

# IRISH POLITICAL REVIEW

March 2008

Vol.23, No.3 ISSN 0790-7672

and **Northern Star** incorporating **Workers' Weekly** Vol.22 No.3 ISSN 954-5891

## The Mischief-Making Party

The long search for a centre-ground in Northern Ireland was finally successful last year when the DUP and Sinn Fein came together in a devolved government. The equally long attempt to constitute the margins into a hegemonic centre was given up as deference collapsed on both sides. Respectable Protestants no longer found it necessary to make obeisance to the fur-coat brigade, and they accepted—reluctantly perhaps—that Paisley expressed the substance of what they were. Paisley, for his part, overcame the fundamentalist Unionist urge to humiliate Sinn Fein and struck a deal with it—humiliating the fur-coat brigade instead, which had spent a quarter of a century hawking to no purpose. And Catholics freed themselves from the spell—the mirage—of 'constitutional nationalism', took rational account of the predicament that Partition put them in, and backed the party which had been the means of improving their position through warfare.

DUP / SF devolution has been working so well that there is now talk of police powers being devolved in the Autumn. And the fringe parties are desperate. There is now a *de facto* coalition against the functioning Executive by the SDLP, the UUP, a group of dissident Paisleyites, and a group of dissident Provos, supported by the *Irish Times*, whose London correspondent, Frank Millar (Wee Frankie) is headlining a campaign to retire Paisley. (Millar was Secretary of the UUP in the 1980s, when he lost out to Molyneux in inner-party struggle and was given a plum job by the *Irish Times*.)

The SDLP and UUP are, of course, both members of the devolved government, but they are trying to act as an Opposition. But there is no role for an Opposition in the system introduced in 1998, which the SDLP itself claimed to be the architect of.

It might be said that that is not democratic. Of course it isn't! Anything resembling democracy is what had to be got away from it, if a functional settlement was to be made in Northern Ireland. That is why the SDLP devised a system in which all parties, above a very small base, would be in government as of right. It assumed when doing so that it would be one of the dominant parties in the Government. Now that it isn't, it feels a wrecking urge.

The UUP wanted (or said it wanted) to form a Coalition with the SDLP when they were the top two parties, and to opt for a kind of democratic local government in a weighted majority system. The SDLP flirted with the idea, but rejected it, fearing that it would lose out heavily to SF if it accepted. It lost out heavily anyway, as did the UUP to the DUP. It still rejects it, even though it has little left to lose.

If SDLP / UUP want normal adversarial politics in something that looks a bit more like a democracy, they might possibly get it by refusing to take part in government, and acting as an opposition to the system which they set in motion ten years ago. And then what? And then nothing. The SDLP is as bereft of realisable purpose today as it ever was. (John Hume's intensely purposeful activity for a few years, in conjunction with Gerry Adams, was a solo effort, kept up in the face of hostility in the party.)

## Ned Young—last of the 'Boys of Kilmichael'

THE last of the "Boys of Kilmichael," Captain Ned Young, formerly of Kilbarry Road, Dunmanway, but in latter years resident at Wilton Road in Cork, passed away at his home on Monday. The anniversary of the famous ambush led by Tom Barry will be celebrated on Sunday week, two days before the actual date of the fight, "The twenty-eighth day of November."

Born into a great Dohenys G.A.A. family in 1892, it was inevitable, as it was for many G.A.A. followers, to become involved in the fight for independence, as a member of the Third West Cork Brigade, Old I.R.A., and as a member of the Flying Column in 1920. For many years, he was a familiar figure at the Kilmichael commemoration. Now with but some days to go to the event, he will be remembered with the other republican dead who have gone before him on Slighe na Firinne.

### WAS GREAT

His brother, Jack Young, was a great G.A.A. player in his time, and won a football All-Ireland for Cork against Antrim, and Jack's sons were later to win All-Irelands in hurling and football, but Ned and his family contributed much to Dohenys in football and Glen Rovers in hurling. Many is the time we remember Ned the fiery enthusiast urging on his team, knowing only



The late Ned Young, Dunmanway.

that the Dohenys were best, but withal, it was great to chat and reminisce with him after a game.

### FOR YEARS

Ned Young played hurling and football with the Dohenys for almost thirty years and was president of the Dohenys Hurling and Football Clubs for many years. His sons, Leo, Edda and John, also played a lot of hurling and football with the Dohenys and Glen Rovers.

His daughter, Finola, played camogie and badminton.

The late Captain Young is also survived by his wife, Catherine (nee O'Hea) of Kilbrittain, grandchildren, son-in-law, daughters-in-law, nephews and nieces.

Deceased was Life President of the Ballabuidhe Doheny Home Week Association.

**The Southern Star reports the death of last Kilmichael veteran on 18 November 1989. Peter Hart claimed to have interviewed a Kilmichael veteran on 19 November 1989**

See article by Niall Meehan on page 12

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*Labour Comment*, edited by **Pat Maloney**:

Woodrow Wilson: A Love Scored

(back page)

The campaign to destabilise the DUP / SF combination had a minor success with the resignation of Paisley junior on a nothing issue hyped by the media for want of anything else to do.

The SDLP is now projecting an image of itself as the Civil Rights Party, as distinct from Sinn Fein which was something else. In those days Sinn Fein did not exist—it was another party that went under that name. Provo Sinn Fein was formed after the 'Northern Ireland State' had been subverted by the Civil Rights agitation, and political life was thrown into flux by the pogrom.

Nor did the SDLP exist then.

It is true that the founders of the SDLP had been leaders of the Civil Rights agitation.

The great Civil Rights slogan was *One Man, One Vote!* It played well on the international media, but it was actually much ado about nothing. What it mainly referred to was not voting in either the state or the Stormont elections, but an element of plural votes in Local Government elections which had been ended in Britain some years earlier. Conceding that demand would have changed next to nothing. The astonishing thing is that the UUP did not concede it the instant it was made.

When it was conceded, in 1969, it was treated, by those who had raised it, as being of no consequence.

The slogan, as played in the British, Irish, and international media, suggested that the Northern Catholics were deprived of voting rights *en masse*, as were blacks in South Africa and the Southern USA. The Civil Rights leaders must have known very well that this was not the case, and that the element of disfranchisement was trivial, and was not one-sided. But the obtuseness of the UUP made it an effective wedge for splitting the whole Northern situation open.

The major disfranchisement issue was the Derry City gerrymander. But that was a highly particular case with no general implications.

When the situation was split open by the Civil Rights wedge in August 1969, some of the future founders of the SDLP went to Dublin looking for guns, and they were promised guns, and guns began to flow into West Belfast before the Provo IRA had ever been heard of.

At the critical moment in mid-August 1969 the Dublin Government, in the shape of Jack Lynch, played a crucial role in radicalising Northern Catholic expectations by making an inflammatory speech, deploying his little Army on the Border, and promising guns to Gerry Fitt and Co.

The Civil Rights demands were quickly implemented, and scarcely noticed. The B Specials were disbanded. The Wilson/

Callaghan Government told off the Stormont administration in headmasterish fashion. And the Civil Rights/SDLP leaders called off the agitation and urged the people to settle down. —Or did they? We were carried away for a moment by the image which they are currently projecting of themselves.

What we recall of the SDLP on its First Coming is that it was itself carried away by the groundless expectations attached to the *One Man, One Vote!* slogan—though it must have known them to be groundless—and that nothing that was realisable would satisfy it.

We recall the slogan *British Rights For British Citizens*. This was a demand that the normality of British political life should spring up in Northern Ireland and displace "sectarian head counting". We pointed out that the normality produced by British politics was not to be had without British politics, but that was dismissed as pessimism.

The SDLP programme, devised in 1970, had two contradictory aims—reform on British lines and the ending of Partition. We indicated that we would support the SDLP if it chose one or the other of those aims and was willing to adopt realistic preconditions for realising it, but said that the two together were impossible. But it insisted on having the two in a self-contradictory programme.

In 1971 Premier Faulkner made it an offer for participation in Stormont which bowled it over. It did not see how it could refuse it, in the light of what it had been saying. It coped with the dilemma by not returning to Stormont, instead setting up an Alternative Assembly at Dungannon. In 1972 it declared for "*United Ireland or nothing*". In 1973 Willie Whitelaw oozed all over them, seduced them back to the conference table at Sunningdale, and set up a kind of voluntary but obligatory power-sharing system of devolution for them at Sunningdale.

They took office in January 1974, with our support for what it was worth. By March it was obvious that power-sharing had been endangered by events in Dublin under a Fine Gael/Labour coalition, and we warned of this. Michael Dwyer wrote to the Minister for Social Welfare (Paddy Devlin) suggesting a meeting to discuss how the power-sharing Executive might be saved. He received an abrupt reply saying that everything was well in hand and the SDLP needed no advice from a group that could hold its annual general meeting in a phone box.

Two months later the Executive fell and the whole Sunningdale system was scrapped. It might have been saved if the SDLP had been willing to negotiate on the establishment on the Council of Ireland.

25 years passed before there was another Agreement. And now the SDLP is intent on destroying that too!

It is not the Civil Rights party. (The Provos have stretched Civil Rights far beyond anything that was imagined forty years ago, both as ideals and realities.) The SDLP is better described as the mischief-making Party.

## History Ireland Correction

Read the latest *Irish Political Review* with great interest. It's not my intention to respond except to say that like any publication we're fair game for criticism. However I must take issue with the statement in 'Does It Stack Up?' that "*History Ireland* is totally financed by taxpayers of this country". Now where did you get that idea? HI is "totally financed" by retail sales, subscriptions & advertising, nothing else. It's true I was on a FAS scheme in the early days but that's a long time ago now. Perhaps you could be good enough to point this out to your readers? Maybe one or two might be inspired to buy the magazine or even take out a sub. **Tommy Graham, Editor**

## Editorial Digest

**Northern Bank Robbery Revisited** On Saturday 9th February it was announced that the Cunningham company Phil Flynn was associated with in Farran, Co. Cork had been given a tax clearance certificate. This absolved them of any wrong-doing and showed they were certainly not recipients of money from the Great Northern Bank Raid. The self-proclaimed journal of record, the Irish Times, did not report on it for a couple of days and then in a way that kept suspicions as alive as possible. Remember the wheely bins of millions of pounds, pounds being burned in back gardens and notes flying out of chimneys all over Passage West? It was international news with all the dramatic spin that was possible to extract. What was not so well reported was the number of small businesses who were practically ruined by having had dealings with the suspect Cunningham. And all for what? It was but another journalistic feeding-frenzy orchestrated by the Government as part of the peace process! The fact now remains that the only Northern Bank money ever found was in an RUC leisure centre.

We have pointed out before that Cunningham was a legitimate businessman with a good reputation for giving a better deal to entrepreneurs than banks. He stood in an election to make his point. Hardly the behaviour of a dodgy character. A couple of million pounds is small change in the international property market between Cork and other parts of the world—it could be the deposits on a few local houses. On this occasion Cunningham was facilitating Bulgarian investors in Irish business and property. And would you keep that type of money in a safe in your house to make it easy for robbing? A used plastic bag is well known as the safest place to keep a million or two. Do Irish journalists live in another planet or do their expense accounts make them mesmerised by the sight of real money?

**Unionist Joins FF.** Harvey Bicker, former Ulster Unionist Councillor and British army officer has joined Fianna Fail (Irish

News 23.2.08). Mr. Bicker is a member of the Military Heritage of Ireland Trust which helped set up the national museum in Collins Barracks, Dublin. The *Irish News* says that he is the first Unionist to join a republican party, but Fianna Fail said that there have been several. Fianna Fail also says that its youth movement, Ogra Fianna Fail, now has more the 150 members in the North. Ulster Unionist Party leader, Sir Reg Empey, said: "*He is a member of President McAleese's Council of State and has been for a number of years so he was always obviously interested in that sort of thing.*" That sort of thing!!! Interestingly, Mr. Bicker was opposed to the Good Friday Agreement.

**Ian Paisley Jnr** resigned on February 18th as a Stormont Minister (but not as an MLA) amid controversy over his dealings with businessman Seymour Sweeney and others (see IPR passim). Paisley had lobbied Tony Blair and the Assembly when Sweeney wanted to build a private visitors' centre at the Giant's Causeway. It emerged that Sweeney was a member of the DUP. Paisley says that he lobbied on behalf of many people because they were constituents. He added: "*Personal criticism, unfounded allegations, innuendo and attacks on me personally—followed by ombudsman's reports that have cleared me—this relentless period of criticism by those who have decided on this path has been unrelenting.*" Indeed, the whole thing seems to have been much ado about very little. *An Phoblacht* only says "*his business affairs had the whiff of unreliability about them...*" There seems to be a campaign to undermine the DUP from diehard Unionists, and resentful OUP supporters allied with elements of the SDLP. But even a Whiff can cause a problem with the DUP members. It is probably the straightest party around. As some wit said—if members want to get up to serious skullduggery they should go across the water and join New Labour!

**Gregory Campbell**, the DUP MLA and MP, was slated for claiming rent for his

office which was in a house owned by his wife. What was seldom mentioned was that the "house" was a proper shop-front type office. The OUP and the SDLP have been having great fun over these matters. It is noticeable that most press and TV stories about Ian Og are tied to speculation about the future of his father. Perhaps it should be remembered that it is second nature to the British State to destabilize everything it touches and there are hundreds of British secret policemen in the Six Counties with little else to do.

**Brendan Hughes**, former OC IRA prisoners in Long Kesh, died in Belfast 16th February 2008. Though he disagreed with recent Sinn Féin policies, he remained on good terms with all Republicans. Gerry Adams and Fra McCann helped carry his coffin. Members D Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade formed a guard of honour. In 1973 he escaped from Long Kesh in a rolled up mattress but was caught in May 1974 and sentenced to 15 years. While inside he was sentenced to another 5 years and, as this was done after 1st March 1976, the British were able to transfer him to the H blocks where he lost his POW status. He organized the "dirty protest" in 1978 and was on hunger strike for 56 days in 1980. His health never properly recovered from this and he was just 59 when he died. On Saturday 23rd November some of his ashes were scattered at the IRA war memorial on the Falls Road and a firing party (or what the *Irish News* choose to call 'gunmen') fired in tribute.

**Mairead Farrell** is due to be commemorated at Stormont's Long Gallery on March 8th, International Women's Day. She was assassinated, along with Sean Savage and Danny McCann, by British soldiers at the Spain-Gibraltar crossing point on March 6th 1988. The three were unarmed and attempted to surrender at the time. It was at their funeral that Michael Stone shot dead three mourners, possibly with the support of the RUC and certainly with their help after the shooting. Danny Kennedy, Deputy

Leader of the UUP said: "It would be the equivalent of hosting a reception in Drogheda for Oliver Cromwell" (News Letter 23.2.08). Jennifer McCann, Sinn Fein MLA in West Belfast said: "I believe that in the constituency I represent Mairead Farrell is an icon, particularly for young women, and basically I'm not asking people to agree with that but I'm asking people to respect that." Nelson McCausland of the DUP said: "People like Farrell and her fellow terrorists in the IRA killed hundreds of innocent women throughout the course of their campaign of terror. To hold such a person up as a role model demonstrates some of the warped thinking which exists inside Sinn Fein." It has to be wondered what the Gibraltar Three themselves would have made of the location for the memorial!

**The Dromore By-Election** result has been welcomed by the Unionist columnist, Roy Garland, in the Irish News, as a victory for the Ulster Unionist Party. The Party Leader, Reg Empey said on television that the result showed that his party can win elections and the DUP can lose elections. The vote was on 13th February. Here's how the *Irish News* reported it two days later: "A surprise Ulster Unionist victory in the Dromore by-election has sent shockwaves through the unionist community in what has been described as a 'Black day' for the DUP". A 'Black day' for the DUP was what was hoped for and predicted before the election. It was not what actually happened. But the *Irish News* and the media in general are determined to promote the UUP against the DUP as the 'moderates'. Facts are neither here nor there. The UUP itself gives the impression that the power-sharing Executive has nothing to do with it. Never mind that it and the SDLP have Ministers on the Executive. 'Moderate' is a strange term for a Party which seems determined to wreck the present set-up in the name of traditional unionism and is delighted that MEP Jim Allister has set up the *Traditional Unionist Voice* (TUV) against the DUP. (It is said that the UUP would prefer to withdraw from the Executive if the SDLP would join it, but that the SDLP is unwilling.)

The *Irish News* version of Dromore was the version peddled by the UUP and the SDLP. On the Internet there were several pages about the by-election, but none of them printed the actual results. And most said or implied that there was a UUP gain from the DUP. In fact the seat had been held in the last two local elections by Tyrone Howe for the UUP. Howe, a former Irish international rugby player, resigned in November 2007. The following are the figures for first preference votes which this column finally got from Banbridge District Council:

Paul Stewart DUP	1,069
Carol Black UUP	912
Keith Harbinson TUV	739
David Griffen Alliance	357
Paul Gribben Sinn Fein	350
John Drake SDLP	290
Helen Corry Green Party	59

With transfers, Carol Black of the UUP won the election. After the fifth count it was UUP 1,571 and DUP 1,505. But whose transfers? The TUV votes were split almost equally—377 to the UUP and 327 to the DUP, which gives as good a clue as anything else as to where the TUV votes came from in the first place. The crucial factor in the UUP retaining its seat was the transfer of 182 votes from the Alliance Party to the UUP. We have been able to find only one other even passably realistic assessment of the election—albeit from an anti-SF standpoint—that was in a letter to the *Irish News* on 22nd February from Sean Swan in Baltimore, Co. Cork. Here are extracts:

"It was sad to see Roy Garland celebrating the Dromore by-election results. It was only technically a victory for the Ulster Unionist Party - their share of the vote actually fell from 2005. What Dromore means is the rise of the Traditional Unionist Voice as an electoral force. If it is repeated in Westminster and European elections, Sinn Fein—whose share of the vote increased in Dromore—will emerge as the largest party in Northern Ireland by far. This is a strange outcome for a unionist like Roy to celebrate. In fact it's not something for anybody to celebrate as destabilizing Unionism means destabilizing the Good Friday Agreement—and nobody should pretend that they know where that would lead... We all know what the Paisleyites and the Provos were—it's what they are now that matters. Trimble and Mallon failed..."

**New SDLP History.** The SDLP has been referring to itself as the Civil Rights Party in recent months as we head towards the 40th anniversary of the famous Civil Rights march that was battened off the Streets of Derry on 5th October 1968. The notion is that things would have been fine if the movement was left alone but the Provos came along and spoiled it all. And this is a position given every publicity by the *Irish News*. A flavour can be seen in a letter by SDLP MLA, Alban McGuinness, in the *Irish News* on 9th February 2008, under the headline *Free At Last*:

"Francie Molloy is right when he states that republicans were closely involved in setting up the Civil Rights movement. The involvement of the founders of the SDLP—John Hume, Ivan Cooper, Austin Currie, Paddy O'Hanlon, Paddy Devlin and others—is a matter of history, as is the party's subsequent record. Apart from Francie, who stewarded the Coalisland march

in 1968, we find no other Sinn Fein in the old news reels. The Civil Rights movement was a broad coalition seeking democratic reforms within Northern Ireland... The Provisional movement... was formed by a group violently opposed to any reform which they saw as 'propping up' Stormont... By Summer 1970 the main aims of the Civil Rights movement had been achieved or conceded... That was the point at which a number of leading people in that movement decided that a new party, the SDLP, should be formed to work politically in the new, more democratic conditions.... It was also the point at which the Provos, having deposed the progressive republican leadership, launched their bomb and bullet campaign."

