

INC NEWS

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COMHDHÁIL NÁISIÚNTA NA hÉIREANN

WHO'S FOR BREXIT?

In the yellow and red corners ...

On 10th April 2019, the British Government negotiated a second extension of the date on which the UK will leave the European Union for what will be at best an uncertain future, its government having so far failed to secure a satisfactory deal with the EU or, as yet, with the US or global trade institutions. The whole Brexit business has become a debacle for the UK ever since the fateful vote in June 2016. Huge political divisions have emerged throughout British society and the national question has once again come to occupy centre stage in Scotland, is re-emerging in Wales (given a high 'remain' vote) and more pointedly in Ireland and in a way that directly threatens the Good Friday Agreement. Inevitably the issue of Irish reunification is back on the agenda.

Protecting Irish Interests

Ireland stands to be seriously damaged by the consequences of Brexit in terms of the economy and the implications for politics in the north. In response to this, the Irish government has, for the most part, acted in a cool and constructive manner in trying to minimize damage to Irish national interests. However, it has to be said that Irish composure and equanimity arise only owing to acceptance by EU member States of the Irish position and the general

acknowledgement that the fault for the current problems lies entirely with the British government. Nevertheless, there are fears that this apparent solidarity may soon be tested to the limits and that pressure will be put upon the Irish side to make concessions. Given Britain's notorious record for engaging in tactics of divide and rule in pursuit of its diplomatic objectives, Irish negotiators will need to stand firm in the difficult period ahead.

Coming Period

And the coming period will indeed be difficult. There will undoubtedly be chaos and uncertainty, and it will not just affect Ireland and Britain. The EU project also, to which the Irish State is still committed, is itself experiencing political, social and economic convulsions that some commentators are terming an existential crisis. We are seeing revolutionary insurrection in France, diplomatic wrangling over basic policies among the member States, ongoing militarization and a drive towards war, lack of economic growth and growing impoverishment of those who have lost out through neoliberalism and austerity.

Millions of EU citizens are becoming disillusioned and are demanding a return to national sovereignty. We need to be cognizant of these developments and to



plan policy positions accordingly.

Leave and Remain

In the previous edition of *INC News*, we said that Ireland should adopt the remain position as regards current EU membership, resisting calls for us to leave alongside Britain. That is looking realistically at the situation in which we find ourselves currently, given a political climate wherein around 80% of the people in the Republic and 56% in Northern Ireland favour remaining and the Irish State is not yet economically ready to follow Britain out and avoid renewed dependence on it. The chaotic and maladroit UK government handling of the Brexit process have justified this position.

Our stance therefore stems from pragmatic considerations rather than ideological conviction. We never had any illusions about the EU ever becoming a 'People's Europe' or a 'Social' Europe; instead, could it be seen as an imperial project from the start. It is a case of having chosen the lesser of two evils at this particular juncture. At the same time, we will persist in rejecting calls for euro-federalism and are glad that that is also the official Irish position. Moreover, we must continue, while we do remain in the EU, to strive against its negative effects.

Downside of EU

There is much that is wrong and indeed terribly wrong about the EU currently; its policies are driving seething resentment and revolt throughout the Union. The principal issues causing anger amongst the peoples are: [1] the incremental confiscation of national sovereignty, particularly in the fields of 'defence', foreign relations and finance; [2] concentration of power in Brussels and a cavalier disregard for democracy, exemplified by ignoring the results of plebiscites and the change of governments as in the cases of Italy and Greece; [3] the militarization of the EU, bellicosity and the stupid goading and targeting of Russia; [4] economic policy run in the interests of predatory and parasitic finance, leading to the growing impoverishment of millions and, in particular, the shameful and continuing plunder of a stricken Greece.

Some believe that, if support for far right and anti-EU parties like the *Alternativ für Deutschland* in Germany and the *Rassemblement Nationale* in France continues to rise, then the very future existence of European co-operation could be at stake with consequent economic and political regression both in Ireland and globally.

The North

In the north of Ireland, the DUP has overplayed its ultra-rejectionist hand and now finds itself isolated and resented in Europe, Westminster and among their own middle class supporters at home. In a post-EU scenario, the people who see themselves as British in the north of Ireland will be forced to choose between which union better serves their political, social and economic interests - a union with Westminster or with the rest of Ireland in the European Union for the present.

