

# 25 Pieces

**Brian Rowan**

From the extensive archive of veteran journalist Brian Rowan, these 25 pieces represent moments of history and horror on the long road to Good Friday.



Brian Rowan is a former BBC correspondent in Belfast and an author on the peace process; his latest book, 'Living with Ghosts' is a personal reflection on the challenges and dilemmas of reporting the conflict period. Four times he has been a category winner in the Northern Ireland Press and Broadcast Awards - including twice as specialist journalist. The late David Ervine, who in the early 1990s emerged as one of the leading voices in the loyalist community, once described Rowan as having "unrivalled access to all of the protagonist groups". '25 pieces' is an exhibition drawn from his extensive archive - a spotlight on our struggles with peace.

Left - Brian Rowan Belfast 2023



# Introduction

Why did the Centre for Cross Border Studies decide to make possible an event focused on 25 pieces from Brian Rowan's archive as a means of celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Good Friday Agreement? Why organise an event around what might at first sight appear to be records detailing minutiae of the developments leading up to and following what took place on the 10th of April 1998?



Firstly, it's because these pieces – these letters, scribbled statements on the backs of cheques, taxi receipts, envelopes – provide a unique insight into the journey that took us to that place and what is needed for the journey ahead.

That journey made us, and we are now part of it. The Centre for Cross Border Studies is a child of the 1998 Belfast/ Good Friday Agreement. We were born to support the building of stronger relations and cooperation between the two jurisdictions on the island of Ireland, as well as between this island, Great Britain, and further afield. In essence, from our home in Armagh, we enact the spirit of Strands 2 and 3 of the Agreement.

To us, the Agreement encompasses the totality of relations within and across these islands. It's a framework making possible cooperation for the mutual benefit of all who inhabit them, regardless of political persuasion. But it's a framework that can only properly deliver when all its parts, all of its strands – all its pieces – are functioning.

It needs the constant fulfilment of the pledge made in the Declaration of Support that 'we will, in good faith, work to ensure the success of each and every one of the arrangements to be established under this agreement'. That means cherishing every piece, and not for one side to protect those pieces it favours while actively damaging those it doesn't, or simply letting them wither through wilful neglect.

Ensuring the success of each and every one of the pieces that make up the Agreement requires leadership, courage, generosity and tenacity, mindful that 'We must never forget those who have died or been injured, and their families'.

And this is also why the Centre for Cross Border Studies wanted to make this event happen. The 25 pieces from Brian Rowan's archive speak of those things – leadership, courage, generosity – that made the 10th of April 1998 possible, and were and continue to be put to the test as what was agreed on that day began to be implemented. They are pieces that speak of a process where the Good Friday Agreement became a stepping stone to a more hopeful future.

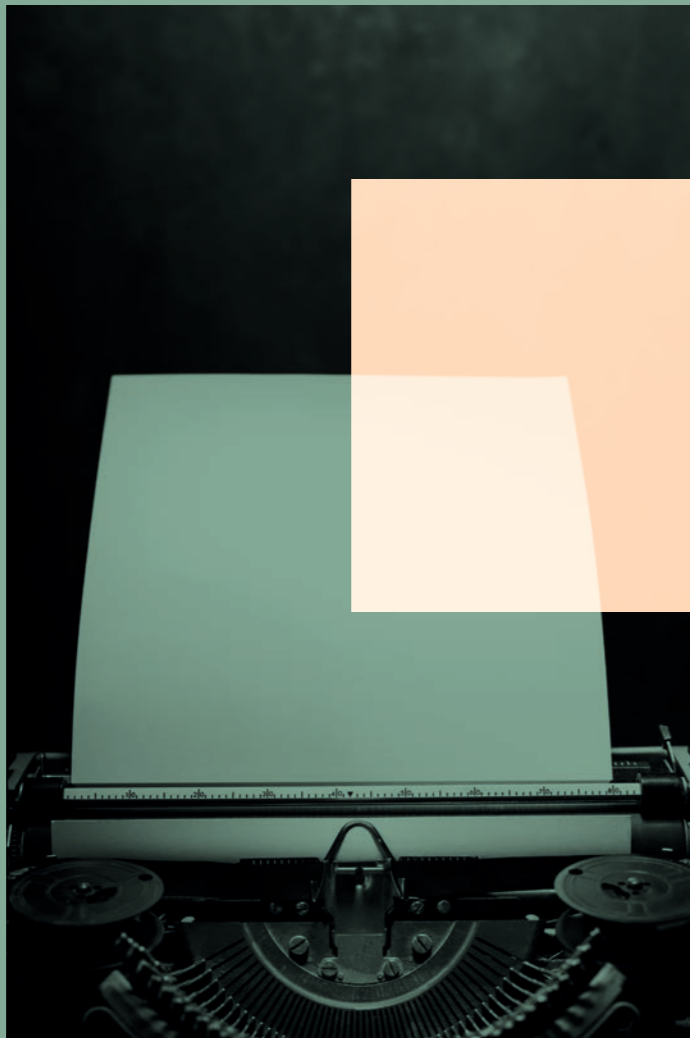
As a stepping stone to 'a new beginning', the Good Friday Agreement is not a relic of the past. We, as the Centre for Cross Border Studies, live it, rely on it, every day. Brian's 25 pieces are a reminder of what it took to get there, and the possibilities it has opened up for us. And, finally, that "us" is not just those who call Northern Ireland their home, or the island of Ireland. Through Strand 3, that "us" includes all who inhabit these islands. We all own it, we all need to live it – in all its pieces.



**Dr Anthony Soares**

Director of the Centre for Cross Border Studies

## 'For whom the bell tolls'



In the summer of 1992, I spoke with the former Presbyterian Moderator Dr Jack Weir as the 'Troubles' death toll approached 3,000. In preparation for this BBC interview, he had typed this note, which he gave to me. Its final sentence shouts out from the page - a line or two in a thinking and challenging text.

Dr Jack Weir - 1992

My first reaction must be one of sorrow - and shame. It is sorrow not only at the tragic loss of lives of men and women, and even children, but also at the much larger crowd of those behind them, those bereaved of loved ones, those bearing in their minds and bodies the wounds and disabilities inflicted by this ongoing violence, of homes shattered and honest businesses destroyed.

It is shame that it has gone on so long, how there still seems to be no end in sight -- and how for most of us these casualties become no more than statistics.

But there is also a deep sense of failure in these figures the utter failure of this violence to do anything more than lead to further violence and destruction, enmity and division, bitterness and hatreds, fears and suspicions -- ~~and~~ and of how urgently we must try to impress on all who engage in, support or find excuses for this violence the utter futility of such policies for achieving peace or justice, or anything but the reverse and recognise how easily it becomes addictive, with the delusion that success may come with stepping up the violence, having one more heave.

No shooting or bombing or intimidation should be seen by anyone as a successful operation, but rather as a failure that we have not found a better way -- whether we're thinking as loyalists or republicans, unionists or nationalists, security forces or politicians -- or most of all as the plain people of this province, who have not risen up to cry above all else "STOP IT NOW" but have been content to carry on our lives as long as we don't feel involved.

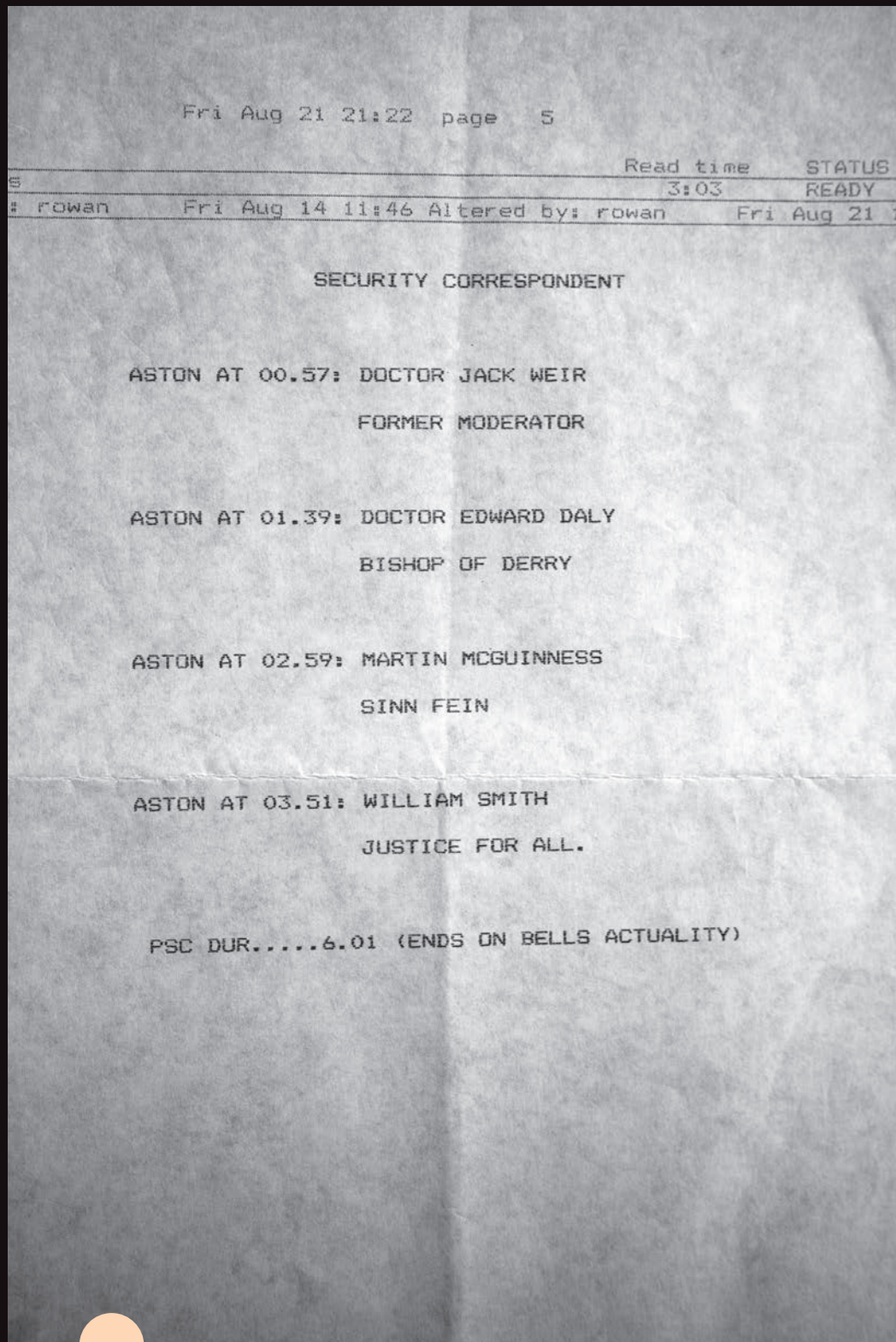
But we are involved, for violence and all that leads to and that goes with it doesn't start with the finger on the trigger or the hand that lays the bomb, but it starts in people's hearts and minds, in our ambitions and our attitudes to one another. We are all involved.

As John Donne said, "No man is an island ... any man's death diminishes me. And therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls, it tolls for thee" -- and me, 3,000 times

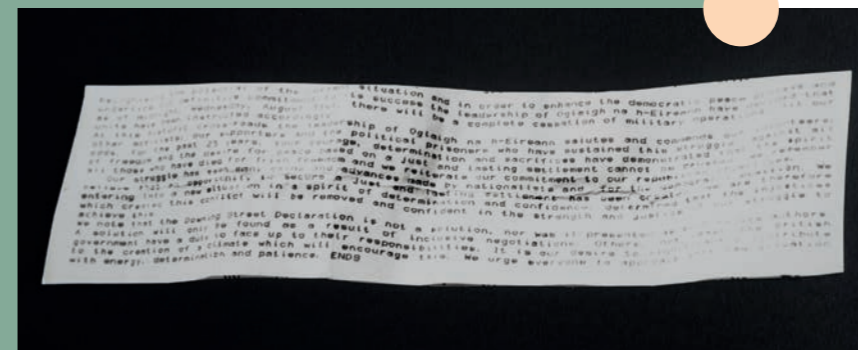


# Lost Memory

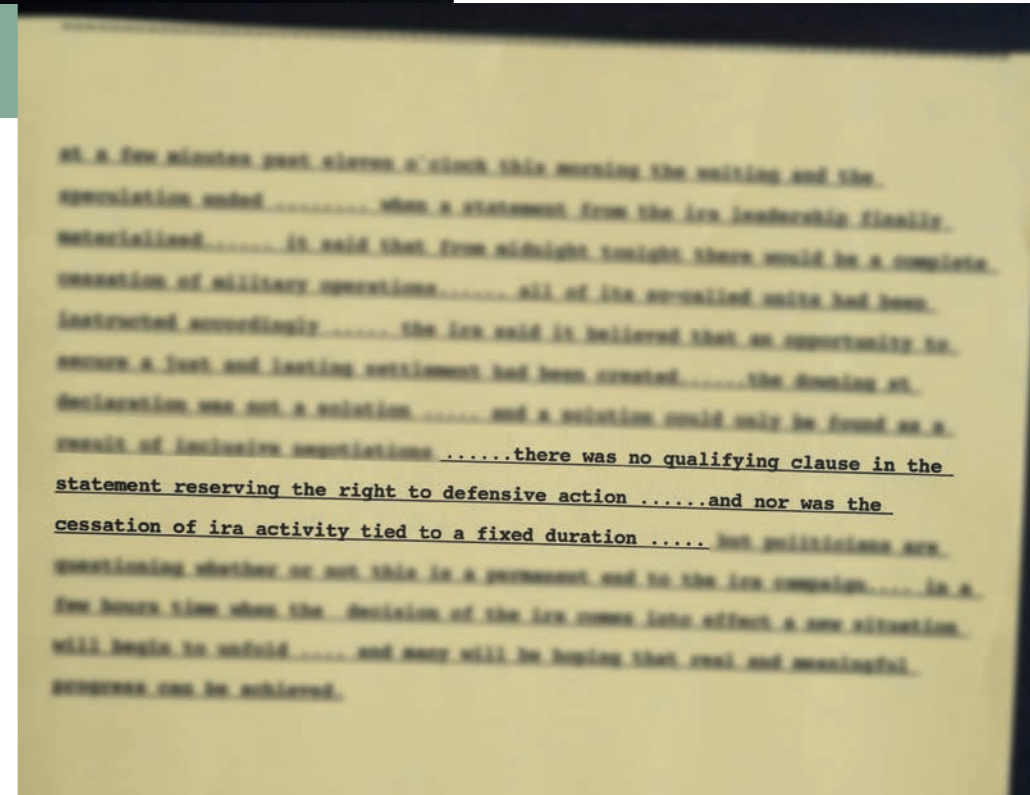
This page, from my BBC report in 1992, gives details of the four men I interviewed for that piece on 3,000 deaths - Jack Weir, Bishop Edward Daly, Martin McGuinness and William 'Plum' Smith (who two years later would chair the loyalist ceasefire news conference). They are no longer with us; in a Present often dominated by an unanswered Past, part of the lost memory of the conflict period.