All very neat. So the SDLP was never a nationalist Party. The 1969 pogroms never happened. But though this history may be false it gives a good insight into how the SDLP now sees itself—a peaceful sectarian Party wanting to run the Northern Ireland statelet just like its other side of the coin, the Ulster Unionist Party. It has devised a nice simple history for itself to support its present position.

**Informers.** Possibly having run out of Republicans to 'out' as informers, MI5 is now getting informers who the Republican Movement have themselves discovered but have let alone, to 'out' themselves. The latest is Roy McShane, a former associate of Freddie Scappaticci and one of the leadership's former drivers. MacShane's treachery was discovered almost 20 years ago, as was that of others. Neighbours of his suspected him. But on February 8th his old handlers took him into protective custody and details were in the press. Doubtless there are a few more who were internally exposed in the 80s and 90s to be re-exposed drip by drip to undermine Sinn Fein.

**Flags & Emblems.** There are strong protests by the Orange Order and other Protestant bodies against the decision by Banbridge District Council to remove commemorative items from public display on Council property under its 'flags and emblems' policy. Final decisions will be taken after consultations. The items proposed for removal include: paintings of an Orange Lodge and an RAF checkpoint as well as plaques presented to the Council by: the RUC Male Voice Choir, the Royal British Legion, the Ulster Defence Regiment, the Ulster Special Constabulary, the Royal Irish Rangers, the Royal Irish Rifles, the Royal Irish Fusilliers, The RAF Irish Guards and, for some reason, the Hampshire Constabulary. The present composition of Banbridge District Council is: DUP 6, UUP 5,

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# The Lisbon Treaty

On 29th January 2008, Gordon Brown entertained German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, French President, Nicolas Sarkozy and Italian Prime Minister, Romano Prodi, in Downing Street. This was Gordon Brown's first big EU initiative, his spin doctors told the world. After complaints by other EU states, Jose Manuel Barroso, EU Commission President, was invited—to represent the "small countries" of the EU, it was said.

Was this the way that the EU was going to be run in future, I wondered, with the big EU states agreeing positions in advance, as the five veto-wielding members of the Security Council do these days, having given up any pretence that the views of the ten temporary members of the Council matter? If so, there would have to be a seat at the table in future for the permanent President of the Council of Ministers, a post which will be created by the Lisbon Treaty.

## A PERMANENT PRESIDENT

This proposition in the Treaty has been presented as a kind of tidying up exercise, made necessary by the fact that the EU has 27 members. It is inefficient to have the presidency rotating around 27 states every six months, it is said. In fact, the rotation is no more or less efficient with 27 states than it was with 6. However, the drawback for big states is that they get to hold the presidency every thirteen and half years instead of every three years—and so do Luxembourg and Malta.

Now there is to be a permanent President, initially for two and a half years and renewable further two and a half years. Significantly, individual states will not have a veto over who becomes President, who will be elected by qualified majority voting by Ministers.

Gordon Brown could have Tony Blair imposed upon him by other states. Blair seems to be angling for the job. He went to the UMP conference in January at the invitation of Nicolas Sarkozy and described himself as a "socialist", which is a sure sign that something is afoot.

The rotating presidency was a symbol that the EU, in its current and earlier forms, was an association of states with each state taking a turn at running it, while the permanent European Commission was the unifying mechanism acting for the Union as a whole. With the appointment of a permanent President, this balance will shift away from individual states and towards the Union.

This shift will be more pronounced if the roles of President of the Council of Ministers and the President of the Commission are merged. This is permitted

under the Lisbon Treaty, which merely forbids the President of the Council from holding "a national office", that is, a governmental position in one of the EU states. Earlier drafts of the Constitution forbade the President of the Council from being "a member of another European institution" as well, but that bar was later removed and the President of the Commission can now be elected President of the Council.

## A FOREIGN MINISTER

There are other ways in which the Lisbon Treaty will enhance the role of the Union at the expense of member states, notably in the area of foreign affairs. The Constitution provided for the creation of Minister of Foreign Affairs, formed by merging the functions of the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the External Relations Commissioner, the posts currently held by Javier Solana of Spain and Benita Ferrero-Waldner of Austria, respectively. The Treaty creates a post with the same role, but is to be named the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy (HRUFASP)—which will, of course, be known as the EU foreign minister. It's likely that the new permanent President will also spend most of his time representing the EU in the world. You can see why Tony Blair is angling for the Presidency.

Like the permanent president, the EU foreign minister will be appointed by qualified majority voting by Ministers, and individual states won't have a veto. The foreign minister will be a member of the Commission and will chair meetings of EU foreign ministers in the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council. Furthermore, when the EU has a defined policy on a subject on the agenda of the Security Council, EU states who are members of the Security Council will be obliged to request that the EU foreign minister be allowed to attend and speak for the EU. (From this, it follows logically that there should be a single EU veto in the Security Council, instead of the UK and France having one each, but it can be guaranteed that the neither the UK nor France will agree to give up its veto.)

For the first time, there is to be an EU diplomatic service—its official title is the European External Action Service—bringing together the External Relations Commissioner's staff working in Brussels (less than 1,000) with the 5,000 or so staff in the Commission's "delegations" around the world.

The British Government keeps saying

that each state will retain a veto on foreign affairs, but that is not the whole truth. Qualified majority voting by Ministers will apply in a number of areas in foreign affairs. For example, when the EU General Affairs and External Relations Council asks the EU foreign minister for a proposal on a particular subject, once s/he has made a proposal the Council will accept or reject the proposal by qualified majority voting. Furthermore, all decisions with regard to the diplomatic service will be taken by qualified majority voting.

The balance between the Union and individual states has shifted in other ways as well. The states' right of veto has been abolished in some 60 areas by the Lisbon Treaty. Qualified majority voting is to be made officially the norm—the "ordinary legislative procedure". And the system of qualified majority voting is to be altered so that it will be more difficult for individual states to block legislation. In future, to pass legislation at least 55% of EU states (that is, at least 15 out of the present 27) must vote for it and the states that vote for it must have at least 65% of the EU population. The net result will be that the ability of individual states to block legislation will diminish, and the smaller the state the more it will diminish. Other thing being equal, the influence of the larger states within the EU will rise at the expense of the smaller states.

## WHY HAS THE UK RETREATED?

Early in the negotiations on the Constitution (which began in 2002), the UK resisted much of this ceding of states' sovereignty to the Union. It was particularly vociferous in defending states' rights to an independent foreign policy, for example, it initially opposed the EU foreign minister (a) taking over the role of the External Relations Commissioner, (b) being a member of the Commission, (c) chairing the General Affairs and External Relations Council, and (d) speaking for the EU at the Security Council. It also opposed the creation of an EU diplomatic service. But, during the negotiation of the Constitution, the UK has retreated from all these positions.

My guess is that this retreat is a product of the fact that in recent years the EU has generally been persuaded to support US/UK foreign policy, for example, on Iran and Palestine. In the light of this, the UK's reluctance to cede sovereignty to the Union on foreign affairs has diminished and it has accepted that the establishment of what amounts to an EU foreign ministry and diplomatic service is necessary if the EU is to be effective in support of US/UK foreign policy.

The Lisbon Treaty is currently before the House of Commons. Given its history of opposition to ceding sovereignty to the EU, one might have thought that the Conservative Party would be manning the

barricades to resist the measures mentioned above. But it is not. Yes, it is opposing the Treaty, but not with the fervour one would expect, given the significance of what is being proposed. It appears that the penny has also dropped with the Conservatives that it is advantageous to Britain to have an EU Foreign Ministry, when there's a good chance of Britain being in a position to drive it.

(The Conservative Party's main attack on the Government is that the Labour Party promised, in its 2005 election manifesto, to hold a referendum on the Constitution and it is now refusing to hold a referendum on the functionally equivalent Treaty. Since the Liberal Democrats, who also promised a referendum in their election manifesto, have also reneged on their promise, there won't be a referendum and the Treaty will be approved by Parliament, perhaps after a hiccup or two in the House of Lords.)

\* \* \* \* \*

I haven't said anything about the possible social and economic impact of the Lisbon Treaty, because I don't know enough about those aspects of the Treaty to judge. I cannot say whether there was real substance to the proposition advanced by the French left that the Constitution would have set the EU unequivocally on a neo-liberal economic path, which was a major reason why the French referendum on the Constitution was lost. Certainly, Britain has no longer any reason to fear that its neo-liberal economic system is going to be subjected to regulation from Brussels.

Britain has therefore nothing to fear in domestic affairs from a more integrated EU—and it reckons it can make use of a more integrated EU in foreign affairs. Unfortunately, small states are unlikely to stand up against Britain's designs for the EU in foreign affairs, since their populations are unlikely to object, as they may to do to the prospect of Directives from Brussels affecting their everyday life.

**David Morrison**

26 February 2008

[www.david-morrison.org.uk](http://www.david-morrison.org.uk)

## Irish European Referendum Group

The anti-EU socialist grouping campaigning for a "No" vote on the EU Reform Treaty have a website with a lot of material on it. The position we are taking is we are not against the EU but against the direction it is heading. See

<http://www.voteno.ie/>

## Stop Blair !

### Petition against the nomination of Tony Blair as "President of the European Union"

**Bookmakers are offering 2/1 odds on Blair being elected the first President of the European Union. Second favourite is Luxembourg's PM, Jean Claude Juncker at 3/1. Bertie Ahern comes in at 5/1.**

**Several thousand people have already signed an Internet Petition against 'President' Blair sponsored by the group below**

**Sign the Petition!  
at  
[etg@eurotrib.com](mailto:etg@eurotrib.com)**

We, European citizens of all origins and of all political persuasions, wish to express our total opposition to the nomination of Tony Blair to the Presidency of the European Council. The Treaty of Lisbon provides for the new post of President of the European Council, to be elected by the Council for a mandate, renewable once only, of two and a half years.

Under the terms of the Treaty: *"The President of the European Council shall chair it and drive forward its work" and "shall ensure the preparation and continuity of the work of the European Council".* Further, *"The President of the European Council shall, at his level and in that capacity, ensure the external representation of the Union on issues concerning its common foreign and security policy".*

The future President of the European Council will therefore have a key role in determining the policies of the European Union and its relations with the rest of the world. This first Council Presidency will also have a major symbolic weight for both citizens of the European Union and for the image of the Union in the rest of the world. In this perspective, we believe it is essential that the first president embodies the spirit and values of the European project.

For some time now, increasingly insistent news reports have made evident a wish, in some quarters, to see Tony Blair appointed the first President of the European Council. This appointment, were it to take place, would be in total contradiction with the values professed by the European project.

In violation of international law, Tony Blair committed his country to a war in Iraq that a large majority of European citizens opposed. This war has claimed hundreds of thousands of victims and displaced millions of refugees. It has been a major factor in today's profound destabilisation of the Middle East, and has weakened world security. In order to lead his country into war, Mr Blair made systematic use of fabricated evidence and the manipulation of information. His role in the Iraq war would weigh heavily on the image of the Union in the world, should he in fact be named its president.

The steps taken by Tony Blair's government, and his complicity with the Bush administration in the illegal programme of "extraordinary renditions",

have led to an unprecedented decline in civil liberties. This is in contradiction with the terms of the European Convention of Human Rights, which is an integral part of the treaty.

The European Charter of Fundamental Rights formalises the founding values of the European project and is one of the pillars of the new treaty. Tony Blair fought its inclusion in the Treaty of Lisbon, and eventually managed to secure an exemption for the UK.

Rather than move European integration forward, the former British Prime Minister set a series of so-called red line during the Lisbon negotiations, with the intent of blocking any progress in social issues and tax harmonisation, as well as common defence and foreign policy.

Furthermore, it seems unthinkable that the first President of the European Council should be the former head of a government that kept its country out of two key elements of the construction of Europe: the Schengen area of free movement of people and the Euro zone.

At a time when one of the priorities of the European institutions is to reconnect with its citizens, we believe it is essential that the President of the European Council should be a person with whom a majority of citizens can identify, rather than one rejected by a majority. Therefore, we declare our total opposition to this nomination.

European Union

### Israel joins the Competitiveness and Innovation Programme (CIP)

The vice-president of the European Commission Gunter Verheugen and Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Eliyahu Yishai recently signed the Memorandum of Understanding on the Competitiveness and Innovation Programme (CIP) in Tel Aviv. Israel is the first neighbouring country to access the CIP. It will join the first pillar of the Programme, called Entrepreneurship and Innovation (EIP). The aim of joining is to foster the competitiveness of enterprises, especially small and medium ones. Thanks to the EIP, Israeli business providers and innovation services will be able to be part of the European networks.

Israel has expressed its interest in participating in the other two pillars of the CIP—Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and Intelligent Energy Europe Programme—in the future. Related Links: European Commission—press release:

<<http://www.europa.eu/rapid/pressReleasesAction.do?reference=IP/07/1643&format=HTML&aged=0&language=EN&guiLanguage=en>>

More information on the CIP:  
[http://www.ipr-helpdesk.org/controlador/recursos/showDocument?idFicha=0000006582&formato=xml\\_html&nomFichero=ES\\_cip\\_nutshell&idFichero=01&len=deRelated](http://www.ipr-helpdesk.org/controlador/recursos/showDocument?idFicha=0000006582&formato=xml_html&nomFichero=ES_cip_nutshell&idFichero=01&len=deRelated)  
<[http://ec.europa.eu/cip/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/cip/index_en.htm)>

News on IPR-Helpdesk:  
2007/07/19 Israel. Agreement to become an associated country of 7th Framework Programme  
<<http://www.ipr-helpdesk.org/controlador/noticia?seccion=noticia&tipoListado=all&id=0000006243&len=en&searchText=Israel>>

2007/11/08. IP-RTD

## The St. George Crusade Against "Low Standards"

In the book of essays entitled *Bright, Brilliant Days: Douglas Gageby And The Irish Times*, there were two toffee-nosed contributions that denounced Gageby for his association with John Healy in admiring the leadership qualities of Charlie Haughey. Kevin Myers wrote of Gageby:

"He did not always agree with Haughey — but this was disagreement within the camp, as was that of John Healy whose repeated encomia to Haughey in his 'Backbencher' columns in the 1980s were masterpieces of sycophantic drivel, and a disgrace to the traditions of *Irish Times* journalism. But Gageby clearly loved them. The abysmal phenomenon of Charles Haughey—and all the horrors he embodied—were in part made possible by the abject acquiescence of a few figures in moral authority in Ireland—and none was more important than Douglas Gageby."

Slightly less hysterical, but with an additional dose of snobbery, Bruce Arnold also wrote of Gageby:

"He read Charles Haughey entirely wrongly and came too much under the influence of John Healy... Healy was a country boy, a 'scoop' news journalist, aggressive, with enormous chips on his shoulders, and his commitment to Haughey's political interests was brazenly partisan."

The present Editor of the *Irish Times*, Geraldine Kennedy, has no more love for Taoiseach Bertie Ahern than she had for the late Charles Haughey. When her attempted *coup* against Ahern was signalled by her '*an apology is not enough*' editorial of 2nd October 2006, an enthusiastic letter from one Mary Toomey was published immediately on the following day. How fulsomely it gushed:

"Madam, Thank you for a welcome editorial. No matter what, it is right that the *Irish Times* maintains its high standards and serves the public well... Once again we are witnessing low standards in high places. Where is George Colley?"

In her obituary of Haughey on 14, June 2006—which she had quite pointedly entitled "*a life long obsession with the pursuit of political power*"—Madam Kennedy made it quite clear that it was indeed the man whom she described as "*his own rival*", the late George Colley, who was far more to her liking:

"In June 1982 Mr. George Colley made a speech which was interpreted as the beginnings of a new challenge to Mr. Haughey's leadership. His theme was low standards in high places".

This Colley 'theme' was by now an old broken record which he had first played fifteen years previously. In his *Backbencher* column for the *Irish Times* on

29th April 1967, John Healy scripted a mock Leinster House dialogue concerning Colley's first use of that smear in an attempt to advance his own ambitions and thwart those of Haughey:

"The different knobs are talking about George's Speech, 'Youth and Politics' delivered by Mr. George Colley, Minister for Industry and Commerce, to the Kevin Barry Cumann of Fianna Fáil in Galway University on April 21st. Follow me to the first of a number of tables:

First Voice: Yes, but what the hell was he getting at—low standards in high places? ...

Third Voice: It was on the front page of the *Irish Times*. He said 'Do not be dispirited if at some time people in high places appear to have low standards'...

First Voice: It's as plain as the nose on your face—it was a cut at Your Man ... All you have to do is look at the very next sentence. I have it here. Listen. 'Remember, people of low standards have never led this country in the past. Nor will they in the future, if our young people are active and vigilant.' There it is in black and white. He might as well have said: 'Your Man will never smell the inside of the Taoiseach's office'. Plain as the nose on your face ...

First Minister: He wants to carve Charlie and a few more of us along with him ... George is the very man who knows you have to have funds to fight an election. He learned that lesson ...

Third Minister: Every member of the Cabinet has been tarred with the 'low standards' brush. Except George, of course, a modern Diogenese. 'Pauline' I think is what the *Irish Times* would call it.

First Minister: The *Times* must've loved that speech—he didn't miss out any of their favourite editorial themes for the past three years. Jasus, I thought I'd puke when I came to the bit about Samuel Neilson of the *Northern Star*—did you ever hear of the *Northern Star*? Now if it was the *Southern Star* ..."

Gageby was not in the least bit intolerant of Healy poking fun at the United Irishmen tone of some of his own editorials, in the course of exposing Colley's futile attempts to curry favour with Gageby himself. Twelve years later, when the newly-triumphant Taoiseach Charlie Haughey was to firmly put Tánaiste George Colley back into his box after the latter's "*conditional loyalty*" speech, Healy's contempt for St. George was unrestrained. As he wrote in his *Sounding Off* column on 24th December 1979:

"Who said the Stations of the Cross are gone?... George Falls the First Time (to Jack Lynch); George Falls the Second Time (to Charlie Haughey); George Falls the Third Time (to the doctrine of Cabinet Loyalty). And what about George Meets

His Afflicted Wife, Mary?... Charlie should be so lucky. All my best friends said he should have chopped George. Why do it when the man is cutting himself to ribbons? George was supposed to be the big man of politics. Charlie the little schemer. George was the man who deprecated low standards in high places, and there is now only one spot higher than Tánaiste and Charlie sits in it. George was the statesman of the party; Charlie merely the ambitious technocrat whom you couldn't trust as far as you'd throw him. And so on and so on. There is one virtue and one virtue alone in Fianna Fáil. It is loyalty. Loyalty to the point of personal insensibilities is demanded and expected in Fianna Fáil. The Crucible of loyalty sorted out—eventually—Neil Blaney and Kevin Boland. It tested, to a degree without precedent, Charles J. Haughey. Haughey came through that series of tests, debasing and personally humiliating as they were, and purchased, as no man ever purchased, the right he now enjoys, total loyalty from each man and woman in the party to the leadership and the party, whatever the cost in political insensibilities. This is his inordinate strength today. He debased himself to prove his loyalty to the leadership and the party; not all his friends at the time understood his actions and what motivated them because they did not understand the structure of the party and the role of loyalty as the first and only virtue."

