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**Jan Smuts Professor for International
Relations Inaugural Lecture**

**THE
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AFFAIRS**

**INTERDEPENDENCE
AND TRANSITION:
THE CASES OF
SOUTH AFRICA
AND NORTHERN
IRELAND**

ADRIAN GUELKE

PROF ADRIAN GUELKE is a South African born and bred and an M.A. graduate of the University of Cape Town.

Before returning to South Africa in 1992 to take up his appointment as Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, he was Reader in Political Science at Queen's University in Belfast. He has written and spoken widely on the problems of Northern Ireland whilst in Britain.

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It should be noted that any opinions expressed in this publication are the responsibility of the author and not of the Institute.

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Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Dean, Professor Lodge, fellow students of International Relations, colleagues, friends, ladies and gentlemen, the theme of my lecture this evening is connections: connections between South Africa and Northern Ireland at a variety of levels and in a variety of forms.

In particular, I'll be saying quite a lot about comparisons of the two societies:

- comparisons in Northern Ireland between Northern Ireland and South Africa
- comparisons in South Africa between South Africa and Northern Ireland
- comparisons outside both societies between the two

Comparison of this sort, you may feel, is the province of comparative politics, but what I hope to demonstrate is the relevance of international relations to an understanding of the comparisons and even more to an understanding of their consequences. In fact, I'll be talking almost as much about the use of the comparison as political currency in different markets as about the comparisons themselves.

But before I get to my main theme I should say a few words about the special place of International Relations within Wits.

Wits is still the only university in South Africa with a fully-fledged Department of International Relations. That reflects in part the country's international relations; its diplomatic isolation. But it is also a reflection of the fact that International Relations is a relatively young discipline.

The development of International Relations as an area of study in its own right was a response to the catastrophe of the First World War. The war shook the political elites of Europe and North America to the core, especially as it followed a century of relative peace in Europe after the end of the Napoleonic wars. Giving added impetus to the need to examine the basic principles of international relations was the instability of the post-war world, rather like the instability of the post-cold war world now.

The first chair in the world in International Politics was established in 1919: the Woodrow Wilson Chair at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.

The following year saw the creation of the British Institute of International Affairs, which became the Royal Institute of International Affairs in 1926.

The British Institute provided a model for other countries, so when the South African Institute of International Affairs was founded in 1934, it was modelled on Chatham House, as the Royal Institute was known colloquially. For ten years, the South African Institute was based in Cape Town. It moved to Johannesburg in 1944 to offices in Fox Street. The move to the splendid Jan Smuts House in a prime position on the Wits campus came about as a result of the formation of the Smuts Memorial Trust, devoted to providing an appropriate memorial to someone who was not just the most internationally minded politician South Africa has ever produced, but in his time a colossus on the world stage. The Department of International Relations owes its very existence to the Smuts Memorial Trust.

The first Jan Smuts Professor of International Relations was Ben Cockram who took up his position in 1962. He was followed in 1970 by Michael Louw who retired in 1975. The post was then filled by Visiting Professors: Leon Gordenker from Princeton and Jack Spence from Leicester University. In 1981 Dr. Dirk Kunert was appointed to the Jan Smuts Chair, a position he filled until his tragically sudden death in 1991.

These were my distinguished predecessors. In addition, the Department is privileged to have an Honorary Professor: John Barratt, National Director of the South African Institute of International Affairs. His special place in the Department reflects the close working relationship between the Institute and the Department.

Finally, I should mention the third and equally vital pillar of International Relations at Wits, the Jan Smuts House Library. Under Jackie Kalley the Library has gained a world-wide reputation for scholarship through its bibliographies. Despite that, the general squeeze on the University's finances puts the future of the library in doubt. One reason the Department of International Relations has flourished at Wits is the existence of this fine specialist international affairs library. It is earnestly to be hoped that the money can be found to safeguard its place in Jan Smuts House.

It's time for me to tackle my main theme. But how can I get there from the topic of International Relations at Wits?

Smuts provides one link. His role in the Irish Question was really quite an important one, sufficiently so for Sarah Gertrude Millin to devote a chapter to 'Smuts and Ireland' in her biography. Smuts acted as an unofficial

intermediary between the British Government and Irish Nationalist leaders in Southern Ireland in 1921. He urged them to accept Dominion status. Smuts also largely wrote the conciliatory speech with which King George V opened the Northern Ireland Parliament in June 1921.

But, more relevant for this evening's lecture, Smuts was an early user of a particular form of the South African-Irish comparison: the comparison as warning or threat. This typically was as follows: if we don't watch out, we'll end up like South Africa or Northern Ireland as the case may be. I could always get a laugh out of my Northern Ireland students by quoting to them editorials in the South African press warning that South Africa could end up like Northern Ireland.

In February 1906 Smuts had a crucial meeting with the newly elected Liberal Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Smuts described the meeting as follows: 'I put a simple case before him that night in Downing Street. It was in substance: Do you want friends or enemies?' Smuts went on to argue the advantages of making the Boers friends, warning that if they were made enemies, it was 'possibly to have another Ireland on your hands'. It had the desired effect. To quote Smuts 'that talk settled the future of South Africa'.

Another link between my topic and this campus is Richard Feetham. Richard Feetham was Vice-Chancellor of Wits between 1938 and 1947 and Chancellor between 1949 and 1961. As Justice Feetham, he was appointed the Chairman of the Irish Boundary Commission charged with redrawing the border between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State. The promise to set up the Boundary Commission was an important factor in persuading a majority of Irish Nationalist leaders to accept the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty.

Article 12 of the 1921 treaty provided for the establishment of the Commission to determine 'in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland'. The qualification of the wishes of the inhabitants was to prove crucial. It provided Feetham with the justification for proposing only the most modest straightening of the existing border.

When the Commission's proposals were leaked to the press in November 1925, they provoked uproar. So unsatisfactory were they from an Irish Nationalist perspective that the government of the Irish Free State settled for the existing county-based boundary and the Commission's report was still-born. Since Northern Ireland's Unionist leaders had threatened to fight any change in the border by force - 'not an inch' had been their slogan - the *dénouement* came as a considerable relief to the British Government at the time.

The long-term consequences were another matter. The failure of the Boundary Commission underwrote the creation of a political entity in which the government regarded well over a third of the inhabitants (the Catholic minority) as hostile to its very existence and treated them accordingly. In other words, the seeds of the Northern Ireland problem as we know it today were sown.

