously injured by the bomb, placed by the IRA in premises owned by the Roman Catholic Church near to the war memorial. 11 people were murdered immediately by the bomb. One man was so severely injured that he never awoke from a coma and died thirteen years later.

The one-time successful businessman endures searing pain in his eyes which have not functioned properly since that fateful day in November 1987 when his world was blasted apart. He has suffered the agony of eyelids that never close and must be taped shut at night and eyes that need to be constantly lubricated with special cream. Since the day he survived what he calls "the nearest thing to hell," he has been unable to weep in despair at what has happened to him or in grief at the loss of many friends.

He ran a nursing home, a few garages and enjoyed an easy modern lifestyle that comes from hard work and moderate success. BUT it all changed with an ear-piercing explosion which plunged him into a living nightmare that even now pushes the limits of human endurance.

Jim Dixon stood with his wife Anna near the Cenotaph in Enniskillen on November 8 1987, waiting for the annual Remembrance Day ceremonies to begin. It was a crisp cold morning and those assembling in the square shuffled to keep warm. Suddenly, without warning a bomb, planted by the IRA in a disused school close by, exploded, killing 11 Protestant civilians and injuring more than 60. Jim was buried beneath a pile of masonry rubble that rained down on his head with such force that it smashed his skull.

His eye sockets disintegrated and the roof of his mouth was blasted apart, leaving him permanently damaged. He remembers the noise of terrified, screaming people; the horrendous sound of fear and pain raging through the darkness in which he was trapped.

He said: "It's a deafening, awful, unforgettable noise. I couldn't hear individual voices or words, just this terrible screaming." Jim was one of the first survivors to be dragged from the

rubble, which probably saved his life. A local man, who saw where he fell, clawed at the debris with his bare hands and pulled him to safety.

He was alive but others nearby were not so lucky. Jim thanked God for his life but he didn't know then how much he would need his faith in God in the coming years. Jim Dixon was alive but his life was changed forever. From then on it was to be a painful, difficult life. He had a slow recuperation in hospital, followed by years of surgery and non-stop medication.

He said: "Eating is a torture for me and I never do it in public if I can avoid it. The first time I went to a restaurant after the bomb, I asked for a corner table and sat facing the wall. "My tongue and lips are paralysed and I have to push the food around my mouth with my fingers and then hold my mouth closed to keep the food in. "My swallowing mechanism doesn't work properly and I have to suck the food down, being careful to ensure it goes the right way. "I know I disgust other people which is why I avoid public eating if I can."

The impact of the blast has left Jim with a permanent feeling of disorientation and a slight numbness in his head. He said: "It's like a feeling of being drunk, vaguely stupid and numb all of the time. There is no clarity and sharpness anymore because of the damage to the brain."

His faith keeps him going and a fervent belief that the afterlife will be everything that this life wasn't provides a solace from suffering. He said: "The IRA destroyed my body. They can't destroy my soul and that's what will be with God in the end.

Mr Dixon who formed the Ely Centre to support victims of terrorism in Fermanagh continues to this day to be dismayed, even after the 20th Anniversary, as to this day not one person has been arrested or interviewed about the crime, despite the fact that in December 1988, an article first appeared in an English newspaper, "The Sunday Express" on November 6th, in which Chief Inspector Gerard O'Callaghan was quoted as saying that the police knew who two members of the IRA bomb team were and where they were living and how much they were receiving in unemployment benefits!! The bomb which killed the 12 people could have been assembled in the home of one of these men, said the Chief Inspector.

There has never been any church, political or newspaper campaign to have this evil conspiracy on the part of the RUC and the Northern Ireland Office investigated. The massacre is a black stain on many institutions, religious and political, and also the news media within our society here in Northern Ireland. Mr. Dixon claims to have found evidence of a "cover up" in the investigation in that the RUC did not seek the help of the Garda, the police in the Irish Republic, in tracking down the bombers. He has received a letter from Garda Headquarters in Dublin stating that: "There is no record at Crime Branch, Garda Headquarters, of a request for assistance ever having been received from the RUC/PSNI in relation to the bombing."

Responding to the accusations a PSNI spokesman stated: "The investigation into the murders of the victims caught up in the Enniskillen Bomb in 1987 is continuing. Part of this investigation has involved liaison and co-operation with the Garda Siochana in seeking to identify the terrorists responsible for this atrocity and other terrorist incidents in County Fermanagh at that time." According to Chief Inspector O'Callaghan, the suspects were known to the police twenty years ago.



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Project MONNET is funded by the European Commission Directorate Justice, Freedom and Security under a Preparatory Action in favour of Victims of Terrorist Acts 2006.