In June 1982, as noted by Madam in her Haughey obituary, Colley was back to his old tricks again, complaining about "*stroke pulling*", and "*deals*" with Independent Deputies, by which he meant to criticise Haughey's commitments to Independent Socialist TD Tony Gregory to invest in Dublin's poverty-stricken inner city. But St. George had his ambitions thwarted yet again. As John Healy headlined his column that June 12th: "*George is yesterday's man*". Henceforth Colley could only attempt to operate by opportunistically piggybacking on stalking horses. Douglas Gageby's own contempt for Colley's miserable game was to be expressed on 4th October 1982, in his editorial entitled *Up Against It*:

"Charlie Haughey is good when up against it. He is good when speaking directly rather than communicating through middlemen. His performance on radio yesterday suggests that he has a good chance of continuing to hold on to his position as Taoiseach and party leader. Fianna Fáil as a party suffers from the weekend goings-on, Mr. McCreevy has tried to come again to the well. Even should he fail, damage has been done; and it is largely to the party. That, in the middle of the most serious financial crisis this State has faced, there should break out a snarling-match in the Government faction is distasteful at the least. Many will think it anti-national, to use the old term. For it is not as if Mr.

Haughey has suddenly bounded into the controlling position. Many in the party have lived and worked with him for the greater part of their political lifetime. Where were they when he and they were climbing the ladder of power? Where were their scruples as Mr. Haughey worked as Minister for Agriculture, for Justice, for Finance? If he was ineffective, if he was personally obnoxious, or in any way lacking, how is it that they were able to soldier on with him and elect him to be leader of the party?"

"The desire for power corrupts as much as does the exercise of it. Charles Haughey has been presented as the supreme example of the man who will go through hellfire to gain power. It now appears that there are other lustful characters in the Fianna Fáil Party. And Mr. McCreevy is not among that number. He will simply be used. It is thought to be unwise to change horses in midstream. That can be argued. But whom are the electorate to get if the Fianna Fáil Party in its wisdom makes a change? It may be too early to write the obituary of the party, but this latest incident shows a lack of seriousness in whatever grouping goaded Mr. McCreevy to make his demarche. What a way for, say, Mr. George Colley or Dr. Martin O'Donoghue to come to power. Fine Gael will look on with some satisfaction and with the hope that they will not, too soon, be called on to take over the reins ..."

St. George failed to slay the Dragon and replace him as Fianna Fáil leader. But he did contribute to Fine Gael's return to Government from November 1982 to February 1987, bringing about, in the process, that Party's tearing up of commitments under the National Understanding that Haughey had negotiated with the Unions. Unemployment and inflation spiralled; jobs and living standards plummeted. The country had to await Haughey's return to office as Taoiseach in the General Election of 1987 for him to seize the opportunities of Social Partnership and negotiate with the unions the aptly-named *Programme for National Recovery*.

In the post-Gageby *Irish Times* embrace of Colleyite vendettas, immediate family sensibilities have been shown no mercy. That paper sneeringly reported on 27th May 2000:

"Back in the 1980s when Mr. Charles Haughey was leader of Fianna Fáil, the best way to get a job was to be the Taoiseach's son. The Moriarty tribunal has already heard evidence of how some of the most powerful business figures in the state quickly became involved when Mr. Ciaran Haughey wanted to establish Celtic Helicopters in 1985 ... No one made any money until after 1992, when the company was taken over and Mr. Conor Haughey's involvement it ceased. At the time the company was taken over, it had accumulated debts of £3.8 million."

Madam's in-house High Priest, the

current Assistant Editor Fintan O'Toole, went very much further when he reviewed Sebastian Barry's play *Hinterland* on 2nd February 2002:

"From the very first moment ... you realise that there is to be no teasing, no guessing-games about the identity of Johnny Silvester... He trots out Haughey's now-infamous '*I have done the state some service*'. This, then is not a character inspired by Haughey. It is Haughey... that unique conjunction of puffed-up pomposity and vivid vulgarity... this mix of absurd grandiosity and half-comic savagery... an utterly convincing amalgam of ruthlessness and sentimentality, inflated self-regard and emotional fragility, bluster and breakdown."

O'Toole had but one quibble about characterisation:

"While almost all the main characters are obviously versions of real people—Haughey, his wife Maureen, Brian Lenihan and Terry Keane—one central figure clearly isn't. The figure of Silvester's son Jack, a suicidally depressed vet, is at the emotional core of the play. But Jack, pure invention, exists on a different plane from all the other main characters, making the necessary emotional connection difficult."

Here, the ever-moralising High Priest showed himself to be devoid of morality. He saw absolutely nothing wrong with that play's suggestion, as Jack hangs himself (and yes, I did go to see the play in 2002 before now presuming to criticise it), that it would only be a natural unfolding of Haughey's evil character that a child of his should view suicide as the appropriate response.

So much for the Dragon. But what more of St. George?

Both the *Irish Independent* on February 16th and the *Sunday Independent* on February 17th reported the following scandal under the heading of *Tax Scam Solicitors*:

"The legal profession, already damaged by financial scandals, has been hit with a new blow to its tattered reputation as two solicitors admitted they operated a secret €32m slush fund to deliberately evade tax. The two solicitors escaped being banned from practising law, despite admitting they had a clandestine account designed to foil the Revenue Commissioners. One of them even had a secret Swiss bank account. Dublin solicitors Henry Colley—son of the late Fianna Fail deputy leader, George Colley—and Colm Carroll, were suspended from practice for a year."

"They faced a number of charges, including setting up the secret bank account, withholding legal fees owed to barristers and 'doctoring' the accounts of their thriving practice, which made a fortune handling legal cases for the old health boards. Neither Colley nor Carroll can act as sole practitioners for three years once their suspension is lifted. And they

must pay €50,000 each to the solicitors' compensation fund. Last Friday, a High Court judge upheld a recommendation by the Solicitors' Disciplinary Tribunal not to bar the pair from practising law again. The Law Society had urged that they should receive the ultimate sanction of being struck off from the Roll of Solicitors. Mr. Justice Liam McKechnie had been told that much of the funds moved into secret bank accounts were legal fees paid by health boards. He said the only reason he did not strike off the solicitors was because clients were not exposed. The two solicitors admitted to around 50 charges of professional misconduct. They have already made a significant but undisclosed settlement with the Revenue Commissioners after self-confessed 'wrongful' tax evasion. The judge said he believed his decision not to strike off the solicitors, both in their 50s, would help maintain public confidence in the legal profession and uphold the good name of the Law Society."

"Carroll no longer practices as a solicitor, but Colley is still working at Roger Greene and Sons, Bridge Street, Dublin. The practice lost its highly lucrative health board work to rival firm, BCM Hanby Wallace, following the 2004 disciplinary tribunal hearing. Both solicitors admitted misconduct, including deliberate non-compliance with the solicitors' account regulations and deliberately falsifying books of account to evade paying tax. The High Court heard that the solicitors fiddled with the accounts in an effort to deliberately mislead the Law Society. The men wanted to create the impression that substantial fees had been paid to barristers, when the money was in fact lodged to a secret account. Both solicitors withheld information from the Society for some time after it began its investigation. They initially failed to reveal details about an account at the Ulster Bank, O'Connell Street, Dublin, in which some 46 per cent of monies paid to the firm were held, and from which large cash withdrawals were made by both solicitors. Funds were used for personal use and to renovate the farm owned by Carroll's wife. The Law Society stated that its investigation revealed a list of accounts maintained by both solicitors, including an account in the name of a defunct company and a Swiss bank account in the name of Mr. Colley and his wife."

Can you imagine how this story would have been reported if any son of Haughey had been involved, replete with references to what Garret FitzGerald chose to call his "*flawed pedigree*"? How low-key here the one passing reference to George Colley, he of the flawless pedigree! Yet in its reporting on the same case in two separate articles on February 16, **Madam's *Irish Times* suppressed any reference whatsoever to the fact that Henry Colley was George Colley's son!** On February 21st Fine Gael saw fit to officially condemn

*continued on page 9, column 1*

# Shorts

from  
*the Long Fellow*

## CASINO CAPITALISM

The loss of almost €5 billion by Jerome Kerviel, a junior trader in Société Générale, will have no impact on the world economy. Such activities do not create value and therefore cannot lose value. The €5 billion loss by Société Générale will be other banks' gains.

Following the loss of €783 million by John Rusnak in 2002, AIB indicated that this amount might be recouped from other banks who it claimed had facilitated the "rogue trader" from evading internal controls.

The only 'loss' from an economic point of view is the administrative costs of running this high stakes global casino. Only 5% of the value of all currency speculation is business-related. The remainder is speculative (see *Irish Political Review*, April 2002).

## "WHAT FRIENDS ARE FOR"

But the crisis in the stock markets **does** reflect conditions in the real economy. The United States has been running a current account deficit. In plain language Americans have been consuming more than they have been producing. And the rest of the world is financing the shortfall.

This is not a new phenomenon. In 1971 the US found it difficult to finance the Vietnam War. Her solution was to abandon the Bretton-Woods system whereby the exchange rates of the major currencies

St. George concluded

Bertie Ahern as "a tax dodger", because tax may have been due on an amount of €5,000, but only if it turns out that it should more appropriately have been classified as a personal gift rather than a political donation. In 1967 George Colley exhorted the next generation to be active and vigilant against the "low standards" of Charlie Haughey, and his own son proceeded to be extremely active and vigilant indeed in conspiring to defraud us taxpayers of MILLIONS, by hiding away a €32 million slush fund! Where now Madam's much-vaunted integrity as editor of the self-styled "paper of record"? To quote Mary Toomey's hymn of praise to Madam herself, "where is George Colley?" St. George's "low standards" have truly come home to roost with a vengeance.

**Manus O'Riordan**

**Editorial Note:** After allowing the play to make its success on the basis that it was a characterisation of Charles Haughey, Sebastian Barry later let it be known that

were linked to the price of gold. The US Government started printing money and insisted that foreign central banks pay \$40 billion (at 1971 prices) to support the currency. Nixon's Treasury secretary John Connally summed up the American view of the policy:

"We had a problem and we are sharing it with the rest of the world – just like we shared our prosperity. That's what friends are for" (see page 189, *The World We're in* by Will Hutton, 2002).

## RE-ALIGNMENT

The immediate cause of the crisis in the banking system is the result of American Banks offloading bad debts onto Banks in the rest of the world. The rest of the world is underwriting mortgage defaults by householders in the US. But that is just an element in a long-term trend. To repeat: the US has been living beyond its means.

Or maybe it would be more accurate to say that the **American working class** has been living beyond its means. In the last thirty years there has been a redistribution of wealth from the working class to the wealthy. Real income among working class Americans has actually declined. In order for this class to sustain its standard of living it has to borrow. And the Banks have become ever more "innovative" in selling their financial "products".

In the early 1970s the dollar was the undisputed world currency. It was essential to hold a stock of dollars to conduct foreign trade. But in recent years the Euro has emerged as an alternative currency. And the dollar has declined by 30%. The stability of the dollar and the US economy has become less important.

What we are seeing is a re-alignment of economic power in favour of emerging economies such as India and China.

## THE EU

And where will the EU be in this re-alignment?

In the era of Mitterrand and Kohl the EU was seen as having the potential to offer an alternative to US dominance. Jacques Chirac used to talk of a multipolar world. But no more! The British Foreign Secretary, David Miliband, has declared that federalism is dead. The relentless drive towards expansion has prevented the construction of a federal European state. We are merely left with a free trade area.

In his speech to the College of Europe in Bruges, Miliband said that Europe can no longer aspire to be a Superpower and yet this should not prevent it from deploying "soft and hard power to promote democracy and tackle conflict beyond its borders".

Apparently in Iraq EU countries are "moving forward together to bolster the forces of economic development and political reconciliation".

Miliband also believes that the EU should "overcome the blockages to collaboration with NATO" and it should reconcile itself to the continued dominance of the United States.

In the past socialists were prepared to accept free trade and movement of capital within the EU as a means of constructing a federal Europe. The CAP and European social fund mitigated the damaging consequences of free trade.

But now Free Trade has become an end in itself. The Anglo-American view has triumphed. And the EU now wishes to participate in America's imperialist adventures.

Only a "no" vote in our forthcoming referendum will help reverse this process.

## SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP

And in Ireland a European social democratic pillar of our prosperity has been shaken.

Fine Gael opposed social partnership in the 1980s and only became reconciled to it when it was in government for a brief period in the mid 1990s. And now its Finance Spokesman Richard Bruton has shown that like the Bourbons, that party remembers everything and learns nothing.

It is difficult to make any sense of Bruton's press release other than a vague feeling of discontent with the process. The Fine Gael deputy thinks:

"... the Social Partnership process must now urgently reform its nature by putting the client at its heart, setting out a new and radical reform agenda, involving the Dáil more directly in its deliberations and focusing its energies on accelerating changes, not slowing down reform to the pace of the slowest mover."

But what does all this mean? Who is this "client"? How can the client or consumers be represented? The people who are loudest in proclaiming the consumer's interests are the business class which uses it as an excuse to cut wages and lengthen the working day. The actual consumers are a collection of isolated individuals with divergent interests.

And if the Dáil were "more directly" involved, the process would not be Social Partnership. Social Partnership recognises that there are social interests which need to be consulted for lasting reforms to be implemented. The Dáil cannot exist in isolation from society between elections.

It is a reflection of the success of Social Partnership that Bruton cannot demand its abandonment, but instead calls for its "reform".

## A "VERY FLAWED HUMAN BEING"

The evidence of Eamon Dunphy at the Mahon Tribunal must have been a great disappointment to opponents of Ahern. The property developer Owen O'Callaghan

was supposed to have said to Dunphy that Ahern was "taken care of", which Dunphy "inferred": was receiving money from O'Callaghan.

But Dunphy also said that O'Callaghan complained that Ahern "could not be relied upon". O'Callaghan said to Dunphy that the reason why Ahern gave tax free designation to a development in Athlone was that the then Taoiseach Albert Reynolds had "put a gun" to Ahern's head.

So, even if Ahern received money from O'Callaghan, it had no influence on his political decisions. But Dunphy was less than convincing on even this question of receiving money. He said that O'Callaghan was a man of integrity and that if the latter made a sworn statement indicating that he never gave money to Ahern, Dunphy would accept that statement.

The term "taken care of" can mean anything. It could, for instance, mean that a problem was now solved. In this case, the problem of Ahern's opposition to the tax free designation had been solved by his boss, Albert Reynolds support for such a policy.

Dunphy has never hesitated to pontificate on Irish society so O'Callaghan's lawyer asked why it took him ten years to reveal his conversation with O'Callaghan. And Dunphy conceded that he was a "very flawed human being".

11th Roger Casement Symposium, 27th Oct 2007

## Scribbled Recollections—Post Script

### RAMON SPECTROSCOPY & BOOK OF KELLS

Attendees at Buswells Hotel in October may remember my referring to how the *Book Of Kells* had over the last two years been examined using a technique called *Ramon Spectroscopy* in an endeavour to learn more about the content and origins of the inks and pigments that make up its elaborate artwork. At the time I had been awaiting a reply to a questionnaire on this matter I had sent to the Manuscripts Keeper of Trinity College Library.

Dr. Bernard Meehan contacted me in mid-November. Ramon Spectroscopy works very well on some materials and not on others, he stated. It does not work so well with "organics". It is not a "cure all". In their experience with the *Book Of Kells* it worked very well on particular substances and not on others. When a new technology comes out people are inclined to overestimate its usefulness and to expect too much from it. He counselled against over expectation.

It may not be able to accurately distinguish "close differences", for instance between different inks. Results

can depend on how it is used and for how long it is applied to the materials under examination. He counselled he was not a scientist and thus not an expert in this essentially technical field.

He was happy to assure that Ramon Spectroscopy was not destructive to the materials under examination. If it were otherwise, he stated, the technology would not have been applied to the *Book Of Kells*.

### RAMON SPECTROSCOPY & GILES LABORATORY

In the *Giles Report* on the disputed diaries there is a reference to *Ramon Spectroscopy* under the heading *The examination of inks*. This forensic technique is referred to as "destructive", as in:

"Destructive testing using a variety of modern analytical techniques, including Ramon Spectroscopy, may reveal more consistent differences between the inks."

and:

"Certainly, preliminary examination of the ink entries in these documents [1-5] showed an enormous variation in

## The Debate On Workers' Control.

From Discussion To Denial.

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the appearance of the ink deposits. I have therefore noted the physical difference, appearance and differences between inks as appropriate, leaving the question of possible further destructive analysis to be considered further."

Yet a number of sources including the manufacturers of the equipment; Foster Freeman, and even lately the website of the Giles Laboratory itself, refer to the technique as "non-destructive".

In an effort to obtain clarification on this anomaly I wrote by email to Dr. Giles on Dec 6th last. To date (Feb 23rd), I have not received a reply.

#### A BLÜCHER LETTER BLUNDER AND KEVIN MANNERINGS

In the Roger Casement Symposium article *Scribbled Recollections I* which appeared in January's *Irish Political Review* I referred to the contribution of Casement Diaries sleuth Kevin Mannerings. It has been brought to my attention that Kevin had pointed out at the outset that much investigative work needed to be done yet on the matters he was to talk about. What he was about to say, then, was a matter of interpretation into which few final and definite conclusions could be read.

Regarding the letter from Blücher, the route has not been delineated by which it found its way to eventually end up in the National Library in Dublin. So, unlike what was stated in the January article, we can not take it as having been definitively established that the letter passed through the hands of British Intelligence.

**Tim O'Sullivan**

## Eoghan Harris on Fairytale of Kathmandu

The following letter was submitted to the *Sunday Independent* on 13th February 2008 but was not published

Last Sunday Eoghan Harris, in his column, tackled the difficult matter of the sexual exploitation allegations made against the poet Cathal O Searcaigh in the new documentary *Fairytale of Kathmandu*. The result was something both bewildered and bewildering.

He claimed Roger Casement's reputation "would have been ruined if a film crew had followed all his activities in the Congo and Brazilian jungles". The South American jungles involved in his human rights investigations were in fact in Peru, not Brazil.

Casement had something more threatening to contend with than a film crew. These were the gang members of the murderous slaving network he was investigating and confronting in Peru. His mission was no mystery and his photo had appeared in the local press. It was a case of

them watching him watching them. If they had discovered the, then illegal, "sordid sex with a series of young men" Harris referred to, they could have used it against him and terminated his investigation. That this did not happen suggests the "sordid sex" allegation is hollow.

When Casement arrived in Berlin in late 1914, due to relatively recent research in German archives we now know he was shadowed by German spies trying to ascertain if he was a double agent. They reported no evidence of a clandestine homosexual lifestyle.

Harris used the well known allegations about Casement's conduct as a human rights investigator in the early 20th century to construct, if not a justification, at least an excuse for the sexual exploitation of young people in less developed countries. But these allegations about Casement are a matter of opinion and are still very much in dispute. Only facts which are nailed down with ample evidence should be used as a basis for views on such a serious matter as sex tourism in the less developed world. **Tim O'Sullivan**

**Editorial Note:** An *Irish Times* editorial (Feb 23) on the Cathal O Searcaigh controversy also included Roger Casement amongst Irish "famous pederasts": Tim O'Sullivan also took issue with that view in a letter submitted on 26th February:

### Irish Provincialism and Irony

I have to thank you for placing before us an interesting irony contained in your editorial (Feb 23) on the Cathal O Searcaigh controversy.

You included Roger Casement among your list of Irish "famous pederasts" in that article. Indeed, you might do that, if it is your wont to accept the standard received version of the history of the First World War as peddled and promoted by the British state and its supporters and agents. What a blessing too it is that all we need to do to understand that period of history, or indeed any other matter, great or small, is to crane our necks eastwards and wait for a cue, a nod or a pointer in the appropriate direction. It certainly is far easier than the long and demanding slog which is required to develop an intellectual and cultural sensibility of one's own, be it a matter of the individual or communities.

Casement, in British eyes was a traitor, and a bad one at that. Worse, he was a decorated knight of the realm. His betrayal begged an explanation which the bizarre sexual narrative of the Black Diaries helped provide. Casement's own view that the British Empire bore a great part of the responsibility for the outbreak of that war was not welcome. He needed to be demonised.