That Justice Feetham should have interpreted Article 12 of the Treaty in a way that favoured Northern Ireland Unionists is perhaps not surprising considering that he himself had been a Unionist MP, albeit in a different jurisdiction. Between 1915 and 1920 Richard Feetham had been the Unionist MP for Parktown.

The lines of political sympathy then were quite different to what they are now. In those days Irish Nationalists tended to identify with the struggle of Afrikaner Nationalists. In fact, during the Second Anglo-Boer War, two Irish Brigades fought on the side of the South African Republics. Their exploits are described in Donal McCracken's *The Irish Pro-Boers* (see Fig. 1 - The gentleman on the horse is Major John MacBride about whom I'll say a little more later on).

In 1975 Betsy Verwoerd unveiled a memorial to the brigades in Johannesburg. It was a source of controversy in Ireland where the alliance was no longer seen as having been politically correct. Of course, as Donald Akenson points out in his short book, *The Irish in South Africa*, many more Irishmen had in fact fought on the other side as members of the British forces, notwithstanding Irish Nationalist sympathy for the Boer cause.

The other aspect of this relationship was the inspiration that Irish Nationalists derived from the guerrilla tactics used against the British during the war. A year ago in Belfast an elderly Irish Nationalist told me that internees of the Irish Republican Army - the IRA - during the 1950s treasured an Irish translation of Deneys Reitz's journal of the war, *Commando*. That it was a translation into Irish, I doubt. That is probably a bit of embellishment. In any event, Thomas Pakenham makes no mention of any Irish translation in his introduction to the 1983 English edition. I can't imagine that an Irish translation in the 1950s would have escaped his attention.

Contemporary comparisons of the two situations run against the grain of this old relationship. By 'contemporary' in this context I mean all comparisons made since the onset of the present troubles in Northern Ireland in 1968. The point of departure of all contemporary comparisons is that the position of Protestants in Northern Ireland is comparable with that of Afrikaners or Whites in South Africa and the position of Catholics comparable with that of Africans or the larger black community. This is despite the fact that Protestants form the

majority of the population in Northern Ireland and Catholics the minority. However, some do argue that this difference of numbers negates the possibility of useful comparison. Rejection of the comparison is quite a common response to its political exploitation.

But before I deal with the politicisation and internationalisation of the comparison, a brief review of the academic literature on the comparison is in order.

In the academic literature, comparison of South Africa and Northern Ireland is often linked with a third deeply divided society, Israel. In fact, there have been two recent books comparing this trio.

Firstly, *The Elusive Search for Peace*, edited by Hermann Giliomee and Jannie Gagliano. Published in 1990, this book was based on a conference held in September 1989. Secondly, Donald Akenson's *God's Peoples*, published in 1992. I should also mention a third book, the core of which is a comparison of South Africa and Northern Ireland as settler societies. This is Michael MacDonald's *Children of Wrath*, published in 1986.

A number of other academics have written on the South African-Northern Ireland comparison in a variety of contexts. Let me mention just a few:

- Hamish Dickie-Clark of Simon Fraser University in Vancouver (on the comparison of sectarianism and racism)
- Professor John Brewer of Queen's University, Belfast and
- Ron Weitzer of George Washington University in Washington DC (on policing)
- Sandy Johnston of the University of Natal, Durban (on self-determination)
- Rupert Taylor of Wits Politics Department (on constitutional engineering)

This literature draws on a number of elements of commonality between the two societies:

- the existence of clearly defined dominant and subordinate communities in the two societies.

- related to that, the siege mentality of the dominant community in each society
- the pervasiveness of segregation in the two societies, despite the obvious difference that segregation was never enforced by-law in Northern Ireland
- political violence, not just at the level of individual acts of violence but involving whole communities
- controversy over the conduct of the security forces

Just News is the bulletin of the Committee on the Administration of Justice in Northern Ireland. A couple of headings to leading stories in the bulletin will illustrate the scope for comparison here:

'Delinquent in the International Community' - UK in the UN Dock - Again' (see Fig. 2)

- the issue of discrimination (I'll be saying more about this a little later on)
- the perception of the two societies as out of step with the rest of the world, as political anachronisms

Two travel books captured the spirit of this point very well in their titles. In the case of Northern Ireland Dervla Murphy's *A Place Apart*. In that of South Africa Allen Drury's *A Very Strange Society*

and lastly

- political intractability

The bluntest statement of this point is to be found in Bernard Crick's chapter 'The High Price of Peace' in the Giliomee and Gagliano volume in which he calls the problems of South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland 'insoluble'.

I have used the theme of political impasse myself as a point of departure for comparing the two cases. This now seems out-of-date as a result of 2 February 1990 in respect of South Africa. In South Africa's case, 'transition' has replaced 'impasse' or the much overworked 'crisis'. Let me give a couple of examples:

Transition to Democracy, edited by Robin Lee and Lawrence Schlemmer and *South Africa: Prospects for Successful Transition*, edited by Bob Tucker

and Bruce R. Scott. A merit of both books is the attention they devote to the international context of the transition. The Tucker and Scott volume draws on the comparative literature on transitions to democracy, particularly the work of O'Donnell and Schmitter.

In *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule*. O'Donnell and Schmitter define transition as an interval between one political regime and another involving the dissolution of the old regime and the installation of the new.

In short, transitions have a 'from' and a 'to'.

It is clear enough that Northern Ireland has moved away from the old system of Protestant domination. That broke down in the late 1960s. What is difficult to identify is any stable destination for the polity of Northern Ireland. The numbers count against what some might see as the obvious answer of a united Ireland.

Consequently, no-one, so far as I know, has used the notion of transition in relation to the current situation in Northern Ireland. Indeed, the failure of last year's talks among the constitutional parties in Northern Ireland has reinforced the impression of impasse, of stalemate, even of stagnation. However, I think the situation in Northern Ireland is more fluid than such descriptions imply. This is less because of any internal changes in Northern Ireland than because of the changes in the international context of the problem. In particular, the growing influence of the notion of a Europe of the Regions holds out considerable promise for Northern Ireland.

Nevertheless, the overriding impression from recent developments in the two societies is that their paths diverged when South Africa embarked on a process of transition in 1990. Yet the divergence in their paths seems to have done nothing to diminish the attraction of the comparison. Let me give two recent examples, one from each side as it were.

Ryan Malan, the author of *My Traitor's Heart*, visited Northern Ireland recently to try out the comparison. His piece, 'The White Tribes of Ulster' was published in the April issue of *Esquire* and in *The Guardian Weekend Magazine* in the same month. The flavour of the piece is best conveyed through a couple of its headings: 'Why the rebels think they are black South Africans, but aren't really' and 'Why Loyalists think they are Afrikaners, but aren't really'. To buttress his scepticism, Malan stresses the absence of the extremes of wealth and poverty to be found in South Africa. Yet for all that, he finds the comparison sufficiently relevant to draw a pessimistic conclusion about South Africa from his visit.