# Ceasefire - hope at the midnight hour



On the morning of August 31 1994, at a cafeteria in west Belfast, a woman read this IRA statement to me and colleague Eamonn Mallie. From midnight there would be "a complete cessation of military operations". We were turning a corner on a long road to some better place. The beginning of some end. The 'war' becoming the 'peace'.



Top Left - The IRA statement read to Rowan and Mallie  
 Top Right - The An Phoblacht front page coverage of the ceasefire statement  
 Yellow Note - Rowan's BBC news report - 31 August 1994



## War Materials

This statement from UDA/UFF prisoners in the Maze sets the scene for the announcement of the Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) ceasefire three days later. The words speak of the influence of this particular group of prisoners, including Johnny Adair. We also read the lines of doubt and suspicion encapsulated in five words - "the retention of war materials".

10 October 1994

All UDA/UFF L.P.O.W's Maze

We the UDA/UFF volunteers, after much discussion, have come to the conclusion that to continue our military campaign under the present circumstances could be counter productive and in the long term detrimental to our cause. .

We appreciate the difficulties in targeting known Republicans, with the increased security presence in loyalist areas. We acknowledge the un-acceptability of targeting non-combative Nationalists.

In the present political climate a cease-fire by Loyalist volunteers, would be seen by our long suffering community as a contributing factor in establishing a lasting peace within Northern Ireland.

In the event of a Loyalist cease-fire, we feel the maintenance of our command structure and the retention of war materials for the defence of the loyalist people is essential.

Should Republicans renege on their peace commitment and return to their genocide against the loyalist peoples. We would fully support our command structure in returning to reactive/pro-active measures against the pan-nationalist front.

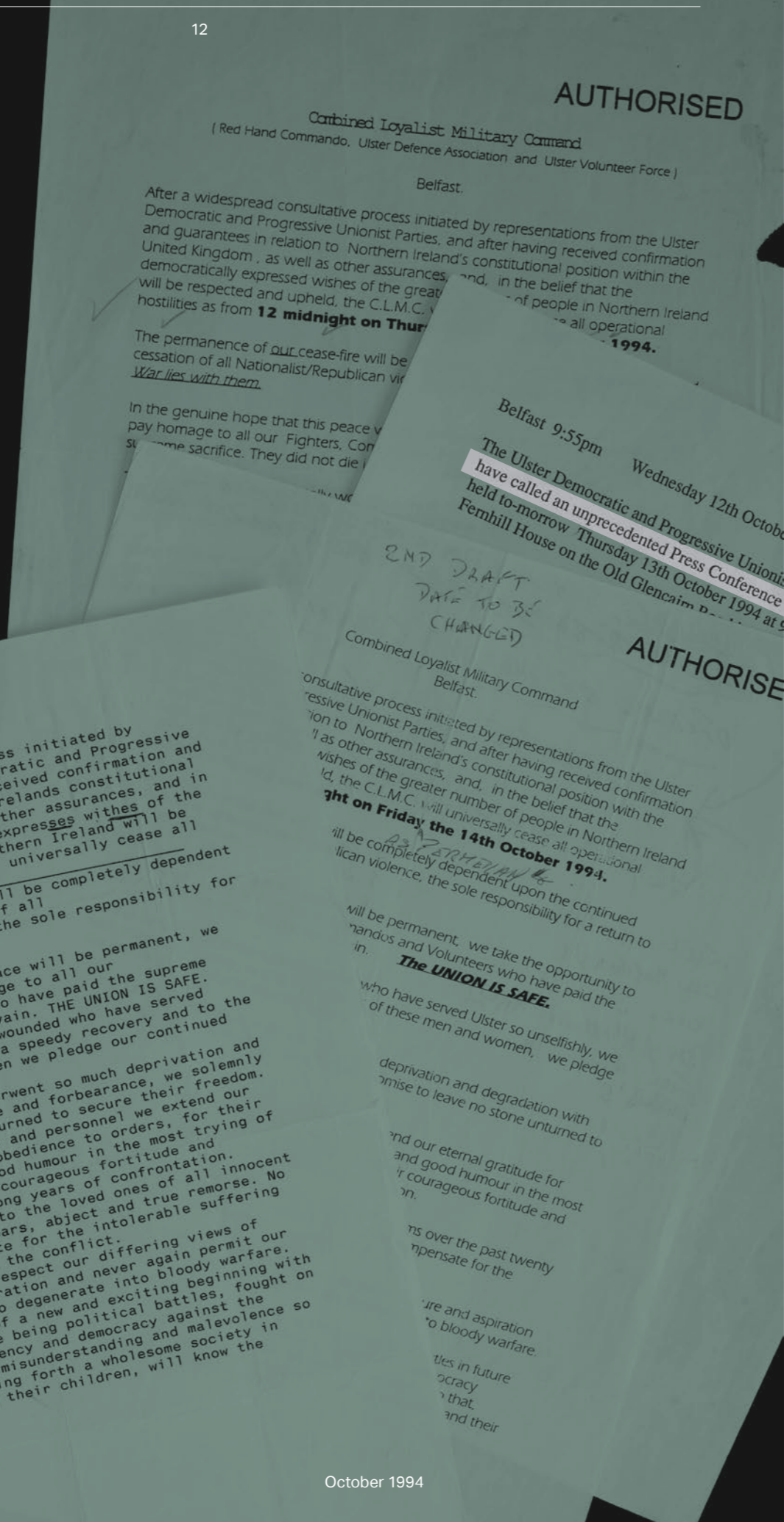
We the UDA/UFF L.P.O.W's, Maze, feel we must be seen to be giving this fragile peace process every opportunity to succeed and that our permanent cessation of violence should last as long as the Republicans complete cessation of violence.

All UDA/UFF L.P.O.W's Maze  
10th October 1994



# 'Abject and true remorse'

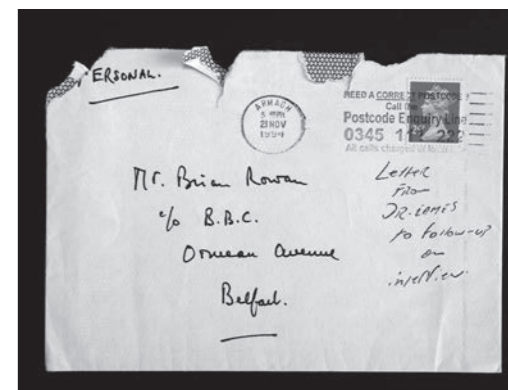
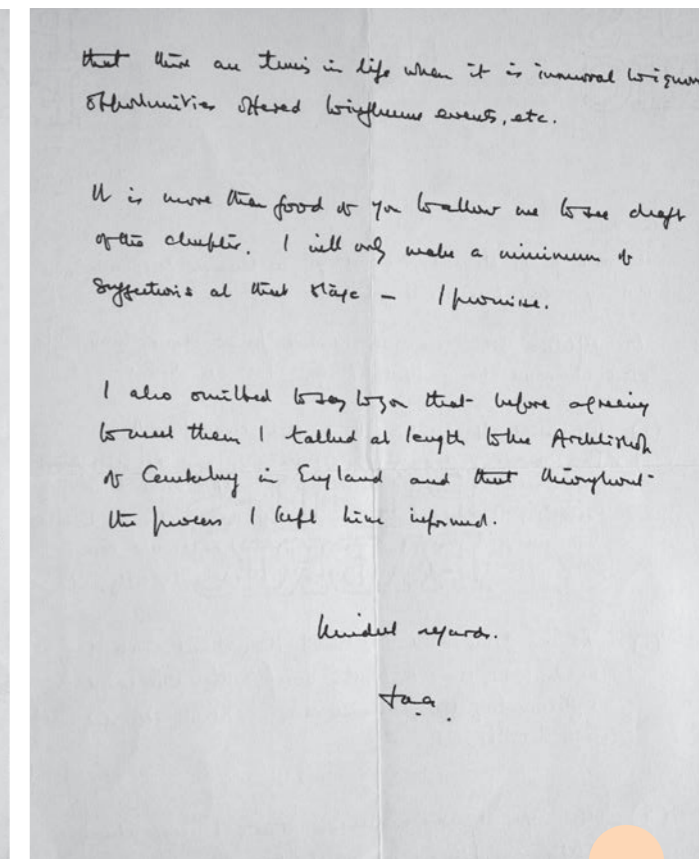
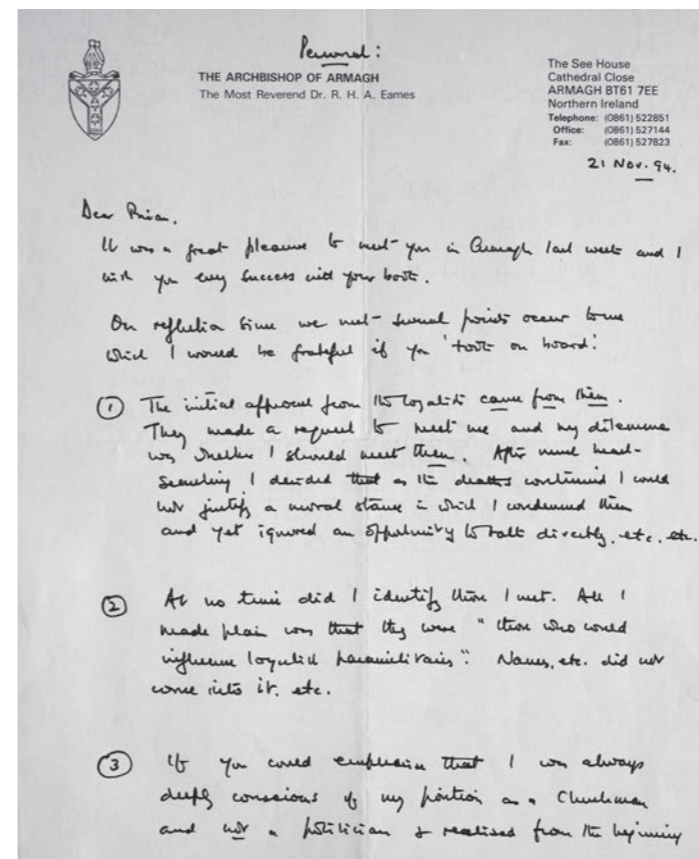
You see here the drafting of the loyalist ceasefire statement, and a few lines on the eve of that announcement. With colleague Ivan Little, I met three representatives of the loyalist leadership at an office in the Woodvale area of Belfast. Gusty Spence joined the meeting, and gave us the lines pointing to an "unprecedented" news event scheduled for the next morning. The ceasefire statement, now imminent.



# Dilemma

"...I could not justify a moral stance in which I condemned them yet ignored an opportunity to talk directly."

Archbishop Robin Eames - 1994

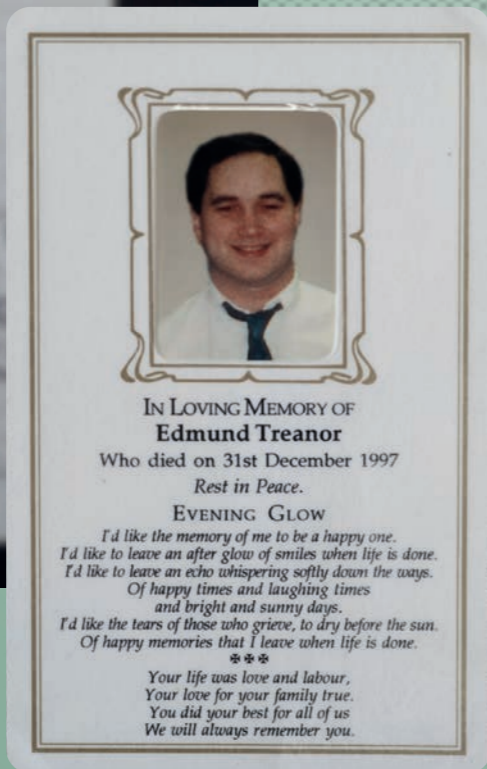
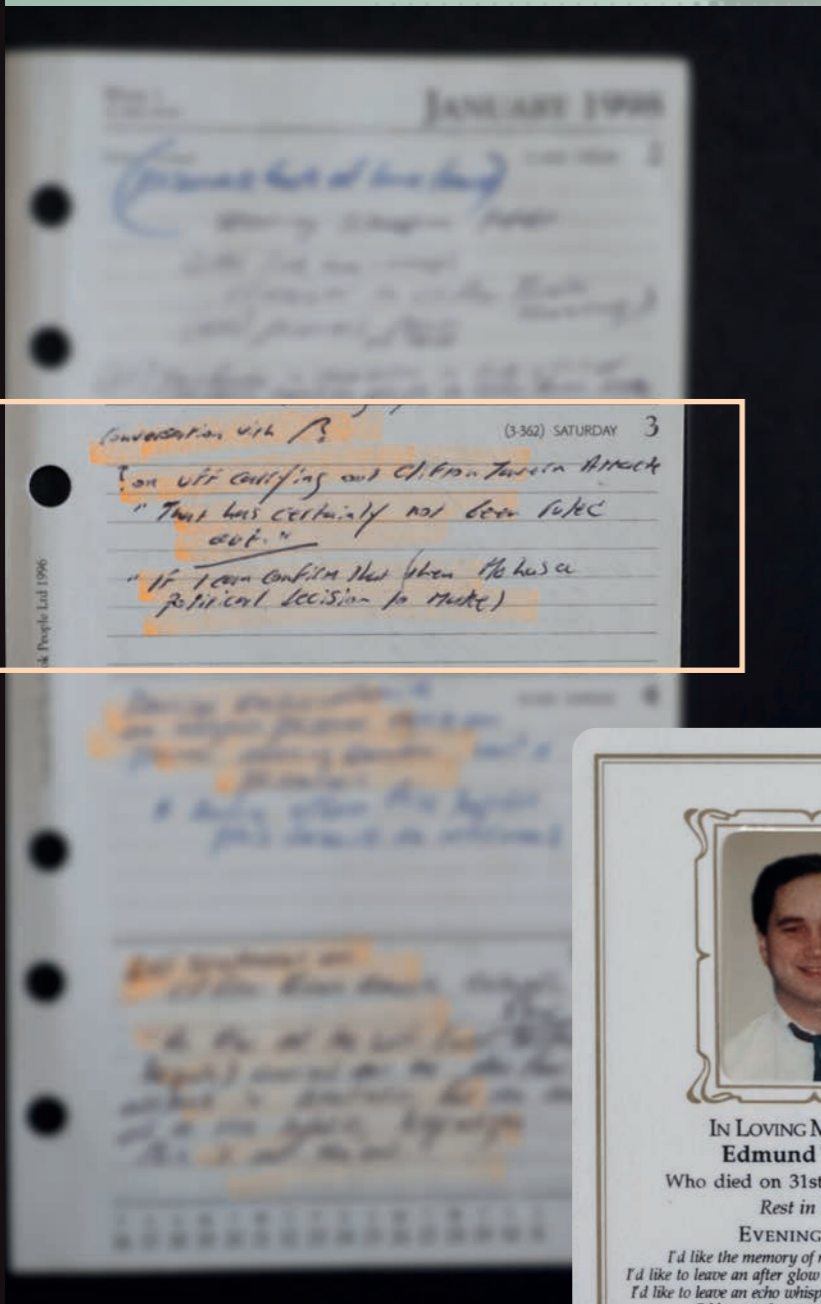


I had learned of the quiet, background efforts by Archbishop Robin Eames in trying to achieve the loyalist ceasefire and, in November 1994, went to speak with him in Armagh.