Brexit, regardless of whatever shape it takes, has forced the peoples of Ireland, Britain, the EU and the world to ask themselves "what sort of future do we want?"

The Real EU

At the end of the Second World War, the beginnings of the EU were not only promoted by Schuman and Monnet, but actively encouraged by the US. Along with NATO, it was seen as a necessary bulwark against communism. NATO was to halt any soviet expansion beyond the 'iron curtain'; the EU in socio-economic terms was to stem the growth of communism in western Europe, particularly in Italy and France. The other side of the coin was of course the protection of the interests of national and international capital. The EU was therefore not just instituted to bring peace to a continent which had decimated itself in war twice in thirty years, although that it largely did. It is true that it also created some material security and prosperity in the Keynesian halcyon years from the mid-Forties up to the onset of the Seventies, but with class distinctions firmly remaining and inequality and poverty far from disappearing.

The Europe We Want

What we want is a Europe which is not elite-focused and hears the calls from the

'grassroots' not just the 'tree tops', a Europe built upon genuine solidarity where no country is left behind or thrown to the financial wolves when times get tough. Most immediately, what we must demand is less power for the Commission in Brussels and more power for the nation states, and thus a Council of Ministers properly subject to national democratic control. There is an analysis which holds that, in the longer term, the present EU cannot be fully reformed and may simply dissolve,

just like the Soviet Union, in order to be replaced by structures reflecting, hopefully, an alliance of progressive national governments. What we want is not a 'one size fits all Europe', built around the interests of globalisation and multinational corporations, but one that genuinely reflects and treasures the different cultural, linguistic, ethnic, philosophical, political and social traditions that make up the mosaic of Europe.

ROYAL IRISH COLLABORATORS

The Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) derives from the Peace Preservation Act of 1814 as followed up by the Irish Constabulary Act of 1822. Apart from discharging ordinary policing duties, the Constabulary was to be the local paramilitary force of the British government in Ireland.

Fulfilling the latter role, it sought to suppress protest in the Tithe War of 1830 to '36. In the early 1840s, it curbed agitation in favour of repeal of the Act of Union. Next, it helped to put down the Young Ireland insurrection in 1848. During the Great Famine, it enforced the eviction of starving peasants from their cottages. In 1867, it was awarded the prefix 'Royal' by Queen Victoria for quelling the Fenian rebellion. Between 1879 and '82, it dealt with trouble arising from the Land War. Throughout the second half of the 19th and early into the 20th century, it harassed the IRB right up to the Rising of 1916. It also distinguished itself by harshly subduing labour unrest ensuing from the lockout of 1913.

On 21 January 2019, the centenary of the start of the War of Independence occurred. This entailed the first assault on Crown forces in that conflict at Soloheadbeg against two RIC men guarding the transport of gelignite as a result of which both were killed. In the years that followed until the Truce of 1921, the RIC sustained many more casualties as well as the Brit-

ish Army. This was not surprising, given the paramilitary and intelligence-gathering role of the RIC on behalf of the imperialist war machine. At the same time, credit is due to those RIC men who resigned rather than support the British during the War of Independence.

Recently, it was confirmed that an association may be promoted to commemorate, alongside each other, members of the RIC and of An Garda Síochána who died in action over the years. This attempt to lump together the memories of fallen participants in a colonialist instrument of repression with memories of those lost by the legitimate and respected police force of an independent Irish State is reprehensible, to say the least.

It is known that this proposal is deeply resented by many members of the Gardaí and it is to be hoped that the Government and the Management of An Garda Síochána will have no part in promoting such a scheme. The memory of Gardaí who died while on duty should be held as precious and not sullied in such a manner.

Moreover, it is hard not to view this idea as other than yet another move to diminish the heroic resistance of Irish freedom fighters in the face of British imperial might.



*Daltún Ó Ceallaigh,
Eagarthóir*

DODGY DEALS OF DUP



Once again in British history the unionist tail is wagging the British bulldog. The extremist views and opinions of a party that represents only 292,000 voters is dictating the economic and social future of a polity (UK) of just over 67 million people and a European Union of 28 states and 512 million people. So who exactly are the Democratic Unionist Party and What have they been involved in?