From an Irish Nationalist point of view Casement had no need to be demonised

and the disputed diaries, with their anomalies and discordances, were explained as propaganda. Casement and those like him earnestly hoped an Ireland would emerge which one day could think for itself. Interestingly and ironically, the derivative way the memory of the man himself is treated demonstrates vividly this has not happened.

### REPORT

## Why we should not recognise Kosovo

Extracts from a letter appeared on the new state of Kosovo appeared in the *Irish Examiner* of 22nd February

The reaction of our newspapers... seems to be that as a small nation, we should welcome the emergence of this new 'state'.

Common to almost all the coverage is a cursory analysis of the motives of those countries that have chosen not to recognise this unilateral declaration.

So the Cypriots are concerned about the Turkish north of the island, the Spanish are worried about the Basques and the Catalans, and so forth.

However, nobody seems to have thought it worthwhile to examine the motives of those countries supporting the ethnic Albanians in their separatist ambitions—the US, Germany, France and Britain in particular.

Kosovo cannot survive without a massive input of aid from the so-called international community. In return, it has offered itself as a convenient foothold in the Balkans for the strategic interests of the US and NATO. Already, the territory is the site of Camp Bondsteel, the largest US military base constructed since the Vietnam war.

...I find it disquieting that the Government appears to be slavishly following the lead of the big powers in this matter. I urge the cabinet not to recognise this illegal state. **Tom O'Donoghue**

## Supporting Lá Nua

Cuidiú de dhíth! An t-aon pháipéar laethúil as Gaeilge atá againn! Síniigh le bhur dtoil ag <http://www.PetitionOnline.com/ln0502/>

agus "Tar i gcabhair ar Lá Nua/Support Lá Nua". Scaip an scéal más mian libh.

**Áine Durkin**

# The War Of Independence And Peter Hart's 'Sectarian Argument'

In the *Irish Political Review* (February 2008), Jack Lane commented on a recent RTE *Hidden History* documentary on the July 1921 IRA execution of the Pearson Brothers at Coolacree, Co Offaly. Jack observed, "*The devil is in the detail*" provided by researchers Pat Muldowney and Philip McConway, but largely ignored by the *Hidden History* programme makers.

Jack goes on to comment on later killings of loyalists in Dunmanway between 27-29th April 1922, while the Truce between Irish and British forces was in force. The killings took place four months after the republican split over the terms of the Anglo Irish Treaty, two months prior to the outbreak of the Irish Civil War. The killings are important to those who suggest that the Irish War of Independence was a largely sectarian or 'ethnic' conflict. Jack correctly points to the pivotal role of Peter Hart's *The IRA And Its Enemies* (1998) in promoting this view, one shared by the historian Roy Foster and a couple of journalists who assiduously promote it. The April 1922 killings in Cork are used to give the impression that the same thing happened elsewhere, for instance the Coolacree killings in Offaly in July 1921. However, while correctly pinpointing the April 1922 events as "the elephant in the parlour", Jack engages in speculation in which the 'detail' is left behind.

Jack raises the possibility of agent provocateurs being responsible for the April killings and speculates on a role for the fanatical unionist MP Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson. Wilson led opposition to the British withdrawal from the 26 Counties, encouraged sectarian pogroms against defenceless Catholics in Northern Ireland, and called for the re-occupation of the 26 Counties.

In raising the possibility of British agent provocateurs, speculation is mounted on speculation in suggesting that Wilson might have been responsible. It is also suggested that Wilson's assassination on 22nd June 1922 by IRA volunteers, Reginald Dunne and Joseph O'Sullivan, might have been prompted by suspicion about Wilson's role in the April killings. It can reasonably be surmised that Sam Maguire, a Dunmanway Protestant and member of the IRA in England, 'knew the [Dunmanway] victims personally'. But Jack continued, "*He [Maguire] suspected the reasons they were killed was a provocation orchestrated by Wilson*". Jack also suggested that IRA leaders, 'Tom Barry, Sean O'Hegarty, Tom Hales, could not figure out who did it and were always convinced that it was a provocation. Where is the evidence for these thoughts? Where is the 'detail'?

I am currently looking at the emergence of revisionist historiography in the 1970s, and its use to reframe the conflict between 1919-21 in ethnic or purely sectarian terms. Some of the research may be relevant in response to some of the points raised by Jack Lane. An enquiry into Peter Hart's revisions of his own account may also be instructive. In 1992 Hart completed a PhD thesis in TCD. It was also named, *The IRA And Its Enemies*.

## NORTHERN SECTARIANISM

Catholics suffered sectarian oppression in the North. In July 1920, 8-10,000 Catholics and socialists were expelled from the Harland and Wolff shipyards and from other workplaces by unionist mobs. Unionism was directly implicated, while the leadership of the main Protestant churches in the North acted as apologists.

Sectarian attacks intensified after the Northern Ireland State was set up in June 1922. They were even more one sided than what went before. Nationalists had begun to offer some resistance. Lloyd George wrote to Churchill:

"It is true that several protestants have been murdered, but the murders of Catholics went on at a rate of three or four to one for some time before Catholic reprisals attained their present dimensions and even now the proportions are two Catholics murdered to one protestant although the population is two Protestants to one Catholic" (in Jim McDermott, *Northern Divisions, the old IRA and the Belfast pogroms 1920-22* 2001, p191).

Brewer and Higgins observed:

"the orgy of violence in 1922 once Protestants controlled the state saw Catholics alone as victims... [I]t was illegal for Catholics to possess weapons, while Protestant mobs engaged in massacre. The paradox was not lost on the English press. The Manchester Guardian commented in March 1922: "*whilst envenomed politicians in the Ulster parliament are voting themselves powers to use torture and capital punishment against citizens whom they forbid to defend themselves, whilst they scarcely attempt to protect them from massacre, some of their own partisans in Belfast carry wholesale murder to refinements of barbarity*"."

After partition came into effect in June 1922,

"Virtually all the 232 victims were Catholic, and 11,000 were made jobless and 23,000 homeless as Protestants protected their access to socio-economic resources. Over 4,500 Catholic-owned shops and businesses were burned, looted or wrecked.

Property worth £3 million was destroyed."

"Anti-Catholicism in the new state of Northern Ireland existed in its pure form, operating at the levels of ideas, behaviour and social structure as it came to shape the society whose state Protestants now... The ascendancy in the North was effected immediately by means of the Protestantisation of the administration and personnel of the state" (*Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland, 1600-1998: The Mote and the Beam*, 1998, p92-93).

Wilson was killed at the height of anti-Catholic violence. Immediate threats of British re-invasion prompted Michael Collins' June 28 1922 Free State attack on the Republican Four Courts garrison, the start of the Irish Civil War and subsequent victory of conservative forces in Irish society. Ironically the pretext for the attack, the killing of Wilson, was more likely linked to Collins than to Anti-Treaty forces. Collins had been exercised about the daily attacks on Catholics in Northern Ireland. Dunne and Sullivan were under the command of Sam Maguire, who was in turn Michael Collins' man in England. The Civil War disrupted a combined pro and anti Treaty IRA attack on the state of Northern Ireland, whose consolidation contributed to the long-term isolation of northern nationalists from political forces in the South.

## SOUTHERN SECTARIANISM

The 26 County state did develop sectarian traits, but there is no legitimate comparison with the North. In the South no organised, systematic attacks on Protestants took place. In fact the physical coercion of nationalists in the North, on the basis that they were Catholics, was mirrored by ideological control, based on Catholic social teaching, of nationalists in the South. Protestants were not persecuted because, aside from other considerations, it made no political sense. The Catholic Church's cruel *Ne Temere* decree issued in Rome did deplete Protestant numbers in mixed marriages in the South. However, relative Protestant social and economic privilege was maintained.

The South developed a functioning civil society that generated internal secular reform. The state was forced to abandon its use of the Church to run education, health and social services. In the sectarian state of Northern Ireland reform was not possible. Nationalists were the victims of coercion and of unrelenting economic and political discrimination for over 50 years.

However, in *The IRA And Its Enemies* (1998) Peter Hart attempted to suggest a degree of republican sectarian reciprocation in Cork for events in Belfast between 1920-22.

In the interregnum after the Treaty split, in the first six months of 1922 up to the onset of civil war, there was a breakdown

of civil control. Kee's *The Green Flag*, Volume III, (1972, p163), reports, "In the three weeks from 29 March to 19 April, 323 post offices were robbed in the South of Ireland; and forty consignments of goods were seized from the Dublin and South-Eastern Railway between 23 March and 22 April, though in only thirty of the cases was the seizure even stated to be 'by order IRA'".

In rural areas some who had not yet received land seized it. They also drove or stole livestock. There were also cases of farm occupations by those claiming to have been previously evicted. This activity tended to affect Protestants disproportionately because Protestants were disproportionately large landowners. Some of this activity appears to have been for personal gain. It was sometimes accompanied by the sending of threats to Protestants, claiming to be in response to the pogroms in the North. Both sides of the IRA, which was in favour of regulated land reform, actively opposed this sectarian opportunism.

Peter Hart asked the following question in an effort to explain a "polarisation of perceptions" on revolutionary violence: "If a Protestant farmer was attacked, was it because of religion or politics or his land or all three". One contemporary observer felt competent to state in 1921: "If Protestant farmers are murdered, it is not by reason of their religion, but rather because they are under suspicion as Loyalist. The distinction is fine, but a real one". He asserted, correctly, "Protestants in the South do not complain of persecution on sectarian grounds". This account also noted, "when a brave prelate", Cork's Bishop Colohan, spoke out, "his flock have turned their back on him" with the rejoinder, "we take our religion, but not our politics, from Rome". He wrote, "to conceive the struggle as religious in character is... misleading". The observer was Lionel Curtis, Lloyd George's imperial advisor, writing in 1921 after a tour of Ireland on behalf of the British Cabinet.

This competent witness directly contradicted his own Government's propaganda on this point. We should take Curtis's opinion seriously. Not only was he there at the time, the evidence supports the conclusion, and the conclusion is inimical to the case Curtis would otherwise have wished to put on behalf of his government.

The killings in late April 1922 in West Cork were not motivated by either land agitation or by sectarian considerations. Evidence from Brian Murphy (1998, 2006) and Meda Ryan (2003) suggests that the victims were shot because of their previous intelligence role on behalf of Crown forces. The main problem with Peter Hart's analysis is that it uses mixed up and misquoted evidence, leading to unjustified

conclusions. Meda Ryan pointed out in *History* (April 2007) that Hart misrepresented her account of the Kilmichael Ambush in *The Tom Barry Story* (1982). I have come across other examples in Hart's account of the April Killings. For example, Hart stated that Clarina Buttimer, wife of James, one of the first victims, "seems to have recognised at least one of her husband's attackers". No source was given for the claim. *The Southern Star* (April 29 1922) and *The Irish Independent*, (May 1 1922) report Clarina Buttimer as stating, "Though there were a number of men there, she only saw one, whom she did not recognise". This is one of a number of areas where the published record contradicts Hart's claims.

#### ETHNIC CLEANSING

In 2006, in response to my commenting in *The Irish Times* that the Orange Order cited Hart as an authority on 'murders' of Protestants, Hart surprisingly, somewhat irrelevantly and also mistakenly, responded, "Niall Meehan, as usual, misrepresents my work. I have never argued that 'ethnic cleansing' took place in Cork or elsewhere in the 1920s—in fact, quite the opposite".

I had not accused Hart of using the term, 'ethnic cleansing'. However, I replied that it would not have been misrepresentation had I stated what Peter Hart denied. After all, in 1996 Hart wrote wrote:

"Similar campaigns of what might be termed 'ethnic cleansing' were waged in parts of Kings and Queens Counties, South Tipperary, Leitrim, Mayo, Limerick, Westmeath, Louth and Cork. Worst of all was the massacre of 14 men in West Cork in April [1922], after an IRA officer had been killed breaking into a house."...

Hart republished this view in 2003. In addition, Hart's Memorial University History Department's web page states, under 'Research', that Hart researches 'ethnic conflict and cleansing in Ireland'.

I continued,

"The evidence in fact suggests that these maverick, post-Treaty, pre-Civil War killings targeted loyalist British agents, in which close relatives were shot dead in two cases. They were stamped out locally by the IRA, but were "motivated by political and not sectarian considerations", to quote historian Brian Murphy's disagreement with Hart on this point."

An historian who cannot remember his own conclusions is perhaps not the most reliable guide to the past.

In 2006, I also responded to Hart's assertion that: "there is no publicly available evidence" that those shot were loyalists or informers. I referred Hart to an intelligence diary left behind by

Auxiliaries as they evacuated Dunmanway Workhouse. I pointed out that it was Hart himself who noted (1998, p129) that it was published in *The Southern Star* in 1971, with informers' names removed out of deference to local families. A similar consideration informed Tom Barry in his *Guerrilla Days In Ireland*.

I went on

"Hart claimed that, apart from the name excisions, this "invaluable series of articles reproduces the complete text". However, despite not possessing a key piece of the jigsaw, Hart made speculative assumptions about the victims of the April killings. The assumptions turn out to have been wrong. The publicity Peter Hart gained for his sensational findings caused a response in which the linked names from the Auxiliary diary were published in 2003."

Hart had only partial knowledge of the Auxiliary intelligence material, information he gleaned from publication in *The Southern Star* in 1971. In fact there was more material relating to loyalist intelligence agents or assets he did not encounter, though he did read of its existence. This was clear from a prominent article by Peadar O'Donovan on page 47 of the 1989 *Southern Star Centenary Supplement*. It referred to "documents, including a small pocket sized diary". Hart cites the article and page number in *The IRA And Its Enemies*, but unfortunately missed this important information.

The April killings were exceptional. This was recognised by those assumed at the time to be the intended targets, Irish Protestants. A highly significant Irish Protestant Convention was held on 11th May 1922 in Dublin's Mansion House. It resolved, "apart from this incident, hostility to Protestants by reason of their religion, has been almost, if not wholly unknown, in the 26 counties in which they are a minority" (*The Irish Independent*, *The Irish Times*, May 12 1922; also, see *The Irish Independent* May 3 1922). Hart failed to mention the event that occupied copious amounts of newsprint.

On an almost daily basis in *The Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* Protestants denied that they had ever suffered systematic sectarian discrimination in the South. Supporting the resolution at the Protestant Convention, Archdeacon Daly of Clonfert, "bore testimony to the unflinching kindness always experienced at the hands of his fellow Catholic fellow countrymen, who had elected him to many public bodies in Co Galway. He asked if any instances of a parish priest in any of the Six Counties being similarly treated by his Protestant fellow countrymen" could be produced—clearly confident that they could not (*The Irish Independent*, May 12 1922). These and many similar utterances cannot be squared with Hart's assertion

that "Southern Protestants... were targeted with rising vigour by the IRA from the summer of 1920 onwards". If that was the case, Southern Protestants would have said so. In fact they stated the opposite while condemning unionists in Northern Ireland.

#### WHO DID IT: THEORY BUSTEED

While Hart's 1998 account was celebrated as a forensic expose of the April 1922 killings and of the killers it contains remarkably little hard evidence. The addition by Hart of anonymous Protestant informants to the 1998 book adds very little to the original narrative in Hart's 1992 thesis. Surprisingly, there is commentary in the 1992 thesis not carried over into the 1998 book.

Hart identified a particular individual as possibly being involved in the April killings in his 1992 thesis, on page 377 footnote 47:

"Frank Busted, the Blarney IRA leader who killed Din Din O'Riordan (see Chapter 1) and, notoriously, Mrs Lindsey, was quoted by Ernie O'Malley as saying 'We shot four or five locals, then we could move anywhere' in the Civil War. He also said that 'we shot five to six loyalists, Protestant farmers, as reprisals' in the same period (O'Malley Papers, P17b/112). As these killings certainly did not take place after July 1922, the only events which fit this description are those of April (his memory has already been shown to be fallible in Chapter 1).

"Nevertheless, these remain cryptic remarks. Does the 'we' in the second statement refer to his unit, which was part of the 1st Cork Brigade, or to the IRA in general? Does the 'locals' in the first statement mean the Hornibrooks or other of the April victims? Ballygroman lay very close to Busted's usual territory."

The above 1992 thesis footnote is not in the 1998 book. Neither is the following, "Frank Busted of Blarney, the hardest of die-hards, also seems to have claimed a share of responsibility". This is significant, as is, in the context of Hart's overall argument, an observation that is in the 1998 book and 1992 thesis. Hart stated: "Busted's deceased father had been Protestant, although Busted himself was raised a Catholic and later become an outspoken atheist".

The 1992 thesis (only) repeats this information, again on page 379, and then adds "Two of the [IRA] veterans I interviewed thought that the killers were very likely Volunteers acting on their own." Hart interviewed these veterans anonymously. However, between the 1998 book and 1992 thesis, Hart also identified them differently. An interviewee who was EY in 1992 became AA in 1998; whereas one who was CD in 1992 became AE in 1998.

#### INITIAL PROBLEMS

As the 1992 initials were the real initials (sometimes reversed) of the veterans concerned, I have deduced that AA/EY was Ned (Edward) Young, a veteran of the Kilmichael ambush, while AE/CD appears to be Dan Cahalane, a member of Tom Barry's Flying column. AA/EY is Ned Young because he was the only ambush veteran alive at a time when Hart reported interviewing two Kilmichael veterans.

A problem with Hart's use of Young is that Young's health was severely impaired some time before Hart reported interviewing him, as Meda Ryan reported. Meda Ryan (2003) also pointed out, Hart reported interviewing one of his two veterans on 19th November 1989, six days after the last Kilmichael veteran, Young, died. In 1998 Hart reported that one of these veterans gave him a tour of the Kilmichael ambush site, without saying which one. In the 1992 thesis this Kilmichael veteran was identified as HJ (AF in the 1998 book). It is difficult to put a name on this AF/HJ because he is the mysterious Kilmichael veteran Hart reported interviewing six days after the death of the last Kilmichael veteran, Ned Young. In addition, whereas this AF/HJ was identified simply as an ambush veteran in the 1992 thesis, he became, mysteriously, an unarmed scout in Hart's 1998 book. The Southern Star, a newspaper Hart researched, carried a prominent article headlined, *Ned Young—last of the 'Boys of Kilmichael'* on November 18, 1989. It would have been hard for an inquisitive historian researching the subject to miss (I reproduce it with this article).

These findings give rise to other difficulties in Hart's narrative, that space considerations preclude going into here.

#### BACK TO BUSTEED

Let us for the moment leave these particular difficulties aside, and continue the Busted discussion.

AA/EY and AE/CD are withdrawn as source supports in the 1998 book on republican responsibility for the April killings and in relation to Busted's alleged responsibility.

Hart omitted the Busted information on the April killings in 1998, instead of explaining how or if this evidence was no longer valid or germane. It appears unlikely that Frank Busted, with a Protestant father, who was later to proclaim himself an atheist, was particularly antagonistic toward Protestants. This datum, if included, might have undermined the sectarianism explanation of the April killings.

Exclusion of the Busted speculation implies that Hart knew less in 1998 than he claimed in 1992, however tentatively,

about who committed the April killings, but more about who did not (in that the Busted speculation was excluded in the 1998 book). This should have resulted in more circumspect conclusions on Hart's part about responsibility for the killings. Unfortunately, it did not.

However, whatever about the April killings speculation, Busted's admitted activities are directly relevant to Hart's investigation of sectarianism in the War of Independence. Frank Busted admitted involvement in revenge killings after the July 1921 Truce. The significant evidence is in *Execution* (1974), a book Hart said was "substantially accurate". The author, the late Sean O'Callaghan, reported that Busted's help was "invaluable" and that he "corrected my manuscript".