He wrote to me a few days later with some additional thoughts, including these words : "...I could not justify a moral stance in which I condemned them yet ignored an opportunity to talk directly."

When I wrote of his efforts, I described his mission in these words: In God's name stop.





# The forgotten dead

The detail on this old jotter page (right) is a reminder of the hell of those times; the killing of loyalist Billy Wright inside the Maze Prison and the rage that followed. Chief Constable Sir Ronnie Flanagan connected the UDA-linked Ulster Freedom Fighters and the IRA to a number of murders in breach of their declared ceasefires. As a consequence both the Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) and Sinn Féin were suspended from the political talks; both invited back in before Good Friday. Years later, by chance, I met Ed Treanor's mother and she gave me this prayer. For me, it was a reminder of how we forget.



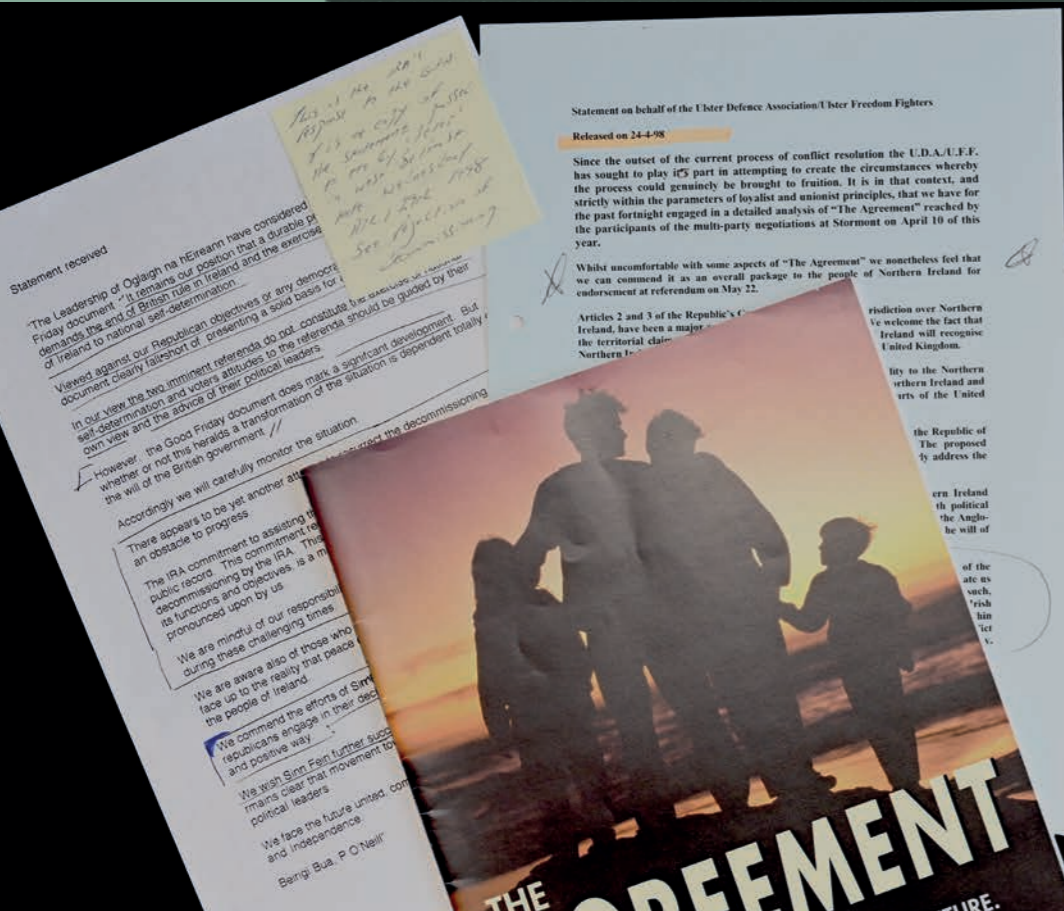
Above - Jotter page highlights the grim toll of death as we moved towards Good Friday '98 and beyond.

Left Top - Rowan diary note of conversation with Chief Constable Sir Ronnie Flanagan. The UFF was trying to cover its tracks, but Flanagan would eventually link that organisation to 3 murders - a policing assessment that would have huge political implications.

Left bottom - Edmund Treanor's memory card handed to Rowan by his mother many years later.



# Good Friday: No Guns - No Government



These are the first reactions from the IRA and UDA/UFF.

The loyalists speak of being uncomfortable with some aspects of the agreement - but commend the overall package for endorsement at referendum.

'P O'Neill' restates a position on guns: "Let us make clear that there will be no decommissioning by the IRA." And so begins the argument: No Guns - No Government.

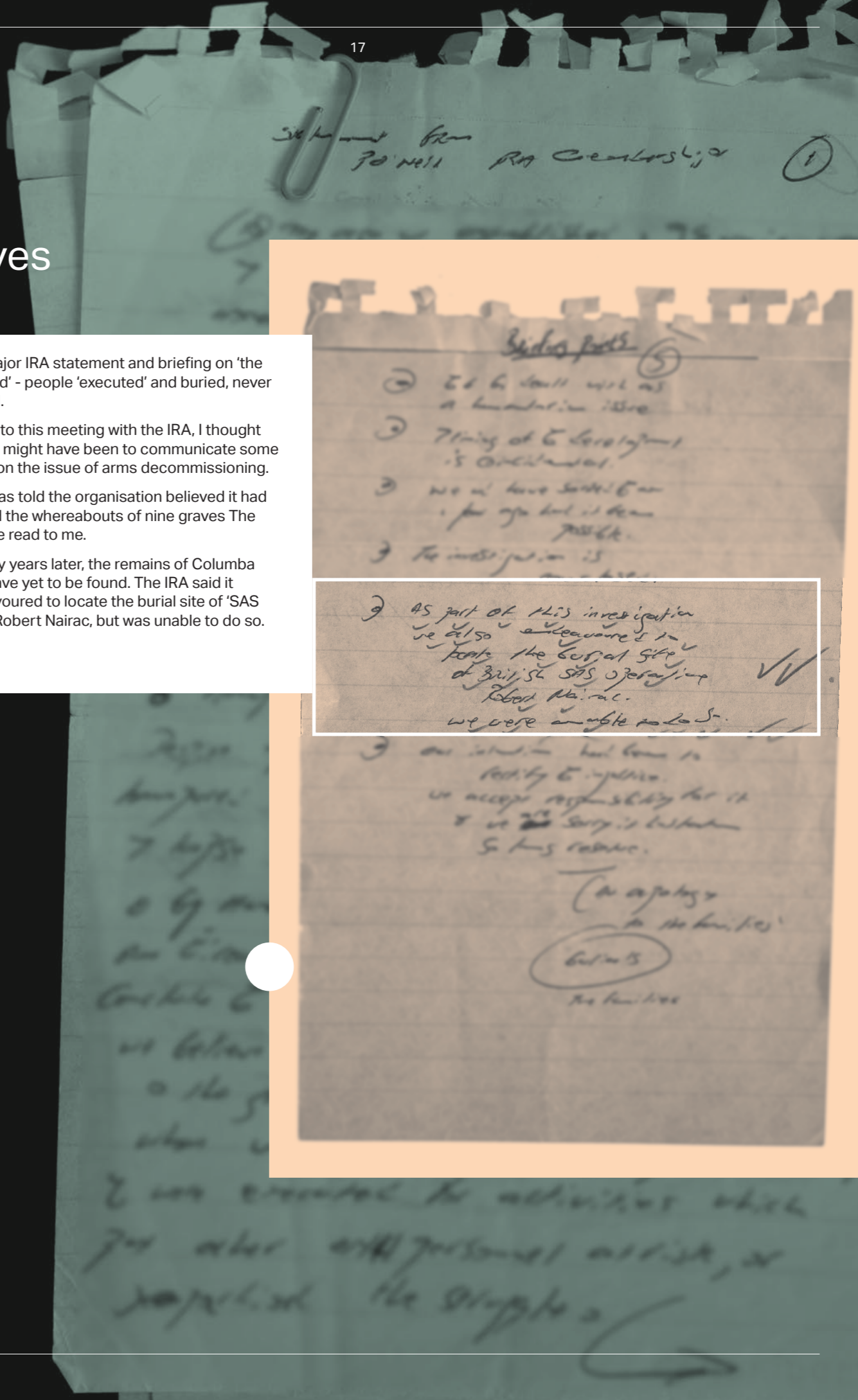
# Graves

The first major IRA statement and briefing on 'the disappeared' - people 'executed' and buried, never to be found.

On my way to this meeting with the IRA, I thought its purpose might have been to communicate some statement on the issue of arms decommissioning.

Instead, I was told the organisation believed it had established the whereabouts of nine graves. The names were read to me.

These many years later, the remains of Columba McVeigh have yet to be found. The IRA said it had endeavoured to locate the burial site of 'SAS operative' Robert Nairac, but was unable to do so.

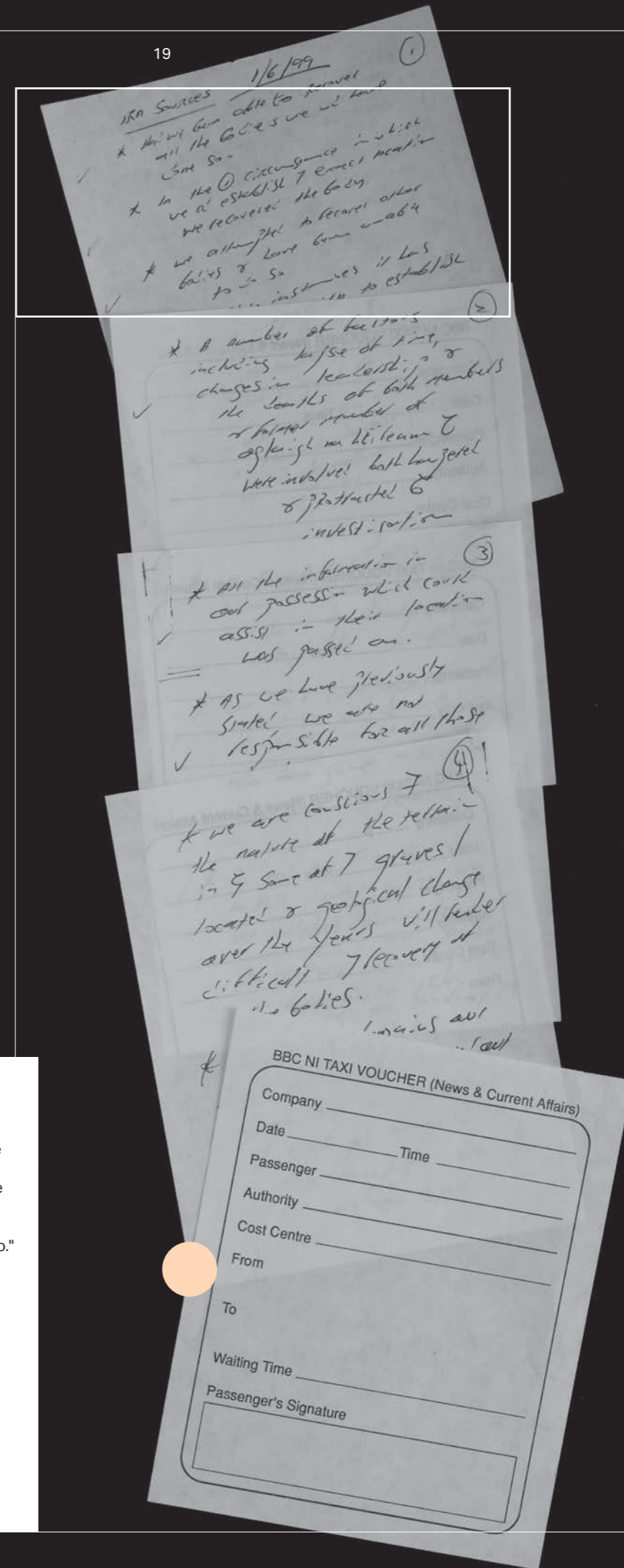
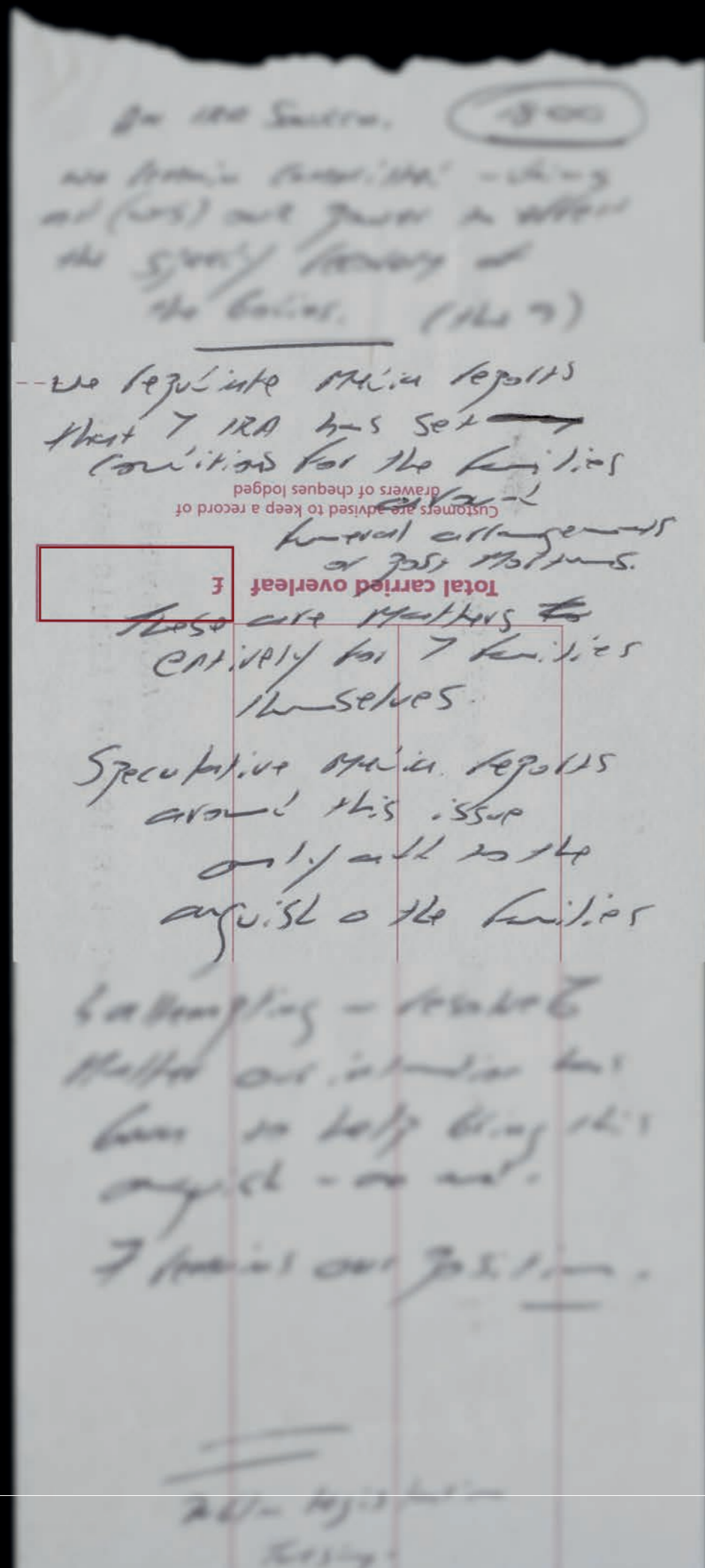




