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Brian Murphy on Propaganda
Unionist Centenary & SF

Future Of Europe

Royal Irish Garda
(Back page: Labour Comment)

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Republicans One And All!

We're all Republicans now—except the Republicans. So says Michael McDowell, and so say they all. And there's an element of truth in it. Provisional Republicanism was essentially a Six County phenomenon. It was a product of the Northern Ireland state. It was not a continuation of what the revisionists now call "*romantic nationalism*". It was not anti-Free Statism. It was not inspired by Emmet's speech from the dock. It was not an outcome of the way history was taught in the 26 Counties. It was not caused by a yearning to complete the unfinished revolution. It was caused by the experience of life under the perversity of 'the Northern Ireland state', to which Edmund Burke's description of the Penal Laws might well be applied:

"a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement, in them, of human nature, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man" (Letter to Hercules Langrishe).

There were Catholics who were prepared to live quietly under the Penal Laws, especially after 1760 when the worst was over, which was when Burke wrote that description of them. But Burke—even though he has been made an icon of West Britishism by Conor Cruise O'Brien and Mary Robinson—did not think it was human to live quietly under those conditions.

Most Northern Catholics, likewise, were living quietly under 'the Northern Ireland state', even though it had no democratic politics in which they could participate, and they knew very well that they were not part of it. There was a mere handful of Republicans in Belfast and Derry in the Summer of 1969. By the following Summer the Catholic North was bubbling over with Republican sentiment, and there was enough earnestness



Tim in *Irish Independent*, 23.12.04

within that sentiment to launch a war and sustain it for a quarter of a century. What Republicanised it was not the propaganda of 'romantic nationalism', but the pogrom of August 1969. That event made it impossible for Catholics in the North to drift along quiescently in the old way. It precipitated them into political action. There was no form of democratic politics open to them within the structures of the state. All that was available to them was the Republicanism which they had all but forgotten. It was then, after the event, that they took the traditional Republican position on board, and linked up with the

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Ireland & The Pope

When the Pope visited Ireland in 1979 the old order of things was still in place—or the hulk of it was. He was received with universal adulation, with the exception of those who took the Westminster Confession in earnest and who therefore saw him as the Anti-Christ; and the Catholic Bishop of Cork, Dr. Lucey, who thought Rome had lost its way and did not invite him to his Diocese.

A quarter of a century later the old order has withered, a reversion of feeling has taken place with regard to Dr. Paisley, and Dr. Lucey is forgotten.

If there is amnesia with regard to the Irish who fought to enlarge the British Empire in 1994-18, it is as nothing compared with the amnesia with regard to the 1970s. Memory has been displaced by false memory. Instructed by Fintan O'Toole, many thousands of people have forgotten what they actually experienced and they remember something they did not experience. They were exhilarated but they remember that they were oppressed.

There is much chatter about individualism these days. But it is not the individualism of people with memories who accumulate experience over time and reflect on it. Its content is the fashion of the moment operating on a stream-of-consciousness present without a past. It is here today and gone tomorrow.

The 'Revolutionary Left' of the 1970s is the media Establishment today.

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Labour Comment, edited by **Pat Maloney:**
The Royal Irish Garda

Southern Republicanism of rejection of the Free State.

At the time of the establishment of the Free State the Catholics of the Six Counties were in the process of being subordinated to the UVF and they had little time for what is called the Civil War in the South. Collins offered them support and they supported him. They were Free Staters, as they continued to be for close on half a century. the 'Free State' was not a pejorative term in the North, as it quickly became in the South. And it remained the name in common use amongst Northern Catholics long after the Treatyites declared the state to be a Republic in 1948.

The Northern Catholics started Republicanising in the Autumn of 1969, under the impact of the Unionist pogrom, and the process has continued ever since. But the ground of their Republicanism remains, for most of them, the experience of life in the 'Northern Ireland state'. That is what has given the Provisional movement its staying power. It does not depend on memory and idealism, but is continuously reinforced by experience.

A few become outright idealists. Anthony McIntyre appears to be one of these. He wanted the war to continue. He declared that the Ceasefire was a defeat and demanded that the leadership should admit defeat and give up. And, because it has not given up, he now declares grand-

iosely that "Sinn Fein contaminates the moral universe in which we live" (BBC Radio 4, 24.1.05). He has become a British media personality and a Queen's academic and is always useful on anti-Sinn Fein programmes. Outright idealists have always been putty in the hands of the British State.

In the Republic all politicians are, as they say, Republicans. But for the past generation they have been Republicans for want of anything better to be. They are Republicans in the sense that they do not owe allegiance to the British Crown—or at least do not take an Oath of Allegiance to it, and do not have its ceremonial favours bestowed on them. It is just a drab part of political life for them that they make their careers in a state which has been disconnected from the Crown and the Commonwealth. Being an independent republic in the world no longer has any sense of virtue or purpose associated with it for them. Some eminent public figures have accepted OBEs (which means that they have joined the British Empire), including a retired elder statesman of Fianna Fail. The Empire, or its ghost, is looking for citizens of the Republic to bestow MBEs on. A Dublin busman was recently enrolled in the Order of the British Empire for collecting memorabilia of the Dublin Fusiliers—a regiment which helped Britain to enlarge the Empire. But nobody who is active in political life has yet joined the Empire (or its ghost). That

is a sure sign that it is felt it would not go down well enough with the populace not to endanger a political career. But the path back is being carefully prepared with various British Embassy, British Council interventions and Royal visits, the latest being the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester to Cork for St. Patrick's Day.

One would have expected Garret Fitz Gerald, on the basis of many of the things he has said, to sign up for the Empire. He was against the Fine Gael policy of formally resigning from the British Commonwealth. And his career as a practising politician is over. But he declined to lead the way back to the Empire. And he appears to have done so out of a sense of principle, or at least of incongruity, under the enduring influence of his anti-Treatyite Presbyterian mother.

The extraordinary development of recent times is not the durability of Republicanism in the North. Nobody who understands what Northern Ireland is would be surprised by that. The surprising thing is the extension of Northern Sinn Fein to the South. This is not a revival of the residue of the old Sinn Fein that was left behind after the secessions of Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, and Clann na Poblachta. That residue, after a spate of lunatic warfare as the Stickies in the early 1970s, became thoroughly anti-Republican, and joined the Irish Labour Party without decommissioning. The Sinn Fein presence in the Republic today is not a revival, but an arrival.

The politicians in the Republic failed utterly to handle the 1969 crisis in a way that was conducive to any kind of settlement. The Taoiseach of the time, Jack Lynch, made an inflammatory speech in mid-August, made various military arrangements following on from that speech during the next seven months, and then under pressure from Whitehall brought criminal prosecutions against an officer in his Army, Captain Kelly, for carrying out his orders; against a representative of the Northern Citizen's Defence Committees, John Kelly, with whom his Minister had previously been in negotiations over the matters which were now decreed to be criminal; and against the senior member of his Cabinet, Charles Haughey, with whom he had made the military arrangements which he now prosecuted as criminal. And, while doing these things, he did not cease making anti-Partition speeches, which in the circumstances were inflammatory.

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Ireland & The Pope

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Wherever you look you see them. They did not rise in influence through conflict with the Establishment of the 1970s. Gene Kerrigan explained back in those times that they would not engage in conflict with the Church, as we were doing, but would wait for it to decay under the influence of economic determinism. And so they did. And they are now the gurus in the mass media. But no development accompanied their rise, as it would have done if the Church had been brought to compromise through conflict. They are only filling a vacuum—or not filling it, but squatting in it, and pontificating in it with nothing to say. And what one sees in the Ireland in which they flourish is frenzied but purposeless activity in a kind of urban wilderness.

We engaged in conflict with the Church to the best of our abilities. We published the only challenge to the Pope in 1979. We observed the process of meaningless withering of the Church in Ireland over the next twenty years while the Pope was busy in the world. And we will be very surprised if there is not now a strong revival of the Church in Ireland.

The main achievement of the dead Pope was to preserve the Church as a coherent body against the disintegrative forces set in motion by Vatican 2. ●

BROWNE: END OF PAISLEY!

I have seen the future and it doesn't always work!

“REV. IAN PAISLEY whom we portrayed in depth in our October issue continues to be a major influence on Northern Ireland politics. However, we predict the end of the line for him on page 14.” (Nusight, December, 1969, Editor: Vincent Browne)

• Biteback • Biteback • Biteback • Biteback • Biteback • Biteback • Biteback • Biteback

Is Bolkestein Dead?

The French President, Jacques Chirac, is giving the impression that the Bolkestein Directive has been finally killed off. It is unclear what was agreed by European leaders in March but, to quote Mark Twain, it looks like news of the Directive's demise is “*premature and greatly exaggerated*”.

Here are the views of other European leaders after the ‘burial’ of the Directive:

Tony Blair: “We have conceded nothing on the liberalisation of services. The battle is ongoing and it is a debate in which we have allies”.

Mikalas Dzurinda (Prime Minister of Slovakia): “I am on the side of those who support liberalisation and not protectionism”.

Martin Jahn (Vice Premier of the Czech Republic): “Bolkestein is a principle for us. We joined the Union for economic reasons to be part of a large liberalised market”.

Marek Belka (Prime Minister of Poland): “The concept of the “country of origin is a pillar for us and without it, the Directive is meaningless”.

It is very clear that the European Union has moved away from the Social/Christian democratic vision of its founders. With the accession of the ten new countries following the Nice Treaty, Britain has found new allies for its Free Market, pro-American politics.

A couple of years ago the American Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, made a distinction between “*old Europe*” and “*new Europe*” in relation to the war in Iraq. There is no doubt that the distinction is a real one and doesn't just apply to foreign policy.

The Constitutional Referendum in France has forced its voters to think about these issues. There are many who fear that Europe as currently constituted is a threat to the French way of life. The view has been expressed that Europe should revert to the small group of countries that embarked on the project (i.e. Germany, France and the Benelux countries).

If the Constitution is rejected in France, Ireland will have to make a choice. The options of Boston or Berlin will no longer be an academic debate.

John Martin

Letter To The Editor

In The Mire

Dear Editor,

After a brief moment of lucidity Kevin Myers (An Irishman's Diary, 25-03-05) has regained his composure and he seems back to his old self. Apart from his disdain for accuracy (eg “the only Dáil they genuinely recognise is that of 1918”—the first Dáil met in January 1919, and so on) he proves his journalistic credentials by mocking his opponents instead of using solid argument. For example he quips “Not that I'd expect Cllr O'Toole—is that the first line of a limerick, by the way?—to know...etc.” It took me a while to work out that he probably wants to call Cllr O'Toole a fool, or something similar. So, back to name-calling!

Well, since Kevin is so fond of limericks, I've written one for him especially in his honour. I should admit that it wasn't really all that difficult as his own name lends itself rather easily to this form of rhyme. I am also sure he will take it all in good spirit, since he has himself declared the vocabulary not to be offensive. So here goes:

There once was a Kevin called Myers
Who dreamed of a land of Protestant Squires
He thinks children and Shinnars
Are all bastards and sinners
But George Bush is the man he admires!

Nick Folley

Public Meeting, Discussion & Book Launch

**Friday, 15th April 2005,
8pm**

**A DEFENCE OF
CORK POLITICAL CULTURE IN
THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE
1919-22**

and launch of

*The Catholic
Bulletin, And Republican
Ireland 1898-1926*
by Dr. Murphy

**The Imperial Hotel
South Mall, Cork**

a talk by **Dr Brian P Murphy** *osb*

ALL WELCOME

Republicans One And All! continued

The actual course of events in the North was heavily determined by Lynch's erratic conduct during the year following August 1969. And so was the collapse of national morale in the South, which set in a few years later.

Lynch's most ardent defender today is Bruce Arnold of the *Irish Independent*. He even defends the prosecution of Captain Kelly, despite the indisputable evidence that Kelly was acting on the instructions of his Army superior, who was himself acting on the instructions of the Government. But here is Arnold's perceptive and accurate summing up of Lynch about twenty years ago:

"His primary objective was to hold on to the centre. In the wake of the Derry and Belfast riots it was very difficult to know where that centre was eventually going to be" (*What Kind Of Country?*, 1984, p62).

A more damning judgment of the leader of a state in a crisis which he himself helped to bring about is hard to imagine.

The leadership of the 'Official Republicanism' of the seventies (who are now to be found in the leadership of the Labour Party and writing in the columns of the rabidly anti-republican *Sunday Independent*) circulated an anonymous pamphlet thirty years ago asserting that Fianna Fail created the Provisional IRA as a sectarian diversion from the social revolution which the Officials were making. This is part of the Stickie fantasy. The Provo IRA created itself in the ferment of the Catholic North after August 1969. But Lynch certainly contributed to the conditions in which the Provos created themselves by making inflammatory speeches and setting up military arrangements with leaders of the Defence Committees in the North (which included ex-servicemen of the British armed forces), and then aborting this course of action in the most damaging way possible, while continuing to make inflammatory speeches. He could not let the North be, and yet he had no Northern policy.

All parties in the Dail supported the Constitutional claim on the North, which was a profound form of interference with it. Fine Gael and Labour refused to put an amendment of the Constitutional claim to referendum in 1974 when, by doing so,

their Government might have saved the most viable form of power-sharing there has been. But not one of them could devise forms of actual politics to give effect to the claim. A new Republicanism, specific to the Northern situation, was generated independently of them in the North. They banned the expression of that Republicanism from the Southern broadcasting media during the generation in which it went from strength to strength in the North. New Republican songs were written, and banned, and spread around the country outside the media of the state, and some of the old songs were banned as well. The effect of this was to hand the Republican heritage of the state to the Provos. Dictionary republicans like Mac Dowell had no use for it.

And then, all of a sudden, the Republic found that it had a real Republicanism in its midst—a battle-hardened political movement produced out of the realities of another state, whose leaders had coped with difficulties that were unimaginable to the routine careerists in Leinster House. This was a political movement that was not disabled by fetishes from 26 County history. Its members sat in the Free State Dail and recognised the Courts and accepted the State as legitimate and independent insofar as it is at all realistic to do so. But it differs from the other parties in that it is not Republican for want of anything better to be, and because it takes in earnest the ideals which the other parties retain as empty pretences, and because it has an active presence in the community, and among the dispossessed, as well as on the media and in the Dail. It is, in short, what Fianna Fail used to be.

The Dublin establishment washed its hands of the North back in the 1970s and is now suffering the consequences. The washing of hands can have spectacular effects.

Michael McDowell has perhaps been unfairly singled out. He is certainly no worse than Enda Kenny. And John O' Donoghue and little Willie O'Dea are certainly no better—not to mention Bertie. Indeed, why bother to mention Bertie, who has acquired a puppet-master?

All pretend that they are dealing with a case of atavism—with the inexplicable revival of something that should be dead—something they are all familiar with because it is something they all came out of in one way or another. They dare not understand what Provisional Republicanism is because they dare not understand

'the Northern Ireland state'. And they dare not understand Northern Ireland because that would bring them face-to-face with their own conduct in 1969-70.

Their implied position today is that the Provisional IRA is a conspiracy of criminals, and always has been. But they dare not spell it out—McDowell must be given the credit for going farthest towards doing so by saying that Bobby Sands was a criminal. If they spelled it out, they would have a problem accounting for the Good Friday Agreement—does one make Constitutional agreements with criminals?

The implied position of the Agreement is that the Provisional IRA was a legitimate body in a situation in which there was no Constitutional democracy. Only Albert Reynolds took that position squarely, and holds to it. (There was a noticeable distance between him and Martin Mansergh on a Vincent Browne programme a couple of months ago.) And, as far as we know, Reynolds was never much of a Republican. He was a successful businessman, who took the realities of the Northern situation as they presented themselves, with none of the epistemological difficulties of lapsed Republicanism.

The others would seem to have averted their minds from what they were agreeing to in the Agreement, and now that Paisley has put the Agreement out of the misery into which Trimble dragged it, they are inclined for another bout of hand washing.

Some of them now plead guilty to having indulged in duplicity—in "*constructive ambiguity*"—since 1998 by pretending that the IRA was not a conspiracy of armed criminals in the hope that this would somehow induce it to go away. And, during the past month, this duplicity has been widely referred to as "*appeasement*".

This is a borrowing from British foreign policy of the 1930s. It was a misnomer in its time, and its application to the Provos is absurd.

Appeasement is synonymous with 'conciliation'. In the British usage it describes a situation in which Nazi Germany is supposed to have become a Great Power in Europe and the British Government, instead of confronting it, conciliated it in the hoping of soothing it and making it content with what it had. But Nazi Germany did not become a Great Power independently of Britain, and Britain did not conciliate it. Britain collaborated with Nazi Germany and

helped to make it a Great Power. It could not have become a Great Power without British help. It was a virtually unarmed state, bound by the conditions of the Versailles Treaty, in 1933, while Britain had never disarmed. It did not become a substantial military power until Britain gave it the Czech Sudetenland in 1938, having enabled it to break other Versailles conditions during the preceding years.

The Dublin Establishment, neither collaborated with the Provos, nor conciliated them. They only came to terms with the fact that Provisional Republicanism had developed as a strong political force despite them. And what they are trying to do now is retreat from those terms.

A situation of public hysteria was worked up against Sinn Fein for the Meath by-election. And the Sinn Fein candidate increased his vote, not only as a proportion, but in absolute figures.

We are now waiting for the British election in the North where the McCartney Card is hoped to be a winner.

What seems to have happened is that Robert McCartney and a mate got involved in a row with another group in a pub across the river from the Short Strand. McCartney's mate was armed with a knife and he stabbed one of the opposing faction, who was taken to hospital. The row continued. One of the opposing faction got a knife from the pub kitchen. The brawl continued outside the pub, where McCartney was stabbed and died. When the police came, nobody admitted to having seen what had happened.

This kind of thing happens regularly all over the place. It might be described as a feature of British working class culture. Deaths do not usually occur, but neither are they so rare as to be sensational, but they are always a possibility of the situation.

The McCartney incident hit the world headlines because it was seen to be advantageous in a campaign to break Sinn Fein that was already being waged by Bertie Ahern's Government and the SDLP. That campaign began when the IRA in early December, during the negotiations to set up a mainly DUP/Sinn Fein administration in the North, refused to agree to an additional measure insisted upon by the Democratic Unionist Party for the declared purpose of "humiliating" the Republicans, and the negotiations broke down. It would seem reasonable that, when two parties are negotiating to form an administration and one of them insists on a measure which is outside the protocols governing the negotiation (the Good

Friday Agreement), and says its purpose is to humiliate the other party, the party which insists on that measure is held responsible for the breakdown of the negotiations. But Bertie came to the opposite conclusion. He held the Republicans responsible for the breakdown because they would not submit to the DUP requirement of humiliation. (And it is a virtual certainty that, if they had submitted at that juncture, the DUP demand would have been extended until it reached a point at which the republicans could not submit. Paisley was not going to go into the British General Election in alliance with Sinn Fein and with Trimble in a position to play the Loyalist Card against him, and perhaps with the rumour circulating that in old age he had fallen prey to the Lundy complex. Lundy is one of the archetypes of Ulster Protester mythology. In 1690 he wanted to open the gates of Derry to Brother Tadgh.)