Cash for Ash

Many DUP members and elected representatives have been implicated in the 'cash for ash' financial scandal. In November 2012, current DUP leader, Arlene Foster, who was then Stormont's Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Investment, set up the Renewable Heat Incentive Scheme. Under the scheme, for every £1 spent burning renewable wood pellets, the applicant would receive £1.60. Unlike the scheme in Britain, it was not capped and no limit was placed on how much could be claimed. Consequently, it has become known as the 'cash for ash' scandal.

In 2013, a whistle-blower claimed to have informed Foster about abuses in the scheme. By September 2015, senior civil servants were so concerned that they announced the scheme's closure. DUP ministers, however, lobbied to extend its life. Between September and November 2015, when the scheme closed, 984 out of a total of 1,946 applications were received. During this period, because of the DUP's

policy of rolling resignations, former DUP Enterprise Minister Jonathan Bell was not in his post, but Foster was. It emerged that the overall cost of the scheme could be up to £500 million. After inspecting 300 sites, it was found that there were issues in about half, and fraud was suspected in 14.

Jonathan Bell claimed that Arlene Foster and DUP advisors pressurised him not to close the scheme and "cleansed the records" of her role in the scheme. For this, he was suspended from the party. As the crisis escalated, the DUP speaker of the Assembly allowed Foster to make an unauthorised statement to the Assembly. This led to a vote to exclude Foster as First Minister which was carried by 39 votes to 36, but, as a majority of unionists had not supported it, the motion was vetoed. A motion of no confidence in the speaker was similarly torpedoed.

Although a public inquiry into the scandal has been established, it brought down the Stormont power-sharing Executive and caused an Assembly election in which the DUP lost 10 seats.

Although most of the individuals involved in the scheme refused to be named, it has emerged that the brother of DUP Special Advisor, Timothy Johnston, and the father-in-law of DUP director of communication, John Robinson, have boilers. TUV leader Jim Allister claimed DUP Advisor Stephen Brimstone used an agricultural boiler to heat his home. Senior civil servant Aidan McConnell claimed that DUP advisors exerted influence over the scheme and that the brother of the Advisor to Arlene Foster, who is a poultry farmer, also has a boiler.¹

Red Sky

Former banker Frank Cushnahan resigned from the Northern Ireland Housing Executive Audit committee and became chairperson of Red Sky, a property maintenance company with a £7 million contract with the Housing Executive. This contract

¹ *Irish Times* 19 December 2016

was ended in July 2011 amid claims of systematic overcharging of up to £1.5 million. Its invoices included some for work on houses which no longer existed. DUP Ministers such as Nelson McCausland and Peter Robinson lobbied hard on behalf of Red Sky to retain this contract, even going as far as accusing the Housing Executive of sectarian bias. The company went bust in 2011.

In September 2012, Cushnahan advised the Presbyterian Church when its bank, Presbyterian Mutual, went bust.

Project Eagle

In April 2014, the republic's National Asset Management Agency, pursuant to its Project Eagle, sold off €5.6 billion worth of Northern Ireland properties previously owned by the State's indebted banks. Loyalist activist Jamie Bryson revealed that the DUP had meetings with potential bidders and that Peter Robinson's son worked for one of the NAMA debtors. In 2010, Frank Cushnahan was appointed to the board of the republic's bad bank, the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA), after persistent lobbying of the Irish Government by DUP ministers like Finance Minister Sammy Wilson and First Minister Peter Robinson. In November 2013, Cushnahan resigned from NAMA for "personal reasons".

However, again ignoring accusations of conflict of interest, he took up a job with PIMCO, a US firm bidding to buy NAMA's Northern Ireland €4.5 billion property portfolio. In May, Peter Robinson attended a meeting between Cushnahan, PIMCO and their lawyer, Ian Coulter from Tughan's. In September 2013, while he was on NAMA's board, Cushnahan had arranged meetings between NAMA and PIMCO. After these links were exposed, the PIMCO deal fell through, but the new US bidder, Cerberus, with links to former US vice-President Dan Quail, hired PIMCO's lawyers, Tughan's. In 2016, Cushnahan admitted that he had been paid a 'fixer's fee'. The matter is still being investigated by the National Crime Agency.