# Ghosts

This is a story of ghosts that haunts the IRA - the sickness of disappearing bodies, the orders that allowed that to happen and the anguish visited on families.

Other briefings followed that first major statement, including this line from the IRA, which I wrote into my cheque book: "We repudiate media reports that the IRA has set conditions for the families around funeral arrangements or postmortems. These are matters entirely for the families themselves."



An IRA briefing on the disappeared, including these words: "In the one circumstance in which we could establish the exact location we recovered the body. We attempted to recover other bodies and have been unable to do so."



In this internal message from Sir Ronnie Flanagan to his officers, we read of the pain in change. Part of the Good Friday Agreement was the formation of a Commission to bring forward proposals on police reform. The RUC title would go. This message is before the publication of what is known as the Patten Report, and Flanagan is responding to media speculation on likely recommendations, and that sense of "tremendous anguish" within the force.

## 'Tremendous anguish'

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 Urgency : Message Not Yet Sent - Message Urgency Unknown  
 Recipient List : XSF

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 Subject : FORCE INFORMATION BULLETIN 5/99  
 Urgency : Routine  
 Recipient List : XSF

FORCE INFORMATION BULLETIN NO 5/99

SPECULATION RE THE PATTEN REPORT : MESSAGE FROM CHIEF CONSTABLE

THERE HAS BEEN MUCH SPECULATION IN THE LAST 24 HOURS ABOUT THE CONTENT OF THE PATTEN REPORT. IT IS MOST REGRETTABLE THAT SUCH SPECULATION HAS TAKEN PLACE IN THE PUBLIC DOMAIN AHEAD OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE REPORT AND WITHOUT GIVING US THE OPPORTUNITY TO GAUGE THE ACCURACY OR OTHERWISE OF THE REPORT'S ALLEGED CONTENTS.

IT WOULD BE ABSOLUTELY WRONG TO REACT TO SPECULATION, AND UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THE CONTENTS OF THE PATTEN REPORT ARE KNOWN, NO CONCLUSIONS CAN OR SHOULD BE DRAWN.

IT IS APPRECIATED THAT SOME OF THE SUGGESTED RECOMMENDATIONS WILL HAVE CAUSED TREMENDOUS ANGUISH. ALL MEMBERS SHOULD BE ASSURED THAT THE ENTIRE ORGANISATION INCLUDING ALL THE STAFF ASSOCIATIONS AND PANI WILL BE WORKING FLAT OUT TO ENSURE THAT THE INTERESTS OF ALL MEMBERS AND INDEED THEIR FAMILIES WILL BE BEST REPRESENTED.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT WHATEVER PATTEN RECOMMENDS WILL HAVE TO BE IMPLEMENTED VERY CAREFULLY FOLLOWING A CONSULTATION PERIOD AND IN THE LIGHT OF THE PREVAILING SECURITY SITUATION. UNDOUBTEDLY MANY OF HIS RECOMMENDATIONS, WHATEVER THEY MAY BE, WILL REQUIRE LEGISLATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OVER A LENGTHY EVOLUTIONARY PERIOD. IN THE MEANTIME IT IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF US ALL TO IGNORE SPECULATION AND GET ON WITH WHAT WE DO BEST - PROVIDING THE HIGHEST QUALITY POLICING SERVICE TO EVERYONE IN NORTHERN IRELAND.

A.O. CHIEF CONSTABLE, SIR RONNIE FLANAGAN

Authorising Officer : CHIEF INSPECTOR FIC  
 Sending Officer : L O'N

## Mitchell Review - Agreements and Disagreements

This major review in 1999 was designed to bring about the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement.

Ulster Unionist leader David Trimble entered an Executive, including Sinn Féin, and set his own date for actual arms decommissioning to occur.

The IRA had agreed to enter into discussions with the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning (IICD) - but not to a date on which it would put arms beyond use.

This IRA briefing, which I copied on to a BBC envelope, includes these words: "The subsequent setting of preconditions for future progress towards the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement by David Trimble was not part of this context and in our view represents a clear departure from the terms of the Mitchell Review."

BBC

Makes a number of points  
 An IRA Source 18.00.

\* The subsequent setting of pre-conditions for future progress towards full implementation of GFA by David Trimble was not part of context & in our view represents a clear departure from terms of the Mitchell Review. A

X

30/11/99



# 25 Years of Learning

In Belfast, some months ago, I spoke at an event at which Jonathan Powell, Chief of Staff to former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, was present.

Both, of course, were central figures in the months of negotiations spanning late 1997 into early 1998, in which the eventual Good Friday/Belfast Agreement was shaped.

These many years later, Powell was back in the city with a delegation from Thailand representing their National Security Council and Peace Dialogue Panel - here to learn of our experiences.

I told them that peace is not surrender. It is a process of compromises.

It is also, and always, a work in progress.

The big lessons from here relate to outside help and momentum. You don't slow down peace.

It is a challenge, an argument, a fight of a different kind, a war of words, of agreements and disagreements, something within which politics struggles, and something worth having.

I was a non-believer in 1998, having lived in decades of conflict, not being able to see how this agreement might be made.

It was a complex task. Not just achieving its power-sharing political element, and structuring relationships on the island and wider, but the working out of so many other issues - prisoner releases, police reform, arms decommissioning, demilitarising the landscape.

## Parts of peace can crumble

I better understand now the concept of process. How you build brick by brick, and how, at times, you have to start again.

Everything within the bigger plan fits within that word, process.

We speak of things that are new. New beginnings. New agreements. New politics. New policing. The New peace. And, now, the debate on a New Ireland has become a louder conversation.

Politics is always moving, even when it is stuck. At times, it can look old.

The mould of conflict politics has not yet been broken.

## 25 Pieces

I hope my '25 pieces' exhibition will help us to better understand the journey. It is taken from my archive of reporting and analysing the major moments in that transition from conflict to peace.

The Union, declared "safe" in the Combined Loyalist Military Command ceasefire announcement of 1994, is not as safe or as sure in 2023.

We hear the concerns in the fallout from the post-Brexit trading arrangements, including the sea border; how Northern Ireland became different from the rest of the United Kingdom, and how, as a consequence, Stormont again became a story of dysfunctional politics.

## Ceasefires

The ceasefires of 1994 began to make a path to the political agreement of '98.

In November 1994, I went to speak with Archbishop Robin Eames in Armagh, to discuss with him his quiet efforts to help achieve the loyalist ceasefire.

In a follow-up letter to me, which I include in this exhibition, he wrote of his "dilemma" - whether he should meet them as the violence continued. He decided he would: "I could not justify a moral stance in which I condemned them and yet ignored an opportunity to talk directly."

Before meeting the loyalists, Eames talked at length with the Archbishop of Canterbury and throughout the process kept him informed.

Peace is not easy in its challenges, but is easier than burying the dead of the conflict years.

I include in the exhibition another note given to me by the former Presbyterian Moderator Dr Jack Weir when I interviewed him in 1992 as we approached three thousand deaths. He had typed: "My first reaction must be one of sorrow - and shame...shame that it has gone on so long, how there still seems to be no end in sight - and how for most of us these casualties become no more than statistics." He also wrote of "the utter failure of this violence".

The forgotten dead, and how we now remember them, is one of the remaining challenges of the peace.

## Decommissioning

Throughout the past 25 years, we have all heard the descriptions of that peace as being both "imperfect" and "armed".

Decommissioning was one of its processes, starting with the words "not a bullet - not an ounce", and developing through statements on "silent" guns, international arms inspections and, then, into a long series of events in which arms were "put beyond use".

One of the pieces in my exhibition is an IRA statement that I wrote on a taxi receipt on February 5, 2000, including the words: "The IRA have never entered into any agreement, undertaking or understanding at any time with anyone on any aspect of decommissioning. We have not broken any commitments or betrayed anyone."

Days later, Stormont was suspended. Almost two years after Good Friday '98, the guns and government argument was still a part and a problem in our politics.

Peace is paced. At times, it is a sprint. Other times, a marathon.

The major acts of IRA decommissioning occurred in 2005, with loyalists taking some years longer to arrive at that point.



## Codewords

Codewords were a major part of the conflict story - how the IRA and loyalist organisations authenticated their communications with the media.

You will see on a couple of diary pages in my archive exhibition, how those codewords have also been a part of our peace.

"Cromwell" used in a statement by the UDA when admitting the murder of a young Catholic man in 2002, and "Titanic" as another codeword as part of contacts with the media during a loyalist feud that same year.

Guns can be loud in peace. Decommissioning has reduced, but not removed that threat.

## The Disappeared

On the various scraps of paper I have used to gather and report information, you see how quickly news happened and how little time there was to think in those moments.

In my archive, you will read how the story of the disappeared (people "executed" and secretly buried by the IRA) became headlines in the peace.

The first detailed statement and briefing by the IRA was in March 1999 relating to a number of burial sites they believed they had identified.

In my cheque book and on a BBC taxi receipt, I noted a number of follow-up meetings, including this line: "We repudiate media reports that the IRA has set conditions for the families around funeral arrangements or postmortems. These are matters entirely for the families themselves."

On the evening that I took the first of those statements from the IRA, Tony Blair and Taoiseach Bertie Ahern had arrived at Hillsborough Castle for talks, and Nelson Mandela had spoken on the phone to political leaders here.

I was told the timing of the IRA statement was "coincidental". Is there such a thing as coincidence in such processes that so often look so choreographed and sequenced?

## Exhibition

This exhibition from my archive could have been 250 or 2,500 pieces.

At times, over the past 25 years, I have had more contact with the IRA and loyalist groups than in the conflict period.

Today, in the story of now, the Past seems louder than ever before. Unanswered. Shouting out for attention.

Some of the organisations from the 'Troubles' years remain much too obvious in the Present.

Good Friday '98 was a beginning, not an end. It is unfinished work.

The next 25 years are arguably more important than the past 25 years.

Finding the next bricks with which to build. Waiting for the next leaders to emerge .

It is time for the post-Good Friday Agreement generation to take responsibility for our politics and our peace. And it is time for the conflict generation to let go.

Time also to create a meaningful process that addresses the Past - a process from outside of politics.

In the waiting we are losing so much critical memory.

Earlier, I referenced a note from Dr Jack Weir. With Martin McGuinness, William 'Plum' Smith (who would later chair the loyalist ceasefire news conference) and Bishop Edward Daly, his was one of four interviews that marked that moment in 1992 when the 'Troubles' arrived at 3000 deaths.

The men I interviewed are no longer with us. As so many others are gone - John Hume, David Trimble, Mo Mowlam.

The loyalists of '98 helped Trimble carry the heavy weights of that agreement, among them David Ervine and Gusty Spence - also gone.

I will never forget that moment in 2007 when Gerry Adams stepped on to the Newtownards Road in east Belfast to attend Ervine's funeral. I include in this exhibition something I wrote at the time - a moment when I really began to see and believe in peace: "The roof didn't cave in. The church stood strong. The war is over, and the message in that moment was loud and clear. Nobody said it, but everyone must have heard it."

## Could it happen today?

Good Friday was a remarkable achievement. But this 25th anniversary cannot just be a celebration of that moment but, more, an opportunity to think forward - to look into the future, not back into the Past.

In 2048 what might be the 25 pieces on display.



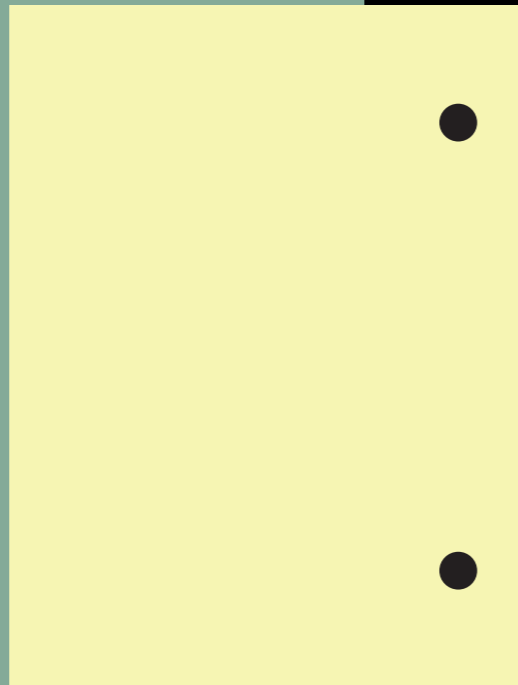
# 'Betrayal' - Stormont falls

On February 5th 2000, I wrote this IRA statement and BBC news report on taxi receipts.