'It is a dismaying thing for a South African to contemplate all those civilised, rosy-cheeked relatively lucky and superficially indistinguishable people, squabbling interminably over which group called the shots and under which flag. It made me think that there was little hope for my country, with its chasms of race and class, its Himalayas of ethnic antagonism'.

My second example is taken from this month's issue of *Community Relations*, the magazine of the Northern Ireland Community Relations Council (see Fig. 3 - Cover: Lessons from Abroad). Its main article is a piece on 'Building Peace Structures in South Africa'. The message here is the inverse of Malan's. It is: If even South Africa can make headway by building peace from the grass roots up, then there is a lesson - and hope - for Northern Ireland.

One reason why there is so much interest in the comparison is because of the extent to which the comparison has become politicised and internationalised. At the same time, the very prevalence of the comparison makes it possible to write about the two societies to draw out their differences as much as their similarities. It is difficult to do that about two societies people haven't thought of comparing.

Let me now discuss the politicisation of the comparison, starting with a simple example (see Fig. 4: 'Two Peoples, One Struggle'). This is a 1988 issue of a weekly paper that supports the Irish Republican cause i.e. the cause of those supporting the use of violence to bring about a British withdrawal from Northern Ireland. The paper is widely distributed in the United States.

I had better explain what the case of Joe Doherty was about. As a member of a Provisional IRA Active Service Unit, Joe Doherty killed a captain in the British army in a shoot-out. He escaped to the United States where he was apprehended by the American authorities. His campaign to be allowed to stay in the United States made him into a cause célèbre, though it was ultimately unsuccessful and he was sent back to Northern Ireland last year.

Drawing an analogy between the IRA's armed struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland and the ANC's liberation struggle in South Africa has been a persistent theme of Republican publications for two decades. "Our's is an anti-colonial struggle like the ANC's" has been the message.

From a very different perspective, the South African government and its supporters also sought to promote the ANC-IRA analogy during the 1980s. In this case, the message was the ANC are terrorists just like the IRA. For example, when the editor of *Die Beeld* interviewed the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, in 1988, he repeatedly put this view to her. However, by this time, it was British Government policy to press for the South African

Government to enter into negotiations with the ANC, so it didn't suit her purpose to accept this analogy. But at the same time, Thatcher made use of the South African-Northern Ireland comparison herself to express her understanding of the state of emergency in South Africa then in force.

This seems an appropriate point to introduce the theme of interdependence. There are a variety of definitions of interdependence in the International Relations literature: mutual dependency is one, a relationship that is costly to break another. Both convey the basic idea well.

Interdependence has long been a key concept in the discipline of International Relations, but it has remained a controversial one. What has tended to discredit the idea is that overenthusiastic adherents of the thesis of growing interdependence are forever predicting that it will lead to the demise of the nation-state. Such predictions are easily mooted, as is the naive view that the consequences of interdependence are invariably benign. However, if we leave the argument about the survival of the nation-state to one side, it is clear that whether for good or ill interdependence is increasingly eroding the distinction between domestic politics and international relations.

It is easy enough to demonstrate that external pressures have played a significant role in the process of political change in both South Africa and Northern Ireland. That is scarcely disputed by anyone. What there is argument about in both cases is how much influence should be attributed to external pressures.

I do not intend to dwell on the individual histories of the two entities. Rather, what I want to illuminate as a tiny part of a very much larger web of relationships are connections between the two entities. And I want to focus particularly on connections that have grown out of comparison of the two societies.

If you find this a somewhat obscure subject, I suspect it is partly because the impact on Northern Ireland of these connections has been greater than their impact on South Africa.

Let me take first the issue of job discrimination as it affects Catholics in Northern Ireland. The issue lends itself very readily to comparison with South Africa. Take this 1986 example (see Fig. 5 - Westminster's Apartheid Economy). This is a report of a pressure group dissatisfied with the British Government's efforts to promote fair employment.

Another thorn in the side of the British Government has been the Irish National Caucus (INC), an important component of the Irish-American lobby.

The INC has campaigned vigorously on the issue of discrimination in all manner of contexts. Recently it has made much of the fact that the Northern Ireland soccer club, Linfield, does not have any Catholic players in its team (see Fig. 6 - Discrimination Threatens World Cup). Further, the INC has targeted Coca-Cola over the fact that it advertises at Linfield's ground. (See Fig. 7 - Can't say no to discrimination).

But by far the most important initiative of the INC in this field has been the MacBride Principles. The MacBride Principles are a set of affirmative action principles in respect of employment. They were promulgated by the INC in November 1984. They were named after Sean MacBride, a former Minister of External Affairs in the Republic of Ireland. He was also a former Chief of Staff of the IRA and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize. He was the son of Major John MacBride, second-in-command of the First Irish Transvaal Brigade i.e. an Irish Nationalist volunteer for the Boer cause, but that's by the way and certainly not a part of his personal biography that the INC stressed.

A major selling point of the MacBride Principles has been that they were modelled on the 1977 Sullivan Principles, a code of conduct for American firms operating in South Africa. In fact, there isn't a very close resemblance between the two sets of principles, though hardly anyone seems to have noticed that.

The INC has campaigned for legislation at local and state level to force American companies with investments in Northern Ireland to adhere to the MacBride principles. The INC campaign has been remarkably successful. It forced the British Government to introduce far-reaching changes to its fair employment legislation in 1989 in an effort to stem the tide. In the process, the British Government has been pushed down the road of quotas. Whereas it used to be illegal for employees to inquire into the religious beliefs of job-seekers, it has now become compulsory for employers to monitor the religious composition of their work force.

What I want to underline is how far the MacBride Principles campaign has been able to achieve success through its promotion of the comparison between South Africa and Northern Ireland.

In many states, the efforts of the MacBride Principles campaigners ran in tandem with the anti-apartheid lobby. Here is an example of the interplay between the two lobbies from a Connecticut newspaper in 1988. (see Fig. 8 - House Bill Would Sanction Northern Ireland). Another example of the interplay between the issue of discrimination in the two societies is the work of the Investor Responsibility Research Center in Washington DC, which monitors the employment policies of American companies in South Africa and in Northern Ireland for a variety of clients.

Let me now turn to direct links between South Africa and Northern Ireland.