The campaign to hold Sinn Fein responsible for the breakdown in negotiations had already been launched when the Northern Bank robbery happened. The British Chief Constable in the North said he thought the IRA did it. Bertie said he knew the IRA did it, and that the source of his knowledge was not the Chief Constable. And he said that Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness had organised it. Adams said that, since the Taoiseach claims to have evidence that he did it, he should be arrested and charged and put on trial. Bertie's aides put it about that the obligation was on Adams to sue the Taoiseach for defamation. Adams replied to this Smart Alec by explaining that his (undoubtedly correct) legal advice was that, since he would not be defamed in the eyes of his peer group if it was established that he had done the robbery, he could not win an action for defamation, regardless of the facts. A Smart Alec barrister dismissed Adams' demand for arrest and trial as outrageous on the grounds that the purpose of criminal trials is not to prove the innocence of the defendant—which is true enough under the British legal system which operates in Ireland. But neither is the purpose of defamation law to uphold innocence.

There was some brief concern on the margins of official society in the republic that 'due process' was being ignored altogether by the Taoiseach and his Justice Minister. A Fianna Fail politician appeared on Radio Eireann to explain that 'due process' could take years and was therefore not relevant.

There is another explanation. If Adams was put on trial and the charge against him could not be brought home, that would be

the end of Bertie. And, at this juncture, Bertie is concerned with nothing but survival. His Government has been hijacked by the miniature PDs. Fine Gael is reviving. And the internal Sinn Fein vote is holding up against all that his propaganda apparatus can do against it. And he would be glad to ditch the Peace Process without disadvantage to himself.

A robbery was carried out in Dublin on 14th March by methods very similar to those used on the Northern Bank. Bertie immediately said that this bore all the hallmarks of a paramilitary crime. But a few hours later the Garda Commissioner said it didn't. Some papers had already carried Bertie's statement. The *Irish News* gave it the front-page treatment, *Republican Link To E2m Robbery And Kidnap* (15.3.05). It did not subsequently correct the story after the Garda Commissioner contradicted it. The *Irish Times* simply did not report Ahern's remarks.

The Northern Bank robbery was becoming brittle as a bludgeon for use on Sinn Fein as week after week passed by without an arrest, and no circumstantial evidence of any kind was made public. Then the McCartney incident appeared as a godsend. It was seized upon, cosmetically enhanced, misrepresented by RTE, and broadcast to the United States, where it induced the hero of Chappaquiddick to issue a declaration against the Republicans. (The climactic event in Senator Kennedy's life was when he drove a car over a bridge at Chappaquiddick and walked away leaving a girl with whom he was having an illicit affair to drown. The Kennedy millions and the Kennedy influence minimised the effects of 'due process', but the incident brought an end to the prospects of a Kennedy dynasty in the White House.)

Sinn Fein was not invited to the White House for St. Patrick's Day. That fact was well reported. It was not so clearly reported that neither the SDLP nor the Unionist Party, nor the DUP were invited either. The only Northern Ireland political presence amongst the conquerors of Iraq were Robert McCartney's sisters, who by this time had been raised to the status of icons by the British and Irish media—though the American media had some difficulty in understanding what they were about.

Gerry Adams had to be content with addressing a meeting at the National Press Council. He set out the details of the Pat Finucane case, and read out the letter from Judge Cory, a Canadian who had conducted the official preliminary investigation into it. He urged the Canadian judiciary to

take no part in a further British Inquiry because the terms under which it was being set up would not allow the truth to be discovered. It has hardly been reported that Judge Savile (of the Bloody Sunday Inquiry) has joined him in this stance.

The fracas in which McCartney was killed was judged to be politically usable against the Republicans because a couple of members of the IRA were involved in it. His killing could therefore be misrepresented as an IRA operation, though it was so clear that it was not that the Chief Constable said it wasn't—and his words which were taken to be gospel in the case of the Northern Bank, were completely ignored.

The incident was merely a pub brawl in which some people who were involved chanced to be members of the IRA. The first person to be stabbed, by McCartney's mate (who has a charge of manslaughter against him over another stabbing) was a member of the IRA. This fact was taken completely out of the news by the British/Irish media in an operation reminiscent of Dr. Goebbels's policy of *Gleichschaltung*.

The Short Strand, from which many of those concerned came, is a small Catholic community on the wrong side of the river, closed in by a surrounding Loyalist population. The incident happened near a pub across the river in the area known as The Markets. The Short Strand and The Markets are areas in which 'Official Republicanism' (the Stickies) and its IRSP offshoot held their ground long after the Provisionals (the new post-1969 Republicans) had become generally dominant elsewhere. (One strand of Official ancestry now controls the Irish Labour party. And the Official IRA, which fought a lunatic war in the early 1970s, still exists in residual form as far as we know. At least we never heard that it disbanded, or even decommissioned, and people associated with this publication were threatened by it in the 1990s.)

We mention these things as environmental circumstances without suggesting that they had any direct bearing on the incident.

The possibility of exploiting the incident politically was first seen by the SDLP (which facilitated the trip to the United States). It was then taken up by the Dublin Justice Minister. And in no time at all it was all over the British/Irish media.

The McCartney sisters became international figures on the instant. One of them, a Queen's Politics graduate, teaches history and handled public relations with considerable skill. And

there was an added human interest fact that their other brother killed himself a couple of years ago and they felt guilty about it and were determined that there should be justice for the second brother.

In pursuit of justice they went to the leadership of the IRA. The IRA is an army, and it offered to shoot the guilty people, even though the killing was done in a civilian capacity. (In fact it said in a statement on 8th March: "the IRA was prepared to shoot the people directly involved in the killing of Robert McCartney... the family made it clear that they did not want physical action taken...".) This was represented as an offer to kill him. But shooting is a kind of rough justice which has been routinely administered to criminals for many years, in areas where the policing system of the state is inoperative, and usually at the demand of the community. Shooting is knecapping. Killing is something else. Every journalist and politician who has had dealings with Northern Ireland must know this very well. And yet they all let 'shoot' by understood to mean 'kill'.

Of course the IRA has no more lawful authority to shoot than to kill criminals—or, for that matter, to make war on the forces of the state. But it is an army which is on Ceasefire under terms of an Agreement made with two Governments, neither of which has much influence in large areas of Northern Ireland. And, as an Army on Ceasefire, it is required to maintain discipline. But then some opportunist like the Justice Minister (and now the Taoiseach) will represent enforcement of discipline as a breach of the Ceasefire.

The IRA also said that people who witnessed the killing should convey information to the police if they felt it appropriate, and in the way they thought appropriate. The sisters claim there were 70 witnesses and the media have gone along with that claim. But for there to be 70 witnesses, the thing would have had to be done on a stage, whereas it was done in a side-street around the corner from the pub.

An attempt was made to implicate a Sinn Fein candidate in the affair just because she had been in the pub (which is a fashionable pub for most of the day, while the Law Courts are in session) but it has come to nothing.

The SDLP (chiefly in the person of Alban McGuinness) maintains that Sinn Fein is obstructing the investigation (even though it says people should give information about it) because it does not

urge people to go directly to the police with evidence. Sinn Fein replies that people would not go to the police regardless of what they said, and that this is a fact recognised by the police authorities (as distinct from the Police Authority, on which Alban McGuinness sits), who therefore urge people to take information to the Police Ombudsman or the Pat Finucane Centre.

The latter point brings out the actual situation most vividly. Pat Finucane was a solicitor who was murdered by Loyalists acting in collusion with the British State. An official investigation was set up which, surprisingly, actually did investigate, but its Report is being withheld by the Chief Constable and his Government. And the Chief Constable refrains from expressing an opinion about the Finucane killing, about which there is ample evidence, while expressing a strong opinion about the bank robbery though producing no evidence.

This point was made to the Justice Minister by Mitchel McLaughlin on *Questions And Answers*. McDowell could only cope with it by pretending not to be able to understand it.

And now the Centre set up to indict the police, and which continues that work, has been accepted by the police as a medium through which people who have a legitimate distrust of them might convey information to them about another killing.

The Police Authority might have been such a medium if it had done its job. But it hasn't. And the SDLP is in the difficulty of having gone onto it prematurely and failed to carry the populace with it. And it now hopes that sensationalist treatment of the McCartneys will have enough shock effect to enable it to recover ground. (The Unionist members of the Police Authority show no sympathy for the SDLP position. They recently over-ruled that party in voting to authorise the use of a new form of plastic bullets by the police, who have not used the weapon at all for a few years. They didn't even leave it till after the election!)

The Justice Minister (who at the start of the war in 1970 distinguished himself by supporting the Irish tour of the Apartheid South African rugby team against the Anti-Apartheid movement) wants a short and sweet criminalisation of the Provisional IRA from start to finish. It was put to him, and to Fianna Fail Ministers, that the IRA which brought about the State in which they hold office robbed banks, and shot soldiers, and punished informers, and they were asked to explain the ground of distinction. That would have been no problem in De

Valera's time, and it would not have bothered Charles Haughey. But they blustered and floundered. The ground has been cut from under them by the history taught in their Universities for the past generation in which the IRA of the War of Independence is depicted as criminal, murderous, genocidal, and of course illegal. It was an instructive sight to see John O'Donoghue, a Kerryman, disorientated on this ground.

(Haughey kept his bearings, not because he was a Republican, but because he was a man of the State, with Free State origins, who understood the ground on which the State stood. In the late seventies, as Minister for Justice, he broke the IRA. And it is too often forgotten that the IRA campaign which he snuffed out was a product of the massive Anti-Partition campaign launched by Fine Gael in the late 1940s, following its return to office, in a Coalition, after fifteen years in the political wilderness.) ●

Radio Five Interview With McCartney Sisters

(extract)

Many people around the world will be aware of the killing of Robert McCartney. Most of them will have gained the impression that he was killed by the IRA in a bar in front of 70 or 80 witnesses, all of whom have refused to give evidence against the killers for fear of the IRA. Reputable news organisations still report the killing along these lines.

In fact, although the fracas began inside the bar, and some of the bar customers must have witnessed that, the killing itself took place outside in an alleyway, and there were only one or two witnesses to it. The 70 or 80 bar customers are unlikely to be in a position to give evidence of what happened there.

One witness to the whole affair was Robert McCartney's friend, Brendan Devine, who was with him in the bar when the quarrel broke out. He was badly injured with a bottle inside the bar, and stabbed again outside when McCartney himself was killed. Unlike the bar customers, he should be in a position to give evidence against the killers and should be motivated to do so. However, it seems that the McCartney family has had no contact whatsoever with him since their brother's death.

This became apparent in a long interview with Gemma and Catherine McCartney by Simon Mayo on BBC Radio 5 on the afternoon of 23rd March. Here is

a short extract from the interview:

“Q: What news do you have of the man with his throat cut, Brendan Devine?”

“A: Brendan Devine, at the minute, he's out of hospital. Obviously he went through a terrible experience that night. We've had no contact with Brendan Devine from it happened. We personally as a family don't know Brendan Devine. Robert has been a friend of his for about 15 years. Brendan Devine went off the rails there as an individual himself a few of years ago. All his other friends, as far as we know, had more or less cut him off and disowned him. But Robert thought that he could be rehabilitated if he was given help and support by his friends and that is why he was with him that day. But as an individual I don't know how he's doing today, because as I say we have no contact with him.

“Q: Why would that be then, because he, presumably, he has some fairly crucial information for you?”

“A: The information he has given to this point to the police is of little use to them in terms of bringing people on charges for murder

“Q: Is that because he doesn't remember or because he's obviously still traumatised by what happened?”

“A: We as a family feel that Robert gave his life up that night protecting this person, and we certainly would not have wanted Robert to run and leave his friend to be beaten, which he didn't do. We now feel that if Brendan Devine can do anything, the thing that he should do is tell the truth and not to be intimidated by anyone else into giving their version of the truth.”

What sense does this make? Your brother is killed protecting a long-time friend, you say, who is himself badly injured, but you don't make contact with him to find out what happened (or even to ask after his health) and perhaps persuade him to give evidence against those who injured him and killed your brother. Surely, this is more likely to have borne fruit than visiting Washington to talk to President Bush?

David Morrison

Editorial Note:

Brendan Devine (31) was charged on 15th March with maliciously wounding Kieran Magee with intent on November 30, 2003; and with inflicting grievous bodily harm on another man, Samuel Pentland on the same date. ●



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All the instalments of John Martin's review of *Das Kapital* (which concludes in next month's *Irish Political Review* after an amnesia-inducing lapse) can be found on the website. And more.

Our books can be purchased online. Our magazines can be subscribed to online. And more.

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And there is always more.

NEW THIS MONTH

A Webpage devoted to the writings of Chair of the Labour Party's Northern Ireland Labour Forum, Mark Langhammer. Including his 'Take Five' articles from *Daily Ireland*. Available at <http://www.atholbooks.org/nilabour/>.

Launch of the Athol Books Notice Board. Available at

<http://www.atholbooks.org/notice.php>.

And there will be more next month.

The Future of Europe

Recent polls indicate that the European Constitution will be rejected by the French in their referendum of the 29th of May. At the time of writing (24.3.05) two opinion polls have shown a small majority against the Constitution (51% against in a survey for *le Parisien* and 52% against in a survey for *Le Figaro*. The European establishment is beginning to panic because the trend is against the Constitution. At the beginning of March only 40% were against. It seems that the more the French learn about the Constitution, the less they like it.

The results of the above opinion polls were greeted with a rather patronising editorial from The Irish Times which referred to the “*identity crisis*” of the French and urged that country’s political class to engage “*more vigorously*” in the debate.

Unfortunately for the French ‘political class’, France is not like Ireland. It does not suffer from the same stultifying media consensus. It has a pluralist press. As a result, France has the most political and informed electorate in Europe.

It is acutely aware of recent European developments and for the most part it doesn’t like them. The March issue of the *Irish Political Review* described the *Bolkestein Directive*. There has been hardly a word about it in our media. A largely inaccurate article was published in the *Irish Times* (10.3.05) which was easily rebutted by Charlie McCreevy, the EU Commissioner for the Internal Market.

But, while the debate in Ireland has been non-existent, in France a recent opinion poll indicated that 68% of the French oppose the *Bolkestein Directive*, 28% are in favour and a mere 4% have no opinion.

The *Directive* seeks to create an unrestricted market for services across the European Union. The laws and wage levels that will apply will be that of the “*country of origin*”.. So, an Irish firm supplying building services can register a company in Poland. It can then bring Polish workers over and pay them Polish rates and apply Polish labour laws. Minimum wage legislation in this country will be redundant, never mind the existing Irish rates for carpenters, plumbers etc.

At present services supplied in the host country are subject to that country’s laws. The supporters of *Bolkestein* claim that the “*country of origin*” principle will not apply to labour law. But they have not been able to fool the French. In theory the Polish registered company in the above example will have to apply Irish employment laws eight days after the Polish workers arrive. However, if a second company is registered in Poland, the workers in the first registered company can be transferred to the second company after the eight day period to ensure that Polish wages and laws will still apply. After sixteen days they can be transferred back to the first Polish-registered company and so on.

But even if the Irish owners of the Polish-registered company forget to transfer the Polish workers every eight days, the Polish workers will have to apply to a Polish judge to ensure that Irish laws apply to their employment. Polish officials will have to apply Irish laws and conduct labour inspections in Ireland. It would be difficult to imagine a more deliberately ineffective way of applying labour laws.

And the position of the consumers of the Polish-registered company’s products or services does not bear thinking about. If the company falls down on the job, will the consumer have to go to law in Warsaw?

McCreevy in his *Irish Times* piece implied that the opponents of *Bolkestein* are against the rights of the poor Polish workers. But many Polish Trade Unionists do not much like *Bolkestein* either. They are not happy with a situation that forces Polish workers to work abroad with the disruption to family life that that will entail.

The “*country of origin*” principle also applies to legal services. The law applying to property transactions will therefore be the law of the legal firm that the buyer of the property uses. At present one of the obstacles to buying property in a foreign country is the different legal systems in each country. *Bolkestein* will eliminate this obstacle and make it easier for Irish property speculators to buy at cheap prices in Eastern Europe. The effect will be to push up prices in the poorer countries making home ownership beyond the reach

of the native population.

In France, the *Bolkestein Directive* is known as the *Frankenstein Directive* because it seeks to genetically modify the European Social Model. At the time of writing European leaders have watered down the *Directive* (details are unclear) in response to fears of a rejection by the French of the EU Constitution.

But there are other Directives including one which emasculates legislation on the maximum working week of 48 hours. Henri Emanuelli, a French Socialist who advocates a ‘No’ vote, appeared on the *Thierry Ardisson* show (the French equivalent of RTE’s *Late Late Show*) on 19.3.05. He listed 40 EU Directives which had a similar Free Market orientation. *Bolkestein* is not an isolated incidence. The proposed EU Constitution is in the same spirit. But the Constitution attempts to define the framework of European politics for the decades to come. The principle of “*subsidiarity*” of the Delors/Mitterand/Kohl era is dead.

Emanuelli’s conclusion is that the choice facing French voters in the Constitutional referendum is very simple. Vote ‘Yes’ for a “free market” Europe. Vote ‘No’ for a “social Europe”.

The *Irish Political Review* does not think that the French have an “*identity crisis*”. If they can resist the intimidation and misinformation that is likely to characterise the ‘Yes’ campaign, as witnessed by the Irish in the Nice Referendum, the EU Constitution will suffer a resounding defeat. ●

Shorts

AN ENGLISHMAN’S DIARY

This column has ignored the recent *Irish Times* controversy on illegitimacy. We do not wish to be dragged in to the “Myer” of English Puritanism.

However, we notice that Mazarine Pingot, the beautiful daughter of Francois Mitterrand, has recently written on the subject of her father. Apparently, she has no bitterness about being born outside marriage or not being publicly acknowledged during his life. According to her, the former President did not lead a double life for reasons of politics but:

“His concept of faithfulness was intransigent. Friends were never betrayed. Agreements were never broken that had not been concluded. He was always amazed that people divorced. Instead of excluding, he added.”