Actual decommissioning had not occurred and Stormont was about to be suspended.

The Northern Ireland Secretary of State Peter Mandelson accused the IRA of betrayal.

This statement was its response, including: "The IRA have never entered into any agreement, undertaking or understanding with anyone on any aspect of decommissioning. We have not broken any commitments or betrayed anyone."



IRA Statement  
5/2/2000 (1)

**HOLYWOOD TAXIS**

Telephone: Belfast 428812

Driver..... The British Sec of State has accused the IRA of betrayal over the issue of decommissioning. Similar allegations have been made of others. The British Sec of State has now used this in threatening to collapse the political negotiations. We reject these allegations. The IRA have never entered into any agreement, undertaking or understanding with anyone on any aspect of decommissioning. We have not broken any commitments or betrayed anyone.

Date.....

From.....

Destination.....

Passenger's Name(s).....

Remarks..... It was the IRA who took the first step to return the Sinn Féin political process to its rightful place. By so doing we created the space for the continuation of the peace process. For political work.

15.00  
5/2/2000

We are staggered at the IRA statement. It has never entered into any agreement, undertaking or understanding with anyone on any aspect of decommissioning. The Sinn Féin have not broken any commitments or betrayed anyone. It is a reference to comments made by the Sec of State in the HOC on Thursday.

The IRA statement says it believes the current crisis can be avoided if the issue of arms can be resolved. The statement says "this will not be on British or Unionist terms/ nor will it be allowed by British legislative threats."

IRA Statement  
5/2/2000 (2)

**HOLYWOOD TAXIS**

Telephone: Belfast 428812

Driver..... Those who have once again made the political process conditional on the decommissioning of Sinn Féin arms are responsible for creating the current situation. This is the peace process in the state at present crisis.

Date.....

From.....

Destination.....

Passenger's Name(s).....

Remarks..... The IRA bet on what this crisis can be avoided if the issue of arms can be resolved. This will not be on British or Unionist terms/ nor will it be allowed by British legislative threats. We recognise that the issue of arms needs to be dealt with in an acceptable way. This is a necessary objective of a genuine peace process. For that reason we are engaged with the UK and we have supported our own efforts to support the resolution of the peace process. The peace process is under no threat from the IRA.

15.00  
5/2/2000

The statement goes on to say we recognise that the issue of arms needs to be dealt with in an acceptable way. This is a necessary objective of a genuine peace process. The statement repeats that process is under no threat from the IRA. But the IRA will suggest that the IRA will believe a deal decommissioning by us would



# All out



At this poignant time in N. Ireland's transition towards peaceful democratic processes, Ulster Volunteer Force and Red Hand Commando released prisoners jointly offer the following statement.

At this time of the agreements implementation, which includes the release of serving political prisoners from organisations who subscribe to peaceful transition we would remind concerned organisations and individuals of our commitment to non-violent means of addressing the political conflict in N. Ireland.

This was demonstrated by our declaration of cease-fire in 1994 and our subsequent release of prisoners in our support.

July 28<sup>th</sup> 2000

...y for the peace process and the process of the first time there are no UFF prisoners of war behind prison walls. The journey that has brought us to this point is a long and there are still many challenges ahead. It is the termination of the UFF command and to our knowledge the UDP that the peace process has produced a number of prisoners of war have been returned home and are finally behind us.

The Agreement is far from perfect and has caused pain to the nationalist community we believe that with leadership and determination we will deliver the peace the people of Ulster deserve.

## Republican P.O.W. Role of Honour

...owing Republicans have died in prison since 1969:

### Long Kesh

- Eddy Joe Crawford - 3 June 1973
- Francis Dodds - 9 September 1973
- Patrick Teer - 2 July 1974
- Eddy Campbell - 3 May 1974
- Lugh Coney - 6 November 1974
- Jim Moyne - 13 January 1975
- Henry Heaney - 4 June 1978
- Robbie Sands - 5 May 1981
- Francis Hughes - 12 May 1981
- Raymond McCreesh - 21 May 1981
- Patsy O Hara - 21 May 1981
- Joe McDonnell - 8 July 1981
- Martin Hurson - 13 July 1981
- Kevin Lynch - 1 August 1981
- Kieran Doherty - 2 August 1981
- Tom Mellwee - 8 August 1981
- Michael Devine - 20 August 1981
- Scán Bateson - 7 June 1981
- Pól Kinsella - 13 December 1994

### Portlaoise

- Tom Smith - 17 March 1975
- Brendan Seery - 19 February 1992
- Paddy Kelly - 11 June 1997

### England

- Michael Gaughan - 3 June 1974 Parkhurst Prison
- Frank Stagg - 12 February 1976 Wakefield Prison
- Noel Jenkinson - 9 October 1976 Leicester Prison
- Seán O Conaill - 1 October 1977 Parkhurst Prison

*This is a copy of Statement read by Seán McKeil IRA OC Haldie at jail July 28th 2000 by way of prisoner releases*

...our many supporters, to our families, to our man Cabhrach, Prisoner Welfare, Transport, the who worked tirelessly on our behalf down

...LA prisoners remain incarcerated in prisons on

...our many good friends and comrades who gave this struggle. We remember particularly all our hunger strike, who were killed while trying to to improper and inadequate medical attention. Their steadfast commitment and sacrifice helped make this day possible.

On behalf of all republican prisoners I would like to extend solidarity and thanks to the IRA for their role in the struggle for freedom and for helping to create the conditions that led to the peace process and to today's significant developments.

*We walk free from this prison camp, as have our comrades before us, proud republicans, unbowed and unbroken.*

We are determined to pursue and achieve the goals for which so many gave their lives, that is, the establishment of a united democratic socialist republic.

As republicans who have experienced suffering we understand well the hurt of others. We offer the sincere hand of friendship to everyone who is prepared to help build a new future for all of our people.

The new Ireland we seek is an equal and democratic one. An Ireland that truly cherishes all of her children equally.

In the words of Nelson Mandela, also a former political prisoner:

"We understand that there is no easy road to freedom. We know it well. None of us acting alone can achieve success. We must act together as a united people, for national reconciliation and for nation building."

"Let there be justice for all"

"Let there be peace for all."

*Handwritten notes and signatures in the bottom left corner, including names like 'Lol', 'MAY', 'IRA', 'Seán', 'Lol', 'MAY', 'IRA', 'Seán', 'Lol', 'MAY', 'IRA', 'Seán'.*

*As we leave Long Kesh for the last time to embark on a new future, we are mindful of the many victims of the troubles. All sides have suffered greatly and we acknowledge the hurt felt by the victims of this war and their families. In all sincerity we re-iterate the sentiments expressed in the CLMC cease-fire statement by offering our abject and true remorse to the innocent victims of the conflict.*

*We walk free from this prison camp, as have our comrades before us, proud republicans, unbowed and unbroken.*

We are determined to pursue and achieve the goals for which so many gave their lives, that is, the establishment of a united democratic socialist republic.

As republicans who have experienced suffering we understand well the hurt of others. We offer the sincere hand of friendship to everyone who is prepared to help build a new future for all of our people.

Ulster Volunteer Force and Red Hand Commando prisoners have supported the peace process, the negotiated agreement, and democratic developments which continue to emerge.

Top - From UFF statement  
Middle - From IRA statement  
Bottom - From UVF/Red Hand Commando statement

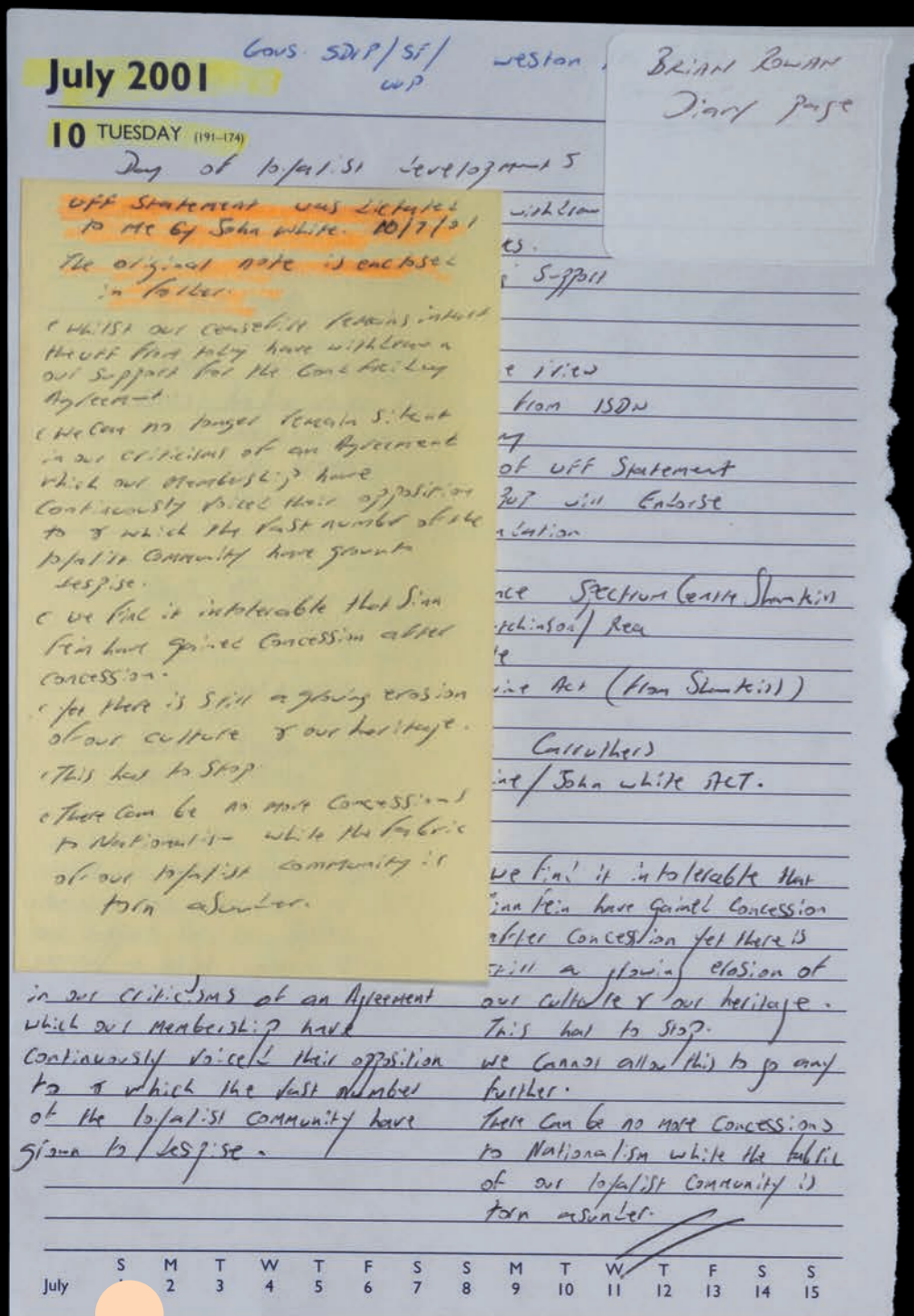
July 2000: Statements from the IRA and loyalist organisations marking the last major day of prisoner releases resulting from the Good Friday Agreement.

A Commission was established and the releases were phased over a two-year period.

I was at the Maze Prison reporting for the BBC - some of the scribbled thoughts I've written on to the statements are speaking points for various interviews.



# Angry words - another crisis

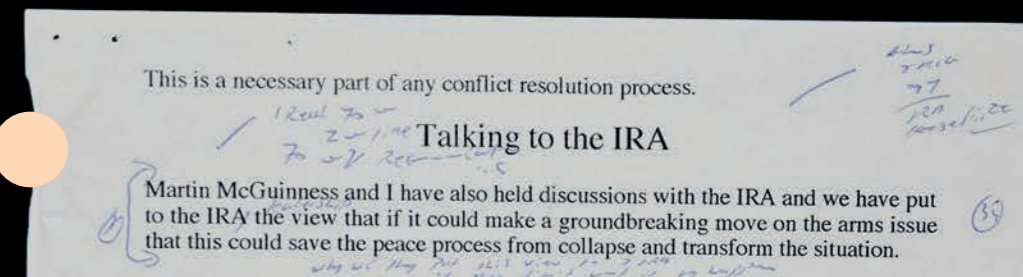


My diary notes from July 10th 2001, including a statement from the UDA-linked Ulster Freedom Fighters withdrawing support for the Good Friday Agreement.

The statement included these words: "We can no longer remain silent in our criticisms of an agreement, which our membership have continuously voiced their opposition to, and which the vast number of the loyalist community have grown to despise."