Firstly, I'll look at the links on the right of the political spectrum involving Loyalist i.e. Protestant paramilitary organisations, that is to say organisations engaged in political violence to achieve their objectives. They should not be confused with any part of the security forces in Northern Ireland.

During the 1980s Northern Ireland papers carried a number of stories on links between Loyalist paramilitary organisations and South Africa of various kinds. Here is a sample from 1983 (see Fig. 9 - 'Romper Room' Terror Tactics Used in SA). But the extent and significance of the links started to become apparent only in the late 1980s. In January 1988, the Northern Ireland police intercepted a convoy of cars and discovered a large consignment of arms in their boots. It turned out to be part of a very much larger shipment of arms that had reached Northern Ireland disguised as ceramic tiles from the Lebanon. In fact, this was the largest shipment of arms to the Loyalists since the famous shipment to the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1914 on the eve of the First World War.

There were hints in a couple of Irish papers during the course of 1988 of South African involvement in the smuggling of arms to Loyalist paramilitaries. But that South Africa was behind the massive 1988 shipment only fully emerged when three members of a loyalist paramilitary organisation, Ulster Resistance, were caught red-handed in Paris with missile parts and in the company of a South African diplomat. The Irish Times published this sardonic cartoon on the affair (see Fig. 10 - diplomat/paramilitant/scientist).

A large part of South Africa's motivation for the relationship with the Loyalists also became apparent. South Africa had been seeking through the Loyalists' access to the missile division of the Northern Ireland firm, Shorts, surface-to-air missile technology to counter South African forces' loss of air superiority over southern Angola. The minor mystery is why the effort continued after the December 1988 accords on Namibian independence.

The South African shipment was a significant factor in an upsurge of Loyalist paramilitary activity. In the five years before the shipment Loyalist paramilitaries killed on average 9 people per year. By comparison, in the same period Republican paramilitaries were killing 49 people on average a year. By contrast, last year Loyalist paramilitaries killed 39 people, three more than the number killed by Republican paramilitaries. Of course, these figures seem tiny by current South African standards.

There has been a change in Loyalist tactics as well: a reversion to indiscriminate attacks on Catholic civilians, popularised if that is the right word, by the slogan: 'Any Catholic will do'. For example, in February last year a number of Loyalist gunmen walked into a bookmaker in a Catholic neighbourhood and opened fire on the customers, killing 5 people and injuring many more. A small item in accounts of the massacre was that the police had identified the weapons used in the attack as coming from the South African shipment.

The relationship with the Loyalists did not stop there. In July last year at the time of the UN Security Council debate on the Boipatong massacre, it came out that two South African military intelligence agents had been arrested in London and deported by the British authorities in April after they had met members of a Loyalist paramilitary organisation. According to British sources, the purpose of the link-up was to stake out the residence of Captain Dirk Coetzee, a South African policeman who had fled to London after revealing details of the operations of assassination squads during the 1980s. However, the South African Defence Force denied that the purpose of the agents' mission had been to target Coetzee. A SADF spokesman claimed that the real purpose of their mission had been to investigate ANC-IRA links, a claim prominently reported in the press in Ireland.

Of course, such a claim presupposed the existence of significant links between the ANC and the IRA and this is an appropriate point to examine the evidence on this issue. It is quite a tangle.

Obviously, anyone interested in promoting a comparison of the ANC and IRA also would have an interest in any links between the organisations as lending credibility to the comparison. On that score, both the South African Government and the IRA, though from very different perspectives, had an interest during the 1980s in playing up ties between the two organisations. At the same time, being linked to the Provisional IRA clearly wasn't in the interests of the ANC. It is therefore ironical that an ANC spokesman was the source of the most damaging evidence that has appeared about ties between the ANC and the IRA. When interviewed about the SADF claim on ANC-IRA links, the ANC spokesman denied there were links, but mentioned that the ANC had encountered the IRA in military training camps in Libya and Algeria. That produced the following front-page headline in the Belfast *Irish News* (see Fig. 11 - We Trained Alongside the Provos, ANC Admits).

In the course of an inquest last year in South Africa, documentary evidence emerged that the South African military had funded a project to link the ANC and the IRA. It was called 'Project Echoes'. It appears to have had meagre results.

The irony does not end there. On a number of occasions, Nelson Mandela has been tripped up by questions on the IRA. The most recent example was Nelson Mandela's interview with the pop singer, Bob Geldof. In the interview Mandela defended the IRA's 'struggle for self-assertion'. Strong criticism of his remarks came from the Republic of Ireland, as reported in *The Irish Times* (see Fig. 12 - Mandela's IRA Remarks Criticised).

Mandela's difficulty over the issue seems to stem fundamentally from a predisposition to see the situation in Northern Ireland as a colonial conflict and to draw an analogy between the struggle for a united Ireland, and Zimbabwe's and Namibia's struggle for independence. It seems to have escaped Mandela's attention that one reason why reformers inside and outside the National Party have been attracted to the idea of comparing South Africa and Northern Ireland has been precisely that Northern Ireland is not like Zimbabwe or Namibia. In particular, it can be used to bolster the case for power-sharing rather than majority rule. I well remember Denis Worrall's visit to Belfast in 1985 when to the bemusement of the local politicians, the South African Ambassador to London, as he was then, proclaimed that Northern Ireland and South Africa were both societies in which majority rule would not work.

Let me now try to pull some threads together. And let me try to develop some respectable academic conclusions from the murky corners I've been exploring.

First of all, I need to introduce a cautionary note. We have to beware of exaggerating the place of the comparison in political discourse in either society, even in Northern Ireland where the comparison is proclaimed in wall murals. South Africa is by no means the only other society or situation Northern Ireland is compared with, and *vice versa*. In particular, the conflicts in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have spawned numerous new comparisons with Northern Ireland or South Africa, sometimes both. Such comparisons reflect an important fact about both South Africa and Northern Ireland. Both occupy the international limelight. A crude measure of that is the amount of attention each gets from CNN.

Inevitably, that leads to permissive use of the comparison with Northern Ireland and South Africa. Ulster has practically become a synonym for any case of ethnic conflict, particularly with a religious dimension. Apartheid: a synonym for the domination of one community over another. A couple of examples. Early on in the present conflict there, Bosnia was referred to as an Eastern Ulster, while Serbian treatment of Albanians in Kosovo has been described as a form of apartheid. However, the fact that South Africa and Northern Ireland have long been under an international spotlight gives the comparison of these two societies a durability and political resonance that most

of the other comparisons do not have.

And I have tried to establish in this lecture that this has had real political consequences, contributing to the creation of actual political alignments.