PAUL NIZAN

This year is the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Paul Nizan, the French communist writer and journalist. His commemoration has stimulated an interesting debate in the pages of *l'Humanite*. Like so many intellectuals he left the French Communist Party following the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pact.

There is no doubt that the pact was in the interests of the Soviet Union. The British wanted a war between Nazism and Communism. That is the only explanation for the abandoning of Czechoslovakia and its encouragement of Poland. The pact postponed the war against the Soviet Union for two years by shifting the conflict to Western Europe.

But it did not follow that what was in the interests of the Soviet Union was in the interests of the French Communist Party or the French working class. The party's support for the pact, implying neutrality between bourgeois democracy and Nazism and support for the Soviet invasion of Poland, convulsed French intellectual life.

The leader of the Party, Maurice Thorez, accused Nizan of being a police agent. Aragon (the founder of surrealism with Andre Breton) denounced him for supplying information on the Party's activities to the government. Other communist intellectuals such as Henri Lefevre accused him of treachery.

Sartre issued a protest in 1947, signed by Aron, Beauvoir, Breton, Camus and Merlau-Ponty demanding proof of these allegations. No proof ever came. Indeed in Aragon's novel *The Communists* published two years later one of the characters, a police informer, was intended to represent Nizan.

However, Aragon took out the informer character from the 1966 edition of the book and later in the decade the Communist Party itself rehabilitated Nizan.

More than sixty years later it is still difficult to decide on the politics of the issue, but the treatment of Nizan was disgraceful.

Communism is a brilliant tool for understanding the world. However its insistence that its insights are scientific and therefore close to absolute truth has been a handicap. A letter from a *l'Humanite* reader summarised the issue in the following terms:

"The history of our party consists more of lights than of shadows. The Nizan affair is one of the shadows."

HANDS OFF THE UKRAINE

Who knows how much fraud was perpetrated in the Ukrainian election last year when the Russian speaking

Yanukovich 'won' or how much fraud there was in this year's election in which the Ukrainian speaking Yushchenko was the 'victor'?

But there is no doubt that there was a lot of outside interference. An agency called the United States Agency for International Development spent 15 million euros in last year's election to gather evidence of fraud. The European Union was very quick to denounce the result of that election and yet Latvia and Estonia which are now members of the Union do not grant full citizenship rights to their Russian speaking inhabitants.

The Ukraine has been a battleground for outside powers for long periods of its history. Following the Soviet revolution a bitter Civil War was fought (1917-1920) and most of the present day Ukraine reverted to Poland. At the end of the Second World War there were vast movements of population as it came under Soviet control. In the post-war era Ukraine produced many distinguished Soviet leaders such as Khrushchev and Brezhnev.

Unfortunately, it looks like it will not be left to its own devices. The USA wants to bring it under the aegis of NATO: a policy which Russia considers to be a threat to its security. If the USA persists and the EU continues to acquiesce, it is likely that the Russian-speaking part will secede with all the dire implications for the stability of the region which that entails.

SYRIA AND LEBANON

While we are on the subject of foreign interference we notice from the BBC News website that hundreds of thousands of demonstrators have demonstrated in Beirut to support Syria (BBC News, 8.3.05). These demonstrations dwarfed the previous anti-Syrian demonstration in Lebanon's capital.

The pro-Syrian Hezbollah group was behind the recent demonstration. Its leader said that "*we are here to thank Syria which has stayed by our side for many years*". He also warned that: "*If the American Fleet lands in Lebanon it will be defeated*".

The Hezbollah represents the Shia Muslim minority in Lebanon and conducted a military campaign to push Israeli forces out of South Lebanon which happened in 2000.

BOLKESTEIN AND MCCREEVY

The March issue of this magazine had a report on the Bolkestein Directive. This Directive has been ignored by our 'bourgeois' media. What other word can describe a media that ignores an issue that affects workers' basic rights?

The issue has been covered extensively in the press in mainland Europe but we note that George Monbiot writing from the island that separates us from mainland Europe, Britain, has also castigated the media in his country for ignoring the directive (*The Guardian*, 8.3.05).

We gather that Charlie McCreevy, as European Commissioner for the Internal Market, will have a hand in the future of this directive which will seriously damage workers' rights. This column has always thought of him as a right-winger. But it seems that he is more left-wing than Genghis Khan or to be more precise the British Labour Party.

McCreevy suggested politely that the Bolkestein directive "*will not fly*". This provoked a torrent of abuse from, among others, Peter Mandelson who urged the Commission not to "*retreat in the face of illegitimate pressures*". Presumably, "*illegitimate pressures*" means: the European people. (Perhaps Kevin Myers might describe them as "*bastards*"!).

Tory MEP Malcolm Harbour accused the Commission of "*disrupting democracy*". So democracy resides in the Commission and any pressure from the people is disruptive.

The *Financial Times* accused McCreevy of "*cravenly sounding the retreat before battle had even formally commenced*".

It is not often that this magazine urges support for Commissar McCreevy against the forces of reaction.

EASONS AND THE IRISH TIMES

The last issue of *The Irish Political Review* indicated that Easons in Belfast has recently decided not to stock the magazine. James Andrew Walmsley, a Chairman of Easons, was also a Governor of the The Irish Times Trust Limited from its inception in 1974 to the end of 2001. ●

APOLOGY

Due to severe pressure of space, we cannot print the final instalment of the review of *Das Kapital* this month.

Several other items have had to be held over, including the second instalment of the review of events at the Barbican surrounding the Abbey performance of *The Plough And The Stars* (Sean O'Casey)

Iraq:

Divide And Rule!

An election was held in Iraq two months ago. It elected something called a National Assembly. Iraqi sovereignty, which was usurped by the US/UK invasion force two years ago, was said to have been returned to Iraq last Summer, Iraq for this purpose having the form of a committee appointed by the invasion force. The National Assembly was elected in this newly sovereign Iraq, but the election was held under conditions laid down by the invasion force and its appointed committee. The Assembly is obliged to act within the terms of the Transitional Law decreed by the American invasion administrator, Paul Bremer. It has the notional power to amend the Transitional Law, if it votes to do so by a 75% majority. But that power is merely notional because the Kurdish nationalists, who have no wish to see Iraq being made a functional state once more, have the power to block it. Bremer's decree is therefore, in practice, the basic law of the Iraqi state. Its existence is prior to that of the elected National Assembly. The only business of the Assembly, then, is to fit itself into the pre-existing basic law of the state, and form a subordinate Government under it. And this is what is being called democracy.

The National Assembly is presented as a Constituent Assembly which will become a Legislative Assembly when it has agreed to form a Government under Bremer's laws. But it is a Constituent Assembly unlike any other known to history since it lacks the authority to constitute, and must operate under rules not made by itself.

The elections, according to Lara Marlowe (interviewed on Radio Eireann by Vincent Browne on 7 January) were controlled by a supervisory committee of the invasion force, which not only allowed secret candidates on the party lists, but struck some candidates off the list, and also struck some parties off the ballot sheet. None of our newspapers carried this information, but neither did they dispute it, as they would surely have done if it was false.

The achievement of the secret ballot was a major step on the way to what we call democracy. The secret candidate is an entirely new development of the 21st century.

The National Assembly has the task of forming a subordinate Government under Bremer's laws, and against the obstacle of a multiple veto exercised both within the Assembly and in the referendum to which an Assembly agreement will be put. The Kurdish separatists have a veto in the Assembly on the election of a President, which is the first item of business required of it. This needs a two-thirds majority. The Kurds will also have a veto in the referendum where whatever 'Constitution' emerges may be defeated by a majority against in three of Iraq's eighteen electoral Districts. The Sunnis, who refused to take part in the invasion election, will also have a veto in the referendum.

The National Assembly has met twice, and failed to elect a Speaker, not to mention a President.

Its meetings were not held in Iraq. That is to say, they were held in the Green Zone, which is best understood as an extra-territorial region of the United States. The Shia leaders were not happy about having it meet within the US headquarters, but that was judged to be the only safe place for it. And even then it came under mortar fire.

If this invasion project works out as intended, Iraq will become a kind of large-scale Lebanon under US hegemony.

Lebanon is a fragment torn out of Syria by the French and erected into an essentially dysfunctional state. (And Palestine is a fragment torn out of Syria by the British to be an area of Jewish colonisation which would be erected into a Jewish state under British guidance, and become "*a little loyal Jewish Ulster*" against the Arabs.) The three parts of Lebanon never jelled as a state, and it was never a realistic expectation that they would. And the French are realists above all in these things.

At the moment when the US is intent on constructing Iraq into a large scale Lebanon, it is demanding that Syria should remove its army and its influence from Lebanon, where it intervened a generation ago, stopped a civil war, brought about a generation of peace during which the damage done to Beirut by the Jewish nationalist rampage has been repaired.

The Governing Committee of the invasion force was rubber-stamped as the legitimate authority by the United Nations in October 2003 and again in June 2004, and 'sovereignty' was handed over to it both times. Perhaps it slipped the mind of those who were conferring sovereignty in

June 2004 that they had already done it eight months earlier. The thing was so fake that it might reasonably have been forgotten.

The UN did not authorise the invasion, but that did not make it illegal since both the US and the UK have immunity from UN 'law'. But, after the invasion, France lost its nerve and allowed the UN to authorise it after the event. And Russia and China had, from their own point of view, more important matters to deal with than preventing the West appear respectable. And then the UN had no sooner legitimised the consequences of the invasion than it withdrew entirely from Iraq, in flight from those consequences.

John Bolton, as US Defence Secretary, described the UN as pretentious rubbish last year. He is now the US representative to the UN. And his description of it was accurate.

Richard Aldous, an Englishman who lectures in University College, Dublin, has explained on RTE that there is no such thing as international law. States exist in a condition of anarchy with relation to each other, and the rule in a situation of anarchy is that you stick by your friends. He said this in the context of defending the Irish Government decision to take part in the invasion by letting the US Army use Shannon Airport. It is the only possible defence which is both rational and realistic, and it is much preferable to Martin Mansergh's weasel words on the issue.

The US, when ridiculing the UN, warned it that it was in danger of collapsing into something like the League of Nations. It is true that the League failed as a world body. But it was not a structural failure. It had the potential to develop as an international body on the basis of something like consent. It failed because Britain, the World State of the 1919 era, having made the case for the League as part of its war propaganda, marginalised it from the start by treating its own greatly-expanded Empire as the world body which counted.

The UN was never anything but an authoritarian power structure which set five States apart from all the others as its masters. The General Assembly does not have the authority to amend it as each of the five states has a power of veto. There seems to be only two possible ways of changing it: a war between the five master-states; or a boycott of the UN by a large number of substantial states, threatening it with redundancy.

Professor Hart Prattles On

On the 26th October 2004 Peter Hart, in response to a debate on the Web initiated by Niall Meehan, promised to reply to the criticisms of his book on the IRA in Cork (see [www?](#) and the *Irish Political Review* of November 2004). He was presented with a perfect opportunity to do this in an interview in the current edition of *History Ireland* (March/April 2005). But the opportunity was not taken. Instead, he goes into total denial. Tom Barry, "*He's really a very minor character*" we are told. How convenient to dismiss the most successful military leader of the War of Independence and the central figure in Hart's original book—in which Hart 'disproves' Barry's account of the military encounter and in particular the report of the 'false' surrender by the defeated British Auxiliaries which fooled some of his men and led to the unnecessary deaths of volunteers. Denying the 'false surrender' enables Hart to criticise Barry's subsequent decision to fight the battle to a finish. Hart's whitewashing of British actions earned him the Ewart Biggs Memorial Prize and an honoured place in the pantheon of revisionist historians.

But, now that Hart's thesis has been taken apart, the Kilmichael ambush suddenly becomes very unimportant, "*only six per cent of my book*"—even though that part was highlighted by all his admirers as its valuable core. Despite all that, the historian is able to claim, "*I have yet to see any convincing refutation of anything I have written*", which is a joke to anyone who has followed this debate.

"*Honestly—when you are reduced to claiming that documents are forgeries because you can't deal with the contents....*" he declares in exasperation now that Meda Ryan has proven that his central documentary source of evidence against Barry—an alleged report of the battle to IRA HQ, which makes no mention of the 'false surrender'—was not Barry's work at all. This is a new departure in history-writing pioneered by Hart. It is an attempt to apply to the writing of history the recently-created legal concept of a 'Reynolds Defence', used by newspapers to justify libelling people. The most recent example being that of George Galloway by the Daily Telegraph using forged

documents to discredit him—and failing—but arguing that they were providing a public service in publishing them even if they were forgeries. This type of defence has had no success in law so far. Imagine Mr. Hart dealing with Dreyfus or Parnell—he would no doubt be saying something to them along the lines of 'would you please stop claiming that these are forgeries and instead deal with the contents of the documents—honestly!' Hart's argument is the pathetic one that the contents of forgeries are valid despite being forgeries!

When asked how he responds to the specific criticisms by Meda Ryan and Brian Murphy, he says: "*I recently gave a paper at Maynooth rebutting their statements about Kilmichael, but the question is so dependent on factual details that I don't have the space to really say much here.*"

So the rebuttal exists and was provided at Maynooth, but readers of *History Ireland* are denied it for reasons of space! Not even a summary of the details? This is what historians do all the same. Did the Editor not offer him the necessary space? I'm sure the Editor of this journal would facilitate him. And of course the World Wide Web will not refuse anyone space and enough of it to facilitate even Professor Hart's entire detailed rebuttal. Why not put it on the Website listed above which he has already used? Could anything be simpler?

Then we are told that he "*...will be going into all that in a full reply to my critics*". So he has rebutted his critics in the past, and he will be rebutting them in the future, but will not do so just now in the present. He is like a three card trick man—now you see it, now you don't.

Meda Ryan's book, teeming with evidence that contradicts and refutes Hart's entire case, is dismissed as follows: "*Meda Ryan's book contains almost no new evidence but rather attempts to dismiss the witnesses I quote (most of whom were interviewed by someone else) and the report I use to query Barry's later published account. She isn't interested in dealing with the substance of this evidence in a rational way.*"

Meda Ryan's book is chock full of new evidence and she does not dismiss anyone's account but simply asked Hart to name the two ambush witnesses he is supposed to have interviewed and she details all the possible witnesses—all now long dead. That is the normal way to help verify such an account. And he still will not do so. Why not? Of course the evidence of all witnesses, including Hart's anonymous witnesses, as quoted by him, do not deny a false surrender—despite Hart's best effort to insinuate that they do.

So, the story so far is that not a single participant or witness to the ambush—in writing, in statements, in interviews, in sign language or in any other means of human communication has ever denied a false surrender at Kilmichael. As if that was not enough, the Commander of the Auxiliaries in Ireland, General Crozier, and Lloyd George's top adviser, Lionel Curtis, both agreed there was a false surrender. Who, apart from Hart, now says there was no false surrender? All his original supporters and cheerleaders have long since gone mute on the issue, even the voluble Mr. Myers sings dumb about it nowadays. The controversy started by Hart has been useful in establishing the facts once and for all. And we must be eternally grateful to him for that. He has in fact created a whole new interest in the War of Independence just when it was fading from memory.

One of Hart's main props for rebutting the 'false surrender' was the fact that Barry made no mention of it in an article he later wrote for the *Irish Press*. Neither does Meda Ryan simply dismiss Barry's published account. Quite the contrary. She deals with it thoroughly and proves with new documentary evidence that Barry's full account was not published in the *Irish Press*. She produced the letter written to the Editor by Barry at the time, slating him for cutting this part of his article. This ruined yet another plank of Hart's 'evidence' and his accusations of Barry's 'lies and evasions' over the false surrender.

How convenient and outrageous that we have the concept of an 'irrational woman' appearing in order to evade the forensic, and most rational, evidence ever published about the issues raised by Hart! How low will Hart stoop to defend the indefensible? He says a lot more about himself than he does about Meda Ryan with this scurrilous comment.

In the interview there is a very

noticeable shift away from Hart's central thesis, the claim that the war of independence was a sectarian conflict. The killing of the 10 Protestants in Dunmanway is not even mentioned—despite its prominent part in his original book with its arresting chapter heading, “*Taking it out on the Protestants*”, and its use as absolute proof that the war was sectarian. This was proof positive, was it not, that the war was sectarian? Here was the absolutely convincing evidence for his case. Here were ten smoking guns. And it's not mentioned in this interview! And it's not mentioned because Brian Murphy and Meda Ryan established that they were killed because they were informers and not because they were Protestants, and Ryan produced the clear documentary proof of this. She showed that, far from Barry and the IRA condoning these killings, he and they rushed to protect other Protestants (informers and otherwise) from being killed. Some sectarians eh! She also pointed out, with exact figures, that Barry executed more Catholics as informers than he did Protestants. As a man who was excommunicated five times there is a much better case for making him an anti-Catholic rather than an anti-Protestant. Barry simply did not give a damn about a person's religion and was typical of all Republicans in that respect.

So Hart moves sharply on. Now his emphasis is on the ‘ethnicity’ of the conflict. Ethnicity is a polite word for race. And not only was the War of Independence an ethnic affair but all before it was an ethnic conflict as well. He says:

“I think it's blindingly obvious that violence had an ethnic basis. The Irish political system before partition was based on ethnic solidarity and division, so how could popular violence derived from rival Unionist and Nationalist mobilisations not be?”

Irish nationalism was in conflict with British rule in Ireland and always had been as it evolved during the 19th century. British rule was its *raison d'être*. Like all valid and successful nationalisms Irish nationalism was a force that had superseded and incorporated ethnic and religious differences in its own society while naturally consisting mostly of people who were Catholic in religion. British rule had supporters among all the same ethnic and religious groups as well and Britain was predominantly Protestant in religion. There were plenty Castle Catholics, generation after generation, and there were even a fair number of Irish Catholics in the

Black and Tans. So ‘ethnicity’ and religion was not the divide in the conflict between the forces of Irish nationalism and British rule. If it had been a racial and not a national conflict, the evidence should indeed be ‘blindingly obvious’: the evidence of massacres, etc., should be all around us.