# Saving the peace

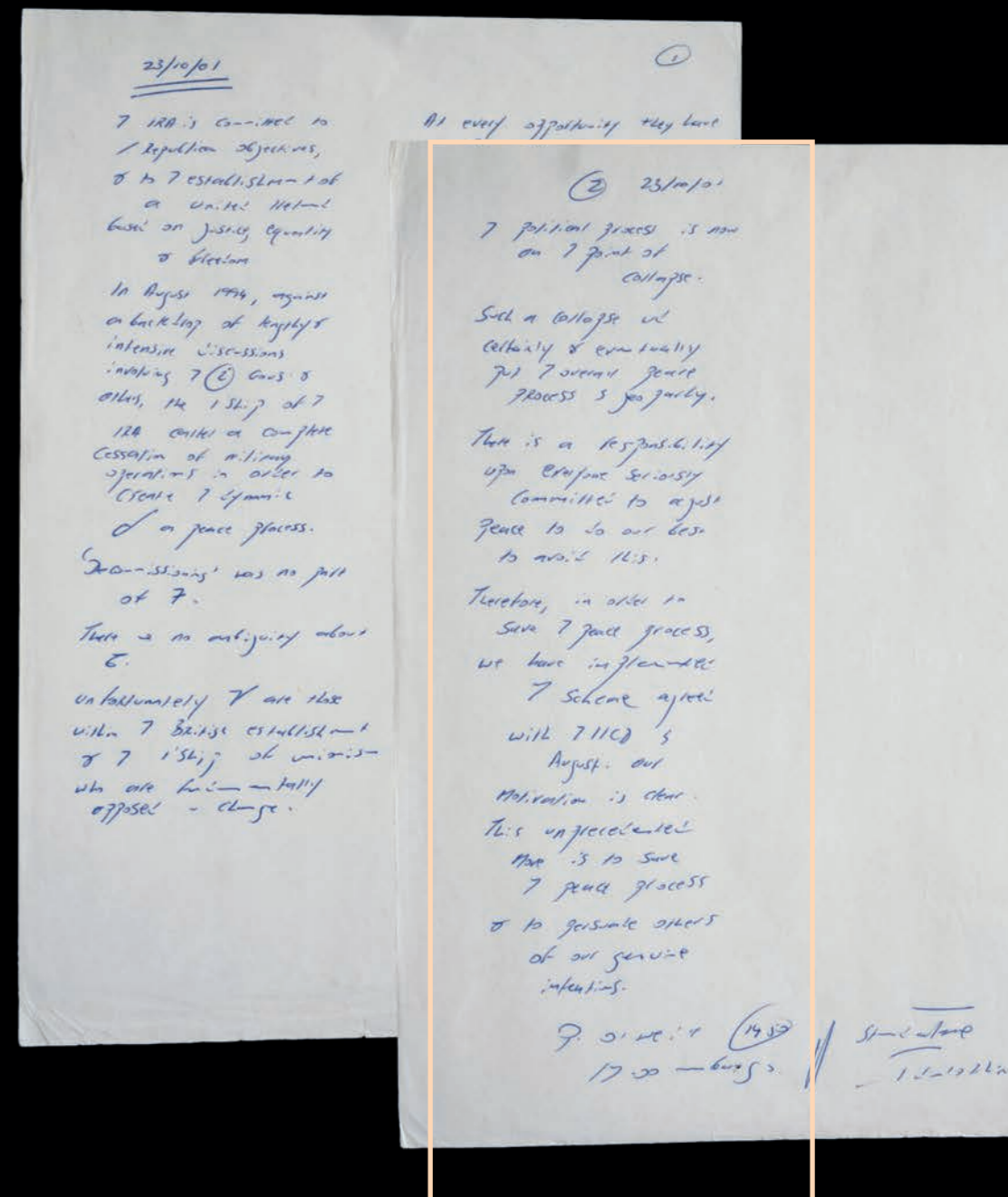
(The first act of decommissioning, IRA, October 2001)



October 22nd 2001, an Adams speech at Conway Mill in west Belfast signals a likely first move by the IRA on decommissioning.

And, 24 hours later, my note of a meeting with the IRA 'P O'Neill', and a statement that included these words:

"Our motivation is clear. This unprecedented move is to save the peace process and to persuade others of our genuine intentions."





There is little trust in the peace.

Over a period of some years, there are headlines about bugging operations listening in on republicans and, then, a break-in at Special Branch offices at Castlereagh in Belfast.

The IRA is blamed and, in this briefing which I've written on BBC taxi vouchers, it denies involvement.

It is a lie in the peace; something the IRA could not admit.

# Cat-and-Mouse - the intelligence war



Briefings.  
 Senior IRA source [redacted] 21/4/02  
 • Ceasefire remains intact  
 • The IRA is not targeting  
 • "It is no threat ->  
 • "peace process", intact in Oct 0



# Codewords - guns in the peace

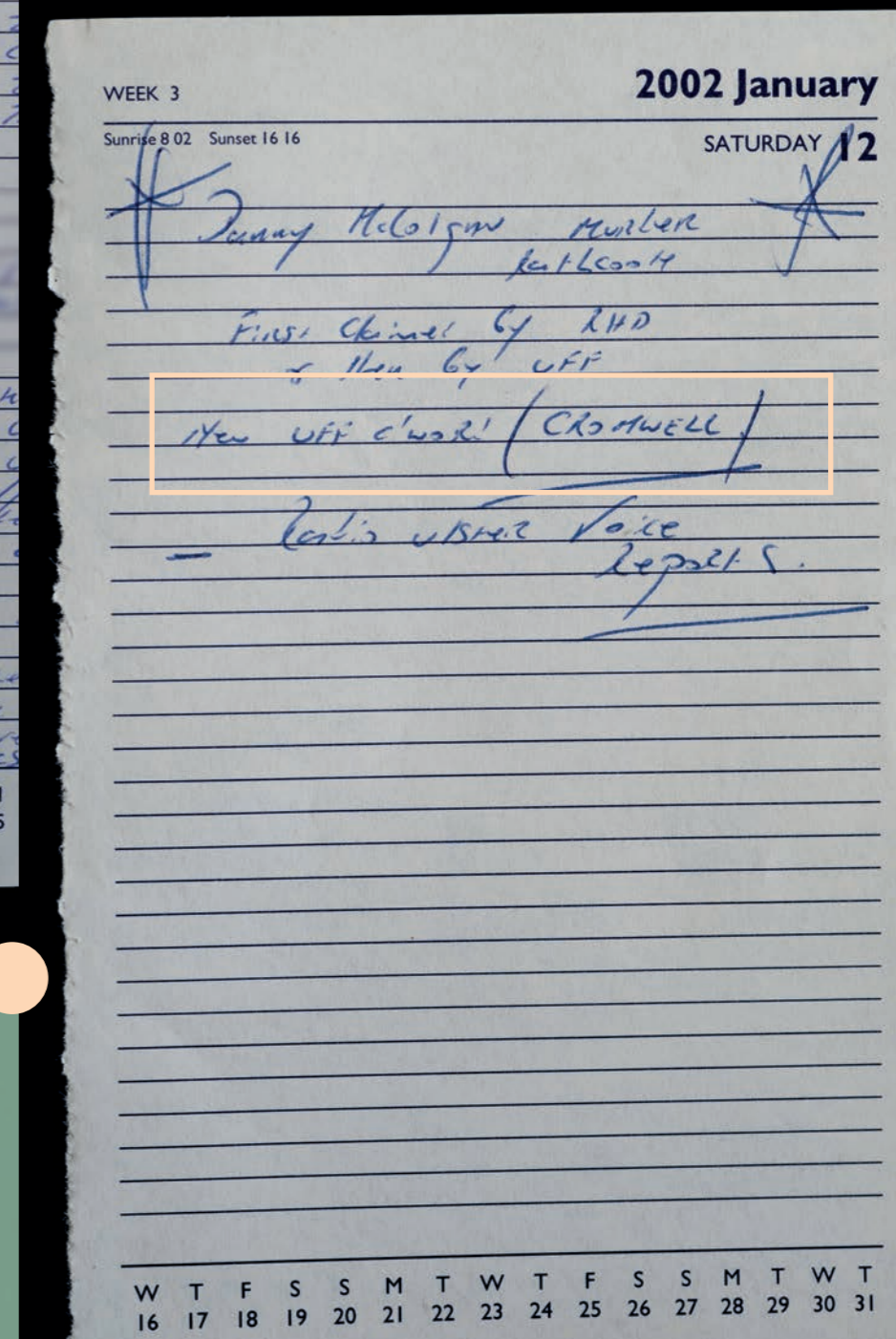
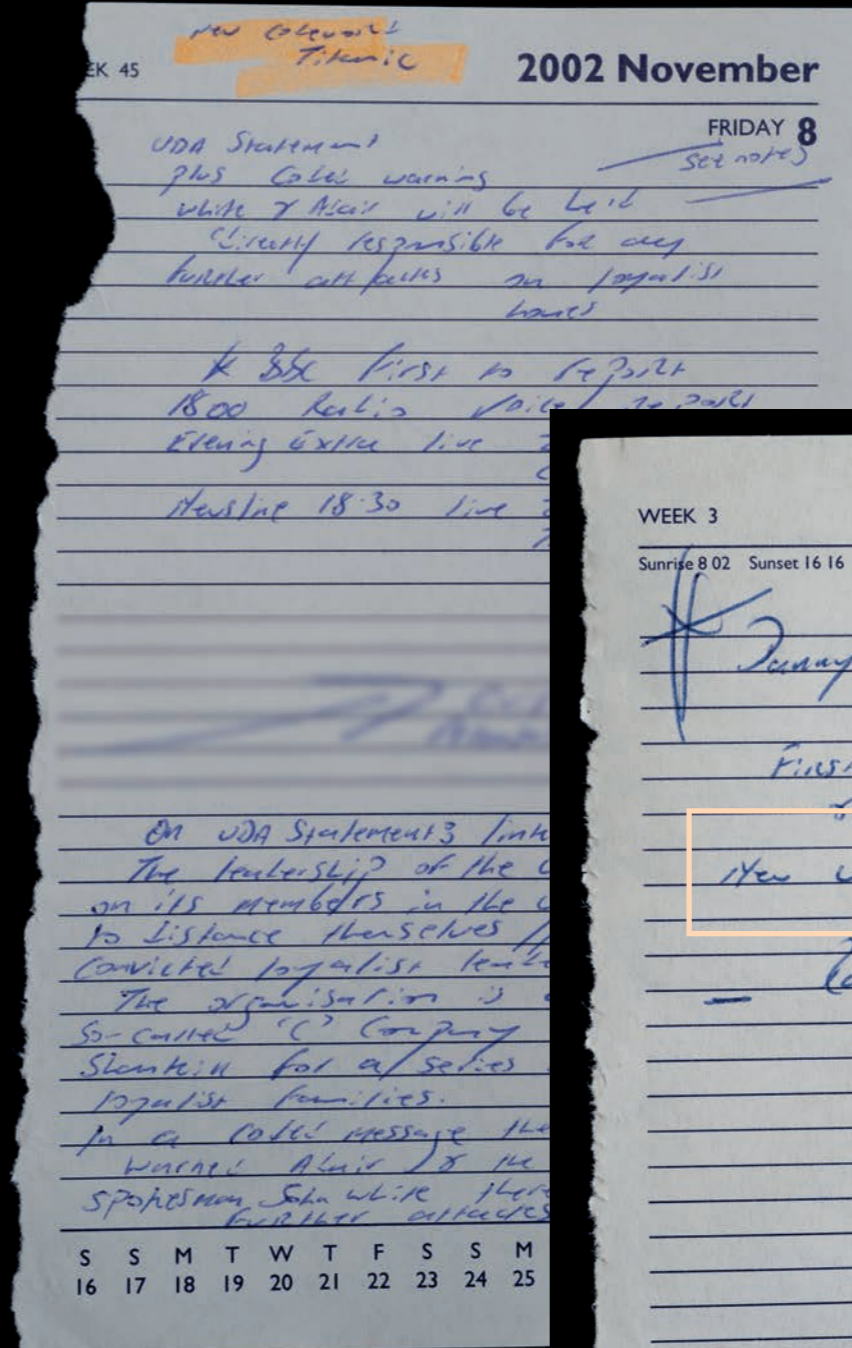
Two diary pages from 2002 on which I write two codewords, which are used to authenticate loyalist communications with the media.

'Cromwell' is the word used after the murder of a young Catholic man Danny McCollgan.

And, in November 2002, at a face-to-face meeting with senior UDA figures, I am told 'Titanic' will be the codeword they will use during a phase of internal feuding within the organisation.

Johnny Adair, and his close associate John White, are warned there should be no further attacks.

# Titanic Cromwell





# Trimble cracks - IRA responds

"When we give our word, we keep it. We expect others to do the same."

(P O'Neill)

After protracted and detailed discussions the leadership of the IRA recently made decisions to take initiatives with the objective of facilitating political progress.

These decisions were made after the UUP and the two governments had agreed to make their contributions as part of an agreed sequence. We had sight of their stated positions and they had sight of ours.

Our initiatives, in line with our stated position, related to our commitment to resolve the issue of arms and our view of remarks made by Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams. It was part of an agreement and an agreed sequence which involved:

- \* The announcement of an election;
- \* A statement by Gerry Adams;
- \* A statement from the IRA leadership;
- \* An act of putting arms beyond use;
- \* A report by the IICD;
- \* A statement by David Trimble;
- \* A joint statement by the two governments.

As part of this we:

- \* Met with the IICD with a view to implementing a process to

We began to understand the different phases of the peace as choreographed sequences of statements and events.

In October 2003, it lost its footing.

There was a speech by Gerry Adams, which the IRA endorsed, a third act of decommissioning involving 'the largest amount of arms to date'.

At the time, these were steps designed to assist the restoration of the Stormont Executive.

But unionist leader David Trimble broke the sequence, demanding further details on the extent of decommissioning.

In elections that followed, Ian Paisley and the DUP emerged in the lead unionist role.

put arms beyond use at the earliest opportunity.

\* We, in line with that, carried out a further act of putting arms beyond use under the agreed scheme. This involved the largest amount of arms to date.

The political process these initiatives were designed to facilitate has been halted without a credible explanation from those who stopped it.

The leadership of the IRA honoured our commitments. Others have not fulfilled theirs. This is totally unacceptable. When we give our word we keep it. We expect others to do the same. Until they do so there can be little prospect of progress on the issues they profess concern about.

P. O'Neill

# Actions not words

The writing inside an envelope is my BBC news report relating to yet another loyalist feud.

A statement from the Loyalist Volunteer Force (LVF) was dictated to me, words designed to silence loyalist guns.

We were waiting for David Ervine, the leader of the Progressive Unionist Party, to respond.

I included this line in my scribbled news report: There will be no statement from the UVF, but sources say that organisation will judge the LVF by its actions and not its words.

Reulin AM 22/5/04

The 30P letter David Ervine is expected to respond to reports to his right's statement about LVF in which it said it's conflict with UVF will end in 7 statements, just as - 7 UVF, 7 UVF critical for mechanisms to be put in place to stop any further killing amongst UVF's.

BR Be parts.

\* In its statement 7 UVF identifies 7 incidents which sparked to latest feud w/ UVF in east Belfast... ~~statement~~ but 7 organisation says Sun & bomb attacks on buses in Belfast on 10/11/03 are not UVF but were not sanctioned by 7 UVF.

The statement points to an inquiry & says ~~statement~~ those claims will be dealt with in line with what 7 org's disciplinary procedures. The group is expected to disown & disband & responsible for 7 attacks. ~~needed~~ in the past 7 UVF member Brian Stewart & murdered by 7 UVF. The Loyalist Volunteer Force subscribes him and a 'completely innocent victim'.

It says 7 UVF be no more tensions amongst loyalists, & says it's conflict with 7 UVF/PRUC & 7 Progressive Unionist Party has no sense.

There will be no statement from 7 UVF, but sources say 7 org. will judge 7 UVF by its actions & not its words.

That is, ~~but~~ 7 has been a breakthrough not achieved by 7 mediators & 1 PERS Minister Martin Giblin & Community Minister Sunny Douglas



## Endgame

# Oglaigh na h-Eireann



The leadership of Oglaigh na hEireann has formally ordered an end to the armed campaign. This will take effect from 4.00 p.m. this afternoon.

All IRA units have been ordered to dump arms.

All Volunteers have been instructed to assist the development of purely political and democratic programmes through exclusively peaceful means. Volunteers must not engage in any other activities whatsoever.