'Dark Money'

Before Jeffery Donaldson MP jumped ship from the Official Unionist Party to join the Democratic Unionist Party in 2004, he had been the campaign manager for racist and Tory reject Enoch Powell MP for South Down. Donaldson was also a corporal in the Ulster Defence Regiment.

As Treasurer of the DUP, he refused to answer media questions relating to 'dark money' and the largest ever financial donation to a Northern Ireland political party, when the DUP received £500,000 from the Constitutional Research Council, a group led by a Scottish Conservative candidate, Richard Cook. £282,000 of this donation was used by the DUP to fund a pro-Brexit advert two days before the referendum in the *Metro* newspaper in London; £32,750 was spent on a Donald Trump linked data analysis company; £10,000 was spent on the DUP's pro-Brexit referendum campaign in Northern Ireland; and £9000 was transferred into DUP party funds.

Richard Cook owned 5% of the shares in a company, Five Star Investments, which was dissolved in August 2014. 75% of the shares were owned by Saudi Prince Nawwaf Bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, a former Saudi ambassador to the UK and director of the Saudi intelligence agency, The remaining 20% of the company was owned by a Dane, Peter Haestrup, who was linked by Indian Intelligence to a 1995 arms drop.² Under electoral law, it is illegal to take a political donation from a foreign government. Only the DUP opposes plans to back-date a law which would force the source of the donations to be revealed.

The Real DUP

Preaching intolerant sectarian fundamentalism and right wing economics, while practising financial corruption, how can the DUP be entrusted with Executive power or be allowed to determine the future of the UK or the European Union?

² *Irish Times* 12 June 2017, *Channel Four News* 10th July 2017.

FROM PARTITION TO BREXIT

THE IRISH GOVERNMENT & NORTHERN IRELAND

Review

Donnacha Ó Beacháin has written an account that subsumes and amplifies all other works that have touched on this topic. In just over three hundred pages, *From Partition to Brexit* provides a detailed analysis of a century of Irish politics, from the imposition of partition in 1920 to the present day. This is a story that needed to be told. It has now finally been done and done very well.

Irish Government Policy

At the book's core is a formidable analysis of Irish Government policy towards Northern Ireland "From partition to Brexit". The book gives the reader much more than the subtitle suggests. We are introduced to a wide array of themes and individuals from both sides of the Irish Sea and throughout Ireland, north and south, and beyond. In that expanse, however, the book does not lose its essential objective, to provide the reader with a greater understanding of how Irish governments have grappled with the problem of partition.

The first chapter ("The Politics of Partition") covers the period from the foundation of the Irish Free State in 1922 to the defeat of the Cumann na nGaedheal government a decade later. It demonstrates how a fundamental shift in Northern Ireland policy coincided with Michael Collins' assassination and impacted on a variety of crucial issues such as republican unity, north-south contacts, and attitudes to the Stormont regime. The chapter then scrutinises the conduct of the Boundary Commission and analyses how the Irish Government contributed to the debacle, which reinforced partition.

Chapter 2 covers the Irish Government's Northern Ireland policies during Fianna Fáil's first sixteen-year reign, from 1932 to 1948. The ruling party's policies towards partition are interrogated and it is argued that Fianna Fáil's first objective of securing a united Ireland was subordinated to purely party-orientated targets of maintaining power in the Free State. The chapter examines how policies and attitudes towards Northern Ireland were enshrined in Bunreacht na hÉireann. It identifies the assumptions underlying government policy and how these influenced approaches to Westminster and international opinion. The chapter concludes with explaining why opportunities for direct negotiations with the British in 1938 and 1940 did not produce any agreement on how partition might end.

Failed Campaigns

Entitled "Failed Campaigns", chapter 3 covers the two decades immediately preceding the so-called northern Troubles from the Sixties onwards and begins by outlining the Northern Ireland policies of the new five-party coalition government, the first non-Fianna Fáil Irish government in sixteen years.