And just like his claim to have evidence to rebut his critics on Barry and Kilmichael, the evidence for this racial war is very difficult to pin down and in fact it disappears as quickly as it appears. He says:

“But it's important to stress that I don't argue that this was ethnic cleansing. There was no ethnic cleansing in the Irish revolution (although the attacks on Catholics in Belfast came close) but there was ethnically targeted violence. Not that this was the only thing going on, mind you”

So the only element of real ethnic conflict that makes any sense was that used against Irish nationalists in Belfast! The latter can hardly be blamed for that unless of course there is no distinction between perpetrators and victims in Hart's world—the violence of one equated with that of the other. And that is precisely what he says over and over again:

“I argue that the two sides became very much like each other—dirty—as the struggle escalated but I do have the statistics to prove my case.”, “.there were serial killers on both sides; not necessary psychopaths, but individuals and small groups who did the dirty work..” and “the main interpretative reason I included the Kilmichael chapter was to illustrate my general point about how similar the IRA and government forces really became once the struggle got going—they behaved in much the same way and used the same labels and excuses for killing. “

This is reducing history to a meaningless and absurd tit for tat and pretending there is no wood for the trees. One side does something nasty and the other side does something similar so there is no difference between them. The little matter of cause and effect, never mind the right and wrong of the war, does not enter the equation for him.

But, of course, even if the war was a meaningless cycle of violence, Hart is quite clear on which side the blame lies. He says “..the IRA was the single most violent organisation involved—probably responsible for the majority of deaths on its own”. What does this mean? There were approximately 1,000 Irish casualties and approximately 300 British casualties,

so how was the IRA the most violent organisation? It is very odd that the Editor of *History Ireland* did not ask him to elaborate. It is another typical piece of Hart's trickery of the ‘lies, damned lies and statistics’ variety at work here. There were a number of ‘single’ armed organisations on the British side fighting the IRA—the RIC, the Auxiliaries, the Black and Tans, the Regular Army, and numerous Loyalist vigilante groups—numbering a total of 100,000 at the very minimum. The IRA was the only armed force on the Republican side so it is ‘probably’ true (though not at all certain) that it may have killed more than any one of the other ‘single’ forces ranged against it in the field—but it is a deceptive and meaningless statistic as all the Crown forces acted as one. Of course, there is no ‘probably’ whatsoever about who caused the war and all the deaths in the first place—the refusal by the Government to accept the result of the 1918 General Election. But this is a non-event for Hart so it's all violence for violence's sake on the Irish side and any explanation apart from the obvious will be tried on with his readers, i.e., sectarianism, ethnicity, etc.

He remarks, for example, that “*If Tom Barry or anybody else takes it upon himself to kill other people then they'd better expect to have their behaviour scrutinised.*” giving the impression that this was the way the War of Independence started. But this is exactly what Tom Barry did in another war—the First World War—as he explained very honestly himself in his famous book, but his numerous actions in that war are never, ever, scrutinised by Hart or anyone else. But Barry ‘scrutinised’ himself about them and in the War of Independence decided to fight instead for the elected government of his country because it was attacked and needed to defend itself to survive. But his offensive, reckless, unjustified war record over four years for the British Empire against various peoples across the world is accepted without question by Hart and company, while Barry's short, limited and fully justified defensive war record in West Cork is endlessly scrutinised in the most minute detail.

This interview shows us the Professor twisting and turning like a pathetic trickster who has been caught out. I doubt if his peers will not take him seriously after this. We can only pray for his students.

Jack Lane

Down In Paddy's Political Slum

Over the past few months we have heard any number of claims that Irish political life has been degraded: almost all of those claims being in respect of the behaviour of Sinn Féin. Well, Irish political life most certainly is in a degraded state but that is not at all to the account of Sinn Féin. It is to the account of Fianna Fáil, every representative of which has stood behind the degraded behaviour of their leader and Taoiseach.

In one of those unjustified and unacknowledged turnarounds which degrade their author and taint his colleagues Mr. Ahern has thrown national rights, which only two years ago he affected to champion, back in the face of the national community which is attempting to assert them.

So there is a criminal at large in Irish politics and it is not Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness or Martin Ferris. It is Án Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern. And there is actual evidence of the Fianna Fáil leader's guilt, beyond the unsupported word of an English policeman and the manic assertions of a McDowell of the Clan MacNeill. It is his own words that condemn Mr. Ahern. The words which condemn him were spoken by him in Dáil Éireann where they were heard by his Cabinet and party colleagues, all of whom are complicit in his crime and soaked in all the guilt of it.

On May 13th., 2003 the following exchange took place on the floor of Dáil Éireann:—

“Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin: Focusing on another area of the work of the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution, I wish to ask the Taoiseach if he recognises that following the unilateral suspension of the Assembly elections by the British Government, people in the Six Counties have no democratic forum to which to send their representatives? What steps are being taken by the Taoiseach to pursue the recommendations of the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution regarding access for elected MPs in the Six Counties' constituencies to the Houses of the Oireachtas? I missed the Taoiseach's initial response to the questions so may I ask whether changes envisaged in order to accommodate these important steps require constitutional change through referenda or whether, as

I and others believe, such changes might not be necessary and that what is required is a decision by the Taoiseach and his Cabinet to allow for the facilitation? Will the Taoiseach recognise the importance of filling the current vacuum and allowing northern elected MPs the opportunity to have rights of attendance and rights of participation in specific debates accommodated at the earliest opportunity?

“The Taoiseach: Some of these issues may ultimately require constitutional amendments but others do not. The All-Party Committee on the Constitution set out what could be done in regard to the right of audience and the right to participate in debates in this House. There was an all-party agreement on that early last year. The Government agreed to that. I have since asked party leaders for their views on the matter. The Government is in favour of the right of MEPS to attend and participate in committee debates on the EU and for Northern Ireland elected representatives to participate in debates on the Good Friday Agreement and other relevant debates. Some of those mechanisms can be put in place if there is agreement in the House.

“On the more long-term issue, the all-party committee raised the issue of Seanad Éireann. That will be further developed when a report is published later this year on the long-term position and that has my support. As soon as there is agreement in the House, I am prepared to move on those issues.

“Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin: Will the Taoiseach take ownership of this matter?

“The Taoiseach: Yes, most certainly.”

A few days later Deputy Ó Caoláin took advantage of an early opportunity to tie the Taoiseach even more firmly to his position of May 13th. On May 21st., the Taoiseach's earlier commitment to one of the primary aims of the North's national minority was compounded, or maybe aggravated, by this:—

“Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin: ...I will address a separate issue. Last week I welcomed the Taoiseach's statement that he is in favour of the rights of representatives of people in the Six Counties to have access to this House to participate in debates concerning the Good Friday Agreement and other related issues. Does the Taoiseach share my concern that people in the Six Counties who aspire to national democracy rather than to the link with Westminster are now left with

no parliamentary forum in which to be represented? They are doubly disenfranchised by the suspension of the Assembly and the cancellation of the elections which were to take place on 29 May.

“Does the Taoiseach accept that there is no apparent disagreement among the parties in this House regarding this proposition? Given that there is unanimity that it should apply to all MPs north of the Border, the House must be put on notice that Sinn Féin will utilise its Private Members' Business time in the coming week to facilitate a debate on the peace process, the Good Friday Agreement and related matters. In light of that, will the Taoiseach progress his commitment of last week and seek the agreement of all party leaders in this House to invite the presence of all the MPs elected in the Northern constituencies? There is no other step required. The matter is firmly in the Taoiseach's hands and he has the opportunity to proceed. I would like him to confirm that he will avail of this opportunity to move matters forward with the alacrity that the present political vacuum in the North requires and demands.

“The Taoiseach: I replied to Deputy Ó Caoláin on this matter last week. The Oireachtas All-Party Committee on the Constitution reported on it well over a year ago and all parties outlined their positions at that stage. There were some procedural issues to be resolved, as I understand from the report prepared at that stage by the Minister, Deputy Brian Lenihan, and Deputy Jim O'Keeffe. There was all-party agreement in the House. The procedures have to be put in place—they are unlikely to be put in place by next week—and, as I indicated last week, I agree with them. If they can be put in place over the next period, we should be in a position by the next session to have the participation of people in debates on the Good Friday Agreement and other relevant issues in the House and committees, as per the agreement set out in the Lenihan report, as it became known. I have no difficulty with that. We had a debate to discuss the issues, but I have no difficulty with and welcome another next week.

“Caoimhghín Ó Caoláin: The Taoiseach's response indicates that there is a lesser likelihood of the accommodation of Northern representation here in the coming week. Will the Taoiseach re-examine that because all that is required is confirmation from the leaders of all the parties in the House and for him to instruct the House to make the necessary facilitation for the visiting Members of Parliament from the north of Ireland. What is required, therefore, is the political will and determination to proceed without further delay. I do not believe that circumstances in the North,

owing to the suspension of the Assembly and the cancellation of the elections, are helped by further delay in accommodating the representatives of the disparate opinion in the North. Will the Taoiseach undertake to contact the British Prime Minister to request and demand, on behalf of the people of this island, that the elections that have been cancelled be rescheduled for a date before the end of June 2003?

"The Taoiseach: I have already disagreed with and expressed my disappointment at the decision of the British Government to postpone the elections. To remind the Deputy, I do not have the power to instruct the House on the matter but can only make suggestions and proposals to it. In this case, an all-party committee, with which we have all agreed, has provided the blueprint according to which the House should proceed. There is political agreement on that already but to accommodate the Deputy's proposal, the House would have to make some quite significant changes in its normal procedures that have not been set out previously, although I agree with the House making these changes. However, I cannot change the position overnight. In the Government's view and, I think, the view of everybody else in the House it was wrong to cancel the elections. I agree with the principle of representation for Northern parties in this House and in committees to debate the Good Friday Agreement and other issues, which is what the report is about."

In summary, on May 13th., 2003, the Taoiseach and Fianna Fáil leader, Mr. Bertie Ahern said: *"The Government is in favour of the right of MEPS to attend and participate in committee debates on the EU and for Northern Ireland elected representatives to participate in debates on the Good Friday Agreement and other relevant debates."* And on May 21st., 2003, the Taoiseach and Fianna Fáil leader, Mr. Bertie Ahern said: *"I agree with the principle of representation for Northern parties in this House and in committees to debate the Good Friday Agreement and other issues..."*

Is the evidence there clear enough? Is there any room for doubt that the Taoiseach, speaking for himself and for the Government, committed himself and the Government to the position advocated in a report of the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution and agreed by all the parties of Dáil Éireann that Northern Ireland representatives should exercise rights of audience and participation in Dáil Éireann? Really, it should be clear enough how that was the Taoiseach's position in May 2003.

By February 2005 his position had not merely shifted, it had migrated. It had not simply changed, it had mutated.

On February 15th., 2005, Pat Rabbitte, breathing the fire of old stickie/provie feuds, all seventies blood and Southern thunder, asked a multi-part question of the Taoiseach which concluded:—

"Is the provision the Taoiseach announced previously in terms of the side agreements with Sinn Féin and representation in the Oireachtas also off the table in the current context?"

The Taoiseach replied:—

"I have given no more thought to the question of Oireachtas representation. Naturally it would be a good development were we to achieve a comprehensive agreement, and we should still be able to do that although it would be in the context of a comprehensive agreement. It was only ever considered when the parties looked at this in the context of the Agreement back in 2001 and early 2002. It was on the basis of us having normality, and I hope we will return to that situation. I do not see a difficulty in that regard."

Next day the *Irish News* spun this exchange as Mr. Ahern wished:—

"Speaking rights for MPs 'part of peace deal'."

"An offer to allow Sinn Féin and other northern MPs speaking rights in the Dáil can only be reinstated in the event of a comprehensive peace process deal, Taoiseach Bertie Ahern indicated yesterday.

"He told Labour Party leader Pat Rabbitte that the offer, which angered Ulster Unionists last December, would only have been considered in the event of a complete deal on power sharing and ending paramilitarism in the north..." (16.02.05).

All that is criminally degraded in Irish political life today is encapsulated in that little bit of casual business between the Taoiseach, the leader of the Labour Party and the *Irish News*. When the simplest matters of fact are excluded from it there isn't a scintilla of truth to dignify the remainder.

The belated recognition of rights of audience and participation to Northern representatives was never a matter of *"side agreements with Sinn Féin"*. Or does Deputy Rabbitte believe that the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution is a Sinn Féin front? And does the Taoiseach believe that recommendations of that same All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution have only and precisely the status of his whims, to be offered and withdrawn as the freshness of the morning

or the gloom of the gathering dusk might strike his mood?

In May 2003, when no-one could have believed a deal between Sinn Féin and the DUP was anything but impossible the proposal that Northern representatives should have rights of audience and participation in Dáil Éireann was hardly connected at all, let alone dependant, on a far-reaching deal between Sinn Féin and the DUP. It was dependant on the recommendation of the All-Party Oireachtas Committee on the Constitution and Dáil Éireann agreeing to that. In May 2003 Mr. Ahern agreed at some length on several occasions with that recommendation and committed the government he led to implementing it. And now... well, there it is.

And now... well, the very worst of the whole affair is only just beginning. That is the fact that this is par for the course. Not in the least pass-remarkable in Paddy's political slum. If any of the Taoiseach's Cabinet and party colleagues noticed his criminally-degraded behaviour they must have approved of it. Certainly not one of them has dissented from it. Not one.

Joe Keenan

By-Election Results (12 March 2005) Meath

Electorate 121,041
Total Poll 50,183
Spoiled Votes 477
Total Valid Poll 49,706
Quota 24,854

First Preferences:

Shane McEntee (FG) 16,964
Shane Cassells (FF) 16,117
Joe Reilly (SF) 6,087
Dominic Hannigan (Lab) 5,567
Sirena Campbell (PD) 2,679
Fergal O'Byrne (GP) 1,590
Liam O Gogain (Ind) 702
O Gogain eliminated.

Second Preferences:

S McEntee (FG) +119 17,083
S Cassells (FF) +113 16,230
Joe Reilly (SF) +96 6,183
D Hannigan (Lab) +105 5,672
Sirena Campbell (PD) +67 2,746
Fergal O'Byrne (GP) +154 1,744
Non-transferable: 48
Campbell and O'Byrne eliminated.

Third Preferences:

S McEntee (FG) +1,131 18,214
S Cassells (FF) +1,250 17,480
D Hannigan (Lab) +1,389 7,061
Joe Reilly (SF) +331 6,514
Non-transferable: 389
Hannigan and Reilly eliminated.

Fourth Preferences:

S McEntee (FG) +5833 24,047
S Cassells (FF) +3698 21,178
Non-transferable: 4034

Sean McEntee elected without reaching the quota

Kildare North

Electorate 65,080
Total Poll 25,524
Spoiled Votes 211

Total Valid Poll 25,313
Quota 12,657

First Preferences:

Aine Brady (FF) 6,201
Gerry Browne (Ind) 226
Paddy MacNamara (Lab) 4,507
Catherine Murphy (Ind) 5,985
Seanán O Coistin (Ind) 211
J.J. Power (GP) 1,547
Darren Scully (FG) 4,630
Kate Walsh (PD) 2,006
Browne and O Coistin eliminated

Second Preferences:

Aine Brady (FF) +54 6,255
Paddy MacNamara (Lab) +38 4,545
Catherine Murphy (Ind) +204 6,189
J.J. Power (GP) +74 1,621
Darren Scully (FG) +30 4,660
Kate Walsh (PD) +17 2,023
Non transferable: 20
Power and Walsh eliminated

Third Preferences:

Aine Brady (FF) +1,010 7,265
Paddy MacNamara (Lab) +654 5,199
Catherine Murphy (Ind) +987 7,176

Darren Scully (FG) +722 5,382
Non transferable: 271
McNamara eliminated

Fourth Preferences:

Aine Brady (FF) +868 8,133
Catherine Murphy (Ind) +1,633 8,809
Darren Scully (FG) +2,039 7,421
Non transferable: 659
Scully eliminated

Fifth Preferences:

Aine Brady (FF) +1,685 9,818
Catherine Murphy (Ind) +3,447 12,256
Non transferable: 2,289
Aine Brady eliminated

Catherine Murphy elected without reaching the quota

Comment by *Sunday Independent* (Brendan O'Connor): *Polls Show People Of Meath And Kildare Are A Disgrace* (13.3.05). Sinn Féin raised its share of the vote in Meath by 30%, going from 9.4% of first preferences to 12.2%. Voter turn-out was low. Catherine Murphy's political ancestry is Workers' Party and Labour: she was supported in her campaign by other Independent TDs.

But how can we describe as a rear-guard action the highly armed representatives of a mighty empire fighting from 1905 onwards what was regarded as, a washed-up, weak, and unarmed "mob" (in Pearse's words), not deserving of the description 'nation'? How was the result of history an inevitable process?

We must suspend the causation chain of history to believe King's thesis—although, of course, that seems to be the stuff of history-writing in Ireland today.

King asks us to believe that the Ulster Unionist Party has achieved something great in conspiring to establish the entity known as Northern Ireland. There is a headlined quote from King down the page that reads: "*If the Ulster Unionist Council reflects on its centenary, it can point to the flawed masterpiece called Northern Ireland as its greatest inheritance.*"

It is a case of King polishing the penny Ulster Unionism has held onto after its actions lost it the pound.

Even a sow's ear would look more like a silk purse than "*the flawed masterpiece called Northern Ireland*" resemble an "achievement".

What King calls "*the flawed masterpiece called Northern Ireland*" was never the aim of Carson, Unionism, or indeed Ulster Unionism, in 1905. And he calls it that after acknowledging why the Ulster Unionist Council was established: "*The impetus was ostensibly the devolution crisis, a modest and—relative to the attempts by the Liberals to impose Home Rule—unthreatening Conservative measure to give more powers to local government.*"

So the Ulster Unionist Council was set up to oppose UK devolution.

Lord Dunraven and his Under-Secretary, Sir Anthony MacDonnell, a Catholic Irishman who had had a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, devised the devolution scheme. It was a moderate measure proposing to establish a Financial Council, composed of elected and nominated members, to take control of purely Irish expenditure. Only a three-quarters majority voting in the House of Commons could nullify its decisions. The Council was to prepare Irish financial estimates for submission to Parliament. It was also proposed that Irish business should be delegated to a statutory body to be composed of the Irish representative peers, Irish MPs and the members of the Financial Council.

The Irish Reform Association had published a scheme in September 1904. This was a group of Unionists who had worked with William O'Brien on his land purchase proposals. It declared its support

Ulster Unionism's Masterpiece— *Northern Ireland*

Steven King, David Trimble's political advisor, celebrated the centenary of the Ulster Unionist Party with a piece in the *Belfast Telegraph* of 4th March entitled, *Still Resilient: The Party Of Carson 100 Years On*. King is, however, a little pessimistic about the UUP's prospects against the Democratic Unionist Party in the May Election. So he writes of the past achievements:

"Whatever about the future, what cannot be taken away from the Ulster Unionists is their remarkable past performance. Of their twelve leaders, six were prime ministers of Northern Ireland. One was first minister. Of the other five, two—Walter Long and Edward Carson—were cabinet ministers in London. A further two were Peers."