On 12th March 1921 British intelligence officers reportedly threw the elderly mother of Frank Busted down the stairs of her home and broke her back. She died one day later. Hart stated, "his mother's death after a British raid only increased [Busted's] passion for revenge, which he took out on a considerable number of suspected '*spies*' and '*informers*', both before and after the Truce". Hart then referred to Busted killing two actual informers, Mrs Lindsay and her chauffeur. They had informed British forces of an IRA ambush in Dripsey in January 1921 that led to the capture court martial and then execution of five IRA volunteers. The IRA had forewarned that Mrs Lindsey and her chauffeur would be killed if the British executions were carried out.

The chauffeur and Mrs Lindsey were executed on March 11th, prior to Busted's mother's injury on March 12th and death on March 13th 1921, and so were hardly in response to it. More likely the British attack on Busted's mother was a British response to suspicion that Busted was responsible for the original abduction of Mrs Lindsey (if not her unpublicised execution on March 11th) and possibly to Frank Busted burning Mrs Lindsey's house in the early hours of March 12th 1921.

The elderly Mrs Busted reportedly spoke her dying words to her other son, Bill, a Protestant recently de-mobbed from the British Army. She said, "Tell Frank one of them was a man with one arm". The one armed British officer became an unwitting fugitive from Busted family justice. Bill Busted reportedly rejoined the British Army, was posted locally, and set about discovering the killers, three of whom he identified in April 1922 as going on a drinking spree in Macroom. Bill passed the information to Frank Busted, who acted on it. As O'Callaghan put it "Frank Busted broke the Truce to kill the

three men".

Subsequently, therefore, Busted appears to have taken out his 'revenge' on British officers he believed responsible for killing his mother, not on unspecified victims, as Hart implies, carelessly.

This intimate tale of 'tit for tat' killers and killing did not appear in *The IRA And Its Enemies*. Despite Hart's acceptance that Busted was involved in anti-British violence after the Truce, his escapades, as reported, do not fit a stereotype of Catholic-Protestant antagonism. Perhaps that is why they did not appear in Hart's narrative.

Interestingly, Busted captured the British officers on 26th April 1922, the same day as a Captain Woods and Samuel and Thomas Hornibrook disappeared. They were taken at 8am that morning, in an area in close proximity. The Hornibrook and Woods disappearance, after they had shot dead IRA officer Michael O'Neill in the very early hours of April 26th, set off the April killings from April 27-29th, in which the 11 more were shot dead.

#### LOYALIST AND BRITISH TERROR

By refusing to admit evidence that pointed to the April killers being loyalists, Hart was in a position to deny that there was an organised group of loyalists, an *Anti-Sinn Fein Society* (or equivalent), working in tandem with British forces. He insisted that its use was only as a cover name for British forces' activity.

Curiously, Hart referred to Tom Barry in 1919 being "in touch with the Anti-Sinn Fein Society in Bandon... The society in Bandon consisted of the loyalists and the Essex Regiment". This 1992 thesis information is not included at the same point in the 1998 book. In other words, in 1992 Hart had evidence that the loyalists were involved with the British military, but the evidence expired in the interim between publication of thesis (1992) and book (1998). In his IRA pension statement in the 1930s Barry stated that he was engaged in intelligence work prior to full immersion in the IRA. Hart suggested (in 1992 and 1998), implausibly but typically, that this activity indicated that Barry could have gone 'either way'.

#### NOT SECTARIAN

Hart's revised view of Irish history has been accepted unthinkingly by sections of the media. For the latter history is a 'man bites dog' scenario as applied to the past, an account of the unusual and the exceptional. For some it is a way of pursuing their current political agenda.

Hart's *Taking it out on the Protestants* chapter in his *The IRA And Its Enemies* is flawed at many levels. It is unreliable as history and should not be used to back up other assertions that the War of Independence was a sectarian event.

Niall Meehan

## Israel: Serial violator of UN resolutions

Israel is violating over 30 UN Security Council resolutions, dating back to 1968, resolutions that require action by Israel and Israel alone [1].

That very important fact is entirely absent from reporting on Palestine by the British and Irish media. If any other state in this world were guilty of such persistent refusal to obey the will of the "international community", it would be subject to continuous threats of economic and/or military sanctions by the US and the EU—and we would never hear the end of it from the British and Irish media.

The Security Council resolutions being violated by Israel are listed in the Appendix below. Four of them are very significant: if Israel chose to take the action demanded in them, the political landscape in Palestine would be transformed. These are:

### (1) RESOLUTION 252

This resolution, passed on 21st May 1968, demands that Israel reverse its annexation of East Jerusalem. It states:

[The Security Council]

"2. Considers that all legislative and administrative measures and actions taken by Israel, including expropriation of land and properties thereon, which tend to change the legal status of Jerusalem are invalid and cannot change that status;

3. Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind all such measures already taken and to desist forthwith from taking any further action which tends to change the status of Jerusalem..."

Israel's failure to comply with this resolution prompted further resolutions—267 on 3rd July 1969, 271 on 15th September 1969 and 298 on 25th September 1971—demanding the reversal of its annexation of East Jerusalem.

### (2) RESOLUTION 446

This resolution, passed on 22nd March 1979, demands that Israel cease building Jewish settlements in the territories it has occupied since 1967, including in Jerusalem, and that it remove those it has built. It says:

[The Security Council]

"Calls once more upon Israel, as the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by the 1949 Fourth Geneva Convention, to rescind its previous measures and to desist from taking any action which would result in changing the legal status and geographical nature and materially affecting the demographic composition of the Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, and, in particular, not to transfer parts of its own civilian population into the occupied Arab territories..."

The Fourth Geneva Convention (on the Protection of Civilians Persons in Time of War) bans the planting of settlers on territory captured in war. Article 49, paragraph 6, of the Convention says:

"The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

Israel's failure to comply with this resolution prompted further resolutions—452 on 20th July 1979 and 465 on 1st March 1980—demanding that Israel cease colonising the territories it occupied in 1967.

### (3) RESOLUTION 487

This resolution, passed on 19th June 1981, was prompted by the Israeli air attack on the Osirak nuclear reactor at the Al Tuwaitha Nuclear Center near Baghdad on 7th June 1981. The resolution "strongly" condemned "the military attack by Israel in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations" and says that "Iraq is entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction it has suffered, responsibility for which has been acknowledged by Israel".

Crucially, in paragraph 5, the Security Council

"calls upon Israel urgently to place its nuclear facilities under IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] safeguards".

By refusing to allow IAEA oversight of its nuclear facilities, Israel is violating this resolution.

### (4) RESOLUTION 497

This resolution, passed on 17th December 1981, demands that Israel reverse its annexation of the Golan Heights, which were captured from Syria in June 1967:

[The Security Council]

"1. Decides that the Israeli decision to impose its laws, jurisdiction and administration in the occupied Syrian Golan Heights is null and void and without international legal effect;

2. Demands that Israel, the occupying Power, should rescind forthwith its decision..."

It is important to emphasise that these four resolutions (and the others in the Appendix below) place obligations on Israel, and Israel alone. It is therefore within Israel's power to carry out those obligations without negotiation with the Palestinians or with any other state in the region. It doesn't need to negotiate with anybody before undoing the annexation of East Jerusalem or of the Golan Heights. Nor does it need to negotiate with anybody before dismantling the Jewish settlements in the West Bank. Had it wished to do so,

each of these resolutions could have been implemented at the time they were passed by the Security Council, and all could be implemented now, without any process of negotiation.

#### **RESOLUTION 242**

In that respect, these resolutions are very different from the well-known resolution 242, the so-called "land for peace" resolution. It requires action by other states and non-state actors, as well as Israel.

Resolution 242 was passed on 22nd November 1967, a few months after Israel had acquired large swathes of territory (the West Bank and Gaza plus Sinai and the Golan Heights) by war, contrary to Article 2 of the UN Charter. One might have thought that the Security Council, as the guardian of the UN Charter, would have required Israel to withdraw unconditionally from the territory it had recently acquired by war, contrary to the UN Charter, as Iraq was required to do after it invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

But, in reality, 242 didn't require Israel to do anything. It merely stated its opinion that "withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict" should be conditional on the "termination of all claims or states of belligerency and respect for and acknowledgment of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force". As such, 242 has provided the perfect excuse for Israeli prevarication about withdrawal from the territories it took over by force in 1967, contrary to the UN Charter.

#### **CHAPTER VI RESOLUTIONS**

It has been frequently said by Israel (and by others on Israel's behalf) that the Security Council resolutions concerning Israel are merely non-binding recommendations that don't have to be obeyed—because they are all Chapter VI resolutions—whereas those concerning Iraq in the past and Iran today, are almost all Chapter VII resolutions and are therefore mandatory. In a sense, this is true since Chapter VI resolutions do not contain enforcement measures, that is, economic or military sanctions, and therefore the chances of Israel obeying them are next to nil.

To give effect to its decisions, the Security Council may impose economic sanctions under Article 41 of the UN Charter and may authorise the use of military force under Article 42. Both of these Articles are in Chapter VII of the UN Charter and hence resolutions with such enforcement measures are referred to as Chapter VII resolutions. The Security Council has never passed a Chapter VII resolution authorising economic or military sanctions against Israel.

#### **ALL CHAPTER VI RESOLUTIONS NON-BINDING?**

So, Israel regards all Chapter VI resolutions as non-binding recommendations that don't have to be obeyed? Well, no—only those that demand action by it. Israel takes a different view of Chapter VI resolutions that demand action by other states. In particular, it justified its military assault on Lebanon in the summer of 2006 in part because of Lebanon's failure to implement Security Council resolution 1559, which "calls for the disbanding and disarmament of all Lebanese and non-Lebanese militias" [2]

Here's Dan Gillerman, Israel's Ambassador to the UN, on the subject, addressing the Security Council on 11th August 2006:

"The way to avoid the crisis between Israel and Lebanon has been clear: implementation of the unconditional obligations set out in resolutions 1559 (2004) and 1680 (2006), which set out issues for resolution between Lebanon and Syria. The clear path forward required the disarming and disbanding of Hizbollah and other militias, and the exercise by Lebanon, like any sovereign State, of control and authority over all its territory. But the will to implement this way has been lacking, and over the past month the peoples of Israel and Lebanon have paid a heavy price for that inaction.

"In the face of the failure to ensure that the obligations set out in those resolutions were implemented, Israel has had no choice but to do what Lebanon has failed to do." [3]

So, according to Dan Gillerman, resolution 1559 (and resolution 1680) contain "unconditional obligations" which Lebanon must obey. 1559 is a Chapter VI resolution (as is 1680). So, applying the Gillerman principle

(1) resolution 252 contains an "unconditional obligation" upon Israel to reverse its annexation of East Jerusalem

(2) resolution 446 contains an "unconditional obligation" upon Israel to cease building Jewish settlements in the territories it occupied in 1967, including Jerusalem, and to remove those it has built.

(3) resolution 487 contains an "unconditional obligation" upon Israel "urgently to place its nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards".

(4) resolution 497 contains an "unconditional obligation" upon Israel to reverse its annexation of the Golan Heights

#### **APPENDIX**

There follows a list of 32 resolutions being violated by Israel, resolutions which require action by Israel and Israel alone. This list does not include resolutions that were violated for a number of years but have now been implemented, such as those dealing with Israel's 20-year occupation of southern Lebanon.

#### **252 (21 May 1968)**

Urgently calls upon Israel to rescind measures that change the legal status of Jerusalem, including the expropriation of land and properties thereon.

#### **262 (31 December 1968)**

Calls upon Israel to pay compensation to Lebanon for the destruction of airliners at Beirut International Airport.

#### **267 (3 July 1969)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel rescind measures seeking to change the legal status of occupied East Jerusalem.

#### **271 (15 September 1969)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel rescind measures seeking to change the legal status of occupied East Jerusalem and calls on Israel to scrupulously abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the responsibilities of occupying powers.

#### **298 (25 September 1971)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel rescind measures seeking to change the legal status of occupied East Jerusalem.

#### **446 (22 March 1979)**

Calls on Israel to cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction, and planning of settlements in the territories, occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

#### **452 (20 July 1979)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction, and planning of settlements in the territories, occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

#### **465 (1 March 1980)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel cease, on an urgent basis, the establishment, construction, and planning of settlements in the territories, occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem.

#### **471 (5 June 1980)**

Demands prosecution of those involved in assassination attempts of West Bank leaders and compensation for damages; reiterates demands to abide by Fourth Geneva Convention.

#### **484 (19 December 1980)**

Reiterates request that Israel abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention.

#### **487 (19 June 1981)**

Condemns Israel's attack on Iraqi nuclear reactor and calls upon Israel to place its nuclear facilities under the safeguard of the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency.

#### **497 (17 December 1981)**

Demands that Israel rescind its decision to annex the Golan Heights.

#### **573 (4 October 1985)**

Condemns the Israeli attack on the PLO in Tunisia and calls on Israel to pay compensation for human and material losses from its attack and to refrain from all such attacks or threats of attacks against other nations.

#### **592 (8 December 1986)**

Insists Israel abide by the Fourth Geneva Conventions in East Jerusalem and other occupied territories.

#### **605 (22 December 1987)**

Calls once more upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide immediately and scrupulously

by the Fourth Geneva Convention, and to desist forthwith from its policies and practices that are in violation of the provisions of the Convention.

**607 (5 January 1988)**

Reiterates calls on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention and to cease its practice of deportations from occupied territories.

**608 (14 January 1988)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel cease its deportations of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

**636 (6 July 1989)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel cease its deportations of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

**641 (30 August 1989)**

Reiterates the demand that Israel cease its deportations of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

**672 (12 October 1990)**

Reiterates calls for Israel to abide by provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied territories.

**673 (24 October 1990)**

Insists that Israel come into compliance with resolution 672.

**681 (20 December 1990)**

Reiterates call on Israel to abide by Fourth Geneva Convention in the occupied territories.

**694 (24 May 1991)**

Reiterates that Israel "must refrain from deporting any Palestinian civilian from the occupied territories and ensure the safe and immediate return of all those deported".

**726 (6 January 1992)**

Reiterates calls on Israel to abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention and to cease its practice of deportations from occupied territories.

**799 (18 December 1992)**

Reaffirms applicability of Fourth Geneva Convention...to all Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967, including Jerusalem, and affirms that deportation of civilians constitutes a contravention of its obligations under the Convention.

**904 (18 March 1994)**

Calls upon Israel, as the occupying power, to take and implement measures, inter alia, confiscation of arms, with the aim of preventing illegal acts of violence by settlers.

**1073 (28 September 1996)**

Calls on the safety and security of Palestinian civilians to be ensured.

**1322 (7 October 2000)**

Calls upon Israel to scrupulously abide by the Fourth Geneva Convention regarding the responsibilities of occupying power.

**1402 (30 March 2002)**

Calls for Israel to withdraw from Palestinian cities.

**1403 (4 April 2002)**

Demands that Israel go through with "the implementation of its resolution 1402, without delay".

**1405 (19 April 2002)**

Calls for UN inspectors to investigate civilian deaths during an Israeli assault on the Jenin refugee camp.

**1435 (24 September 2002)**

Calls on Israel to withdraw to positions of September 2000 and end its military activities in and around Ramallah, including the destruction of security and civilian infrastructure.

Note: Since 1972, the US has used its veto in the Security Council 42 times in order to prevent the passing of resolutions critical. See [4] for details.

**David Morrison  
23 February 2008**

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- [3] [www.david-morrison.org.uk/scps/20060811.pdf](http://www.david-morrison.org.uk/scps/20060811.pdf)
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**Report: Jewish Chronicle**

**"NUJ backs down, but Ulster launches ban"**

A rank-and-file rebellion, spearheaded by BBC staff, has forced the National Union of Journalists to abandon its decision to boycott Israeli goods. The climbdown was approved by a narrow majority at its annual delegates' conference in April.

The decision was seen this week as a major setback for the campaign to encourage trades unionists to take sanctions against Israel, and coincided with signs of internal dissatisfaction within other unions that have passed boycott motions.

Leaders of UCU, the lecturers' union, which voted to consider boycotting Israeli universities, have expressed misgivings against the policy, with its general secretary Sally Hunt telling members in an email that she was "saddened" that the issue had overshadowed campaigns to save jobs.

...  
Rumblings of discontent were also heard from anti-boycott members of Unison, which passed a strong boycott motion at its conference, and there were protests that the Transport and General Workers Union had approved an embargo against Israeli goods after a severely truncated debate at its annual meeting last week.

...The NUJ decision came in the face of protests by members, including an online petition organised by the BBC's technology correspondent Rory Cellan-Jones, which was signed by more than 400 journalists, many of them from the BBC.

...  
But it may be too early to cheer. A new

front in the boycott Israel battle has been opened by Northern Ireland's biggest union, which unanimously adopted five strongly worded pro-boycott resolutions at its annual conference in Derry.

Delegates at the meeting, last month, instructed the 46,000-strong Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance to place an embargo on Israeli produce and ban a range of investments in companies and pension funds that had connections with the country.

This week a member of the union's general council, Michael Robinson, said that its next step would be to persuade unions across the border in Eire to join the campaign. "We want to extend it into an all-Ireland boycott," he said.

At the conference there had not been a single speaker opposing the resolutions, he noted. "There has been a wave of opinion against Israel partly because of the TV coverage of what Israel did in Lebanon and Gaza. People can see exactly what is going on."

NIPSA, which represents workers in a wide range of public services in the province, including hospitals, local government and the civil service, is a sister union to Unison, which itself recently passed a boycott motion at its Brighton conference.

Among the demands—which had the support of the union's leadership—was a call for an investigation into its investments "to determine whether these are contributing to the oppression of the Palestinian people".

Accusing Israel of adopting policies "akin to that practised under the apartheid regime in South Africa", the conference called on its leadership to "actively and vigorously promote a policy of divestment from Israel's companies, recognising that this is one of the most effective ways to ensure that the Israeli government is made aware of the extent of opposition to its crimes against humanity".

It also pinpointed investments in Caterpillar and Irish Cement Roadholdings, which it said directly supported "Israeli occupation and the destruction of Palestinian land".

Doreen Gerson, executive vice chair of the Trade Union Friends of Israel, told the *JC* that TUFU was aware of plans to spread the boycott campaign on both sides of the border. "We are arranging to hold meetings with the Irish TUC and we have contacts in Ireland who will be taking a close look at what is happening."

...  
Foreign Secretary David Miliband... [said] that the government was strongly opposed to the boycott. The UCU move in particular, he said, "could damage" Britain.

...  
By Bernard Josephs and Leon Symons  
*Jewish Chronicle*, 13 July 2007: extracts

## Myths From 1916

Eoin Neeson's *Myths From Easter 1916* was reviewed in *The Sunday Tribune* of 25th November by Ken Griffin who found it—

"lightweight and unashamedly partisan... His narrative is little more than historical cowboys and Indians, with the Irish rebels as cowboys and the British as the Indians."

What were the cowboys with relation to the Indians? A genocidal force in the vanguard of a powerful state which was committed to exterminating the native peoples of the continent until it had been ethnically cleansed right through to the Pacific. The Indians—who were officially marked down for extinction by Jefferson, who told them frankly what was in store for them, and who asserted US sovereignty over a vast region inhabited by Indians at the time—might win an occasional skirmish in their attempt to ward off obliteration, but the consequence then was that the USA then sent a pulverising military force against them.

What Griffin's absurd comparison shows is how thoroughly the progressive genocidal mentality of Great and Greater Britain has saturated critical faculties in Ireland.