It proceeds to highlight how Dublin rejected practical policy options designed to weaken partition, such as representation of northern MPs in the Dáil or Seanad or even a right of audience. The chapter then examines the Irish Government's response to the IRA's border campaign of 1956-62. Seán Lemass's premiership is assessed, particularly in terms of his functional co-operation policy towards Northern Ireland that led to symbolically significant meetings with Unionist leader Terence O'Neill. It is contended that the new detente between the Dublin and Belfast administrations made the Nationalist Party increasingly vulnerable to being outflanked by an emergent civil rights movement.

Jack Lynch's unexpected rise to the position of Taoiseach and his difficulties in fully controlling his cabinet on the formulation and implementation of Northern Ireland policy are analysed in detail. The chapter demonstrates how the emergence of the civil rights movement and the inability of Terence O'Neill to deliver fundamen-

tal reforms contributed to the end of the functional co-operation experiment.

Crisis in Dublin

Two chapters are then devoted to the most intense decade of the northern Troubles, from 1969 to 1979 and, in these, the author analyses with remarkable skill how the Northern conflict impacted on the Republic. The Irish government response to the outbreak of the Troubles in Derry and Belfast in August 1969 is examined as the differences within the cabinet that led ultimately to the Arms Crisis of May 1970. Using previously top-secret archival files, the chapter also demonstrates how detailed plans for Irish Army intervention into Northern Ireland were devised. It is demonstrated how Jack Lynch's want of firm leadership, his lack of rootedness in the party and his delegation of responsibility to subordinates, sowed confusion within the cabinet.

Only after the resignations, suspensions and expulsions that followed the Arms Crisis, did he begin to emerge as an undisputed leader of his party and, indeed, the State. Notwithstanding his internal party triumph, Lynch struggled to get the measure of British Prime Minister Ted Heath during a sequence of one-sided military attacks on the northern nationalist community. These included the Falls Road Curfew (July 1970), the introduction of internment (August 1971) and Bloody Sunday (January 1972), all of which, at critical junctures, signified a major escalation of the conflict. It is argued that UN initiatives in 1969 and 1972 were conducted with minimum expectation of success and mainly aimed at assuaging popular opinion at home.

Sunningdale & Aftermath

Particular attention is devoted to the Sunningdale Agreement of December 1973 to which the Irish Government was a co-signatory with the British Government and Northern Ireland leaders. The chapter concludes with the unsuccessful struggle to maintain the power-sharing institutions established as part of the Sunningdale

Agreement, culminating in the Dublin and Monaghan bombings and the re-imposition of British direct rule. Using previously top-secret archival files, the chapter demonstrates how Dublin drew up extensive plans for how to respond to a complete breakdown of society in Northern Ireland, which might follow a British withdrawal. The chapter produces evidence of the psychological detachment between the Irish Government and northern nationalists, and how Dublin increasingly acted on the basis that aggression in the north was one-dimensional and republican, occluding rigorous examination of violence perpetrated by loyalists and by the British State.



The latter part of the chapter examines the Northern Ireland policies of the Fianna Fáil administration that won a handsome majority in 1977. It highlights the challenges of the Jack Lynch led government in seeking to achieve progress with a weak administration in London dependent on unionist votes. The chapter concludes by demonstrating how Charles Haughey and his supporters succeeded in exploiting Lynch's

weaknesses on Northern Ireland policy as a means to undermine and ultimately dislodge him.

Haughey in Charge

Chapter 6 ("Totality of Relationships") covers the period from 1980, when Charles Haughey became Taoiseach, to 1992, when he resigned, a decade largely defined by his rivalry with Fine Gael leader, Garret FitzGerald. It begins with assessing Haughey's uphill battle to engage Margaret Thatcher in a major Anglo-Irish political process. The chapter illuminates how these efforts were stymied in turn by Dublin's overselling what had been agreed at the 1980 Haughey-Thatcher summit, republican hunger strikes, and the Falklands War. It also explores how Irish Governments responded, particularly through the New Ireland Forum, to the electoral rise of Sinn Féin in Northern Ireland during the 1980s. The latter part of the chapter compares Haughey's efforts to engage the

British Government with those of FitzGerald who, despite several obstacles, secured Thatcher's approval of the Hillsborough Agreement, signed in 1985. The chapter concludes by examining the difficult period after Haughey returned to office in 1987 as he tried to work the Anglo-Irish Agreement he had previously opposed.