That seems a rather meagre achievement. The Northern Ireland entity was set up to be a one-party state. It could not have survived if it had been any other way. So what is the great achievement of the Ulster Unionist Party in having actually governed it and produced its prime ministers? Who else could have produced its prime ministers? The Nationalists? If they had, the statelet would have fallen.

Maybe King is making the point that the Ulster Unionist Party, as a one-party government in a totalitarian statelet, should be compared to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rather than to the Nazi Party of Germany or the Italian Fascists. Lenin had successors and the

state survived his death, unlike that of Hitler and Mussolini. But that would be better left unsaid.

The first question arising from King's article is: what Carson would think of his party today? And what would he would think of Unionist fortunes a century after the Ulster Unionist Council was set up to galvanise resistance to the threat of a measure of majority rule in Ireland?

In 1905 loyal Ulster, along with the rest of Ireland, was an integral part of the Union. It sat at the centre of a great empire—the greatest ever known, or so it was described. The future looked bright. The pre-Great War world was made up of empires, the most powerful being the British. And that seemed to be, and was said to be, the future by a hundred imperial writers—nations were giving way to unions and empires. So Ulster was on the side of history.

But those were the glory days.

King tries to suggest that the Ulster Unionist Party has fought a gallant rear-guard action since 1905 against an almost inevitable historical process:

"It could all have been so different. A vastrange of factors down the generations have conspired to deny the political majority in Ireland its dearest wish—an independent state comprising the whole of Ireland, but, objectively, the bulk of the organisational credit for frustrating that will, must go to the Ulster Unionist Council."

for this measure of Irish self-government. It was the first break in the ranks of the Protestant minority in Ireland towards Irish self-government.

The Ulster Unionist Alliance was set up in response to the desertion of these Southern Protestants. It condemned the scheme and attacked the Irish Reform Association as having deviated from the principles of Irish Unionism. In Ulster, leading Unionists urged that “*defence associations*” be set up and the Province be placed on “*a war footing*”. What really concerned the Ulster Unionists was not only that their Southern counterparts breaking ranks, but also the fact they suspected the Unionist administration in Ireland was instigating a scheme of “*Home Rule by instalments*”.

The Ulster Unionist Council was motivated to resist the devolution scheme but it did not formally establish itself until 3rd March 1905—a couple of months after the fall of the Tory Government.

The Ulster Unionist Council, from its inception until the Great War, controlled and guided the agitation—in all its forms—to resist devolution. Between 1905 and 1912 the devolution proposal, largely under the influence of the successful Liberal settlement in South Africa, was elevated to a more substantial form of devolved government known as Home Rule.

The Tory devolution scheme would have given Ireland less powers of self-government than the Good Friday Agreement gave Northern Ireland in 1998. Yet it was too much for Ulster Unionists. It would have put the Catholic majority in control of some bit of government, and the Catholic majority was not “*a great governing race*” like the Protestant people of Ireland’ it was not fit for such a thing.

But in straining at the gnat Ulster Unionism seems to have swallowed the elephant.

One hundred years later Ireland is mostly, and formally, an independent republic. And the remaining bit is in a semi-detached limbo from the Union and has more self-government than the proposal which the Ulster Unionist party was set up to oppose. And the Ulster Unionists have now accepted the principle of sharing power with people much worse than John Redmond’s merry band.

That takes us to the other centenarians—whose party the great and the good seem intent on spoiling.

King ridicules the Sinn Fein centenary. But in 1905 Sinn Fein dreamed only of a dual-monarchy (modelled on the Austro-Hungarian example) with Ireland attached to the mighty and ever-lasting British

Empire on a more equal footing. Not in Arthur Griffith’s wildest dreams could he see an independent Republic out there. Such a demand would have been seen as lunatic. And indeed the idea of a dual-monarchy was even seen as crazy by Ireland’s representatives. “*You and whose army?*” said the Irish Party to Sinn Fein leaders when they demanded it from the Empire.

Which has achieved more in 100 years and has more reason to celebrate its centenary today? The Ulster Unionist Party or Sinn Fein?

King can get away with his unhistorical nonsense because Irish history has been telescoped and there is no knowledge of Imperial history left to speak of.

Ireland was offered Home Rule because it was believed to have been beat. The British Liberals, fresh from their success in South Africa, believed that Ireland had been finally tamed, all the stuffing had been knocked out of her, and so it was safe to grant a little self-government to the nice Mr. Redmond to make him the Irish Botha.

The first great gathering of Ulster Unionist forces to protest against Home Rule was held at Craigavon on 23rd September 1911 where 30,000 attended a demonstration and were introduced to their new leader, Edward Carson.

Carson was not an Ulster Unionist. He was a Unionist—he wanted to use Ulster to integrally preserve the Union. Carson repeated in the House of Commons on 13th June 1912, what he said in a speech in Dublin the previous October:

“... The only way you can treat Ireland, having regard to her special conditions, is to treat her as one entity by the Imperial Parliament and the moment you try to alter that, the idea of governing Ireland with anything like peace falls away... Ulster asks for no separate parliament. She never has in all the long controversy taken a separate course... and you need fear no action of Ulster which would be in the nature of desertion of any of the southern provinces. If Ulster succeeds Home Rule is dead. Home Rule for Ireland is impossible without Belfast. What I said there is exactly what I am saying now, that Ulster will ask for no separate parliament” (*Freeman’s Journal*, 14 June, 1912).

I think that Carson would never have seen Northern Ireland as a “*flawed masterpiece*.” He would have seen what happened as an abomination and a disaster.

But how did it all end up like this, in such disaster?

Not many are inclined to tell us. Unionists *quietly* defended themselves

from the embarrassing charge that they themselves undid the Union they set themselves up to defend. And Republicans (with the notable exception of Piaras Beaslai) were not inclined to give credit to Ulster Unionism for their Republic.

But when writing a book a few years ago, *The Rise And Fall Of Imperial Ireland*, I came across a Unionist from Ulster (as opposed to an Ulster Unionist) who argued from a *Unionist* perspective that Ulster Unionism had been a disaster for the Union.

James Rentoul KC was a Presbyterian Church Minister and MP for East Down from 1890 to 1902. He was one of the most sought-after and popular Unionists of the period and only left politics when he became a Judge at the Old Bailey in London (1902 until his death in 1919). Rentoul was a political oddity. He was an Ulster Unionist with an Imperial perspective who put the keeping of Ireland above the desire of Ulster Protestants to maintain a majority over the Catholics. It was a position that became an historical aberration due to the Unionist resistance to Home Rule and the British State’s failure to deliver on John Redmond’s Imperial project.

In his memoirs, published by his son in 1921, Rentoul described how Ulster Unionism came to part company with the Imperial interest in Ireland in 1912:

“I defended the Union because I believed it was better for Ireland to be a section of the great prosperous Empire than to be a little self-governing country, and because I held the opinion that the Irish had no real or deep desire for Home Rule, and that the claim for it had been used merely as a means towards securing better land laws. This was universally said, and I think generally credited, in Unionists circles... In 1912 a new page was opened in Irish politics which renders a continuance of the policy of the past neither desirable nor possible” (pp211-3).

The event which Rentoul considered “*renders a continuance of the policy of the past neither desirable nor possible*” was the signing of the Ulster Covenant and the military mobilisation which it inspired.

Here is Rentoul’s estimation of the effect of the Ulster Unionist mobilisation on Irish politics. It was written in 1919, before the effects of it had thoroughly worked themselves out in Ireland: “

“No life has been sacrificed so far, but when an army was enlisted, and full preparations made for Civil War; when every hospital appliance was ready for the relief of those wounded in battle, and a fund of a million pounds guaranteed for providing for the dependents of the

fallen, surely the probability of bloodshed and loss of life must have been before the minds of those making these elaborate and costly preparations. When German guns were landed at Larne and drilling began, it surely meant not only 'a rattling of the sword' but a declaration of war, and there is little doubt that the present condition of affairs all over Ireland is the direct and inevitable outcome of the threats and drilling and arming in Ulster.

"It is almost incredible that those who held up the police at Larne, cut the telegraph wires, landed German guns at dead of night, publicly dared and defied the British Government, and practically boasted of their 'treason' did not foresee the aftermath of 'Easter week' in Dublin, and did not anticipate such words as 'what you have taught us we will execute, and it shall go hard but we will better the instruction'. Is it not inconceivable that men of such wide experience as those who led the Ulster movement of 1912 cannot fail to realise that an example in law-breaking is apt to spread like a prairie fire, especially in Ireland where, as pointed out by such writers as Lecky, Bryce etc., a spirit of antagonism to British made law has been engendered in the people through age-long injustice and tyranny? And can they have failed to understand that when Great Britain yields to threats from any country, or any province, or any counties, she has taken the first step towards losing her power at home and prestige abroad?" (pp217-8).

Rentoul noted that Ulster had taken home rule for itself, when it had opposed it for Ireland:

"The... argument used by all speakers on the Unionist side was that we must never break up the Empire by granting a parliament to Ireland. I think it was Mr. Balfour who said 'never' is a word which no one should employ in politics, and it is possible we may have to drop this last remaining plank in our platform, owing to the rapidly growing feeling in favour of the rights of small nationalities; but since there are, I believe, already twenty-four Home Rule Parliaments in the British Empire, including those of the Isle of Man and the Channel Isles, I think we were wrong in assuming that a twenty-fifth must have the disastrous results we feared. At any rate it is impossible to suggest any greater dismemberment of the Empire than the setting up of a sort of independent republic in East Ulster in the form of the provisional government so fully outlined by the Covenanters..." (pp228-9).

Rentoul wrote about the responsibility for Ireland's loss to the Empire borne by Edward Carson and his Unionist support-

ers. But first he pointed out how rebellion and treason were rewarded by the British State:

"I yield to no one in recognition of Sir Edward Carson as a most eminent [man]... Yet inside six years from the drawing up of the Ulster Covenant, and his announcement in Parliament that he was going over 'to break every law in Ireland', he was appointed Attorney-General for England and First Lord of the Admiralty—the latter position being one which was described by Lord George Hamilton, who had previously held it, as 'the blue ribbon of office'. No one can attach less importance to extravagant utterances on a political platform than I do... But deliberately written statements, or utterances in Parliaments on momentous occasions, or a carefully drawn up manifesto are quite different matters, and no one could suppose Sir Edward's words to be anything but well considered, or to mean anything less than a distinct threat to the Government. Mr. F.E. Smith, one of Sir Edward Carson's few rivals at the English Bar, followed him to Ulster and joined the fighting force as 'Gallopers'. This was equivalent to an additional battalion in the Ulster army, for Mr. Smith, now Lord Birkenhead, was recognised as a very clever man, who, in all his brilliantly successful career, had never made any miscalculations; therefore many, who were previously in doubt as to what course it would be wisest to pursue, concluded that it would be very wise indeed to follow his lead. The Nationalists also agreed that he was extremely clever, and never more so than when he crossed to Ireland to join in the policy of defying and intimidating the British Government. They believed that, as a student of history, he well knew that, where Ireland was concerned, England yielded—as Macaulay pointed out—always and only to the mailed fist. Mr. Smith's progress upward after his enlistment in the Ulster army was even more meteoric than Sir Edward Carson's, for inside six years he was made Lord Chancellor of England, at an earlier age than any man since Judge Jeffreys of hanging fame, whilst the Irish Roman Catholics who followed the lead given in Ulster were imprisoned, exiled, or shot. To expect the 'mere Irish' after happenings such as these to be a law abiding, England-loving race is surely to live in a fool's paradise... Was it any more imbecile than to imagine that Nationalist or Catholic Ireland would calmly see her leaders imprisoned, outlawed, or executed, for pursuing a line of action similar to that which won for men in the North the highest honours and emoluments in the power of the British Government to confer? There is perhaps nothing in the world more infectious than successful defiance of authority,

and to set an example of it amid a population where such defiance has been regarded for centuries as the highest patriotic virtue has seemed to me a proceeding full of danger not only to the peace of Ireland, but to the stability of the Empire... Sir Edward Grey in 1914 said: 'The one bright spot in the very dreadful situation is Ireland'. John Redmond, risking what men in public life are least willing to risk, did all that a man could do to help in Britain's and Europe's 'dreadful situation'. Unfortunately England in the hour of extremity disregarded his advice and took no heed of his opinions or wishes, except to thwart him. This great statesman, without a single title to confer, or a single office to give away—and with a people behind him poor in cash, but poor in nothing else—had brought his countrymen round to relying on constitutional measures rather than on violence, defiance and outrages. He had kept together a somewhat difficult Party for over twenty years, and knew Ireland as perhaps no other man of this generation knows it. He was held in high esteem even by his Ulster opponents, and was gaining recruits to the British army at a surprising rate: yet his suggestions as to how best to continue these results had no more weight than if they had been the pronouncements of a schoolboy. Thus at a turning point in the history of the two countries the wrong road was once more taken, and Ireland, which in 1914 was 'the one bright spot' on the British horizon, is now a dark, thunder-laden cloud.

"Redmond died a heartbroken man, and he lost his life in the service of the Empire as surely as his brother lost his in the firing line at Messines. He declared himself ready to meet in the fullest manner the rights of Protestant Unionists, and to secure for them every safeguard which could be reasonably suggested, and more than their proportionate share of representation in the Irish parliament. ... Can the people of East Ulster not be led to remember that the British Empire was built up by a twofold course—war and compromise, and that compromise, when honourably possible, is always the better way? Can the people of the rest of Ireland, whose wrongs, recent or age-long, are fully admitted, not try to forget, or at least forgive, these wrongs, and realise that to belong to an Empire which the Irish Catholics have done so much to build up is a heritage which should not be lightly flung away?" (pp232-42).

The substance of Rentoul's argument is undeniable. The Ulster Unionist Council, supported by the British Unionist Party, brought the gun into Irish politics during a period of calm, after Ireland had been governed for twenty years by a

Unionist Government, and had begun to show itself to be proceeding, under the leadership of an enthusiastic Irish Nationalist Imperialist, to a destiny of embracing its role as an active component part of "Greater Britain".

The Redmondite development, which emerged as a consequence of the Liberal alliance, with its South Africa inspiration, was ultimately subverted by the Unionist reaction towards it. For the first time Britain had the leaders of the Irish nation denying the Irish claim to independence; asking for a small measure of Home Rule within the Union and a better share of the spoils of Empire, and offering their services as loyal and dutiful subjects to Greater Britain. And they threw away all the work of seven centuries in the moment of victory.

Imperial Ireland was destroyed in the pursuit of English party politics and Protestant domination in Ulster. And force became the medium of politics, replacing a discredited and thoroughly debased Parliamentary democracy which Redmond had put all his faith in. Enter

Sinn Fein from obscurity and derision.

When one looks back at the Home Rule conflict one realises what a catastrophe the Ulster Unionist Council's resistance to devolution was for the British Empire. Ireland, which had contributed so much around the world for it, was discarded in the heat of the inter-party conflict in England, fuelled by the UUC.

It was also a disaster for Ulster Unionism. Ulster Unionism lost badly in 1912-14 by opposing for Ireland what it got for Ulster in 1920.

If Ireland had become a Canada, Australia, or South Africa, would it have been worse than the Northern Ireland of today for the Ulster Protestants? Was the opportunity of becoming a strong component in Imperial Ireland really worth destroying in favour of being reduced to a semi-detached backwater of the United Kingdom?

No wonder the Protestant masses have gone over to the Democratic Unionist Party—the party of the plantation's last ditch. Horizons have drastically narrowed in the century of Ulster Unionist existence.

Pat Walsh

debunks recent theories based on British military accounts of the ambush at Kilmichael. These "official reports" portray Tom Barry, the commander of an IRA flying column, as demanding that no prisoner be taken, even though British soldiers had surrendered. Seventeen auxiliaries were killed by the IRA during the ambush. Murphy says it is now clear that this report was not compiled by field commanders but by the publicity department, which also distributed counterfeit editions of Sinn Fein's daily newsheet.

Colonel Charles Foulkes, the officer in charge of British chemical warfare during the first world war, was one of the department's key operators and revelled in his work. In an internal memo that he wrote in 1921 to a fellow officer, Foulkes states: "You may remember me in connection with chemical warfare in France. I am now running a variation of this sport, i.e. propaganda in Ireland." Foulkes first came up with the idea of distributing leaflets from the air calling for local IRA units to surrender. The ploy met with little success and the unit then seems to have concentrated on subverting media coverage of events.

Murphy said:

"This unit marks a very important stage in the development of British propaganda methods where competing versions of events vied for the attention of the British and world public.

"Its work ranged from forging 'stolen' IRA documents to writing articles that were carried in newspapers. It is a form of atrocity propaganda that would also be used in the British Empire's conflicts in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan." "

(*The Sunday Times* – Ireland, 17 October 2004)

REVISIONISM EXPOSED AS RECYCLED PROPAGANDA BY MARTIN SAVAGE

"...Basil Clarke, an ex-journalist from the Manchester Guardian and Daily Mail, headed the department whose job it was to spread misinformation across the globe.

New research by Dr Brian Murphy osb reveals how this propaganda reappears in revisionist history. After examining documents in the British Public Record Office, Murphy has shown how historians like Roy Foster and Peter Hart rehash and recycle propaganda....

'News' Not 'Views'

Clarke's policy was highly sophisticated and could be put to use today. After the revelations of Colin Wallace (see *Who Framed Colin Wallace* by Paul Foot) similar British methods of black propaganda ere exposed in the 1980s. Clarke said that British propaganda was to

Two Reports of Brian Murphy's address on *Some Aspects Of British Propaganda During The War Of Independence*, Dublin, 15th October 2004

Propaganda During The War Of Independence

"BRITISH ARMY USED SPIN TO 'CONFUSE' IRISH BY SCOTT MILLAR

The British Army used "spin" for the first time during the Irish war of independence, according to Dr Brian P Murphy, a leading historian, who says the propaganda is still causing confusion. Murphy has uncovered documents in the British national archives that he claims reveal the workings of a "department of publicity" that invented "official reports" of events between 1919 and 1921. Many of these reports, as well as forged IRA documents, have been accepted as historical fact, he says. The black propaganda unit was under the command of Basil Clarke.

Although propaganda was disseminated in earlier conflicts this is believed to be the first time the British used more underhand methods. They were competing with Sinn Fein's propaganda machine in a battle for British and world opinion. Murphy said:

"This was a highly organised unit divided into three sections and located at army headquarters in Parkgate Street, in Dublin Castle and in the Irish office, London.

"From the files in the archive in London, you can discern the complicated manner in which this department, numbering no more than 10 permanent members, operated."