Part of the reason for the amount of attention the two societies have got is their accessibility to reporters and researchers, particularly in comparison with other societies in conflict. Northern Ireland has been rather cruelly described as the most over-researched conflict in the world. I don't think that is true. In particular, the scope for further research on the international dimensions of the conflict remains huge. However, I have to admit that when I lived in Belfast I was amazed by the sheer number of South African journalists, political figures, and even academics who found their way to the province for one reason or another. The reason that I haven't dealt with these interactions is that they haven't had such obviously concrete consequences as the relationships I have discussed.

Let me now try to put what I have said into a broader context.

This evening I have examined a tiny aspect of a much more complex web of international relationships that affect the two societies. As a consequence of growing economic interdependence, reference is nowadays frequently made to the globalisation of the world economy. It is clear that an analogous process is occurring in world politics. This is not to predict the imminent demise of the nation-state or anything of the sort. But it does seem to me that more attention is going to have to be given to the international dimensions of what has traditionally been seen as the realm of domestic politics. That is a challenge to International Relations as much as to other disciplines.

Twelve years ago, Claire Sterling wrote a book called *The Terror Network*. It explored the connections among a number of violent organisations across the world. It argued that this pointed to a global conspiracy controlled by Moscow. The book won plaudits from the incoming Reagan Administration, but was derided in liberal circles.

I still think the book fully deserved most of the criticism it got. However, now I think she did have a point. The revolution in communications, mass air travel, the portability of the means of political violence have led to the forging of all manner of international connections among the users of force and violence, state and non-state.

A serious flaw in Sterling's book was her attempt to explain the connections she unearthed in terms of a single overarching conspiracy. In fact, there is good reason for supposing that the passing of the Cold War era

enhances rather than diminishes the scope for the creation of transnational networks. The end of the Cold War system means that the international environment can no longer be treated as a political given of any situation.

Politics at an international level has become less stable, with implications for the domestic politics of many states, as we are now seeing. The unhinging of Italy and Japan are prominent examples.

There is a particular irony in South Africa's case that as the country has moved to an acceptance of the international community's positions on self-determination and secession, the interpretation of these norms should have become uncertain.

That is already beginning to affect the transition, as reflected in the stance being taken by Inkatha. That is to say, the international community's recognition of Croatia has lifted the anathema against threatening secession.

At the same time, it is possible to argue that there might have been no transition at all in South Africa, had it not been for the changes in the international political system in 1989.

As Lawrence Schlemmer points out in his *Transitions to Democracy*, De Klerk's announcements of 2 February 1990 took most observers by surprise. He suggests that it is almost unprecedented for a government in full control of the state to embark on a process to terminate its own rule. In his explanation for this event, Schlemmer gives a lot of weight to the change in the strategic balance as a result of the collapse of communism.

This interpretation is open to argument, but to discuss this issue now would be to start on a whole new topic.

Let me conclude by saying that I hope I have persuaded you of the relevance of international relations to political comparisons. In particular, that it provides a medium through which comparisons can have consequences. I rest my case.

Donal P. McCracken

The Irish Pro-Boers

1877-1902



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Just News

Bulletin of C.A.J. - Northern Ireland Civil Liberties Council

20p

‘Delinquent in the international
community’

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Just News

Bulletin of C.A.J. - Northern Ireland Civil Liberties Council

20p

UK in the UN Dock - Again

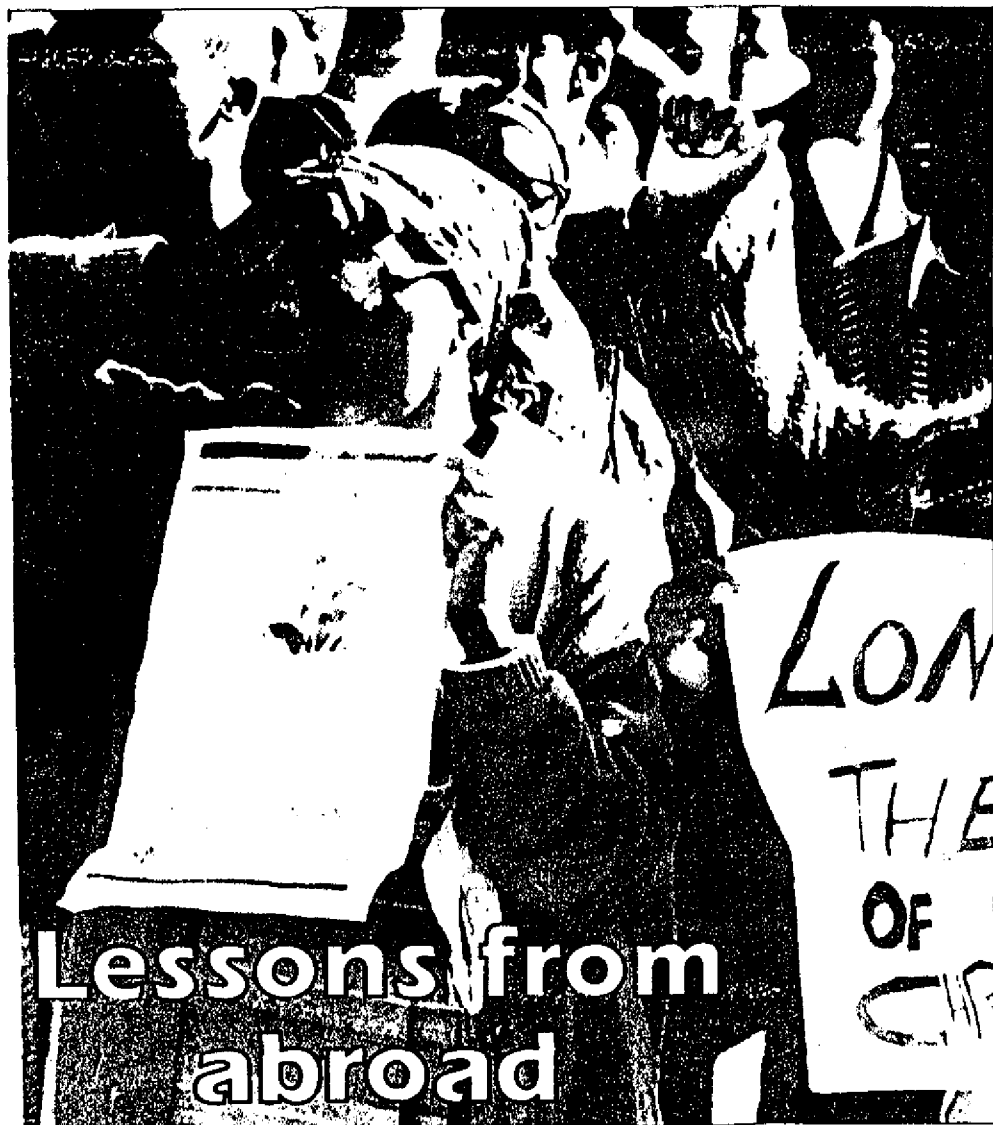
Community RELATIONS



Chuck Richardson
on why our young
people should
have contact with
other cultures.