The IRA leadership has also authorised our representative to engage with the IICD to complete the process to verifiably put its arms beyond use in a way which will further enhance public confidence and to conclude this as quickly as possible. We have invited two independent witnesses, from the Protestant and Catholic churches, to testify to this.

The Army Council took these decisions following an unprecedented internal discussion and consultation process with IRA units and Volunteers.

We appreciate the honest and forthright way in which the consultation process was carried out and the depth and content of the submissions. We are proud of the comradesly way in which this truly historic discussion was conducted.

The outcome of our consultations show very strong support among IRA Volunteers for the Sinn Fein peace strategy. There is also widespread concern about the failure of the two governments and the unionists to fully engage in the peace process. This has created real difficulties. The overwhelming majority of people in Ireland fully support this process. They and friends of Irish unity

throughout the world want to see the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement.

Notwithstanding these difficulties our decisions have been taken to advance our republican and democratic objectives, including our goal of a united Ireland. We believe there is now an alternative way to achieve this and to end British rule in our country.

It is the responsibility of all Volunteers to show leadership, determination and courage. We are very mindful of the sacrifices of our patriot dead, those who went to jail, Volunteers, their families and the wider republican base. We reiterate our view that the armed struggle was entirely legitimate.

We are conscious that many people suffered in the conflict. There is a compelling imperative on all sides to build a just and lasting peace.

The issue of the defence of nationalist and republican communities has been raised with us. There is a responsibility on society to ensure that there is no re-occurrence of the pogroms of 1969 and the early 1970s. There is also a universal responsibility to tackle sectarianism in all its forms.

The IRA is fully committed to the goals of Irish unity and independence and to building the republic outlined in the 1916 Proclamation.

We call for maximum unity and effort by Irish republicans everywhere. We are confident that by working together Irish republicans can achieve our objectives. Every Volunteer is aware of the import of the decisions we have taken and all Oglaigh are compelled to fully comply with these orders.

There is now an unprecedented opportunity to utilise the considerable energy and goodwill which there is for the peace process. This comprehensive series of unparalleled initiatives is our contribution to this and to the continued endeavours to bring about independence and unity for the people of Ireland.

P.O'Neill

*Séanna Walsh*

An Phoblacht/Republican News

Thursday 28 July 2005

LEATHAICH 3

## Irish Republican Army orders an end to armed campaign

Following historic decision, the leadership of Oglaigh na hEireann has formally ordered an end to the armed campaign. This will take effect from 4pm this afternoon. The Army Council has authorised our representative to engage with the IICD to complete the process to verifiably put its arms beyond use in a way which will further enhance public confidence and to conclude this as quickly as possible. We have invited two independent witnesses, from the Protestant and Catholic churches, to testify to this.

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The IRA is fully committed to the goals of Irish unity and independence and to building the republic outlined in the 1916 Proclamation.

A statement given to me in an envelope by 'P O'Neill' on July 28th 2005.

Our brief meeting was in a house in the Falls area of Belfast.

At 4pm, the IRA armed campaign would end.

All IRA units were ordered to "dump arms".

The major acts of decommissioning would follow in September - witnessed by the late Fr Alec Reid and the former Methodist President Harold Good.

Given the historic significance of these events, I asked Gerry Adams to sign this page in An Phoblacht, and Séanna Walsh to sign the IRA statement.

Walsh, one of the longest serving former prisoners, had been asked to read the statement to camera.



# Hearing the message

This is the moment when I began to believe in the peace. The death of loyalist David Ervine (who had become a close friend), and Gerry Adams stepping on to the Newtownards Road in east Belfast to attend his funeral. At the time, I wrote these words in the Belfast Telegraph: "The roof didn't cave in. The church stood strong. The war is over, and the message in that moment was loud and clear. Nobody said it, but everyone must have heard it."

2 NEWS DEATH OF DAVID ERVINE

## I'll cry a tear for him... this place and this peace

Brian Rowan pays heartfelt tribute to the politician he came to know as



**W**hen I think of David Ervine, I don't think of a politician. I think of a man who was a friend. I think of a man who was a leader. I think of a man who was a pioneer. I think of a man who was a man of his time. I think of a man who was a man of his place. I think of a man who was a man of his people. I think of a man who was a man of his country. I think of a man who was a man of his world.

### A political maverick who pushed loyalism forward

By Noel Macadam

David Ervine was a man of many faces. He was a politician, a leader, a friend, a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world. He was a man who was a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world.

DEATH OF DAVID ERVINE NEWS 3

## I'll miss him and so will process

a close personal friend




**“**I was a political maverick. I was a man who was a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world. I was a man who was a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world. I was a man who was a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world.

**”** David Ervine didn't ask people to forget about his past. He didn't pretend it didn't happen. But in the present and in our peace, he made a hugely significant contribution.

## Stepping stone on path to Ulster's brave new world

The remarkable mix of mourners at David Ervine's funeral was a clear signal that the war is over, but will it be enough to provide momentum to the stuttering peace process? **Brian Rowan** reports



**“**It didn't have to be said for it to be heard. You could sense it in every moment of that remarkable occasion, the funeral of loyalist David Ervine. And you could feel it when the "enemy" came to visit - when Gerry Adams and Alex Maskey travelled from republican west Belfast, and stepped inside that church on Newtownards Road last Friday. Within seeing distance, touching distance, was the UVF - represented at its most senior level, not just from east Belfast but across the entire organisation. Its long-time leader was there, as were the men who sit on the so-called "brigade command". Gusty Spence was also there, the UDA leader Jackie McDonnell and Winston Rea - another senior figure in the hidden world of loyalism. The roof didn't cave in. The church stood strong. The war is over, and the message in that moment was loud and clear. Nobody said it, but everyone must have heard it. The Chief Constable sitting in that same church would have recognised the significance in all that was happening and all that he was seeing. David Ervine was someone he respected - someone Hugh Orde will tell you he learned from in terms of his understanding of loyalism. Indeed, he told me he had learned more in one two-hour conversation with Ervine than he had in reading ten books. The question, now, is, will others learn? All those who spoke those few days ago urged that the job of politics be done, for the deal to be done. Ervine was a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world. He was a man who was a man of his time, a man of his place, a man of his people, a man of his country, a man of his world.

**What, then, of loyalism? What will it do now in these days and**

The IRA's armed campaign is long over, the guns are gone and there is a growing confidence in peace. That's why Mr Adams and Mr Maskey were able to be there last Friday, and it's why the UVF allowed it to happen. The significance of that fact shouldn't be forgotten. "There's nobody saying that shouldn't have happened," a senior loyalist told this newspaper.

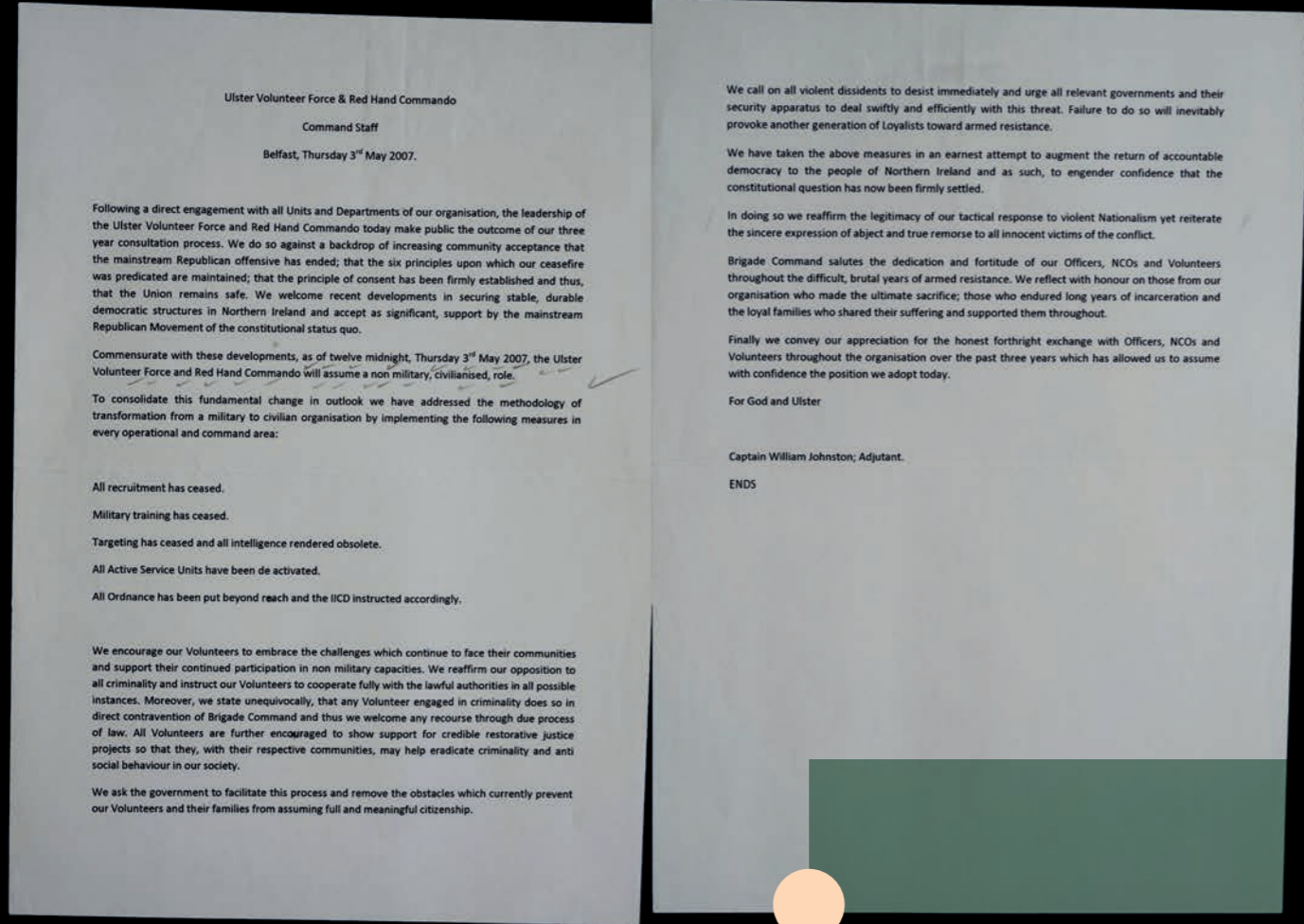
**The roof didn't cave in. The church stood strong. The war is over, and the message was loud and clear. Nobody said it, but everyone must have heard it.**



David Ervine



# Arms beyond reach



May 3rd 2007, months after the death of David Ervine, and just days before the formation of a once unthinkable Stormont Executive that Ian Paisley and Martin McGuinness would lead.

The UVF and associated Red Hand Commando, issued a statement that they would "assume a non-military, civilianised role".

The flaw in this statement is that arms have been "put beyond reach" - but not beyond use.



*That was a 100 Army Goals too many arms to be taken to 100 Army Goals 500 Goals*

*It's not war anymore it's a peace process. It's not war anymore it's a peace process. It's not war anymore it's a peace process.*

*It's not war anymore it's a peace process. It's not war anymore it's a peace process. It's not war anymore it's a peace process.*



# Generally speaking

The long-running military operation ('Operation Banner') in support of the police is ending, and in July 2007, I had a sit-down interview with Army GOC Lt General Nicholas Parker.

I talked about 'war' and he talked about a 'campaign', a 'mission', a 'challenge' and a 'fight': "What has happened," Parker told me - "is that we have created a security environment where now the police are able to do this on their own."

# The General synopsis as Operation Banner is wound up after 38 years

As the British Army ends the longest military campaign in its history, GOC Lieutenant General Nicholas Parker tells **Brian Rowan** why he does not use the word "war" to describe the conflict here

**P**icture a general in his army boots trying to tip-toe over the eggshell that is the Northern Ireland story of the past 38 years - and the military's part in it. At the end of that very long war, which Nick Parker prefers to call a "campaign", a "mission", a "challenge" or a "fight" - really anything but a war - the Army is getting ready to switch off the lights on Operation Banner.

It's the longest-running operation in British military history and it is a support role to the police here.

There is a symbolic significance to all this of course. It is a further clearing of the battlefield and means an entirely different role for the Army in Northern Ireland and for the 5,000 soldiers who will remain in a peacetime garrison.

This has been a learning ground for the British Army and also a playground for the war games that were part and parcel of the 38-year fight.

Lieutenant General Nicholas Parker is the most senior army officer in Northern Ireland today - the GOC of the General Officer Commanding.

My interview with him was a kind of a fencing match in which I sensed he was always on his guard.

So, there was no straying into the language of war, no verdict on winners or losers, no detailed description of the IRA as an enemy other than to comment: "Well, it's taken 38 years. So, it would be totally wrong for me to sit here and some way say, 'Oh no they were irrelevant.' Of course that's not the case."

"So, in those terms, yes, it's a fight, but if you take it to the bigger stage, it's not a war. It is a challenge of some sort that you've got to build the jigsaw round. And if you treat it as a war, some of the pieces of the jigsaw won't fit, because there will be this sense of conflict."

That's the jigsaw in which the creation of a stable security environment is the "enabler" - the piece that allows the picture to develop.

But there are many pieces missing - Army pieces, police pieces, IRA and loyalist pieces - the off-stage scene that is the dirty war.

I quoted to the General a document, "an analysis of military operations in Northern Ireland" written last year, which says the British Government's main military objective in the 1980s was "the destruction of PIRA rather than resolving the conflict."

My argument was that it sounded like the language of war - that it had the ring of winning and losing - and was the stuff of victory and defeat.

"Your point is an entirely fair one," the General accepts on the basis of what I read to him, but he went on to offer further explanation.

"If you look at the campaign, if I may call it a campaign. In the 70s there was a lot of action, reaction, trying to establish the carpet. The 80s, I think, was the laying of the carpet, and in that sense it is entirely legitimate that somebody says my priority at the moment is to achieve a level of security which will then allow me to shift the furniture. But if you read it as defeat, then you are slightly missing the point. That's the way that they were expressing the need to provide a security environment that would let their other programmes progress."

So was the IRA "destroyed" when it left the stage in that statement of 2005 that ended the armed campaign?

"I don't think that's a helpful interpretation," he responds.

"Because you are going back to the winning and losing, you're going back to the war. What has happened is that we have created a security environment where now the PSNI are able to do this on their own."