The 1916 rebels used to be condemned for committing themselves to the hopeless enterprise of disputing sovereignty with the British Empire. That was the kind of consideration that deterred many Indian attempts at resistance, and facilitated peaceful extinction.

Griffin says that Neeson—

"occasionally ignores historical fact including the jeering of the captured rebels by crowds in Dublin streets after they finally surrendered, an incident which totally undermines his claim that the Rising's leaders had the support of the Irish people".

The jeering crowd was a very local affair within Dublin. The spectacular application of physical force by a powerful army aroused the enthusiasm of a local crowd, which jeered at the vanquished. What's unusual about that? The lumpen-proletariat is usually exhilarated by masterful application of power.

The rebels in the GPO used to be condemned for not encouraging social revolution by supporting the plunder of shops in O'Connell Street. Did the looters they condemned appear in the crowd that jeered at them a few days later? I have not seen the question addressed either by those who saw the looters as an expression of potential social revolution, or those who see them as expressing the loyal sentiment of "*the Irish people*" in the face of rebellion.

The jeering crowd—the "*insulted and injured*" produced by the utter misery of inner-city Dublin in those times—had no stable sentiment, no political purpose, no place in the social order. Their conduct in the presence of extravagantly triumphant military power indicates nothing about "*the Irish people*"—the great property-owning democracy in the country, the organised workers of the towns, and the middle and lower middle classes in their various enterprises. And when "*the Irish people*" got going in response to the Rebellion, and exerted a masterful counter-pressure in social life to the British military pressure exerted from outside, the jeers turned to adulation.

Neeson did not bother his head with the jeering crowd. And quite right. What he says in response to the argument that "*the Rising did not reflect the current mood of the majority of the people*", is that "*in 1916 active democracy such as we know it simply did not exist*", and that within weeks the shock of the rising brought about a dramatic change of mood and created the "*revolutionary climate of thought necessary to challenge alien rule*". And I don't see how one can quibble with that—unless one is employed to be a quibbler.

One of the *Myths* disposed of by Neeson is that of the "*blood sacrifice*". Of all the nonsense about 1916 published by the revisionists in recent decades that has always seemed to me to be the most ridiculous. Revisionism is a massaging of Irish history of that period to suit current British interests. Almost all of it comes from British Universities and British publishers. Almost forty years ago I made myself *persona non grata* with the nationalist media by making out a case for the Ulster Protestants on a "*two-nations*" basis, and characterising Northern Ireland as undemocratic because of its exclusion from the political life of the state which held it and proposing that it be democratised into that state. What I wrote was published by the British & Irish Communist Organisation, which held that in many respects the Free State remained a British sub-state, and its conduct could not be understood adequately on any other terms. From that vantage point we combined Ireland with Britain as a subject of investigation. The Easter Rising had never interested me greatly as a distinct event. When I came to it, it was through the Great War, which was unavoidable in Belfast if one wanted to understand the Protestant community. At one point I went to the Belfast Central Library to

check up on something in the (London) *Times* and was told that the entire file of the paper had been given over on an indefinite loan to a Loyalist Research group, organised I think by Gusty Spence, which was compiling information on the Battle of the Somme—which seemed to be taking the place of the 1859 Revival as a focal point in Ulsterish life.

The Somme was a battle like no other, in that it had no object beyond killing—at least after the first couple of days, and it went on for months. It had no territorial objective beyond pushing forward a few hundred yards towards nothing in particular, and manoeuvre with a view to encirclement was out of the question. It was nothing but good, solid killing, week after week, at a favourable rate of attrition. And a favourable rate of attrition did not require more Huns to be killed than Brits. What was required was that the smaller German population be whittled away faster than the Allied populations relative to size.

I read many accounts of the first day. I don't often go for images, but in this instance I could not escape the image of the Gaderine swine with their mad urge for self-destruction. I knew it from Dostoevsky's epigraph to *The Possessed* rather than from the Bible—where it has more force than in the Bible.

So what Devils were driving them on, making them climb out of their trenches and walk slowly into the machine gun fire of prepared defensive positions all through a long Summer's day, each wave walking over the bodies of the preceding waves? What was the cause? What was the purpose? What was the *teleology*—which our revisionists apply inappropriately to little things but are afraid to apply to the big things that merit it?

When the Germans tried an offensive in 1918 it was something like a battle. Means appropriate to breaking through the front, conducting an encirclement, and achieving a strategic territorial gain, were devised and put into effect. No Gaderine swine there. No hint of mass suicide.

Going back two years to the start of it all, 1914, one finds English literature saturated with the cult of death. "*Now God be thanked who matched us with His hour*" says Rupert Brooke happily going off to the carnage of war "*like swimmers into cleanness leaping*"—and it was not his fault that he died mundanely of disease on the way to Gallipoli. The Prime Minister's son, Asquith, one of the upper class coterie of ultra-aesthetes called *The Souls* wrote a poem glorifying a clerk who left the counting-house to be transformed into a warrior and live a worthwhile life for a brief moment before passing on to Valhalla. And there was Julien Grenfell who felt the Earth calling out for blood:

"And life is colour and warmth and light  
And a striving ever more for these  
And he is dead who will not fight  
And who dies fighting has increase".

Grenfell's sympathetic upper class biographer in a later generation (one of the Mosley's I think) wondered what it was that made those very cultured English of 1914 have such a strong wish to be killed. I forget what his answer was.

Herbert Asquith, the Prime Minister's son, celebrated death in *The Volunteer*—"And falling thus he wants not recompense  
Who found his battle in the last resort".

And in *Flanders 1915*:

"Above the clouds what lights are gleaming?  
God's batteries are those,  
Or souls of soldiers homewards streaming  
To banquet with their foes?  
The floods of battle ebb and flow,  
The soldiers to Valhalla go!

...  
The fighting men go charging past  
With battle in their eyes,  
The fighting men go reeling past  
Like gods in poor disguise".

And T.M. Kettle, the Home Ruler, who was one of them until 1916 demoralised him and he turned to mawkishness:

"Blood on the land, and blood on the sea?  
So it stands as ordained to be,  
Stamp, and signet and guarantee  
Of the better ways we knew,  
Time for the plough when the sword has  
won;  
The loom will wait on the crashing gun,  
And the hands of peace drop benison  
When the task of death is through".

Coming from this kind of thing how can one be bothered about a couple of little flourishes by the 1916 people. And what world do those who *are* bothered by those flourishes live in? They want to repudiate 1916 and return to —the Somme!

There is utter horror at Pearse's matter-of-fact observation that sometimes the wrong people might be shot. A few years ago I noticed no expression of outrage from those quarters when the British Prime Minister said he might be killing the wrong people but, multiplied a thousandfold. Blair said, before destroying the Iraqi state, that it might be that it was the wrong thing to do, but if so history would say he was right to do it because it was better be safe than sorry; while if the right thing to do was to destroy it and he neglected to do so history would not forgive him.

It is a convoluted argument. What he really meant was that the war on Iraq would be done so well that the accomplished fact would dominate the public mind and relegate consideration of rights and wrongs to the marginal fringe of eccentrics.

The 1916 Rising did dominate the public mind very quickly. Then for two genera-

tions the questioning of it was rendered meaningless by the factual situation resulting from it. Then, after 1970, the era of counterfactual history called revisionism began, inaugurated by Jack Lynch it seems, with England appealed to by Raymond Crotty to come and take Irish intellectual life in hand once again.

I have not been predisposed in favour of Eoin Neeson, who was Jack Lynch's publicity agent in 1970. But now he appears as a survivor of the old order subverted by Lynch and tries to put history back on a factual basis—and is dismissed for it by the same Dublin circles that put the word out on me in 1969.

A final word about the cult of death. Edmund Burke made a distinction between great states which have things to do with the world and trifling states whose destiny is to adapt without too great a fuss to the requirement of the great state which bears down on them—unless they are being instigated to revolt by a hostile great state. The order of the world, and therefore its morality, is determined by the outcome of great wars.

Britain purported to be fighting some new kind of war in 1914, but conducted itself just as if it was fighting an ordinary kind of war. The United States joined that war in 1917 (saving its debtors from defeat) and insisted that something like the world order for which Britain had purported to be fighting in 1914 should be set up. So the League of Nations was set up, declaring all nations to be entitled to statehood, and all states to have equal rights. Britain and France went along with American propaganda until Germany was defeated, but prevented the League from functioning according to the American prospectus.. Whether it might have functioned is an open question. The British and French Empires prevented it from being attempted and the US then refused to participate. Twenty-five years later, after another world war which led to the world being split into two antagonistic camps, the League was replaced by the UN, which made no pretence of equality.

Events of the past twenty years have blown away the ideological obfuscation of the League and the UN and revealed a world much as it was in 1914, modified chiefly by the quality of weaponry now available. The great states now openly determine the course of events by use of their power as in the good old days. And a cult of death is a necessary ideological element in the make-up of such states, which cannot function without the activity of highly-motivated bodies for which staying alive is not all-important.

In 1919 "*the Irish people*" was an electorate that had voted to leave Britain and the Empire. Britain and the Empire said that wasn't on. It is now thought

extraordinary that the Irish electorate didn't respond by going home and forgetting about it, but not at all extraordinary that Britain put in "*Cadets*" to shoot up the Irish—and to take the risk of being killed in order to do a bit of killing.

The Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries lived in an ideology of death-cult. To find anything comparable on the other side the barrel has to be scraped. Revisionism is the scraping of the barrel with regard to the Irish. What it does with the Auxiliaries is subsume them into the state policy they served and lose all their particularity. But the Black and Tans weren't statesmen, while the members of the Republican Army on the whole were. The Dail was not in a position to hire groups of mercenaries as Lloyd George was—at least not until it became the Free State Dail.

Griffen makes no comment on Neeson's account of the signing of the 'Treaty', the setting up of a Treatyite apparatus of state, and the precipitation of what is called Civil War. This is a region in which the Dublin journalistic mind of the revisionist era does not function.

Neeson says that the Dail was a single-party Assembly in which, because of the consensual circumstances of its creation, there was no Opposition:

"The yeast binding many shades of opinion from Left to Right across the political spectrum and holding Sinn Fein together as one party, was the principle of self-determination... Its fulfilment, particularly in part, would inevitably, in the political scheme of things, lead to political division sooner or later."

If the Treatyite War arose out of the self-determination principle, and a consequent disagreement over how the independent state should be governed, then it is right to call it a Civil War. It is widely hinted nowadays that the Treaty split was the result of pre-existing political divisions which had been covered over during the War of Independence, but I know of no publication which attempts to demonstrate that such was the case. As far as I could discover, certain political positions which re-surfaced in 1922-23 did so as a consequence of the Treaty. They were not the cause. The Treaty split occurred in the medium of personal responses within Sinn Fein to the British threat of intensified warfare. And I think there is no reasonable doubt that the essential thing for Britain was the split in Sinn Fein rather than any particular item that was in the Treaty.

Once the split was accomplished, political elements that had been marginalised for three years became ardently 'patriotic' Treatyites. I think particularly of the die-hard Redmondites and the *Church of Ireland Gazette* (which became ardently 'patriotic' the moment the Dail carried the Treaty under duress, having been opposed

to all that had been done on the basis of the free vote of the electorate since 1918).

The Home Rulers held on to a few seats in 1918, but they refused, along with the Unionists, to sit in the Dail, even though they were still supposedly committed to self-determination, and had not declared themselves a 26-County Party. They went off and submitted themselves to the Crown in the state which their national electorate had rejected. Then, when the national body politic was disrupted by the Treaty, they formed the Centre Party. Some of them later joined Cumann na nGaedheal. And then, in the 1930s, the two parties merged to form a Fascist Party against Fianna Fail in support of the Treaty—Fine Gael.

If the Treaty split had been brought about by a purposeful element within Sinn Fein which had been thrown together with others for a few years and decided the time had come to realise its own objectives, the Free State would have been a more vigorous thing than it was. It bore to the end the character of its origin, which was submissive rather than purposeful, and once established securely in power with British arms it did not know quite what to do with itself, except rattle old bones.

That was the Free State. It was not Collins, even though he was the founder of the Free State.

Some years ago in the British Public Record Office I came across a document in which Collins pleaded with Whitehall to make it less obvious that it was pulling his strings.

He was implementing their Treaty for them. Why were they making it so difficult for him to carry everybody with him into a peaceful settlement? Because Whitehall's object was not a peaceful settlement which would leave the Republican army and body politic intact. And if Collins did not understand that, he understood very little about the situation in which he acted.

Neeson suggests that, when Collins shelled the Four Courts, in response to yet another British ultimatum, his purpose was to enact a kind of *coup* which would enable him to cut the strings by which Whitehall had manipulated him since December 6th. By breaking the Four Courts garrison he would comply with Whitehall demands with a spectacular display of strength and purpose, and then demand that the British back him in implementing his Pact with De Valera, and bringing in a Free State Constitution that the Army could live with. He was relying on the fact that the solid body of the Army in the country was not backing the Four Courts exhibitionists. But his information was faulty. He did not know that Moylan etc. had just patched up their differences with the Four Courts garrison, so that when he fired the first shot he

found himself at war with the Army as a whole.

That may be. But, when Collins struck out on his own in December, and got the delegates to sign the Treaty without the approval of the Government, he was in the game of playing all sides against the middle, and it was his business to know everything.

In the event, Collins was the General Monk of the Irish Republic. He restored the Monarchy. Nobody knew what Monk was up to between the death of Cromwell and the return of the King. Possibly he did not know himself at times. But he kept tabs on everything and deceived everybody. And that was what Collins had to do once he decided to act without the authority of his Government, and what he failed to do.

But perhaps the comparison is unfair to Monk. He did not throw the Republican body politic in England into disarray. He only manipulated his way through the disarray into which the Republican body politic had fallen.

Playing all sides against the middle in conflict with the heirs of General Monk was not something that Collins was every likely to succeed in. He was putty in their hands.

Collins had a sadly unrealistic idea of himself. I suppose it blossomed in London under the nurturing of Lord Birkenhead and Lady Lavery, but nothing blossoms out of nothing. In any case, he lost his bearings in their presence, and was made the instrument of breaking up the Republican body politic that had somehow materialised under the eyes of the RIC. Once he acted independently of his Government he was on the escalator leading to 'Civil War'.

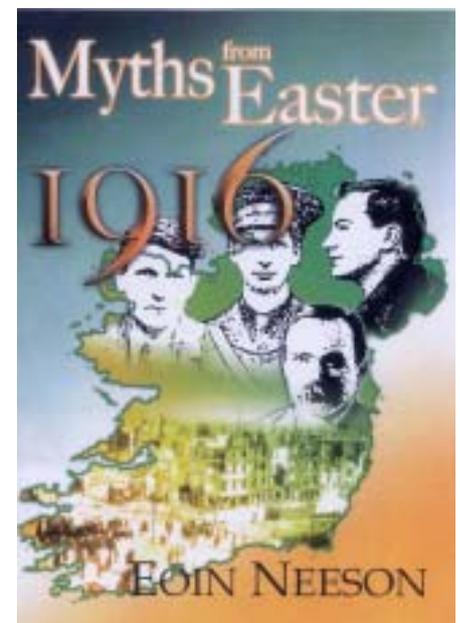
Neeson says that the Civil War "*solved nothing that could not have been solved peacefully*". That's because it was not in substance a Civil War at all. The victors in authentic Civil Wars know what they want to do and they go on and do it. The fact that De Valera took over within ten years of the crushing Treatyite military victory and implemented so much of the Anti-Treaty position shows how far it was from being a genuine Civil War.

It was in fact a British war by proxy, and was so described in Westminster. Its long-term advantage to Britain was the establishment in Ireland of a State without an Army—only a 'Defence Force' directed inwards—and with a severely-damaged body politic and cultural life.

But Britain was unable to exert close supervision over Irish affairs under the Treaty because the British body politic was itself traumatised by the defeat suffered at the hands of the Turks at the very moment when the Free State was being put in place. That is why something was retrievable in Ireland.

Lloyd George's secretary, Shakespeare, was present at the scene at which the Irish delegates signed the Treaty without consulting their Government under threat of immediate war if they delayed. He says he was very surprised that they allowed themselves to be bluffed into hasty action. He did not doubt that the treat of war was in earnest. The bluff was that it would be put into effect at once if they insisted on consulting their Government. They all signed and everything else followed from that. But their will was broken by Collins, not by Lloyd George. Collins embarked on an independent course of action, instead of making his Government decide. The gain to Britain from that bluff, to which Collins was a party, were enormous.

**Brendan Clifford**



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## Church & State 91

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## Stack

**Erskine Childers** There seems to be some sort of concerted attack on Ireland by the *London Review of Books* of late. As a subscriber, I was rather interested to see that in the issue (Vol. 30, No.3, 7th February 2008), there was a letter from an Augustus Young commenting on a review of a book 'On Ugliness' stating that there was a "political issue" to the subject under review that was not adverted to:

"Ireland almost conducted a national campaign against it. Erskine Childers, minister of health in the late 1960's, was obsessed by the hypothesis that ugly people were more likely to develop mental illness. He ordered his department to investigate. Research money would be found, he said, no expense would be spared. Civil servants dissuaded him with some difficulty; no objective criteria could be established to define ugliness (or beauty); a scientific study would be impossible. He reluctantly dropped the idea and went on to be president of Ireland".

That statement has such fascistic overtones that it led me to look through a biography of Childers which indicated that drinking and smoking were his *bête noires* but there was no policy to outlaw 'ugliness' as far as I could ascertain. But this English-born "*scion of an upper-class London family*" interested me more by the fact that very few have alluded to his powerful presence at Cabinet during the whole arms controversy as he was Lynch's Tánaiste too. However he did a lot at Health pushing through a new Health Act in 1970 and in 1971 he created eight new Health Boards and three new Regional Hospitals in Cork, Galway and Dublin. Because he went abroad a lot during these testing times attacking both Britain and the IRA and helping put a polish and spin on the Irish Government's case, he was named Newsweek's 'Minister of the Year' 1970.

**Irish Militarism?** Now that it is accepted that there is a growing *State* militarism in Ireland there are many programmes and books to help us acquire *this* disposition. When the whole Great War thing kicked off it took us a long time to acquire the right *mentality* to appreciate what it did for saving *our way of life* et cetera. In this issue of *Books Ireland*, a Tony Canavan under the heading 'Secret Ireland' reviews several books with a military/conflict theme. But for one book all the stops were pulled out: *The Irish Brigades 1685-2006* by David Murphy. Four Courts Press (pb €50!). Canavan, says "a rave review for

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## No sympathy for a 'hierarchy of regret'

The letter below appeared in the *Irish Examiner* of 11th February without the last sentence!

Brendan Cafferty asks (Letters, February 4) why can't I admit that "some awful things were done to Protestants in our name" during the War of Independence? He is really asking me to be selective in my concern and compassion for its victims. I cannot oblige. Compassion for those victims is like mercy and its "quality is not strain'd, it droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven" on all of them. Mr Cafferty can discriminate in such matters if he wishes and create hierarchies of regret for those who lost their lives. I can't.