Murphy says the unit developed an "official report" system, fabricating events for both external and internal dissemination. The reports were designed to undermine the IRA, and also to boost morale in the police force and among auxiliaries. "Unfortunately these reports have in recent years formed the basis of what are perceived as reliable historical accounts", said Murphy, a member of Glenstal Abbey community.

He believes the British spin machine went to work to lessen negative publicity over the torture and killing, by British forces, of Tom Hales, a Sinn Fein member. They also tried to soften the impact of the events of Bloody Sunday 1920, when the Black and Tans killed 12 spectators and one player at a football match in Croke Park.

The historian says his new evidence

be propagated “by news” rather than “by views”. Journalists wanted fact-based reports of events, not overt British propaganda. Reports of battles and ambushes could become “our version of the facts”, said Clarke. He said that the British view would contain “*verisimilitude*”, or “*the appearance of being true*”. Clarke’s team produced “official” reports of incidents that were handed out to correspondents gathering each day in Dublin Castle. In this way, the British tried to dominate the reporting of the war in Ireland. Whatever about then, British propaganda on the Tan War has become part of the “historical narrative” today, said Murphy.

A good example is British ‘damage limitation’ after Dublin’s Bloody Sunday, on 21 November 1921. Michael Collins had ordered the assassination of British Intelligence agents that morning. Later that afternoon, British troops mowed down 12 members of the public and a GAA player Seán Hogan in Croke Park. Clarke concocted a report suggesting that those shot by Collins were mainly involved in ‘legal’ work. Murphy described how the lie was constructed and disseminated. Murphy said that Roy Foster’s reference in *Modern Ireland* to “*unarmed British officers*” being killed “*on suspicion of their being Intelligence operatives*” was Clark’s version of events. Even the official British Record of the Rebellion stated: “*The murder of 21 November temporarily paralysed the Special Branch. Several of its most efficient members were murdered.*” Roy Foster preferred British spin over British fact.

Killing At Kilmichael

Murphy also discussed a controversy that has been simmering for six years, since the publication of Peter Hart’s *The IRA And Its Enemies* (Winner of the 1998 Ewart Biggs prize). Hart published ‘evidence’ that Tom Barry ‘lied’ about the Kilmichael Ambush. Hart also alleged that Protestants were shot because of their religion in Dunmanway in April 1922. In his new history of Ireland Diarmaid Ferriter regurgitated both the Kilmichael and the Dunmanway allegations. Hart’s allegations were promoted by Eoghan Harris, [and] Kevin Myers (who Hart thanks in his book)...

The publication of Meda Ryan’s *Tom Barry, IRA Freedom Fighter* (Mercier 2003), saw Hart exposed. The media ignored her book, unlike Hart’s. Meda Ryan examined Hart’s evidence in minute detail and found it wanting in several respects. She also exposed for the first time the role of a paramilitary group around the town of Bandon that engaged in collusion with the RIC and Auxiliaries, going out on raids to identify, torture and shoot suspected republicans. In a

forerunner of the collusion seen in the North of Ireland, sectarian loyalists were left high and dry by British troops, who left informers’ and spies’ names behind after they evacuated Dunmanway Workhouse. Meda Ryan sensationally reveals this hidden history and points out that Tom Barry even moved to protect these British loyalists after the Truce. Both Murphy and Ryan have pointed out the strong Protestant support for the independence struggle. Dunmanway Protestant republican volunteer, Sam Maguire, after whom the All-Ireland GAA football championship trophy is named, exemplifies it.

Murphy pointed out in 1998 how Hart cherry-picked his ‘evidence’. Hart quoted British intelligence documents stating that Protestants in the South did not give information “because they did not have it to give”. Hart deliberately omitted the next passage, stating that the area around Bandon was an exception. The omission was deliberate. Hart wanted to give the impression that the Dunmanway killings were purely sectarian. In fact, they were a product of anarchy in a three-day period in April 1922 after the killing of an IRA officer by British loyalists who later themselves disappeared, feared killed. The IRA moved immediately to end the killings. Sinn Féin-dominated Cork County Council condemned the killings, as did IRA units, the first being the Belfast Brigade. Both pro and anti-Treaty sides in the Dáil did likewise. The IRA under Tom Barry ended the Dunmanway killings by posting IRA guards on loyalist and informers’ houses. Hart could have reported this episode accurately. He chose instead to falsely portray the IRA as a mirror image of sectarian unionism, the Tan War as ‘ethnic’ violence. Hart set out to portray the war as a conflict based on sectarian hatred of Protestants.

Peter Hart commented on a British report purporting to describe what happened at Kilmichael, where three IRA members and 17 British Auxiliary soldiers were killed. Hart declared that the report “should not be so completely dismissed”. Brian Murphy went through the evolution and perfection of British reports on Kilmichael, ending up with the one Hart favoured. Hart also accepted a forged battle report that claimed to be by Barry. This unsigned typed report discredited the infamous ‘false surrender’, in which British troops faked their surrender and shot dead three volunteers who stood to accept it. Hart alleged that Barry made up the surrender story in the 1940s. Ryan demonstrated beyond doubt that Barry did not ‘invent’ the false surrender story in the 1940s and that it was published in

the 1920s. Meda Ryan’s Tom Barry, *IRA Freedom Fighter* is an unquestioned masterpiece of anti-revisionist historiography that should be read by all republicans...”

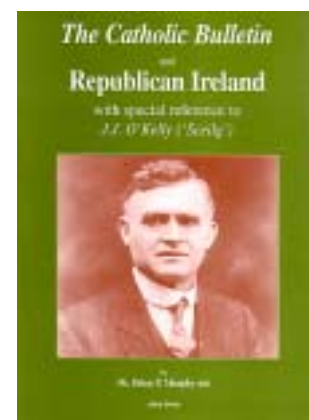
(*An Phoblacht*, 28 October 2004)

Review: THE WRONG MAN by *Danny Morrison*. New Strung Theatre Company, Pleasance Theatre

Loyalties

This play received its premiere in London because no company in Ireland was prepared to put it on. It is based on a novel which is allegedly more explicit than the action shown on stage. This may account for the interaction between the wives of the (apparent) informer and his senior officer in the IRA. In the course of their conversation the latter, Roisin (Beatty—Nuala McGreevy) seems to be pumping Sal (Malone—Chantelle Moore) for information. This sub-plot, if that is what it is, simply dissolves—but it leaves a feeling of unease behind, meaning it is probably not just an awkward leftover from the original.

I got the feeling that the play had been designed for television or possibly radio in the first place. That may have something to do with the scale of the Pleasance Theatre is a very (very) intimate space. (That is, its London venue—the ‘original’ Pleasance is in Edinburgh.) The audience sat knee to knee with the cast, a somewhat awkward experience, the maximum audience is



**Dr. Brian Murphy's book costs
£18 or Euro 22.50
postfree, from
Athol Books
PO BOX 339, Belfast, BT12 4GQ
or
C/O Shandon St. P.O., Cork**

probably about sixty. This situation worked in favour of the play. The small cast was probably due to the fact that the theatre is skint (the players' title may refer to the United Irish slogan, surrounding their harp-embellment "It is new strung and shall be heard"). Then, again, maybe it doesn't. There was the odd moment when I thought 'high strung' might have been a better title.

These, few, moments had to do with the fact that Tony Devlin and Liam McMahon, in particular were playing a number of parts. I am rather loth to say it, but one of the London critics let the cat out of the bag. Tommy 'Tod' Malone, a taxi driver is effectively questioned as to his loyalty to the IRA by three different groups of people.

The first we encounter is ostensibly Loyalist, but when Tod pleads for mercy, and denounces the IRA—his hood is whipped off—and he finds himself facing his comrades in his own IRA unit. Things get kind of complicated after this point, and there are a number of flashbacks well-handled by the director Sarah Tipple, as well as the writer Morrison. He also avoids a lot of leaden-footed 'theatrical' exposition by using this cinematic technique. Tod 'fancies himself' in Belfast parlance, he drinks more than a taxi-driver can afford, he chases women, (and is not careful about their marital status. Or the status, paramilitary and otherwise, of their husbands, despite being married and a recent father. And he's in the 'RA—a prime target for the Special Branch.

The last section of the play is about the RUC Special Branch's attempt to 'turn' him. Apparently Danny Morrison said that he wanted the Branchmen to be 'roguish' and one person said that she could not conceive of the RUC being 'roguish', though there may be a cultural problem with the use of the word. I have few problems with the notion of RUC Branchmen chatting about betting shops one minute and banging Tod's head against a table the next (they have a bit of a 'thing' about head-banging). One Special Branch agent, Pepper, has spread out forensic pictures of a UDR (Ulster Defence Regiment) man on the table prior to (literally) rubbing Tod's nose in them.

My problem with this scene was just how much they knew about Tod's coming and going. Fair enough, he's a taxi man, and his working life would be known in detail. So could his drinking, and sexual habits, and the details of his family life. But I found it difficult to believe the fact that the RUC knew every detail of the killing of the UDR man. They would have witness details,

and an awful lot can be deduced from forensic evidence—but not Tod's state of mind—the RUC may be roguish now and again, but subtle they ain't. The suspicion hanging in the air is that there is yet another spy in the IRA camp. (For people from Northern Ireland 'Beatty' and even 'Raymond' would indicate a Loyalist background. This choice of ambiguous names is very clever on Morrison's part: this isn't glib Party propaganda.)

This sort of thing has led important persons, like the big-name drama critics of the 'compacts' and Michael Portillo (who writes for the *Spectator*), to pat Danny Morrison's head and congratulate him on his even-handedness. It does not seem to have struck them (in the period when we were treated to the ongoing Mac Cartney saga on every news bulletin), that they were accepting that the IRA, the RUC (and implicitly the British Army), and to an extent the Loyalist paramilitaries, were on—morally—the same plain. They are, of course, on morally the same plain, that is the result of three decades of war; but there is no implication here that their political ambitions are on the same plain. It is not glib Party

propaganda, but it is not glib in any other direction either.

It is a fascinating piece of theatre (which will, I hope, fairly shortly become a fascinating piece of television or film) and the very young cast are up to the complex job involved in putting flesh on the bones provided by Danny Morrison. Except, possibly, in the sense that they do not really look old enough to actually be certain characters RUC Inspectors and Superintendents for example. And the dates (such as they were) did not really add up in some other characters' CVs), but these are minor points. You will be doing yourself a favour if you go to see this company in this play if you are in London.

At the BITE 05 event in the City of London's Barbican arts centre in January, Ruth Dudley Edwards snorted at the quality of the plays, written by former IRA prisoners, she had had to endure. If they were of this quality she must have exceptionally high expectations. *The Wrong Man* is a better play than O'Casey's *The Plough and the Stars*, which she was discussing.

Seán McGouran

Letter to Editor

A Nation And A Bit

In the March number of *Irish Political Review*, Jack Lane and Brendan Clifford, separately, declare their continuing adherence to the two-nations theory, and defend it. Way back, around 1970-71, when we were all setting out on the Northern road, I, along with Conor Cruise O'Brien, was accused—it was considered an opprobrious thing!—of being also a "two-nation theorist". Speaking for myself, I was not, and I tried to make clear that I was not.

I rejected the notion that Ireland contains two nations. My position could be described as 'one and a bit'. I maintained that Ireland contained one nation, the Irish one, and a part of another, i.e. the British nation. That is still how I view the matter. By the British nation I mean the 'umbrella nation', that includes the English, Scots, Welsh and the Ulster British—as I began to call them and still do. (To cite only one other example, the Spanish nation is of a similar 'umbrella' kind.) This meant that I agreed, and agree, with Jack and Brendan that the problem in the North is between two nationalities. But I define these as Irish and British, not as Irish and what? Ulster Protestant? For me that is not a nationality.

I see the Ulster British as being, essentially, the descendants of British settlers, like say, the White Rhodesians—a comparison once made explicitly by Capt. Terence O'Neill. While maintaining their self-definition as British, they do not—a tiny minority apart—declare themselves to be a nation. And historically, they have not been a nation, a unit of mankind, comparable to, say, the Scots or Welsh. In a similar situation in Central Europe or the Balkans they would be termed an 'ethnic minority'.

I have always been curious to know why Jack, Brendan and others reject this 'one and a bit' view of Ireland's population, given that it rejects the one-nation theory and accepts their clash-of-nationalities view of the Northern situation. Or rather, how do they defend their view that Ireland contains two nations against the justification for my 'one and a bit' view that I have outlined above.

Desmond Fennell

One And A Bit Nations: A Comment

In response to Desmond Fennell's letter, *One And A Bit Nations*, what I recall is that in 1969 he published an article which might be reasonably understood as expressing a two-nations view. And that for some years thereafter he made occasional comments on the matter in his *Sunday Press* column in a mode of detached observation. Possibly the "nation and a bit" view was made explicit there. After 1969 I was entirely *persona non grata* with the Dublin media, and particularly with the *Irish Times*, which was taking on board elements of what I saw as the mindless leftist agitationism of the northern People's Democracy. And I took only a passing interest in the Dublin media after 1969 because I was convinced that the prevailing nationalist culture did not even have the will to understand the North in practical political terms. That culture had apparently been reinvigorated by the Northern events of August 1969, but it struck me as a kind of sickly, illusory vigour. It put me in mind of a horrible Thomas Mann novel, called *The Black Swan* as far as I recall, in which a spurious rejuvenation occurs as a prelude to death..

I ignored the media and took part in many meetings and debates around the Republic in which I attempted to persuade people directly involved in politics that their misconception of the Ulster Protestants was leading them into a disastrous course of action. It was a hopeless venture. The politicians, no less than the media Left, were living in delusion..

Fianna Fail was inaccessible for this purpose. My discussions were with Fine Gaelers (Richie Ryan for example), with the Labour Party, and with the 'Official Republicans', the Stickies, who have now taken over the Labour Party. They didn't want to know. Believing their beliefs, they were all hell-bent on the disaster of the final push that would cause Unionism to crumble. A few years later they set about re-inventing themselves retrospectively and generating a false history of the 1969-70 period in which Fianna Fail was the villain.

Desmond Fennell was fairly understood (or misunderstood) as advocating the two nations view. The attribution of it to Conor Cruise O'Brien (some time later, I think) was groundless.

In a book published in 1969 or 1970 O'Brien characterised the Ulster Protestants as *colons*. The words had a quite specific meaning at that time. It was the name given to the French colonials in Algeria whose opposition to Algerian independence was broken by De Gaulle.

A group in Dublin which adopted the two-nations view put it to him that he should support it, and sent him some pamphlets of mine in which it was argued. In his reply he rejected the two nations view on the ground of a pedantic quibble—and the unexpressed ground that it would be political suicide for somebody who hoped to be in government soon to adopt it.

He also said he was sure that I did not exist, and that I was a pseudonym for some Dublin intellectual. I suppose his ground of disbelief was that somebody capable of constructing the kind of argument put out under my name must belong to the intellectual coterie with which he was familiar, and certainly could not have come directly out of the backwardness of rural Ireland. Because I was entirely a product of rural Ireland, I had enough pre-1919 German in my make-up to be able to appreciate, as John Paul Richter might have done, that I shared a quality with God in having my existence doubted.

When O'Brien lost political power (1977) he reinvented his past. His peers did not obstruct him by reminding him of his actual past, because by this time they were also reinventing theirs. I think that he would at that juncture have willingly moved onto the 'two nations' territory if it was not already occupied, and if those who occupied it had not in 1970 put him in the position of rejecting it. It was important to him to be original—or at least to be taken to be original.

Many years after that he became an Ulster Unionist. He addressed a Unionist meeting in Belfast in which he set out a view of the situation similar to that set out by Jack Lane and myself twenty years earlier. Belfast had been saturated with pamphlets by me in the interim, and somebody remarked on the obvious. He replied with irritation that he had thought it all out for himself. It could not be allowed that the intellectual marvel of the Dublin middle class was laboriously trudging along at a distance behind a peasant.

Desmond Fennell does himself a disservice by modestly bracketing himself with O'Brien. As an intellectual O'Brien is spurious. He has no intellectual conscience. And he is a creature of British fashion, as is evident from his garbled comments on Rousseau and his grossly inadequate handling of Burke.

I knew Fennell chiefly through the late Denis Dennehy—another peasant, but one who was functional in Dublin in a way that I could never be. I schemed with him in the Winter of 1968-9 to disrupt the half-centenary commemoration of the 1919 Declaration of Independence by means of a homeless agitation. And disrupt it we did. Dublin was brought to a standstill by means of Dennis' hunger-strike in Mountjoy. And that event, combined with the marvellously unrestrained Maoist agitation of the Internationalists, disorientated an unworthy ruling class by engendering a fear of internal social revolution in them only a few months before the North went into flux.

They took it that the two events were connected and that the same revolutionary force was at work in both. They were in fact altogether separate. We played no part in the Civil Rights agitation which caused the North to explode. It is true that, when it did explode, we played some part in defending West Belfast against the Loyalist incursion. Jack Lane in particular was active in both situations, being named in the Dail as a revolutionary for his activities in Cork (which included spoiling Jack Lynch's visit to him home town) a few months before taking part in the defence of the Falls in the absence of an IRA. But we had no responsibility whatever for the conduct of the Civil Rights agitation, which we rather discouraged. And we published the two nations view within weeks of helping to check the pogrom.

I had characterised the Protestant communist as a nationality a few months before August 1969 in leaflets I had drafted with Len Callender, which were circulated in Belfast. The events of August were taken as validating that view.

A Special Branch Report put into the British Public Records Office under the thirty-year rule a few years ago, says:

"On 4th June [1969] a meeting of the Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign was held privately in London.. Some forty-five persons were present and the following groups were represented—International Socialism, People's Democracy, Irish Communist Party, Irish Exiles Association, Irish Republican Party, Revolutionary Socialist Students'

Federation, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, and Friends of China... Brendan Clifford of the Irish Communist Party explained that his Party could not support the I.C.R.S.M. as it was “a bourgeois group” akin to the Connolly Association and “lacked a revolutionary platform”. He then left the meeting with two of his supporters.”

I was not a member of the Communist Party, I took part in no such meeting, and I'm sure that the words, “*revolutionary platform*” never passed my lips. But I recall a discussion with one of the leaders of the People's Democracy agitation, an Englishman, which might have been misrepresented like that. He approached me and asked why we were missing the revolution, explaining that even though the demands of the Civil Rights agitation were for a modest reform within the bourgeois system, the pressing of those demands in Northern Ireland would lead to a revolutionary explosion. I doubted this, but said that, if an explosion did occur, it would have nothing to do with socialism.