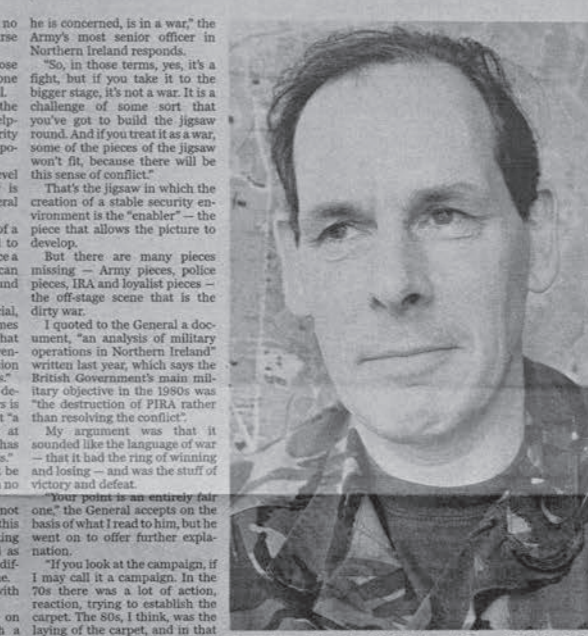
It was obvious that the war - the dirty war - was not what the General wanted to talk about.

He wanted to look forward - to the significance of July 31 and the ending of Operation Banner.

The Army's role now, in its peacetime garrison, will be very different, set in a context that looks outside Northern Ireland and to other missions in "some pretty challenging areas".

After nearly 40 years, Banner is ending - the war is over - or is it the challenge, the fight, the mission, the campaign?

Those army boots are going elsewhere - and all sides have brushed much under the "carpet" the General talked so much about. There will be other questions on another day.



Generally speaking: The GOC, Lieutenant General Nicholas Parker

## What the general had to say on:

The Army's role in Northern Ireland after Operation Banner

Picture a general in his army boots trying to tip-toe over the eggshell that is the Northern Ireland story of the past 38 years - and the military's part in it. At the end of a very long war, which Nick Parker prefers to call a "campaign", a "mission", a "challenge" or a "fight" - really anything but a war - the Army is getting ready to switch off the lights on Operation Banner.

who are going to live here normally. It's not five thousand people earmarked in some way (for Northern Ireland security).

There is, as you know as a result of Patten, an enduring requirement for us to underwrite the PSNI's public order capability. And this illustrates the point. If we have to provide that, it would come from almost certainly elsewhere in the United Kingdom.

The disbandment of the Home Service battalions of the Royal Irish Regiment:

"Militarily, the answer to your question lies in today. Here we are, 12th of July, I'm chatting to you, and we are not needed (soldiers on the streets). So, militarily, the decision has proved to be right.

What's just happened is that something around 2,500 people have closed their barracks. And down, they've sort of sawn the log that they are sitting on, and it is being conducted incredibly professionally.

I've seen quartermaster's stores, where the sceptics might have said 'they won't be handing their kit in'. They have all handed their stuff in.

The difficulties have been trivial, because of the way they have approached it. Now, that is the legacy.

They did their job, and they have now behaved impeccably going through a process where they could have been turkeys voting for Christmas... They have been given a good payment to depart... They have been shown considerable respect - the award of the GOC.

They have gone through a process that has been very carefully planned, and has ended up at the moment, I'm told, with about 90% of the people finding jobs. It is going extremely well."

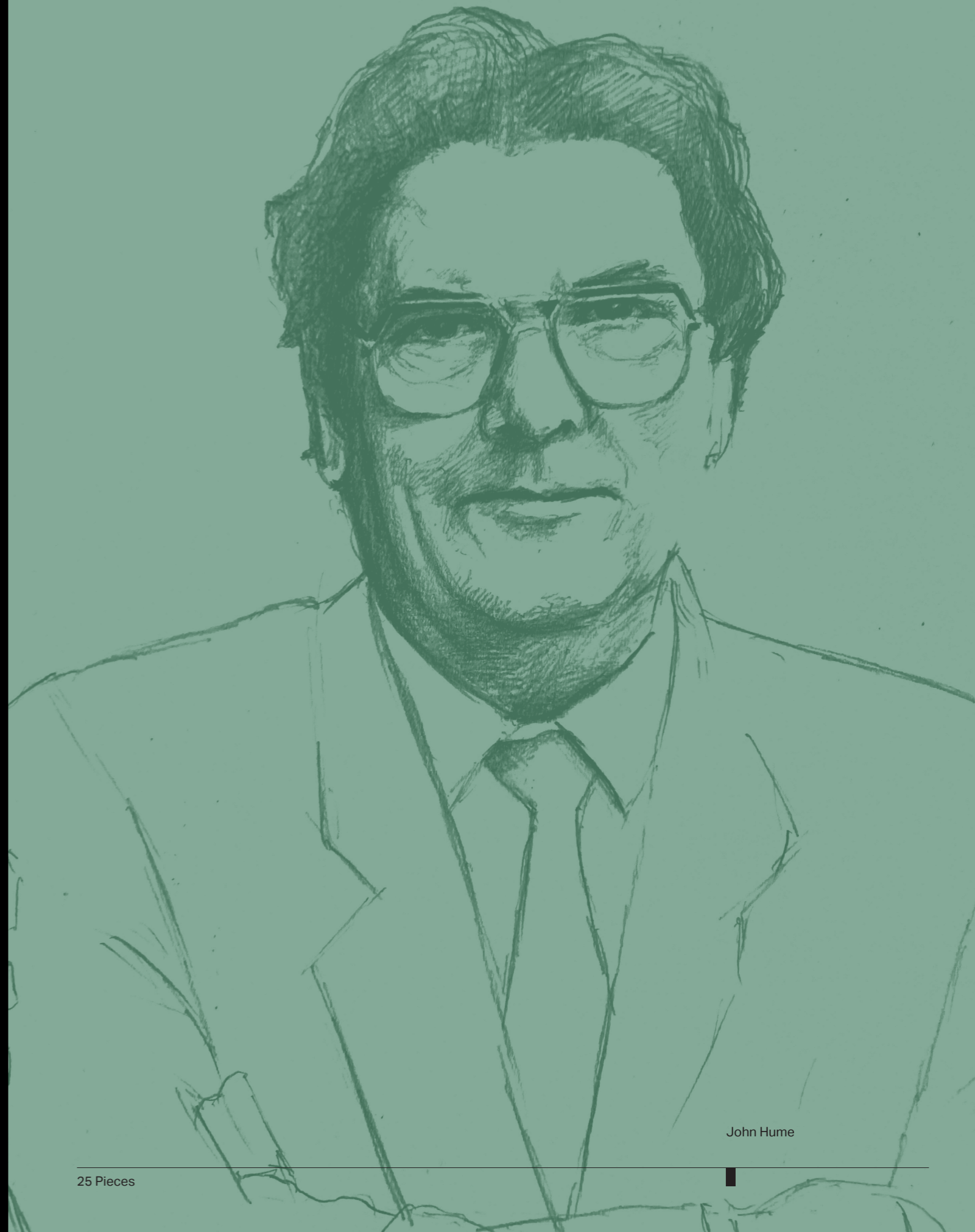
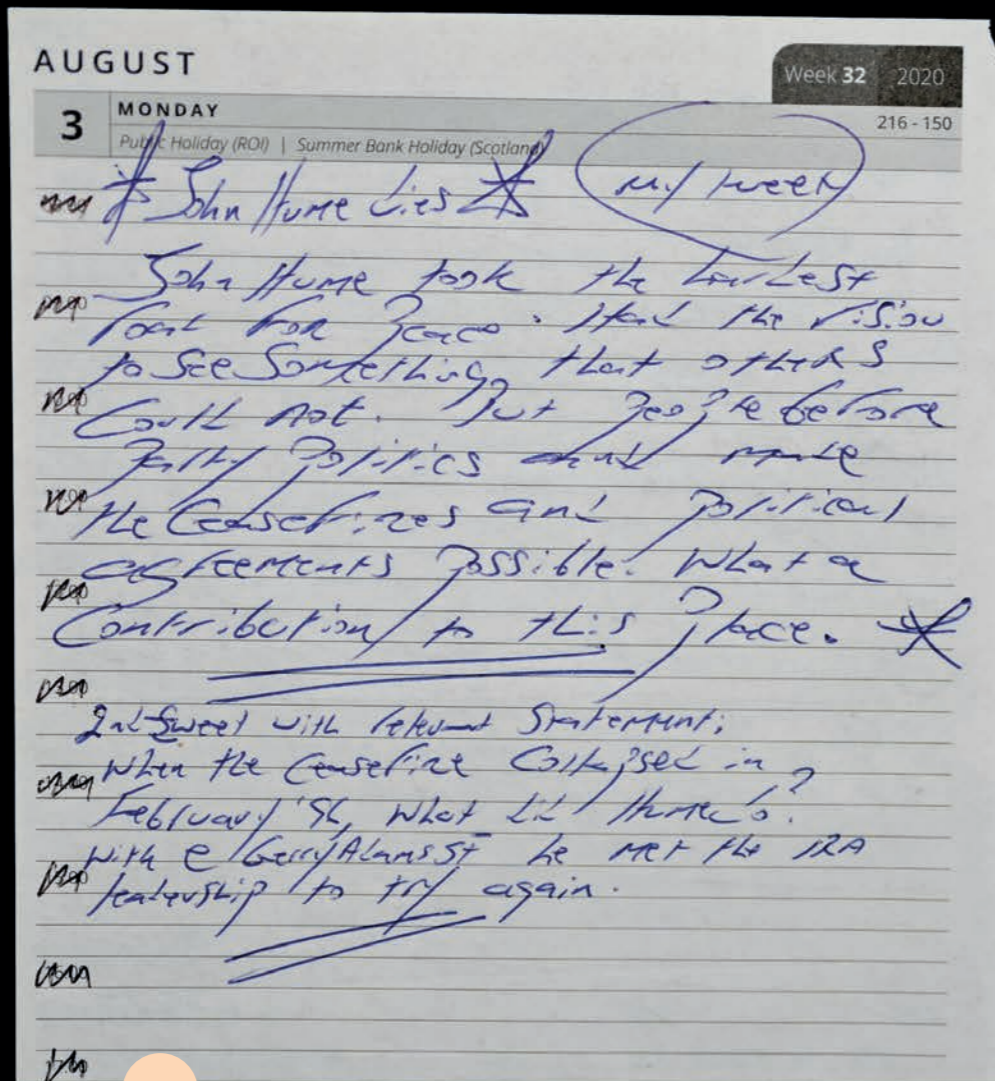


# The hardest road for peace

A diary entry of the words I tweeted on the sad news of the death of John Hume.

He "took the hardest road for peace. Had the vision to see something that others could not. Put people before party politics and made the ceasefires and political agreements possible. What a contribution to this place."

Two years later, on the death of David Trimble, I tweeted that he had "carried the heavy weight of the Good Friday Agreement" and that history would "remember the courage of his decision then".



John Hume



# Hearing, Witnessing, Believing - Trusting

As with any anniversary, it is important to reflect on how we got to where we are and where do we go from here.

Especially the anniversary of an event which the sceptics and 'unbelievers' never thought would happen.

While this is important for those of us who were a part of this story, it is even more so for a generation who were but toddlers in 1998 – or not even born.

As we reflect on this journey, three important words come to mind.

They are "*hearing*", "*witnessing*" and "*believing*".

It was when, and only when, we began to hear one another that those in whose gift it was to make peace were able to take those first tentative but courageous steps towards agreement.

And it was in beholding the 'impossible' unfolding before our eyes that we witnessed that which for so long we thought could not and would not happen.

But *believing* in anything, be it an idea or a movement, calls for something more than intellectual assent.

How much do we actually want to believe?

I recognise, that for me, my unshakeable belief in the decommissioning of weapons was based on what I saw with my own eyes. And so it was for many who were very personally involved in so many aspects of this historic journey. But now is the time for *trust*.

Trust in ourselves as well as in each other. Not to be confused with blind uncritical acceptance, nor denial of our present problems, but a recognition of how far we have come; a universal admiration of our achievements and an expectation of what we can yet achieve.

Surely more than enough to build upon as we anticipate the next quarter century.

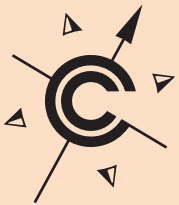
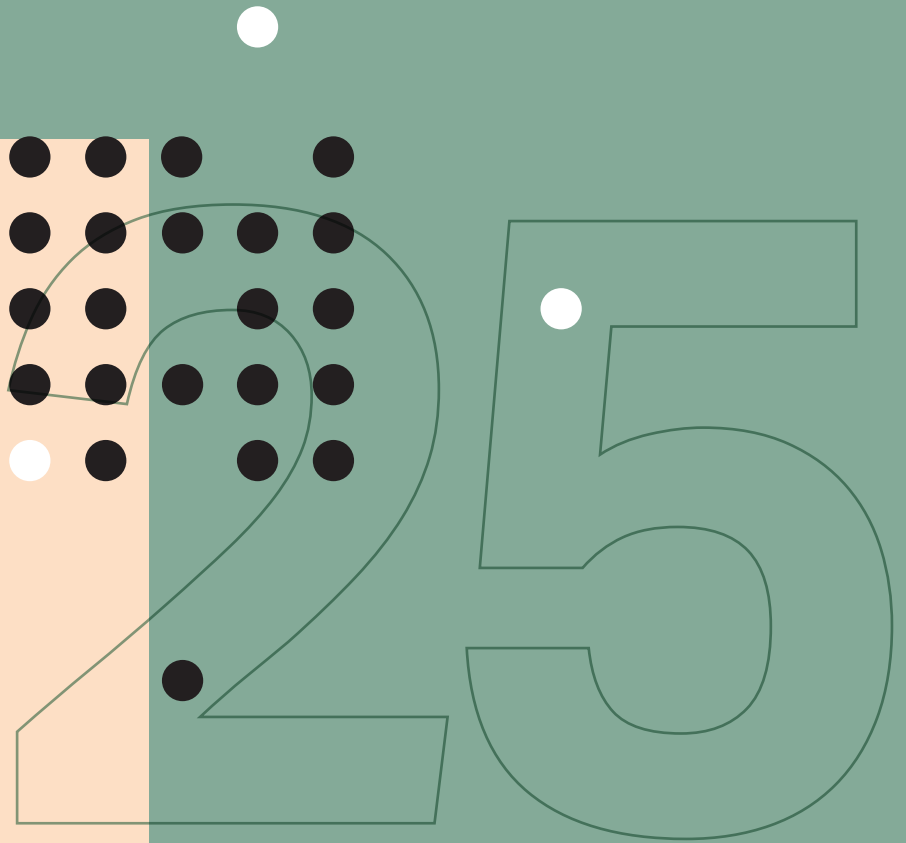


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**25 Pieces**