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NO 13 JULY 1993



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● NELSON MANDELA

● JOE DOHERTY

HUNGER-STRIKE MARTYRS Commemoration

BUNDORAN
CO. DONEGAL

SATURDAY
AUGUST 27th

3pm

WEST END

PROMINENT SPEAKERS

TWO PEOPLES, ONE STRUGGLE

AS WE ENTER the second half of 1988 two men lie in prison thousands of miles apart, yet they are united in spirit and determination to see a resolution to their respective freedom struggles.

One is Irish POW Joe Doherty, who entered his sixth year in detention without being charged in the New York Metropolitan Correctional Center, USA, on June 18 last thus becoming the longest held prisoner in the history of that institution.

The other is Nelson Mandela, who has spent the last 24 years in South African jails, and celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, on July 18 last, because of his leadership in the struggle against the system of institutionalised racism known as apartheid.

3,000 people turned out for Joe Doherty in Thomas Paine Park in New York on June 18 last, and heard speeches and solidarity messages calling on the United States government to immediately release him. After the rally the crowd marched to where Joe is being held to express their solidarity with him.

Joe Doherty has had numerous visits from US politicians and public figures, most notably the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who have pledged their support for his case against extradition to Britain by the Reagan Administration. Despite four courts of administrative bodies in the USA finding that he should be returned to Ireland the Attorney General Edwin Meese (who has since resigned) signed an order to hand him over to the British. It is now being appealed on the same grounds that Judge Spink found for Doherty several years ago: "The first of this present era's political offense exception in its most classic form".

Joe Doherty was originally charged with the killing of a British SAS officer

in combat on the streets of Belfast in 1981. On June 10, 1981 he made his escape with seven others from Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast and made his way to the USA. He was arrested on June 18, 1983 in New York on foot of a British request for his extradition.

RETROACTIVE TREATY

Instead of abiding by the political exception clause the Reagan Administration overturned the 210 year-old tradition of the USA (which has seen them give refuge to such people as Liam Mellows after the 1916 Rebellion) and brought in an Extradition Treaty with Britain that ruled out the political offence and operated retroactively.

Liam Quinn of San Francisco was the first Irish Nationalist activist actually handed over to the British under this new treaty within the last year. He spent at least five years in prison in the USA before being extradited and later convicted in London on suspect evidence of shooting a policeman in 1975 while

resisting arrest. (He is at present in Albany Prison, New York, Isle of Wight. PO 30 \$ RS. His number is L49930.)

Nelson Mandela's birthday tribute in Dublin saw a large crowd gather in Merrion Square on July 18 to hear Kader Abadi of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and others pay tributes to him and state that "his extraordinary strength lies in his commitment to principle". Those present heard of his founding role in the South African liberation movement along with Oliver Tambo, present ANC leader, and the change from passive resistance to armed resistance in the South African white regime.

At the New York rally for Joe Doherty a message of solidarity was read on behalf of Pibheistí Oglasá Rios of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement and from the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade which fought against Franco in the Spanish Civil War 50 years ago. Republican Sinn Féin was represented by a contingent visiting from Cork and by George Harigan, Tony Finlay, Michael Flannery and Michael Whelan of Connacht na Sanraí.

CLEAR PARALLELS

In South Africa, as in the Six Counties of occupied Ireland, over 50 years of passive resistance had brought on change in the oppressive and undemocratic systems of governments ruling over them. In South Africa, undemocratic because only white people have the freedom to vote and therefore have a monopoly of political power, in Ireland because the

franchise was limited to people in the North-East of the country, thus creating an artificial 'majority' out of a national minority. Both South Africa and the Six-County statelet were born out of gerrymandering, discrimination and colonial terrorism and both have been maintained by these same methods. In both Ireland and South Africa the people have taken up arms to actively resist terrorism and imperialism and to pursue their legitimate rights to self-determination. The ANC has the Freedom Charter with its programme for a non-racial Democratic South Africa; Irish Republicans have the 1916 Proclamation.

Nelson Mandela was offered immediate release in 1975 if he "renounced violence as a political instrument". His answer was that the South African regime had not renounced violence but used it systematically and that he would not regulate his own people. "If freedom and justice cannot be separated", he said.

There is no doubt that Joe Doherty would likewise be treated much more leniently if he was willing to renounce his own people -- it is because he has not done so that his case has become a landmark in the struggle for justice in Ireland and the USA.

Even though they both remain in prison, they continue to act as a powerful inspiration to people throughout the world. Nelson Mandela's message to his people echoes that of Liam Mellows, executed in December 1922, when he says: "only through hardship, sacrifice and militant action can freedom be won".

NORTHERN IRELAND 1986

Westminster's Apartheid Economy



The FAIR EMPLOYMENT TRUST (n. Ireland)

1st Annual Report

OCTOBER 1986



The IRISH LOBBY

Newsletter of the Irish National Caucus

April 1992

DISCRIMINATION THREATENS WORLD CUP

Will U.S. Dollars Fund Anti-Catholic Bigotry?

For the first time ever, soccer's World Cup is being played in the United States in 1994. But the event could become associated with discrimination and sectarianism in sports in Northern Ireland, unless Irish-Americans do something about it.

Naked Bigotry

The Northern Ireland Team, which hopes to play in the World Cup, has close ties with the Linfield Football Club of Belfast. And Linfield has a notorious record of sectarian bigotry.

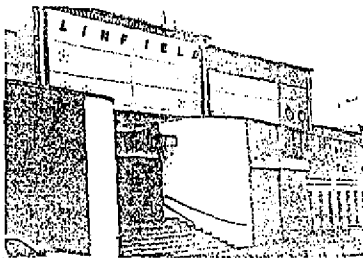
In a front page article in the Sunday Life newspaper of Belfast, Linfield's team manager, Mr. Eric Hoyer, made the following astounding admission:

"If any man or boy from the nationalistic (Catholic) community were ever to join us, their life would be unbearable and that's a simple fact...What I am saying is that in our society in Northern Ireland it would be idiotic to think differently."