It is curious that a version of this discussion, transposed to a meeting, should turn up in Special Branch files, but it is not surprising. I discovered long ago that political life in England is all of a piece—which is to be expected in a society constructed by the State—and that the revolutionary shades into the police agent, with reasonable expectations of becoming Home Secretary. And socialists who do not play their appropriate part in the political life of the state under this scheme are consigned to principled eccentricity.

That kind of relationship does not exist between the Ulster Protestant community and the political life of the British state. The Protestants may wave Union Jacks, and bless the Queen, and humiliate Catholics or kill them at random, but that does not make them British. They simply are not part of the British political continuum, and I think I demonstrated, through twenty years of trying to make them so, that they do not want to be.

They may be descendants of the Scots and the English, but that does not make them British today any more than it did 400 years ago, when the Scots and the English still had a number of wars to fight against each other. And, back in those times, was it not the Irish who were British? They were content to settle down under the Stuart monarchy because it was a British and not a Saxon monarchy—British then having a kind of national connotation as Celtic.

British in the modern sense refers to a

state—to the Hanoverian state constructed by the Whigs, which the Irish saw as Saxon. It does not make sense to me to describe that state as being also a nation. At any rate, it was above all else a state, whose people were drawn together by an extraordinarily competent governing class into combined activity against the rest of the world. It was more akin to an Empire than a nation, but an Empire governed by a class of gentry. It has often been described as having Protestantism as a ‘national religion’ but there was no agreement within it about what Protestantism was, and its disagreements on that score were the source of inconclusive wars. It could not settle down as a nation, and the effective condition of settlement after 1688 was that the disagreeing sects might all take part in the acquisition of an external Empire. The “*Toleration Act*” provided that they should tolerate each other on that condition, but tolerate nobody else.

The Protestant colony in Ulster naturally took part in the expansionist activity of the British state. It had its place in the world as part of that expansion.

This appears to be denied by Jeremy Addis, the owner of *Books Ireland*, according to his published comment on me: “He [that is, my] still believes that, even before the American War of Independence,

“Protestant Ulster had meaning for itself over the centuries as a vigorous contributor to the cause of civilising destructions around the world”. Some hyper-academic types might label this essentialism, others would settle for tosh. The concept of nation eternally links religion and politics; forget your economics, Karl” (Dec. 2004).

I have no idea what the last sentence means or how it relates to the preceding sentences. I have long since forgotten what essentialism used to mean to hyper-academics, like the writer of the second sentence. But the first sentence can only have meaning as a denial that Protestant Ulster willingly took part in the Imperial expansion of Britain (“even before the American war of independence”—I haven't a clue what that has to do with it).

It would be very extraordinary if the Ulster Protestants had not from the start taken pride in British expansionism, seeing that the Ulster Protestant colony was itself a product of that expansionist movement. They certainly did not see themselves as a dead-end in a corner of Ireland.

The only bearing of the American War of Independence on the matter that I can

see is that, under its influence, a large segment of settlers in Ulster became Irish nationalists for a generation. But the Irish nation which they aspired to establish would have been an active component of the British Empire. Before, during, and after, the Grattan/United Irish phase Ulster Protestants were active in the Empire—in the plunder of India and the slave labour camps of the Caribbean. (A proposal to establish a slave-trading Company in Belfast was defeated during the period of United Irish idealism, but there was no breaking of established connections with the British system of slavery. And, while some United Irish emigres in the USA had a conscience about slavery, they appear to have regarded the ongoing genocide of the native population as a symptom of progress.)

The Ulster Protestants were certainly British in the British Empire sense—as the Home Rule Irish aspired to become in 1914. But I cannot see a substantive similarity with the White Rhodesians, who had no ‘United Irish’ phase in their brief history.

On the other hand they lived outside the political system of the British state just as the Rhodesians did.

If a British nation can be said to have come into being, it must have been as a by-product of the political system of the state—apart from that, the unifying factors were anti-Catholicism (the effective form of Protestantism) and Imperialism. The party conferences of the Whigs and Tories, when those parties were formed into mass organisations in the country after the 1832 Reform, might be described as British national events, with Labour taking the place of the Whigs after 1918. I can think of no other events in which the Scots and the Welsh took part in regular assemblies with the English in a way that might be called national.

The Ulster Protestants played very little part in these national events in the political life of the state. Belfast, for example, had no political representation in the Irish Parliament, or the British Parliament until the 1830s. It developed very effective informal means of tending to its own business outside official structures. The Presbyterian middle class—which might almost be described as a *bourgeoisie* in the full Continental sense—was disfranchised in Ireland, but it participated vicariously in the Presbyterian Establishment in Scotland, where it continued to be educated into the 19th century. It both contributed to and came under the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment of the mid-18th century, and its ideology or cultural disposition

was, as a consequence, on the radical side. But its informal aptitude for conducting its own public affairs outside the political structures of the state led to the development of skills which were not conducive to effective participation in the party-politics of the state of 1832. The first Belfast Election was a fiasco. Four candidates were nominated for the two seats. The first two to be nominated (by the informal radical caucus of the town) were, naturally, designated as Liberals. But they did not include the best-known Belfast Liberal, Emerson Tennent, who had been with Byron in Greece, and had been active in support of both Catholic Emancipation (1829) and the 1832 Reform. Emerson Tennent was then nominated by popular demand. A feud, without policy content, developed between his supporters and the Liberal caucus, and this led to a fourth candidate being nominated. What were these two to call themselves? The well-developed and insidious political culture of the state, the function of which was to preserve the two-party structure of political life, decreed that Tennent should be a Tory, and he accepted the logic of the system. And so the most substantial Belfast Liberal won Belfast for the Tories in the first Belfast Election, and the fourth candidate also won as a Tory. (It is almost thirty years since I followed the campaign in the newspapers, and that is how I recall it.)

Despite this opening fiasco, the British political system of Whigs and Tories would probably have shaped Protestant Ulster to itself and made it British if it had continued. (That system is called 'representative', but it is much closer to being formative. In large part it creates what it represents.) But it did not continue. It lasted for about one good generation before aborting under the influence of Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill, and Ulster reverted from British party politics to the mode of communal politics in which it had lived for a century and a half before the 1830s.

And so, for all the Union Jackery and Immortal Memory, Ulster is *not* British in one of the most important dimensions of British life. It is not British politically, and being British has been largely a matter of politics. It does not want to be British in that regard. The British obsession with politics is beyond its comprehension. It is communal in its preoccupations. Even the late Harold McCusker, one of the most political Unionists, who in Britain would have been a socialist, admitted that he looked back on the Stormont half-century, with its mere pretence of politics, as idyllic. And a return to that state of affairs remains the ideal at the common heart of Unionism and Loyalism—which is why I was

convinced from the start that the Good Friday Agreement had no internal dynamic, and why I defended Rory O'Brady from Martin Mansergh's over-the-top attack on him in the *Times Literary Supplement*.

Desmond Fennell comes from the North, but his mind has not been engaged with the practicalities of politics in the North.

The "nation-and-a-bit" view was brought up by somebody in the mid-seventies. I could see no practical application for it, because if there was a British nation, 'Ulster' was not a bit of its most important aspect.

The practical test was whether the bit would crumble under British displeasure. The politicians I argued the matter with in 1970 were convinced that it would. I was convinced that, in many respects, the community of which the Unionist Party

was an inadequate representative, was more durable than the Irish nationalism of 1970.

White Rhodesia crumbled under a combination of slight internal resistance by the Black majority (as compared with the resistance of the Catholic minority in the North) and a degree of pressure from the British State, and it is now being dispersed. But the 'bit' in the North did not crumble, and many of those in the nationalist establishment who engaged in hysterical denunciation of Paisley thirty years ago have become most respectful of him. (But too late. A force of resistance as durable as Paisleyism has been brought into being in the North, and is now being given the kind of treatment by the Dublin establishment that it used to give to Paisleyism.)

A 'bit' which behaves like this is clearly something in its own right, and therefore not a 'bit' of something else.

Brendan Clifford

The French EU Referendum

In early March Jacques Chirac announced the date of the French Referendum on the European Constitution for the 29th of May.

When he made his announcement the opinion polls showed a 'yes' lead by a margin of 60% to 40%. The Government parties, the Socialists and the Greens were all urging a "Yes". The French Parliament overwhelmingly voted for the Constitution. So, logic indicated that once the political parties launched their campaigns, the "Yes" side would increase its lead.

The problem with the 'logic' is that there is widespread alienation among the French with their political parties. And the alienation is not passive. *Au contraire!*

In last year's regional elections the Government parties were wiped out by the socialists. Only one region, Alsace, remained with the Government parties. However, Francois Holland, the rather non-descript socialist leader had to admit that the results did not reflect confidence in his party, they were merely a stinging rebuke of the "liberal" (i.e. free market) policies of the Government.

There is widespread opposition to "Anglo-Saxon" values. The French quite like their 35-hour week and social protection. In recent years there have been cut-backs in public expenditure, a rise in unemployment to 10% and the government has tried to water down the law on the 35 hour week.

There has been a wave of demonstrations in response to these developments. On the

10th of March a national strike was called and 1 million people demonstrated. The Socialist Party has an uneasy relationship with this resistance. At one demonstration against cuts in public expenditure Francois Holland was booed because of his support for the European Constitution.

The recent unrest has caused many Establishment figures to worry that opposition to Chirac will express itself in the defeat of the European Constitution. They argue that the two issues are separate. But are they separate?

The French Communist Party does not think so. At every demonstration it distributes leaflets and stickers urging a 'No' vote. It insists that there is a connection between public expenditure cuts, free market policies and European developments such as the Bolkestein directive and the proposed European Constitution.

The party was remarkably quick off the starting blocks in this campaign. The communist newspaper *l'Humanite* published a pamphlet on the Constitution back in October 2004. The publication has been something of a best seller and is still being sold. Most of the information in this article was gleaned from this pamphlet.

The Constitution wishes to "realise as much as possible the free circulation of capital". It forbids "restrictions on the movement of capital" within the European Union. This might be sensible if the Union was a centralised political entity. But Europe is still a collection of states. Each state has

different tax laws. So the effect of the free movement of capital will be to encourage the different states to compete against each other by lowering corporate taxes and wage costs in order to attract investment. This will erode decades of gains achieved by the French labour movement. The problem has been exacerbated with the accession of the ten new countries.

The most common phrase in the text is “*free and unrestricted competition*”. Political objectives must be subordinated to the aims of free exchange and open markets. Also, the Union and Member States must maintain the competitiveness of the European Union economy (iii-209). Elsewhere the Constitution requires member states to avoid imposing administrative, financial and legal constraints on the creation of small and medium enterprises (iii-210-2b).

The role of Public Services is hardly mentioned in the new Constitution. This is a regression from the Nice Treaty which proclaims Public Services among the values of the Union. The Constitution on the other hand forbids subsidies which threaten competition or are incompatible with the internal market (iii-167-1). The only derogation is for public services which are provided free of charge.

This is very similar to the notorious Bolkestein Directive. But is the health service in France free? An argument could be made that it is not because there are usually nominal charges at the point of use. Is it implausible to suggest that Private Health Insurance companies could sue the French State for subsidising Health? Even if the French or any other State Health service is allowed to continue, the requirement that such services give access to all citizens in the EU will encourage citizens in EU States with rudimentary services to travel to such countries with dire financial consequences for States providing high quality public services.

State aid to cultural activities is allowed but only if it is compatible with the internal market (iii-167-3d).

There will be a two speed citizenship with the Union. Residency will not confer rights. Full rights are only conferred on those born within the Union. Migrant workers will not have the same rights (i-10-1).

The Member Countries are obliged to respect such principles as price stability, control of public finances, monetary policy and a stable balance of payments policy (iii-177). The independence of the European Central Bank is guaranteed (iii-188). So it is in a position to intervene if it perceives that democratically elected governments do not conform to these guidelines.

The French Socialist Party had an internal referendum on the Constitution last December which the “yes” side won by a 60-40 margin. This was around the time of the US Presidential election. One argument that may have carried weight at the time was

the idea that Europe should unite in the face of the militarism of George W. Bush. But this Constitution does not facilitate an independent European defence policy. The Member States can participate and work closely with NATO (i-41-7) and European defence is not incompatible with membership of NATO (i-41-2).

An indication of how ideological driven and out of touch the authors are with reality is given in a clause on the consequences of war. In case of war or the threat of war, member states will consult each other to avoid the internal market being affected by it (iii-131).

In many ways this Constitution reflects the drift away from the ‘social Europe’ of the founders of the Union. However, why is it necessary for these free market and pro NATO policies to be inscribed in a constitution? The answer can only be that it is an attempt to set in stone the framework of the European Union for decades. If the Constitution is ratified in all twenty five states, it will be almost impossible to change it. Any amendment will have to have the agreement of all member states.

How has the “yes” campaign responded to the arguments of the Communist Party? The answer is that it didn’t want a debate. Chirac was hoping that since the Socialists were ‘on side’ there wouldn’t be too much dissension. This strategy is now in tatters (see *The future Of Europe* article in this magazine).

The other approach is to pretend that the Referendum is a vote on Europe and if the Referendum is not carried it will be the end of Europe and life as we know it. The communists have responded to this hysteria by explaining in a matter of fact way the consequences of a ‘No’ vote.

Article iv-447 indicates that all member states must ratify the Constitution. In case of failure by one or more states to ratify, the Union will not cease to function. The Treaty of Nice will remain in force. Indeed this Treaty remains in force in any case up until November 2006 and several clauses of the Nice Treaty will still apply up until 2009.

The Constitution itself doesn’t deal with the consequences of a failure to ratify. But there is an Appendix which indicates that, if four fifths of states have already ratified, the matter will be dealt with by the European Council. No indication is given as to how this body will deal with it. One possibility is that the Constitution will have to be amended and the whole process of ratification will start again. Another possibility is that the country or countries which have rejected the Constitution will be expelled from the European Union. However it is extremely unlikely that a country the size of France will be expelled after having a referendum. But it must be admitted that it would take a lot of moral courage for Ireland to reject the Constitution.

Another rather eccentric argument in favour of the Constitution is that ratification

will ensure that Turkey will remain outside the European Union. This view has been put forward by Nicolas Sarkozy, the leader of the government party. No reason is given. I can only assume that it is yet another attempt by this ‘free market’ politician to undermine Jacques Chirac, who is in favour of Turkey joining. (Chirac was originally against Turkey joining, but then the French-based company Airbus won a big contract with the Turks and he changed his mind. That’s how superficial the French President is.)

The Socialists, or at least the Socialist leadership, have been arguing that the Constitution favours a Social Europe. But this view is unconvincing. The reality is that it contains a litany of pious aspirations. However, some of the clauses are not so innocuous. For example, article ii-15-2 guarantees the “*freedom of work*”. What does this mean? If someone wants to work he shouldn’t be prevented from working? So if a government such as the French government has a policy of a 35 hour week employers can ignore this law and claim in the European Court that French law is denying workers the freedom to work longer hours.

Needless to say, the Constitution does not guarantee the “right” to work. In case there is any misunderstanding regarding workers’ rights article ii-111-2 says that the Constitution does not create any new power or obligation for the Union.

But the Socialist Party is not united. Laurent Fabius the former Socialist Prime Minister who led the ‘No’ campaign during the internal referendum, has remained quiet. He may yet break ranks. But another senior party member, Henry Emmanuelli, has campaigned for rejection of the Constitution.

Emmanuelli has refused an invitation from the communist leader Marie George Buffet to join forces with her party. This is probably sensible. Such a move would not help him convince fellow Socialists. However, both the dissident Socialists and the communists have a similar message. It is ‘No’ to the Constitution, but ‘Yes’ to a social Europe. They are careful not to be seen as anti-Europe.

So far the Socialist leadership has not sanctioned its dissidents (although one Socialist senator, Jean-Luc Melenchon, has been denounced for speaking on a “communist platform”). Emmanuelli is on record as saying that:

“I do not wish to split the party. But a party is a means, not an end. I have been a member for more than thirty years and it is difficult for me to choose between my conviction and my loyalty to the party. However, I have been persuaded that this Referendum is one of the last chances to put a stop to the liberal drift in Europe which has generated unemployment, poverty and social regression.”

I can only agree. The French Referendum will be crucial for the future of Europe.

John Martin

THE CLONBANIN COLUMN

“THE moans of wounded military were clearly audible above the din of battle. Soldiers taking cover by the roadside answered the shots directed at them from north and south. A tall officer leapt from the touring car as it careered into the fence. In answer to an I.R.A. call to surrender, he defiantly replied: “Surrender to hell! Give them lead”, as he dived for cover at the other side of the road. Those were the last words of Brigadier-General H. B. Cummins, D.S.O., for they had scarcely been uttered when he fell, shot through the brain by a bullet from an ambusher’s rifle. He was the first British General in Ireland to take civilian hostages on his lorries and his escort that day at Clonbanin carried a hostage who escaped during the fighting” (*Rebel Cork’s Fighting Story* by Pat Lynch, Anvil Press, Tralee)

CONFISCATION!

The Taoiseach paid a State visit to China in January and spent some time addressing the Chinese leadership about democracy and the merits of an independent judiciary. Of course the Offences Against The State Act or the Special Criminal Courts weren’t mentioned. Nor did the Taoiseach mention the raid by his own Special Branch forces on the funds of a legally registered political party, Republican Sinn Fein.

This took place on Monday morning, November 15, 2004, following that party’s Ard-Fheis, the Special Branch went to Sach’s Hotel in Dublin and seized monies in the region of 10,000 Euros belonging to RSF.

They had no warrant, and seized the money illegally. The funds which were the proceeds of a draw and a social, had been kept in the hotel safe overnight. The Special Branch did not count the money or give a receipt but have admitted that they are in possession of the cash.

The Dublin media have bombasted the public about another robbery, yet this gross violation of democratic principle in their own midst went completely unreported.

RISE & LARKIN

The Easter Rising, James Larkin and the role of the labour movement in Ireland are being celebrated in a new project to coincide with this year’s 1916 commemorations.

R I G continued

were planned, as the finds were the work of the Gardai themselves” (p156).

MISCARRIAGE

“On 31 July, 2002, the judgement in the case of Frank Shortt v DPP, delivered by Mr. Justice Hardiman, found that there had been a miscarriage of justice in the conviction of Frank Shortt on 28 February, 1995. ‘Some of these are substantive and some relate to the credibility of those principally involved. Cumulatively, however, they leave the court in no doubt that a miscarriage of justice occurred’, he wrote. The judgement also stated that ‘had Ms. McGlinchey not said what she did the process which led to the discovery of other, unquestionably significant, facts relating to this conviction would not have started’” (p218).