The Peace Process & Beyond

The chapter entitled "The Age of Consent" examines the Irish Government's role in the peace process, from its embryonic, almost imperceptible, origins during the early 1990s to the aftermath of Britain's decision to leave the EU. It begins with evaluating Albert Reynolds's strategy for establishing a sustainable IRA ceasefire through collaboration with John Hume and Gerry Adams, and by engaging the British and US Administrations. It demonstrates how Bertie Ahern and Tony Blair paved the way for all-party talks culminating in the 1998 Good Friday Agreement.

The chapter examines how Irish Government policy has been developed by Ahern's successors as Taoiseach, Brian Cowan, Enda Kenny and Leo Varadkar. The author examines how Brexit has subverted many of the assumptions on which Irish government policies towards Northern Ireland were predicated and has introduced profound uncertainty into Anglo-Irish relations and evaluates the prospects for an end to partition.

In this section, the author alludes to the Leo Varadkar's claim that Irish unity should not come about as a result of a simple majority vote in the north, as specified in the Good Friday Agreement but rather insists that 70 per cent would be a better threshold for determining the constitutional position. In blurring the line between 'majority' and 'unionist' when it comes to consent, Dr Ó Beacháin argues that the Taoiseach moves the goalposts set down in the Good Friday Agreement and, assuming that majority unionist agreement is unlikely to precede a united Ireland, Varadkar presents a rationale for permanent partition.

Summary

Overall, Dr Ó Beacháin has sifted through

the archival files with remarkable thoroughness, offering vivid detail on Anglo-Irish relations. *From Partition to Brexit* throws fresh light on the dynamics and divisions that go with the formulation of government policy and documents the clashes that occurred throughout the decades on the most appropriate policies to adopt. Given the broad and ambitious remit of the book and the mixed chronological and thematic approach, its clarity is impressive. The narrative flows easily as the author sweeps through the main avenues of 20th century Irish political history with occasional detours into fascinating side streets. The book's narrative is to be commended for its steady pace and cogent, accessible analysis.

A Force to be Reckoned With?

"We don't disassociate ourselves from what happened in the past. I have great pride in my RUC service."- PSNI Assistant Chief Constable Drew Harris to a meeting of the Northern Ireland Retired Police Officers Association in 2010.³

In July 2018, former PSNI Assistant Chief Constable Drew Harris OBE was appointed as Garda Commissioner. This appointment is a matter of concern for a number of reasons. The panel picked by Justice Minister Charlie Flanagan, which made the appointment, contained no past or present Garda officer nor did it contain any Irish military officer or security official. However, it did contain two senior British police officers: Iain Livingstone, interim Chief Constable of the Scottish Police, and former Chief Constable of Hampshire, Alex Marshall, who was also the former Chief Executive of the College of UK Policing. This is the first time that this model for the appointment process has ever been used.

This is an extraordinary situation. Not only is this apparently without precedent in

³ *Phoenix* 13.7.2018

Ireland, but also internationally. Can you imagine a PSNI Chief Constable or London Metropolitan Police Commissioner being appointed in a similar circumstance?

Former Garda Special Branch Chief Superintendent John O'Brien stated: "No sovereign State would appoint somebody from the security service of another State, even a friendly one, to head their security service. It wouldn't be done, not in western European countries. The British wouldn't do it."

The Cabinet was warned by a Department of Justice report in December 2017 that a foreign candidate may seek to promote the interests of their country of origin at the expense of Irish national security interests. Also 23 out of 24 nations asked said they would not consider foreign nationals for their top policing and security posts; "some would not even consider candidates with dual citizenship."⁴

Drew Harris acted as the link man between the PSNI and British intelligence MI5. Commissioner Harris only applied for Irish citizenship after he had been awarded the top Garda job.

Garda Reform

His qualifications as "the best man for the job" are also open to question. For eight years, he held the PSNI's ACPO hate crime portfolio. In the last year he held the post, 2013, racist incidents in Northern Ireland increased by 47% to 982, sectarian incidents increased by 8% to 1284 and homophobic incidents increased by 20% to 280. Not an outstanding barometer of success.