--"No-Go for Catholics, Sunday Life,
January 5, 1992

The next day, the editor of another Belfast paper, the respected Irish News, blasted the Club for its policy:

"Linfield has no Catholic players in its first team and it never wants any Catholic players in its first team...By bowing to the mob, and operating anti-Catholic policies, Linfield gives a spurious legitimacy to sectarianism...There can be no place for discrimination in Sport."



The Linfield Club Office: Home to anti-Catholic Bigotry

Examples of Linfield's bigotry:

Feb. 1990 • Linfield supporters attack the players of Donaghall Celtic-- a team based in Catholic West Belfast.

Nov. 1991 • Ulster Freedom Fighters (a Protestant paramilitary group) throw a hand grenade at Cliftonville (mostly Catholic) fans during a Linfield game. Later Cliftonville players are assaulted by Linfield fans in a public restroom at a nearby bar.

March 1992 • Linfield fans pelt Cliftonville players with golf balls.

Linfield fans can often be heard chanting anti-Catholic slogans. They wave banners and wear emblems that glorify Loyalist (Protestant) murder gangs responsible for killing Catholics at random. Their record of bigotry is so offensive that even former British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. James Prior, has condemned them.

(Continued on Page 3)



Can't
Beat
The Real
Thing.

CAN'T

SAY NO

TO DISCRIMINATION

IN NORTHERN IRELAND !

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Local/State



House Bill Would Sanction Northern Ireland

Panel Hears Testimony On South Africa Divestment

By LEDA HARTMAN
Monitor Staff Writer

Shortly after Thandi Ramagokpa, a black South African, told a House committee about the atrocities the government committed against her people under apartheid, Alan Read, a member of the John Birch Society, told the committee that South Africa deserved U.S. support.

These two divergent points of view were presented yesterday before the House State-Federal Relations Committee, when it considered a bill to divest state money from banks and businesses that operate in South Africa or Namibia.

A similar bill passed the House in

1986 but failed in the Senate. This year's version was sponsored by Rep. Robin Read, a Democrat from Portsmouth.

Read said the world recognized that South Africa was "an outlaw nation" whose regime "stays in power through violence and intimidation of the black majority."

He didn't think that job loss resulting from divestment would hurt black South Africans, because only one percent of them, he said, worked for U.S. companies.

Read said that 23 states — including all the other New England states — practiced some form of divestment. Maintaining state investments

See **DIVESTMENT** — Page B-10



Parr conducted the hearing.

By LEDA HARTMAN
Monitor Staff Writer

After more than two hours of testimony yesterday on a bill intended to fight job discrimination in Northern Ireland, Rep. Eleanora Parr, the chairwoman of the House State-Federal Relations Committee, said she felt as though she'd been in Northern Ireland herself.

And no wonder, considering the great majority of people testifying were from that country, their living accounts contrasting with Parr's Texas drawl.

Although those who testified seemed to agree on the goal of the bill — to discourage job discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland by Protestants — they differed sharply on the method the bill proposed, reflecting the divisiveness in the country itself.

The bill discourages investment of state money in companies doing business in Northern Ireland, if they don't abide by a set of fairness guidelines known as the "MacBride Principles."

While some thought the bill would encourage equal opportunity for Catholics, who have been discriminated against in jobs and housing by the British-dominated government, others thought it would take away much-needed jobs in a contracting economy.

"Please do not allow New Hampshire dollars to subsidize anti-Catholic discrimination," said Father Sean McManus, of the Irish National Caucus in Washington, D.C.

"What Northern Ireland needs more than anything else are new jobs, and new jobs particularly in Catholic areas," countered John Cushman, a Northern Ireland government official.

The bill, sponsored by Rep. Kevin Mulligan, a Nashua Democrat, would require the state treasurer to follow Dr. MacBride Principles in considering whether to invest in corporations doing business in Northern Ireland.

The guidelines were developed by the late Sean MacBride, an early member of the Irish Republican Army, a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize and founder of Amnesty International, a human rights organization. They were modeled on the "Sullivan Principles" that have been used in South Africa to put pressure against apartheid.

Mulligan's bill would encourage shareholder resolutions urging companies that operate in Northern Ireland to abide by the principles, and would allow divestment of state money from those companies if they refused. The bill does leave divestment up to the discretion of the state treasurer, however, if that is in the "best interests

See **SANCTION** — Page B-10

'Romper room' terror tactics used in SA

11 Dec 1980
Sunday News

TERROR tactics used by loyalist paramilitary groups in the early Seventies here are being imitated by a top secret undercover unit working for the South African Government.

Details of the terror gangs have emerged at an inquest in Namibia in South West Africa on a black teacher who was beaten to death.

Known by the Afrikaans name "Koevoel" which means crowbar in English, the counter-terror gangs have been striking fear into the supporters of the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) — the guerrilla army which is fighting for independence from South African rule.

Teacher Jona Hamukwaya (33) died from head injuries after "Romper Room" torture identical to that used by a Loyalist gang in east Belfast which killed more than 20 Catholics in the Seventies.

Other killings have been

carbon copies of sectarian murders in Belfast which were linked with the "Romper Room" gang which operated from the Lower Newtownards Road and Sydenham areas.

Now Namibian leaders are trying to discover if there is a link between the South African-organised terror gangs and former loyalist paramilitaries.

Earlier this year Sunday News revelations of correspondence between the UDA and the far right South African HNP, which supports white terrorism, were picked up by Durban papers and sparked a Government probe.

It is also known that UDF prisoners in Long Kesh in the early seventies were circulated with recruiting literature for Rhodesian and South African mercenary bands.

And later in the decade terror trainees at loyalist camps near Liverpool were visited by a Sandy Row man now living in South Africa who urged them to work there for big money.

A number of loyalists took up the offer saying that they would be helping preserve the security of the white population.

During recruitment they were told "the South Africans believe in setting terrorists to catch terrorists."

Now some Namibians believe that Belfast gunmen who emigrated may have been recruited to run terrorist campaigns to frighten black people in Namibia into accepting the illegal all white regime.

Earlier this year, there were reports that the South Africans were recruiting UDF and RUC men to serve with the South African security forces.

The reports claimed that the experience that UDF and policemen had here of fighting the IRA was worth a lot of money to the Pretoria Government.

At least three former UDF men have been killed on undercover missions for the South Africans in the last two years.

But many believe that these deaths are just the tip of the iceberg and that the

numbers of Ustatemen serving in Southern Africa is much higher than these casualties indicate.

Now the signs are that not only law-keepers but law-breakers from Northern Ireland have been taken on by the African Government in its fight against black Africa.