This was an unnecessary war and none of its victims in Ireland caused it. They were all equally innocent and therefore all their deaths are equally regrettable. The Irish electorate voted overwhelmingly for independence in 1918. A government was formed on the basis of that result and proceeded to govern on its democratic mandate. It was then subjected to military terrorism to prevent it functioning by parties in a government that had not even contested the 1918 election in Ireland. That election result, and the Irish government that resulted from it, was further endorsed by an even more overwhelming result in the 1921 general election when the then Irish government party, Sinn Féin, won every single elective seat in the State. But the terrorism against it persisted and increased. In these circumstances I assume it is obvious, even to Mr Cafferty who caused that war in Ireland and who is therefore responsible for all of its victims. It would be more profitable for him therefore to address those responsible and more appropriate to ask them to admit "the awful things that were done" in their name. [Omitted:] Their address is 10 Downing St., Whitehall, London SW1A 2 AJ. Jack Lane Aubane Millstreet Co Cork

*David Murphy's book; if you are interested in Irish military history, this book is a must". Continuing: "The Irish propensity to get involved in wars is well known". Indeed. Well with our Rangers out in Chad, perhaps we have finally acquired some military zeal and it will be interesting to see how it all pans out in the end.*

According to the *Irish Mail* (4th February 2008) a "play about a 14 year-old Irish boy who was the youngest Allied soldier to die in battle in the First World War is to go nationwide. '*Boy Soldier*' based on Waterford teenager John Condon also pays tribute to the thousands of Irishmen killed in the war. Writer Ben Hennessy said the production gives a voice to the young soldiers who have largely been forgotten in the annals of history. The cast and production team met members of the soldier's family and visited Flanders for three days to pay their respects. Condon was killed during the second battle of Ypres, on 24th May 1915. The only personal item returned to his family was a piece of boot bearing his regimental number—6322. And to think that today the UN sponsors various missions particularly in Africa dedicated to eradicating the scourge of boy soldiers while we here in Ireland create heroes of them.

**E U Referendum** With the Treaty of Lisbon being aired, it is somewhat amusing to see how so-called liberal people are behaving. I accept that Young Fine Gael and liberalism have never been bedfellows but Alan Dukes likes to propagate that image of himself and of course he is ably abetted by the *Irish Times* and other media-like outlets. However when the

YFG were having their recent annual gathering to hear debate on the pros and cons of the Treaty, they were told to drop *Libertas*, the anti-Lisbon side, by headquarters, and only Dukes and FG's Lucinda Creighton took to the platform. As the *Irish Mail* (21st February 2008) reported, they took it in turns to have a crack at their absent opposition which the paper thought quite "*unsporting*". In the next day's paper, it was reported "that there was a motion in the EU parliament committing the EU to 'respecting the outcome of the referendum in Ireland' which one would have thought to "have passed uncontroversially. Actually, it was voted down by 499-129". Amongst those who voted down the proposal was one Proinsias De Rossa "*who happily sided with those seeking to undercut the vote of his home country. There was a time this would have been called treason*".

**British Embassy** The UK Embassy in Dublin (apart from its own in-house diplomats/military attaché) does not employ staff—it sub-contracts them. According to the UK Foreign Office, UK embassies as a matter of policy do not act as tax-withholding agencies. The Embassy has unilaterally and illegally opted out of its responsibilities as an employer. No PAYE, no employer's PRSI, no sick pay, no pension contributions are paid by the Embassy to the Irish State on behalf of its "*contractors*" who are "*expected to look after their own taxes*". The staff are paid gross. Very nice for them. Are the Revenue Commissioners interested?

**Lobus Globus Pocus** Sometimes the

academics produce unintended howlers. The *Irish Mail* (13th February 2008) asks: *Is Nominated Prof Micheal O Suilleabhain Ireland's Most Pretentious Man?* The brochure for his Irish World Academy of Music and Dance at the University of Limerick includes:

"Our locus in this instance... is the globus. In this way, we recognise the essential dynamic at the heart of the creative process at work as a kind of global listening within which—in this instance—Europe is within the inner ear. Within us is "the rest of the world", and "the rest of the world" is that within which we dwell."

**Mr. Dick Spring** hasn't gone away. This column has been watching his resurfacing in various places with more frequency lately. At the recent *Cork Chamber's* (they have done away with the Commerce bit) *Annual Dinner* black-tie event, which only the movers and shakers and of course bankers attend, there on the top table amongst Cork's finest was none other than Dick. He was the after-dinner speaker in his role as Deputy Executive Vice President of Fexco, the Kerry firm. (Dick unhappily didn't pick up the dazzling Directorships that he thought were in the bag after his political career collapsed—a lot of people didn't trust a guy who brought down a very good Government for reasons that are still murky today.) But as a warm-up guy he wasn't that bad with some vintage jokes and some at the expense of an obviously fuming Micheal Martin, Minister of Enterprise, Trade and Employment. At one stage in the proceedings, the Minister was seen laughing with his cronies and Dick biting said; *"You can laugh at me now Michael but it may not be long before you are where I am now"* to the collective laughter of the 1000 attendees. But his remit also included informing a very up-to-the-minute crowd of business people about the sub-prime mortgages which they all were well familiar with. A few lads said afterwards that they suspected he might try for the Presidency and let's say 'watch this space'!

**The trials of Guantanamo Bay** prisoners are coming up in April and May next. Will the trials be fair and equitable? The man in charge of the trials is a Bush political appointee, William Haynes from the Pentagon. General Haynes is in charge of the Prosecution, he is in charge of the Defence and he is in charge of the judges at the Guantanamo Tribunals. Are the defendants likely to get a fair trial? It doesn't stack up!

**Church And State** Church of Ireland St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin is now raising funds by selling Rosary Beads in the shop inside the Cathedral. (As indeed they also do in the great Salisbury Cathedral where I bought a lovely one last Autumn.) Dr.

Gerard Morgan (Irish Examiner 14th February 2008) deplored the necessity for the cash register in the Cathedral but accepted it is necessary because the Irish State should, but will not, support the Protestant Churches.

This does not stack up at all when one considers that these Cathedrals and their vast supporting estates were acquired from the mostly Catholic population of Ireland in the Great Protestant Land Grab known as the Reformation and subsequently supported by forced extortion of tithes from Catholics and others alike up to the Disestablishment Act. The Catholics have

no Cathedral in Dublin and the Church of Ireland has two Cathedrals. How about an ecumenical gesture of giving one back to the Catholics? Problem solved.

**O B N** Stack has decided after seeing Martin Mansergh's obsequious support for the battling Taoiseach Bertie Ahern that he will follow in Private Eye's footsteps and have a little column titled OBN. So this will go to someone who has assiduously cultivated this title. Step forward our inaugural candidate—Deputy Martin Mansergh.

**Michael Stack**

*Mark Langhammer*

Caitriona Ruane, the Sinn Fein Minister in the Northern Executive wants to abolish the 11+ examination, which currently determines what second-level education a child receives in the State sector. However Unionists want to retain selection. Under the Belfast Agreement as originally negotiated, each Minister was emperor in his own fiefdom. That Agreement was amended at St. Andrews on the lines of a *Comprehensive Agreement* document, put forward by the British and the Irish Governments, and the DUP claims to have curbed Ministerial powers. This article discusses whether Cross Community Consent is required or not

## Does The DUP Have A Veto On Abolishing The 11+ ?

Following the statement of Education Minister, Caitriona Ruane, on 5th December 2007[1], setting out her vision for the education system of the future, there has been no little speculation as to how consensus can be built for the vision outlined, or whether indeed consensus is required. Can Caitriona Ruane push her education reforms through, or does she require *"cross community consent"*? This question is of wider significance than the narrow question of whether there is academic selection, and whether at 11 or 14. Although the academic selection issue may be atypical, it nonetheless represents the first real test of the Stormont governmental arrangements, post St Andrews.

### THE COMPREHENSIVE AGREEMENT

The St. Andrews provisions incorporated the British and Irish Governments proposals for a *"Comprehensive Agreement"* of December 2004 [2]. This was covered in detail by David Morrison in *Has the DUP accepted the Belfast Agreement?* [3]. The DUP's main criticism of the Belfast Agreement was the ministerial autonomy enshrined within it. The question then was: did the DUP achieve their stated goal of putting ministers under the control of the Assembly in these proposals?

One new mechanism was proposed whereby what are described as *"important ministerial decisions"* may be referred

from the Assembly for *"review"* by the Executive. The mechanism for Assembly referrals of *"important ministerial decisions"* to the Executive is described in paragraph 6 of Annex B, which says:

"An amendment to the 1998 Act would provide for referrals from the Assembly to the Executive of important ministerial decisions. Thirty members of the Assembly might initiate such a referral, within seven days of a ministerial decision or notification of the decision, where appropriate. Before he could pass the referral to the Executive, the Presiding Officer, following consultation with the parties in the Assembly, would be required to certify that it concerned an issue of public importance. The Executive would consider the issue within seven days. A second referral could not be made by the Assembly in respect of the same matter. Only matters covered by the Ministerial Code, as set out above, would require a collective decision by the Executive."

So, the DUP acting alone could initiate this process in respect of Caitriona Ruane's proposals. But, whether this challenge reaches the Executive depends on the rules to be applied by the Presiding Officer to decide whether the decision in question *"concerned an issue of public importance"*. Let's assume that the Presiding Officer determines the matter to be *"of public importance"*.

Can the Presiding Officer can then refer a ministerial decision to the Executive for consideration? Can the Executive overturn a ministerial decision? The answer to that appears to be in principle "Yes", but in practice such an event would be very rare, given the political makeup of the present, and any conceivable future, Assembly.

It is assumed that a ministerial decision referred to the Executive would stand unless the Executive passed a resolution overturning it. That would be difficult to achieve given the following:

"There would be arrangements to ensure that, where a decision of the Executive could not be achieved by consensus and a vote was required, any three members of the Executive could require it to be taken on a cross-community basis" (Annex B, para 3).

This rule, which wasn't in the original Agreement, means that, for example, Sinn Fein would be able to bloc any attempt by the DUP to overturn a decision of a Sinn Fein (or any other) minister.

On its own, Sinn Fein is in a position to bloc any potential Executive decision

(a) because it has the 3 (4 including the Dept 1st Minister) members that are sufficient to require a "cross-community" vote on the Executive, and

(b) because its members represent a majority of the Nationalist members and are therefore in a position to stop the passing of any motion before the Executive.

#### STATUTORY MINISTERIAL CODE

Another proposed St. Andrews change is potentially relevant to ministerial ability to take executive decisions. This is the introduction of a statutory Ministerial Code (see paragraphs 3-5 of Annex B).

Paragraph 3 says:

"The 1998 Act would be amended to require inclusion in the Code of agreed provisions in relation to ministerial accountability."

It goes on to list the matters to be decided collectively by ministers in the Executive, which it says would be a forum for:

(i) the discussion of, and agreement on, issues which cut across the responsibilities of two or more Ministers, including in particular those that are the responsibility of the Minister of Finance and Personnel;

(ii) prioritising executive proposals;

(iii) prioritising legislative proposals;

(iv) recommending a common position where necessary—for instance, on matters which concern the response of the Northern Ireland administration to external relationships;

(v) agreement each year on (and review as necessary of) a programme incorporating an agreed budget linked to policies and programmes (Programme for Government);

(vi) discussion of and agreement on any issue which is significant or controversial and is clearly outside the scope of the agreed Programme for Government or which the First Minister and Deputy First Minister agree should be brought to the Executive."

Matters (i) to (v) are an accurate reflection of paragraphs 19 and 20 of the original Agreement, which, according to Section 20(3) of the *Northern Ireland Act 1998*, define the functions of the Executive.

But, both aspects of (vi) are new. It is not obvious, however, that (vi) represents a major extension of what can be placed on the agenda of the Executive. For example, does the first part of (vi) go further than a review of the agreed Programme of Government, which is already allowed for in (v)? And, it doesn't seem unreasonable to allow a matter to be put on the agenda of the Executive, if the First Minister and the Deputy First Minister agree that it should be.

(Strangely, there is no specific mention in this list of the Executive being obliged to consider 'referrals' passed on by the Presiding Officer from the Assembly.)

However, even if what can be placed on the agenda of the Executive is marginally extended, the cross-community voting mechanism will severely restrict the degree to which ministers' sovereignty can be overridden in practice by the Executive.

From the above, it seems certain that the Assembly will not be able to countermand ministerial decisions that do not involve legislation and the DUP's complaint that under the original Agreement each individual Minister can take any executive decision over the department he controls without recourse to or the consent of the Assembly will continue to be operative.

In this general sense Sinn Fein has retained Ministerial autonomy, and the DUP has moved onto the ground of the Good Friday Agreement.

The specific case of the 11+, however, may not result in a Sinn Fein victory.

#### NEGATIVE RESOLUTION PROCEDURE VS CONSENSUS

As things stand, therefore, Caitriona Ruane could draw up Regulations specifying Admissions Criteria for secondary schools, which forbid academic selection, and dare Unionists to attempt to overturn them by seeking a review of this ministerial decision. Civil servants now refer to this as "*Negative Resolution Procedure*".

However, Regulations are drawn up and implemented within the context of primary legislation. The relevant legislation is now the *Education (Northern Ireland) Order 2006*, which succeeded the 1997 Order and gives power to specify

the Admissions Criteria.

Caitriona Ruane's thinking is likely to be that, whilst she can force through Admissions Criteria through "Negative Resolution Procedure", if such a set of regulations ignored (and therefore displaced) academic selection, it may be open to legal challenge. It should be noted that when regulations are written on Admissions Criteria, all other/previous admissions policies lapse.

Admissions Criteria without reference to academic selection could be deemed as inconsistent with the 2006 *Education Order*.

The *Explanatory Memorandum to the Education (Northern Ireland) Order*, Section 55 says that:

"The prohibition on academic selection will come into operation on 25 November 2006, to take effect in relation to admissions from September 2010, unless the Northern Ireland Assembly is restored by 24 November 2006, in which case the commencement of the prohibition on academic selection will be subject to affirmative resolution in the Assembly."

In short, once the Assembly and Executive is set up, the prohibition on academic selection would require a cross community vote. The DUP alone could block that proposal.

In addition, the legal system may interpret any challenge on the basis of the Government '*Red Book*' guidance, which governs the drafting of subordinate regulations [4].

Paragraph 4.5.6 of the Red Book is particularly relevant in showing that policy must be made in legislation and can't be made by regulations: -

"In the interpretation of powers, there is one invaluable guide—the rest of the Act which confers the powers. Powers do not exist in isolation. They are almost always granted to assist in the implementation of the Act in which they are contained. It is the primary legislation which lays down general policy or an outline structure and the subordinate legislation which fills in the gaps. The subordinate legislation cannot, as a general rule, be used either to extend the scope or operation of the Act under which it is made or, in particular, to defeat its purpose."

This would be the crucial factor in the interpretation of the powers in relation to admission criteria.

So, it looks as if Caitriona Ruane could use "*Negative Resolution Procedure*"—and end academic selection by means of regulation—but that this would be legally fragile. With immediate consensus not likely (both main Unionist parties are firmly wedded to academic selection) the political tactic adopted by Caitriona Ruane

appears to be the application of both financial and political pressure.

First, she has declared that there will not be a test in 2010: that will put pressure on primary schools to 'bed in' the revised curriculum and to cease to "narrow the curriculum" and "teach to the test". This will be largely welcomed in Primary Schools.

Second, the decision not to fund any alternative academic test (such as the Common Entrance test proposed by Sir Ken Bloomfield of the Association for Quality Education). That would place a significant financial burden on schools opting to continue with academic testing at 10-11. With over a thousand parental challenges annually to current 11+ gradings, the cost and burden of administering any test are not insignificant. Equally, it can be guaranteed that decisions to exclude children from particular schools will lead to legal challenges which could, potentially, be backed by the Equality Commission, the Childrens' Commissioner or the Childrens' Law Centre.

Third, there are very few fully selective schools left in Northern Ireland. It is understood that just 10 Grammar Schools in Northern Ireland accept only 11+ "A" grades. Many take grades "C", "D" or indeed those who did not take the 11+ test. Even prestigious Grammar Schools such as Methodist College have empty/surplus places. Of the 10 remaining wholly selective schools, 6 are Catholic schools. And the Catholic Bishops, to date, have solidly supported reforms and are understood to be 'onside' for Ruane's planned reforms.

The prospects for selective Grammar Schools aiming to provide a long term, credible, challenge to Minister Ruane's proposals are not, by any means, simple or straightforward. In short, the largely Protestant Grammar Schools face the fraught prospect of funding an academic test themselves, facing legal challenges alone, and appearing as a sectarian rump in so doing.

#### CONCLUSION

Whilst Caitriona Ruane can seek to impose Admissions Criteria through "Negative Resolution Procedure" it seems unlikely that she will do so. Equally, it seems unlikely that Unionist consensus for the vision outlined in Minister Ruane's speech will be easily forthcoming. What is more likely is that the "14, not 11" proposals will get an airing through a consultation process, whilst some facts are laid out on the ground—notably that primary schools will now plan for teaching the revised curriculum through to the end of Year 7, and not for any test. Ultimately, however, an Admissions Criteria for pupils moving from Primary School to Post Primary Schools has to be put in place by 2009-10.

#### References

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## Editorial Digest

continued

SDLP 3, Sinn Fein 1, Alliance 1, and Traditional Ulster Voice 1. [Banbridge Leader, 25.2.08]

**Price Of History.** There seems to be an absence of any guilt among the families of those who fought and died for Ireland when it comes to making money. Recently the papers of executed 1916 leader, Tom Clarke, were sold off for a small fortune. Others queued up to cash in on the sacrifices of their relatives. The latest is one Sid McAuley, a British Ministry of Defence instructor, who is selling his grandfather's 1916 medal for between £5,000 and £7,000. His grandfather was William Patrick Partridge, a captain in the Irish Citizen Army who fought alongside Countess Markievicz at the College of Surgeons. He was a Trade Union friend of James Connolly, a founder of the Labour Party and a Dublin City Councillor. (Irish News, 4.2.08)

**Victims' Industry.** The North's Appointments Commissioner, Felicity Huston, has condemned the way that people have been appointed to public jobs dealing with the recent war; though she has nothing to say about the proliferation of such jobs. She was a member of the Lords Commission which rejected several of Tony Blair's cronies for peerages. In particular, she criticises the way that Lord Robert Eames and Denis Bradley were appointed to head the Consultative Group on the Past. Eames and Bradley are being paid £680 a day for three days a week. According to the *Irish News* (26.2.08) their remit is to produce "*recommendations... aimed at supporting Northern Ireland society in building a future that is not over shadowed by the events of the past*". This attempt at removing history from the lives of the people should make for interesting reading! Both the Catholic Bishops and the IRA have refused to speak to the Group. Should their salaries not therefore be halved? Then there are the Victims' Commissioners. Objections to the appointment of Bertha McDougall as commissioner led to the appointment of the other three applicants, Brendan McAllister, Mike Nesbitt and Patricia McBride, as co-Commissioners. There are at least 15 victims' organisations on the Protestant side. God alone knows

how many there are on the Catholic side.

**David Burnside,** a fundamentalist in the SDLP's sister-party, recently questioned Paisley at Stormont about the past of the Deputy First Minister. Paisley brushed the question aside by remarking that somebody with a past like Burnside's would do well to live in the present.

**Green Poppies?** The Roscommon Champion reports that a bunch of Roscommon Councillors have been to France to lay a wreath of poppies on the graves of fallen WW1 soldiers from Roscommon and to acknowledge their role in fighting for the freedoms we now enjoy! However the group's itinerary will differ from that of other such groups by taking in the German cemetery at Langemark (which visitors usually miss because it is not sign-posted). The delegation will stay at the Irish College at Louvain (founded in 1607 by a Roscommon Franciscan priest, Fr. Florence Conry). The first Irish dictionary was compiled at Louvain, as was the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

**Bono To Attend Israel Independence Celebration?** It has been reported that the singer has been invited by President Shimon Peres to attend the Machar (tomorrow) conference which he has organized, scheduled to take place following Israel's 60th Independence Day, and the U2 front man might accept Peres' invitation. The Machar Conference will showcase Israel's various contributions to medicine, science, and conservation.