“She would tell the court that Detective Noel McMahon had said he committed perjury against Shortt during a drink-fuelled gripe against Superintendent Lennon, but it would be her word against his. She was in no position to prove it” (p208).

“Frank Shortt was convicted on Detective Noel McMahon’s evidence, and served three years in jail. Shortt was also fined £10,000. Three weeks after he was convicted, his premises were burned down in an arson attack. The culprits are still at large” (p213).

In 1992, Detective McMahon had pressurised Adrienne McGlinchey to plant drugs at Mr. Shortt’s Point Inn nightclub: “...he would supply. He showed her a map of the interior layout, and told her when she had placed the drugs, she was to immediately leave the premises and get away from the area.” Wisely, Ms. McGlinchey went on the ‘tear’ herself and stayed far away.

The Garda answer to the ‘Pink Panther’ acted in an undercover role but initially failed to get a conviction: “Each Sunday night he was on duty in the Point Depot, dressed as Mr. Cool, wearing tracksuit and sneakers in an attempt to merge with the rave set. Sheenagh McMahon [his wife] said she could not understand why he was undercover in the first place, he

The Liberty Project is a joint initiative between the Labour Party and SIPTU.

The week-long programme of events will commence on Monday, 18th April 2005 and close with a social evening on the following Monday, 25th April. Entry to all events will be free.

SIPTU President, Jack O’Connor and Labour Party leader, Pat Rabbitte will open the Liberty events with the launch of the Larkin Archive on 18th April. On

was so well known he would be recognised immediately” (p212).

THE MEDIA

“In the first weeks there was considerable media interest, but the ordinary public didn’t seem to care. The Tribunal did not affect the ordinary Dubliners, who saw it as a side show conducted by Gardai in Donegal. On RTE, Vincent Browne highlighted the proceedings regularly, barely hiding his amusement as the events unfolded. The girls tried to put themselves into the position of those who did not know the story. For them, the story of a life used and abused by An Garda Siochana was less amusing” (p226).

“The Tribunal was very poorly attended. After Adrienne’s evidence was completed, most of the media left. The cameras were gone. All but two of the journalists were gone. A trickle of public interest remained” (p232).

THE MCGLINCHEY FAMILY

Great credit is due to the three McGlinchey women, the mother, Liz; Karen, who wrote the story; and Adrienne McGlinchey herself, who experienced eight years of hell and the ordeal of an internal Garda investigation—the Carty Inquiry, then the Court of Criminal Appeal (the Shortt Case) and finally, the Morris Tribunal.

The allegations made by Adrienne McGlinchey which formed the basis for the terms of reference were all corroborated in the findings of the Tribunal and that “in respect of the matters central to its inquiry Adrienne McGlinchey had told the truth” (p236).

Justice Morris concluded that: “...it is certain that as corruption in the form of deceit, the abuse of investigations through inventions against suspected criminals and bribery have arisen in other police forces, they will also occur within An Garda Siochana” (p266).

“Minister for Justice Michael McDowell worries that there could be ‘worse to come’” (p266).

CHARADES—Adrienne McGlinchey and the Donegal Gardai by Karen McGlinchey—Gill & Macmillan—10.99 Euros

April 19th, Sinead McCoole, the author of *No Ordinary Women*, will be the guest speaker at City Hall, Dublin. Professor Ivana Bacik will chair a public debate *1916: Was Labour Right To Fight For The Republic?* at The Mansion House on 21st April.

Further information on the Liberty Project can be found on Labour’s web-site at www.labour.ie

responsible for imposing “control orders” without trial. Individuals are still not going to have a trial: they are not going to be charged and have the opportunity to rebut the charge, before a Judge and jury (or even a Judge on his own. The Judge will make his decision on the basis of evidence from the security services.

O'MALLEY'S ST. PETERSBURG

Meanwhile, fellow founder of the Progressive Democrats (PDs) and worthy predecessor of McDowell in Justice, Mr. Desmond O'Malley, almost provided us with an Irish version of the 1905 Winter Palace massacre.

On one occasion in 1972, the Lynched Fianna Fail Government stationed hundreds of armed troops at the rear of Leinster House, with orders to shoot to kill if they came under attack, O'Malley told an Oireachtas Sub-Committee on 1st February 2005.

The 'Limerick Tsar', who was Minister for Justice at the time, told the Oireachtas Sub-Committee, which is holding hearings into the second Barron Report on bombings in the Republic in 1972-73, that this period was one of “*great tension and fear*”—it was fear of his own people.

He said that over 500 people had been killed in the North and South in 1972 and that the Government in Dublin was facing three separate subversive organisations.

Two of the bombings investigated by Mr. Justice Barron took place in December, 1972, when the Dail was debating legislation to give the Garda more powers.

“At one stage during the passing of the Offences Against the State Act, 7,000 or 8,000 people were outside the gates, in a fairly violent frame of mind a lot of the time.

“There were 300 troops here, at the back of Leinster House, at the back of the Department of Agriculture”, O'Malley stated.

Mr. O'Malley said the soldiers had orders to shoot to kill, if necessary, and that this was the only basis on which the military authorities would permit them to be there.

Mr. O'Malley failed to relate the rest of this shameful episode : as the Dail debated the *Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill*, two CIE workers were killed and 127 injured by two bombs in Dublin.

Fine Gael dropped its opposition to the Bill which then passed 69 votes to 22, Fine Gael abstaining on December 3, 1972. The passage of the Act enabled a Garda Superintendent in the Republic to secure a conviction by swearing that he believed an accused to be a member of the IRA.

A rank and cowardly surrender by Leinster House to an action which is now accepted to have been the work of British Intelligence, and a precursor to the Dublin/Monaghan massacre of 1974, in which 33 people died.

Of the 40 or so citizens who have died in this state as a result of Loyalist bombings—the Justice Department have not even succeeded in apprehending a single culprit.

Little wonder that with the release of British State papers on 1st January 2005, the *Sunday Business Post* reported a comment from the British Diplomatic corps, that the Dublin bombings of the 1970s had the necessary political impact in relation to Northern Ireland (2.1.2005).

Under further questioning from the Oireachtas Sub-Committee into the second Barron Report (See *Labour Comment*—Jan., Feb., March and April, 2002 for more on Barron), O'Malley stated that there may have been co-operation between a couple of Garda and RUC sergeants who helped each other out but there was little co-operation on a more senior level!

Questioned by the Committee about the arrest of Garda Patrick Crinnion, who was found in the company of suspected British Intelligence Agent John Wyman, O'Malley defended signing an order preventing the disclosure of confidential documents in the subsequent court case.

O'Malley said that

“one of the consequences [of the order] was that Crinnion and Wyman were not convicted of more serious charges.

“I was probably aware of this at the time but on balance had formed the view that it was in the public interest to protect the sources of the Gardai”, O'Malley stated.

GARDA CORRUPTION IN DONEGAL

In the Summer of 2004, the Morris Report identified widespread and significant corruption and malpractice among members of the Garda Siochana in County Donegal.

An earlier internal Garda Inquiry under Garda Commissioner Kevin Carty was forwarded to the Minister for Justice in 2000. That report was never made public.

Adrienne McGlinchey of Letterkenny was the star witness at this module of the Morris tribunal. Her sister, Karen has now written an account of how a vulnerable young woman who found herself cynically and cruelly exploited and blackmailed by bullies in the Garda Siochana.

Ms McGlinchey doesn't pretend that her sister's behaviour was above reproach. But a scandal developed when Adrienne was used as part of an elaborate scheme to

win promotion for two gardai through the planting of fake and false evidence relating to the IRA.

The gardai in question went on to represent Adrienne as a top-secret and complex Garda agent, doubling as an IRA courier, bomb manufacturer and informer. These false and bizarre misrepresentations had a shattering effect on Adrienne and her wider family.

The book is a searing insight into a Garda culture that requires urgent remedial action.

Seventeen Gardai—including two former heads of the Donegal division and senior superintendents—were found to have been either negligent or lying or corrupt.

Chief Superintendent Denis Fitzpatrick, the most senior Garda in Donegal, along with Superintendent John P. O'Connor were found to be negligent by the Morris Tribunal; they both retired on full pensions from the force. Retired Chief Superintendent Sean Ginty was also negligent in failing to investigate incidents properly.

Superintendent Kevin Lennon was dismissed by the Government in October, 2004. Garda Detective Noel McMahon offered his resignation within weeks of the Morris Tribunal Report in July, 2004.

In total, seventeen serving and former Garda were criticised for negligence, gross negligence, giving incomplete or untruthful evidence, and failing to perform their duty.

So much for Garda Commissioner Pat Byrne's intimation “*that it was a minute number of officers involved*” (p224).

“CHARADES”

Charades—Adrienne McGlinchey and the Donegal Gardai was published on February 18, 2005 by Gill & Macmillan.

“The IRA ceasefire was imminent. A meeting of Sinn Fein had taken place in a Donegal hotel in April 1994 and there was a groundswell of support for the peace initiative.

“While the country prayed and hoped for an end to the misery, in Donegal there were those who viewed the new dawning of peace with less that overwhelming enthusiasm. Garda Detective Noel McMahon had a new urgency. There had to be one final drop, the ‘big one’.

“The day after the finds, the Right Honourable Sir John Wheeler DL MP from the Northern Ireland Office wrote to Justice Minister Maire Geoghegan-Quinn congratulating her on the invaluable counter-terrorist work of the Gardai. He added: ‘I understand that the Gardai are hopeful of making arrests following the operation.’ Of course no arrests

continued on page 25

eloquent' about the exchange of police personnel in the two jurisdictions but a number of legal questions remain to be answered!

Under whose authority does one of his Garda Síochána members answer to in this "exchange of police personnel"? Is it Commissioner Conway or Chief Constable Orde?

"Garda Síochána. The national police force, the general direction and control of which is vested in the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána, who is appointed by and may be removed by the government: Police Force Amalgamation Act 1925 ss.6 and 8." (A Dictionary of Irish Law by Henry Murdoch, 1990). Matters became more complicated on the announcement in the British House of Commons on 24th February 2005, that MI5 will take formal control of "national security" intelligence gathered by all British security agencies in Ireland, including the PSNI.

"The N.I. Secretary, Mr. Paul Murphy said in his statement, 'The Security Service [MI5] will assume for Northern Ireland the lead responsibility it has had for national security intelligence work since 1992 in Great Britain. Such change will in no way diminish the role of the PSNI in intelligence gathering in areas other than national security, nor of course, in mounting executive policing operations, making arrests and taking forward prosecutions.

"We intend that the new arrangements, together with associated safeguards, will be fully operational during 2007. This timetable reflects the need for detailed planning and implementation." (Daily Ireland, 25.2.2005).

Sinn Féin policing spokesman Gerry Kelly said,

"A new beginning to policing and justice requires a policing service which is democratically accountable, civil-based, rooted in human rights and politically non-partisan.

"Transfer of powers on policing and justice is central to accomplishing that new beginning."

Responding to Mr. Murphy's statement, he said

"It is designed to prejudice the transfer of powers in favour of British state interests by designating matters due to be transferred as excepted matters.

"Sinn Féin made it clear to both governments that this is unacceptable.

"It gives no comfort to the Nationalist community that the very agencies of the British state which have been implicated

by Judge [Peter] Cory in state murder and criminality against Irish citizens are to have that role perpetuated."

The likes of Attwood and McDowell have a notion that perhaps Republican areas might willingly accept the Southern Conways, Byrnes and Murphys as guardians of their security in preference to the ex-RUC bobbies.

Ultimately what this gang want is to create a single police force for the island along the lines of the old RIC.

The DUP Justice spokesman, Ian Paisley, Jnr. also welcomed the "sharing of resources, skills and intelligence". But he warned people in the North must be given full details of the deal.

Full credit to Paisley—in the South they can introduce anything and there isn't a whimper.

'CASTLEREAGH' McDOWELL

The previous week Justice Minister McDowell introduced the Second Stage of the Criminal Justice Bill, he tiptoed through a 23-page introduction speaking entirely in Gaelic.

The proposed Bill further erodes basic citizenship rights: it included the doubling of maximum detention time before charges must be laid from 12 to 24 hours for all suspected offences; the removal of the necessity to have a Judge sign a search warrant, conferring that power instead on a Garda Superintendent; the admissibility of statements from those who subsequently retract them; and the right forcibly to take saliva samples from a suspect without his/her permission.

"Further provisions give wide-ranging powers to the Garda to issue what are called fixed charge offences. According to the Human Rights Commission, this will give individual members of the Garda "wide discretion to be judge and jury' in relation to charging and fining people for "offensive conduct', a term which the commission identifies as being ill-defined. It points to abuse by police of similar provisions in the UK. It adds that 'there is also the risk that such powers will be used disproportionately against certain groups in society such as members of the Traveller community, other ethnic minorities and protesters... Further, it could even have the effect of criminalising groups such as the homeless" (Mary Raftery, Irish Times, 24.2.2005).

"There is particular anxiety that a Bill of this nature should have been allowed reach a Second Stage reading in the Dail when it is, by admission of the Minister, glaringly incomplete. McDowell has already indicated that he intends the Bill

to deal with a further 11 provisions, as yet unspecified" (ibid.).

Fianna Fail backbencher, Barry Andrews, T.D., himself a barrister, has expressed reservations about a number of aspects. He pointed to its rushed nature, following on the collapse of the Keane murder trial in Limerick. "Given that the rules of evidence have developed over a century, that we should decide after four days' deliberation to turn some basic rules on their head is worrying", he stated.

Of course if Minister McDowell fails to engender adequate support, Hugh Orde could always get some of his old RUC mates to visit Dublin as they did in 1972-74 and set off a couple of old blasts—that's usually enough to get Leinster House on side!

THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM BILL

Minister McDowell's counterpart in Britain, Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary and former President of the National Union of Students, steered *The Prevention of Terrorism Bill* through Parliament on 11th March 2005.

"The new legislation has been constantly discussed as if it were a replacement for the existing detention provisions, which were due to expire on March 14, 2005. But the scope of the new legislation is much wider, since it applies to people of all nationalities suspected of 'international terrorism', not just to foreigners who cannot be deported" (Labour & Trade Union Review, March, 2005).

"From next Monday it becomes possible to electronically tag and put under house arrest anyone in the North of Ireland considered to be a security risk.

People from the Republic could also be banned from the North under the raft of new laws.

"Direct Rule Minister Paul Murphy has refused to rule out the application of the new laws in the North, to the fury of Sinn Féin and other human rights groups." (Daily Ireland, 12.3.2005).

Men and women may be electronically tagged and detained in their homes for twelve out of twenty-four hours, even being prevented from walking in their own gardens if those gardens are out of the range of the monitoring equipment. The suspects would then have to contact the police three or four times during the twelve hours they are 'at liberty' to let them know of their movements.

The only significant amendment accepted by the Prime Minister, as a result of pressure from the Lords, was that a judge, rather than the Home Secretary, is



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Royal Irish Garda (RIG)

The Gaelic Athletic Association may withstand the pressure of West Britain to host Rugby and Soccer in our national stadium but, it the Minister for Justice, Mr. McDowell, has his way, the successors the 1920 Auxiliaries could again be making their presence felt at Croke Park.

In the midst of the Propaganda 'Tsunami' directed at the Republican Movement, the Garda Commissioner, Noel Conroy, and the Six County Chief Constable, Hugh Orde, signed an unprecedented law accord between the two police forces on the island.

It enables the Garda Siochana and the PSNI, aka the RUC, to serve in both political jurisdictions, allowing for secondments and lateral movement between both forces.

The Dublin Government passed the *Garda Siochana (Police Co-Operation) Bill 2003*, during the Autumn of that year. The British Government had already introduced legislation to facilitate the implementation of the proposals that emerged from the Patten Report (see *Labour Comment*, February, 2004, p.16).

It will allow officers from one force to be seconded to the other for stints of up to three years.

Officers at the rank of Superintendent and Chief Superintendent will also be eligible to compete for posts in the other police force.

The Gardai will have no difficulties in taking part in joint training or exchange programmes. Joint conferences on policing issues have already been held under the auspices of the FBI at its academy in Quantico, Virginia, and subsequently at the Garda College in Templemore, Co. Tipperary and the PSNI Training College at Garnerville, Belfast.

More than 70 RUC officers underwent training in the Garda College, Templemore, Co. Tipperary, for United Nations peace observation duties in Kosovo.

Justice Minister McDowell and

Northern Secretary Paul Murphy were in Hillsborough, Co. Down to witness the occasion on 21st February 2005.

However, there's a price for everything! On going to press, we learn from the Annual Conference of the Association of Garda Sergeants and Inspectors (AGSI) in Kilkenny on 23.3.2005 "the 2,200 mid-ranking Gardai revealed that they had been encouraged by their leadership to shun the ground-breaking moves." (*Irish Independent*, 25.3.2005).

It was disclosed that they had rejected an offer of up to 20,000 Euros each per year on top of their normal pay to work alongside members of the PSNI.

The allowance believed to be mostly tax-free, would be on top of a basic Sergeant's salary of between 40,000 and 46,300 Euros.

Inspectors would receive the allowance on top of their basic salary of between 46,000 and 52,000 Euros.

But Commissioner Noel Conway said there was no information to suggest that members would be in any danger in the

North.

"Referring to the Garda/P.S.N.I. protocol, Mr. Conroy said he would encourage 'in every way' the exchange of police personnel, North and South." (*Irish Examiner*, 23.3.2005).

The Department of Justice believed the offer was in line with existing overseas allowances for garda on duty in Cyprus and Sarajevo. It was not unknown for the 'boys in blue' on taking up their duty in Cyprus, to move their entire families to Cyprus and rent out their Irish homes!

However, all is not lost, the AGSI President "*appealed to the Commissioner to use his influence with the management team to ask them to return to the negotiating table with a realistic offer.*"

So the 'boys in blue' may yet cross the 'Black Pig's Dyke' to join their brethren in bottle-green!

Labour Comment has a solution to the dead-lock, and would suggest to Commissioner Conroy that if he offers Sterling instead of Euros, he won't find the AGSI wanting!

It is certainly of an unprecedented political nature, especially by a Fianna Fail-led Government. Dr. Garret Fitz Gerald was pilloried by Fianna Fail in the 1980s for even suggesting limited RUC excursions into the Republic in pursuit of 'terrorists'. Now we could have former RUC personnel patrolling the Annual Fianna Fail Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodenstown graveyard.

The SDLP spokesman said it would be "*a great day for policing*" and that it would build public confidence in the justice system.

THE SECURITY SERVICE (MI5)
Commissioner Conway may 'wax

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