The Koevoel gangs are called "killing machines" by Namibians. Most of the members of the gangs are renegade blacks, but they are directed by white men.

"They carry the same kind of guns as guerrillas and often disguise themselves as freedom fighters," said a SWAPO spokesman.

Now the black organisation is trying to discover if some of the Loyalist sectarian killers who went on the run ended up in South Africa and were put to work there killing and terrorising blacks.

"One knows these things have been happening for a long time and now one or two cases have come up," said Andreas Shipanga, leader of the SWAPO Democrats.

"If it was really investigated it would be found this is just the tip of an iceberg."

This man may have
wanted to buy missiles
to kill people....



He was a diplomat. He
got sent home....

This man might have sold
bits of missile and then
bought other things that
kill people....



He got thrown
in jail....

This man designs, makes
and markets missiles
which kill people..



He's got The Queen's
Award for Industry....

1st 4 Times 29 April 89

We trained alongside the Provos, ANC admits

17 JULY 1992 IRISH NEWS

From **Mary Carolan**
in Dublin

THE African National Congress yesterday admitted that its members had shared military training camps with the IRA.

But an ANC spokesman said there was no other connection between the two organisations and dismissed claims of such links, made by the South African Defence Force, as "the usual propaganda".

The disclosure earlier this week of the arrest of two South Africans in Britain on suspicion of plotting, alongside loyalist paramilitaries, to kill a former South African police officer who defected to the UK, prompted the release of a statement from the SADF.

In its statement, the SADF claimed that the two arrested had been on a mission to investigate alleged links between the ANC and the IRA.

Captain Pamela du Randt, a South African intelligence officer and secretary to the head of the country's secret service, M1, has been identified as one of the agents who have now been deported.

One of the two agents had decided, without authorisation,

E We believe in the non-interference in the internal affairs of other organisations and countries

ANC spokesman

to monitor the activities of the ex-police officer, Mr Dirk Coetzee, the SADF statement said.

The former policeman has been actively involved in exposing the existence of a secret police unit within the South African force which, he said, had killed anti-apartheid activists during the 1980s.

But the SADF denied the agents had travelled to Britain to facilitate or pay for the killing of Mr Coetzee, who is now a member of the ANC. Their mission was to investigate links between the IRA and ANC, it claimed.

Despite the SADF's denial, the ANC spokesman said his organisation believed the agents were in London to meet with loyalist paramilitaries. According

to reports in Britain, security chiefs there believed the agents were plotting with the loyalists to assassinate Mr Coetzee.

Because they were "caught redhanded", they had to come up with some excuse, the ANC spokesman said.

On the claims of links between the IRA and ANC, the spokesman said the two groups had used the same military camps for training in Algeria and Libya. "But that's as far as it goes," he said.

The ANC has consistently denied having official links with the IRA. In a statement responding to claims of such links, the organisation said it "believes in the non-interference in the internal affairs of other organisations and countries".

● Politicians have condemned the release of loyalists involved in the alleged South African assassination plot.

Sinn Féin and SDLP councillors have hit out at the British government's "differing standards".

North Belfast SDLP councillor Brian Feehey said the Coetzee case illustrated "the difference in treatment accorded loyalists and republicans".

Mandela's IRA remarks criticised

By Michael Foley, Deaglán de Bréadún, and Donal Conaty in London

MR Nelson Mandela's comments about the Provisional IRA were made because he was being used by a more radical wing of the African National Congress (ANC), according to a former Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr Ben Briscoe. The Fianna Fáil TD was Lord Mayor at the time the Dublin City Council voted to make Mr Mandela, who is president of the ANC, a freeman of the city in 1988.

Mr Briscoe said he was disappointed by the views expressed by Mr Mandela on a British television programme yesterday morn-

ing. He had met the ANC leader in August when in South Africa: "You feel implicitly that he is a man of peace. He is being used."

Mr Briscoe said that the freedom of the city of Dublin was conferred on Mr Mandela to note his own suffering and his leadership, but also to symbolise the suffering of black people around the world. An interview with Mr Mandela conducted by the rock singer, Bob Geldof, was broadcast on Channel 4's "Big Breakfast" programme. Mr Geldof accused Mr Mandela of having previously endorsed the IRA. The ANC leader replied: "Yes, well, the enemies of Europe are not my enemies. The IRA is conducting a struggle for self-assertion. They do not want Britain, a foreign

country, to run a colony."

Mr Geldof said the majority of people in Ireland did not support the IRA's actions. Mr Mandela replied that a large number of people did not agree with what he said but that did not mean it was not correct. "We don't want any form of colonialism and wherever colonialism is... we support those who fight it because people should have self-expression," he added.

In a statement yesterday, the leader of Democratic Left, Mr Proinsias De Rossa said Mr Mandela was "dangerously misinformed" about the situation in Northern Ireland and especially the rôle of the IRA.

"Mr Mandela's view that the IRA is waging a 'struggle for self-

assertion' is at variance with the first-hand experience of the majority of Irish people who, for more than two decades, have witnessed the IRA wage a vile campaign of sectarian murder and destruction," Mr De Rossa added.

The Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr Gay Mitchell, said he would be writing to Mr Mandela and informing him that the vast majority of Irish people did not regard what was taking place in Northern Ireland as a fight for freedom but rather as terrorism against innocent people. It is nothing more than a murder campaign. The prominent Sinn Féin politician, Mr Martin McGuinness, said that he welcomed Channel 4's decision not to censor the in-

terview in which, he said, Mr Mandela "asserted his support for the IRA and the right of people, including Irish people, to resist colonialism."

Mr Denis Haughey, the SDLP International Secretary, said he would be writing to Mr Mandela to tell him that the IRA had no democratic mandate for their campaign of violence and "that their political allies in Provisional Sinn Féin have failed to win the support of anything other than a tiny minority of the people of Ireland."

Patrick Lawrence adds: In South Africa, Mr Kader Asmal, a former chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, told *The Irish Times* yesterday that the ANC had fraternal ties with "lib-

eration movements" but the IRA was not one of them.

Mr Asmal, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, was commenting on Mr Mandela's remarks. Interpreting the ANC leader's statement in the broad context of his known approach to conflict, Mr Asmal said: "Mr Mandela was stating a general position that disputes should be settled peacefully through negotiations with all parties."

He was affirming his opposition against colonialism and referring to the partition of Ireland "imposed by the British government" but not declaring his support for the IRA. At no stage has Mr Mandela referred to ANC support for the IRA. The ANC has no relationship with the IRA or Sinn Féin.