## IMPACT and Palestine

**The following motion was adopted at the AGM of the State Agencies and Voluntary Sector Branch of IMPACT and will go forward to the Annual Conference in May for adoption as national policy:**

Given the motion adopted by a great majority of delegates at the 2007 ICTU Biennial Conference in support of the rights of the Palestinian people and seeking Irish Government action in vindicating those rights, and given the fact finding visit to Palestine by a high level delegation of ICTU which followed, this Conference:

expresses its concern at Israel's suppression of the Palestinian people and strangulation of Palestinian economic development and

calls on the Irish Government: to take a stand on Palestine independent of EU Foreign Policy;

1 to demand the suspension of the preferential trading status that Israel enjoys under the Euro-Med Agreement as long as Israel continues its economic blockade of occupied Palestinian areas;

2 to openly seek a change in the EU position

3 to demand the restoration of full EU funding for the Palestinian Authority

## Israel And The Palestinians

Prof Benny Morris is a renowned Israeli historian, whose ground-breaking 1988 book *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* demolished several of the default positions of Israeli state propaganda. As a result, he was for many years spurned by the Israeli academic establishment—a state of affairs that he has successfully overcome by subsequently drawing conclusions that are drastically at variance with the evidence that he himself established.

This process has been meticulously charted by the US Jewish historian Norman G. Finkelstein in his classic *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*.

In his letter of February 21st, Prof Morris advises David Norris and David Landy to "read some history books and become acquainted with the facts, not recycle shopworn Arab propaganda"—although, if these critics of Israel are "recycling" anything, it is the research of such Israeli historians as Avi Shlaim and Ilan Pappé, who followed Morris's lead without being constrained by his ideological blinkers.

In a notorious interview with the *Haaretz* journalist Ari Shavit, Morris claimed that "from April 1948, Ben-Gurion is projecting a message of transfer. There is no explicit order of his in writing, there is no orderly comprehensive policy, but there is an atmosphere of [population] transfer." Shavit comments that "I don't hear you condemning him", to which Morris brutally replies:

"Ben-Gurion was right. . . You can't make an omelette without breaking eggs. . . A society that aims to kill you forces you to destroy it. . . There are circumstances in history that justify ethnic cleansing. . . A Jewish state would not have come into being without the uprooting of 700,000 Palestinians. Therefore it was necessary to uproot them. . . Even the great American democracy could not have been created without the annihilation of the Indians. There are cases in which the overall, final good justifies harsh and cruel acts that are committed in the course of history."

Nothing in Prof Morris's letter contradicts this scandalous viewpoint. He acknowledges that the state of Israel was established by means of ethnic cleansing, but brazenly asserts that such criminality was justified.

Enlisting the genocide of native Americans in defence of his thesis is vile enough in itself, but overlooks the fact

## WILSON continued

themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the

wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

that the establishment of Israel postdated the UN Charter, which was the first of several instruments that sought, in the wake of the second World War, to prevent such horrors from happening again.

With defenders like Benny Morris, the state of Israel needs no enemies.

**Raymond Deane**, Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign, Dublin 2.

## Benny Morris On Transfer Of Palestinians

Shavit: Are you saying that Ben-Gurion erred in expelling too few Arabs?

Morris: If he was already engaged in expulsion, maybe he should have done a complete job. I know that this stuns the Arabs and the liberals and the politically

correct types. But my feeling is that this place would be quieter and know less suffering if the matter had been resolved once and for all. If Ben-Gurion had carried out a large expulsion and cleansed the whole country - the whole Land of Israel, as far as the Jordan River. It may yet turn out that this was his fatal mistake. If he had carried out a full expulsion - rather than a partial one - he would have stabilized the State of Israel for generations.

Shavit: I find it hard to believe what I am hearing.

Morris: If the end of the story turns out to be a gloomy one for the Jews, it will be because Ben-Gurion did not complete the transfer in 1948. Because he left a large and volatile demographic reserve in the West Bank and Gaza and within Israel itself.

Extract from Ari Shavit's interview with Benny Morris (*Haaretz*, 9 January 2004)

fell on soil that had been made ready by the pledges of the war and the common sufferings of peoples. And the winged words of the President ripened these aspirations into revolution in Ireland, in Egypt, in Mesopotamia, in Africa, in India. As an evangelist he achieved what he possibly least wanted to achieve. He helped to free Ireland. He heartened the Egyptians, the Arabs, and the Indians. He set aflame fires that are slowly driving the white men from other people's countries. It was as an evangelist that President Wilson realized his reveries of himself. As an evangelist he takes his place among the great men of history" (*ibid.* p314).

"President Wilson's sense of insecurity, when outside of his study, made him vulnerable. He was unwilling to face defeat. He would not face failure. To escape failure he sacrificed principles. To save appearances he made gestures against Italy over Fiume, against France over Syria. His constant struggle was to preserve the semblance even when the substance was lost" (*ibid.* p314).

"When President Wilson returned to America the people were ready to accept his failures and understand the cause. It was his assertion that he had brought back the peace he had promised that turned the tide. The people did not believe what he said. They heckled him in his meetings. They forced him to see himself. It was then that his strength gave way, his health broke. He lost his vision of himself when he discovered that it was no longer held by others. The pinnacle from which he fell was within himself. That was the tragedy of the Peace Messiah" (p316, *The Confessions of a Reformer*, Frederic C. Howe, 1925).

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"Very quickly, the values of the Ulster-Presbyterians became the values of Americans, evolving to what is commonly referred to today as the "American way". (*Woodrow Wilson—A Presbyterian President*, Ronnie Hanna, Ulster Society (Publications) Ltd., 1992).

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In the 1916 election, the Democratic campaign slogan, "*He kept us out of war*", helped return Wilson to the White House; Charles Evans Hughes, his main opponent was defeated by a very close margin. Wilson immediately attempted to mediate between the warring nations, but without success.

"In 1917 he proclaimed American entrance into World War I a crusade to make the world "safe for democracy"" (*White House Web site*, 2008).

The peace treaty went down to defeat in the Senate, as a consequence of Wilson's stroke-induced rigidity. He demanded that

Democratic senators spurn all efforts at compromise with Cabot Lodge and the Republicans. Twice, on 19th November 1919, and 19th March 1920, the Treaty of Versailles failed to gain the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification, in fact the United States never ratified the Treaty of Versailles (The Paris Peace Conference). Later, under Warren G. Harding, Wilson's Republican successor, the United States made a separate peace with Germany, something Wilson had believed "*would place ineffable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States*". The United States never joined the League of Nations.

Wilson went on a whirlwind political "tour of the States but the Irish were everywhere to heckle and interrupt him, causing him to have a severe stroke..." (*Accepting The Challenge, Memoirs Of Michael Flannery*, Clo Saoirse, Irish Freedom Press, 2001).

At the eve of the World War I Britain needed the support from the World Jewry, which had been neutral, and which represented a large part of the population of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The declaration was drafted by Arthur James Balfour, with the help of US President, Woodrow Wilson, who was a strong supporter of Zionism.

### WOODROW WILSON AND IRISH INDEPENDENCE

The following extracts are from: *Accepting The Challenge—The Memoirs Of Michael Flannery* (Clo Saoirse, Irish Freedom Press, 2001).

"In January of 1917, President Wilson addressed Congress and outlined the conditions under which America would be justified in entering the War. He said, among other things, that the only conditions under which America would be justified in entering the war and accepting the peace settlement that would result at its ending were:

"That every nation should adopt the doctrine of President Monroe, as the doctrine of the world. No nation should extend its rule or politics over another nation or people. That every nation should have the right to control its own destiny, unhindered, unthreatened, and unafraid, the small as well as the most powerful. I am proposing government by the consent of the governed. Those are American principles. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail. There must be a spirit of justice and freedom and of right." (p29).

"We believe these fundamental things. First, that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live. Second, that the small nations of the world have the right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity, that great and powerful nations expect." (p28).

"British leaders had no qualms in agreeing with Wilson. Bonar Law pointed out that it was for that they were fighting. Lloyd George said: 'We are fighting for the freedom of small nations as well as big ones'" (*ibid.* p29).

The Peace Conference was held in Versailles, Paris, with President Wilson presiding. Ireland was not allowed representation at the Peace Conference. Even though she had lost a proportionate number of soldiers in the war, her plea would not be heard.

"The Irish delegates meeting with President Wilson were told there was an agreement between the Committee of Four [Britain, France, Russia and the U.S.A.], that no small nation could appear before them without the unanimous consent of all four, allowing England to veto the proposal. [Frank P.] Walsh reminded the President of his own declaration about the rights of small nations to self-determination. Wilson gave a lengthy answer which ended:

"You do not know the anxieties I have experienced as a result of the millions who had their hopes raised by what I said." (p46).

Wilson's grandfather, James, came from Dergalt, Strabane, Co. Tyrone. It is claimed he worked in the printing trade in Strabane. Woodrow Wilson was a generation closer to Ireland than either the Kennedys or the Fitzgeralds. Ronnie Hanna claims "*...at heart he remained what he was born, an Ulster Presbyterian*". Yet, in all the books and web-sites, very little mention is made of his Ulster birth, his Scotch-Irish is emphasised all the time, i.e. Scotch Presbyterian.

Wilson was conferred the Freedom of Cork City in 1919, and therefore an Honorary Burgess of the City of Cork:

"Dr. Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, elected 10th January, 1919, as a mark of approval of the high principles laid down by him for the settlement of the peace of the world, of justice between nations, and the rights of people" (Cork Corporation handbook, 1979).

### WOODROW WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

**I.** Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

**II.** Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

**III.** The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating

had a place beside the highly coloured representations of the Virgin Mary in peasants' cottages of France, Italy, and Spain. People knelt by the side of the railway when his train passed. Men even expected a new economic order. They dimly hoped for deliverance from war, a deliverance that was to come through the great American emancipator, Woodrow Wilson. For a time, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando were apprehensive of this veneration; it was whispered that Wilson might appeal to the people and the people might repudiate their rulers" (*ibid.* p307).

"At Paris, President Wilson stood on a pinnacle. He had lifted the world to his own idealism, and the world seemed ready for a Messianic dispensation.

"By choice he stood alone. He was without commanding advisers. His aides were inconspicuous men. ... He had only the scantiest knowledge of Europe, of the men whom he had to meet. He professed to be ignorant of the secret treaties that confounded his pledges. The Peace Conference was to be a personal affair; he hoped that it would be largely personal to him and Mr. Arthur Balfour. It was to be guided by *his* Magna Carta, the lineal issue of other great Anglo-Saxon charters, beginning with the barons at Runnymede and ending with Thomas Jefferson. Men had conquered with the pen as well as with the sword. He would bring liberty to a distracted world by the pen. He would bring it alone" (*ibid.* p308).

"England fed this isolated grandeur. And England knew Woodrow Wilson better than did we. She knew him as she knows so many things that no other country thinks it worth while to know. She had studied his written words; had penetrated into his hidden psychology. She knew his strength and his weakness. England had sent Mr. Arthur Balfour to Washington to win him to the war. Mr. Balfour was the statesman-philosopher, the model of President Wilson's university aristocrat. He best represented the England that Mr. Wilson knew from Walter Bagehot. The England he had written about, the mother of America. The Balfour family had always been a family of rulers. They had no interest in trade. The knew nothing of the vulgarity of practical politics. Other British emissaries had been picked with the same insight. And England bowed to the Messianic Wilson; she accepted him on his own measure of himself. The King received him with sovereign honours at Buckingham Palace. Peers, commoners, people claimed him as their own. The press sanctioned his idealism as the idealism of English peoples. They seemed to accept his leadership of the world" (*ibid.* p308).

"While England swelled this Messianic vision, France pricked it. The Paris press was cynical; under government direction it sneered. Daily editorials questioned the President's vision of himself. Clemenceau said: 'God gave us Ten Commandments—we have not followed them; but Wilson has given us Fourteen.' His reference to the 'tin Jesus' was quoted all over Paris. It stung. A master of dramatic art, he played on France's sufferings, on her moderation. Balfour, the man on whom Wilson relied, was first of all a Briton. He spoke as a philosopher but acted as a politician" (*ibid.* p309).

"The President had a contempt for Lloyd George, which he incautiously expressed; and he came to have a hatred of Clemenceau which the latter took no pains to assuage. To these men Woodrow Wilson was impractical, naive. His peace without victory had aided in breaking down German morale. His idealism had deceived the world and helped to win the war. But why did he think his words were different from other war propaganda? It was ridiculous that he should think them so important; his Fourteen Points so sacred. They had never been agreed to, anyhow" (*ibid.* p309).

"The secret treaties were now brought forward; plans for the distribution of the spoils, for the dismemberment of Germany, the destruction of middle Europe. Mr. Wilson professed to have no knowledge of the secret treaties, which confounded all his pledges, although they had been printed in America. He was indifferent, if not irritated, over imperialism, and was wholly unprepared for criticism and attack from sources from which he has least expected it. Neither France nor England felt gratitude; rather they felt resentment that we had not come in earlier. We had made money from their necessities. That, too, could not be forgotten. Among his confreres he was an inexperienced colonial, to be confused, outwitted, played on; now a saviour of the world, now an obstructionist to speedy peace, now an ingrate to the sufferings of England and France. That it was primarily their war, not ours; that we had come in because of appeals for help; that we had abandoned our traditions and made our own sacrifices, was a point of view to which they were impervious. That we had made these sacrifices because we sincerely believed that they too wanted an end to war, received no credence" (*ibid.* p310).

"The President's Fourteen Points had no supporters. England would not even consider his freedom of the seas; command of the seas was protection to her empire. She would not renounce conquest. Conquest was a word she did not know. Her empire was a trust, a sacred burden, which could not be discussed. She had seized her winnings by war in Africa, in Mesopotamia, in

the islands of the sea. She had gained control of the raw materials of the earth. She would hold them as her spoils. They were not open to disposition by the Peace Conference" (*ibid.* p310).

"France would draw a cordon about Germany—Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, and the Balkans. Austro-Hungary would be dismembered and new countries created. France needed allies, more enemies of Germany. Italy would have the Adriatic; Greece demanded Smyrna, part of Turkey. Japan would have Shantung; she had taken it herself from Germany" (*ibid.* p310).

"The President was unable to cope with the men about him, who used every device to confuse, to cheat him. He did not trust his advisers. He could not possibly know the significance of what was being proposed, of decisions made, of the things he concurred in. He wanted approval, but was met with a sneer; he reached out for support, but found deceit" (*ibid.* p310).

"And when he had delivered his sermon, he had exhausted his armour. When he abandoned one principle he abandoned all" (*ibid.* p310).

"Mr. Wilson could not bear criticism ... after he had decided for war, he allowed to other men scarcely a day in which to change their opinions as had he; he denounced as 'wilful men' members of Congress who did not accede to his superior wisdom; he set the Department of Justice in motion to speedily imprison men for saying one day the things he had said the day before" (*ibid.* p312).

"Had the President remained a Messiah, content with approval from himself alone, he might possibly have won. He might have failed, but his failure would have been a Messianic failure in keeping with his vision of himself. It might have upset governments, widened revolutions; it would have left an imperishable influence on the world" (*ibid.* p313).

"But he choose to barter. When he began to barter, he lost all; he lost his own vision of himself, and he had to keep this vision of himself intact. It and his principles were all that he had brought to Paris" (*ibid.* p313).

"A man less idealistic would have been betrayed as he was betrayed, but he would have been a better bargainer. He would have used America's financial power. He would have brought pressure to bear. He might have threatened. He would have descended more frankly to the world in which he found himself. But the evangelist could do none of these things frankly, and the President was an evangelist" (p313).

"Mankind needs evangelism as well as achieving statesmanship. Had Wilson remained the evangelist he might have broken Clemenceau and Lloyd George. But he chose political power. As the politician he failed. But his words carrying promise of a new dispensation



Dedicated to John Bruton, European Ambassador to the United States.

"Books are good enough in their own way, but, they are a mighty bloodless substitute for life."  
(Robert Louis Stevenson, 1876)

## Woodrow Wilson: A Love Scorned

The US President Woodrow Wilson loved England and everything English but in the end, England broke Woodrow Wilson's heart. England betrayed every value and principle of civil liberty and democracy which poor Wilson believed were the soul that made England a superior civilization amongst nations instead of "A wolf in lamb's skin".

No man was more able to make an objective study of President Wilson than his friend, Frederic C. Howe. Both were of Scotch-Irish descent "which means that they were Scotch Presbyterians who went over to Ireland and took the land away from the Irish and gave them their Scotch brand of religion in exchange" (*The Confessions Of A Reformer*, Frederic C. Howe, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925, page Nine).

Howe once shared the same boarding house with Wilson. In 1914, the President appointed Howe United States Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York or as the emigrants called it, Ellis Island.

Twenty years ago, Brendan Clifford came across this remarkable man Howe in James Connolly's *The Workers' Republic* newspaper:

"His paper, *The Workers' Republic*, is packed with material on Germany all through 1915 and right up to Easter 1916. It includes extracts from "Socialized Germany", by Frederic Howe, an American who made a study of German society before the war.

"I got hold of Howe's book, because those extracts were so persuasive, and found the complete book even more persuasive. Howe, who was not a socialist, gives a detailed description of productive socialism developing in a variety of forms, and flexibly interweaving itself with private industry." (*Labour & Trade Union Review*, April/June 1988, p17).

On the basis of Howe's findings in 1914, Germany, socially and politically was a far more advanced society than Britain ever was.

### WOODROW WILSON: LOVE OF ENGLAND

"At Johns Hopkins, Woodrow Wilson fell under the spell of Walter Bagehot, one of the greatest of British essayists. He urged his students to read and reread Bagehot as he himself had done. His *Congressional Government* was said to have been inspired by Bagehot's *British Constitution*, as were many of his essays on public men. Bagehot gave the student Wilson that which his mind wanted; a picture of what a great constitutional statesman should be. Through Bagehot's eyes he saw British statesmen as he saw himself. They were drawn from the best families, trained from youth for the service of the state. They grew up in the atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge, and were exalted by traditions of disinterested public service. They had no private ends to serve; because of their independent wealth they were influenced only by the welfare of the empire. They were the natural rulers of the constitutional state. England was a gentleman's country. And Mr. Wilson believed in gentlemen, in selected men,

in the platonic sense of the term. To Woodrow Wilson the scholar it was easy to idealize a country that put its scholars in politics and kept them there as it kept Arthur Balfour, James Bryce, and other men of his own type." (p36) (*The Confessions of a Reformer*, Frederic C. Howe, 1925).

"Woodrow Wilson loved England as the mother of civil liberty and of parliamentary government. She had given us the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, and Petition of Rights. She had exiled the Stuarts for their betrayal of English liberties and had called in Cromwell and William of Orange to re-establish them. In his mind England was the literal mother of America. From her we had taken our political institutions. Also our system of jurisprudence. His chief criticism of the American Constitution related to those features which failed to follow the British parliamentary model. It was this love for British forms that led him to read his messages to Congress in person and to treat himself as a Premier rather than as a President. As a matter of fact he was better fitted by temperament to serve as a parliamentary leader than as a President, and he would have felt much more at home at Westminster than in Washington. (*ibid.* p37).

"Mr. Wilson gave us no glimpse of the economic background of the English ruling class. There was always the assumption that these public men were not moved by private gain. It was never hinted in his lecture-room that the British landed gentry, bankers, and business men enacted laws to protect their own class and group; looked out, in short, for their own interests. Nor that the House of Lords was in the nature of a private corporation representative of special interests even more than the United States Senate. He was not interested in economics" (*ibid.* p38).

"When Woodrow Wilson landed in France, he was hailed as a Messiah. His presence would bring in the millennium. His photographs cut from newspapers

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