The need for reform of the Gardai Síochána is undeniable in view of the recent controversies and scandals, including fake breath tests, the Charlton tribunal into smearing of whistle-blower Sergeant Maurice McCabe, and early departure of two Garda Commissioners, Martin Callinan and Norin O'Sullivan.

However, if the State wishes to avoid a police force mired in controversy, the PSNI is a strange pool to fish in. The PSNI's predecessor, the RUC, was neck

deep in collusion with loyalist paramilitaries with some like RUC officer William McCaughey actively participating in murder and other terrorist attacks. Nor has the 'reformed' PSNI left those dark days behind it. The 2011 HET investigation into the Miami Showband killings found that loyalist mass murderer Robin Jackson had been an RUC Special Branch informer. Victims' group Justice for the Forgotten has accused Harris of effectively closing down inquiries into collusion between the security forces and the loyalist Glenanne gang, which is believed to have been responsible for the Miami Showband attack, the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings and many other killings.⁵

In 2018, *No Stone Unturned*, a documentary film into the 1994 Loughanishland loyalist massacre which killed six Catholics, named Gorman Mc Mullan, Ronnie Hawthorne and Alan Taylor as the UVF terrorists involved, and accused the RUC Special Branch of collusion in the killings. The PSNI's response was to arrest the award-winning documentary makers Trevor Birney and Barry

Mc Caffery.

Winning Confidence

It is hard to see how Harris can win the confidence of the 14% of the southern population who voted for Sinn Féin, given the PSNI role in political policing in Northern Ireland and his decision to opt for the arrest and detention for three days of Sinn Féin Leader Gerry Adams in May 2014 in the middle of a northern local election campaign.

The PSNI have adopted a pick and mix approach as to which southern tribunals they wish to co-operate with. They failed to co-operate with the 2003 Barron Inquiry into British security force collusion in the Dublin and Monaghan Bombings. Yet Assistant Chief Constable Drew Harris and Chief Inspector Roy McComb gave evidence to the 2012 Smithwick Tribunal about allegations that Gardaí Liam Coulton and Owen Corrigan colluded with the IRA in the killings of RUC officers Bob Bu-



⁴ Irish Times 1.9.2018

⁵ Phoenix 10.8.2018

chanan and Harry Breen in 1989 (the same year Harris's own father was killed by the IRA) and with the informant Tom Oliver. Their testimony was dismissed by the Garda Commissioner's Senior Council as "nonsense on stilts"

Garda Shortcomings

Regrettably, the history of the Gardaí has been no stranger to controversy. The first Garda Commissioner, Eoin O'Duffy, plotted a coup de état to prevent Fianna Fáil from taking power in 1932. He later went on to found Ireland's largest fascist organisation, the Blueshirts, which evolved into Fine Gael whose first leader he became.

On 19th December 1972, Special Branch Detective Sergeant Patrick Crinnion was arrested while passing information to British Intelligence MI6 agent John Wyman. Similar accusations have also been made against other Gardaí down the years.

Woing Unionists

Although the Taoiseach has praised Drew's integrity and professionalism and expressed absolute confidence that he will be loyal to the State, the underlying philosophy behind the cabinet's appointment is that all unionists, no matter how loyal to or embedded in the British State, are capable of switching loyalties. In this 'loyalty fluid' world view, unionists are loyal to the 'half crown' not the crown. Ironically those who are sceptical about Mr Harris's appointment accept his personal loyalty, but to a different source from that sought by those who endorse him. In the cabinet's view this appointment sends a message to unionism that all doors are open to them in a united Ireland. We will watch and see if Britain reciprocates by appointing an Irish republican or member of the Gardaí as PSNI Chief Constable or to a senior position in the British security apparatus.

Irish Sovereignty

It has been suggested that Fine Gael has never taken this State's sovereignty seriously. During the economic crisis, Michael Ring TD suggested that the government "hand back the keys" to Queen Elizabeth and apologise for the mess they made, while former MEP Gay Mitchell advocated

a joint monarchy. However, by appointing a person so closely associated with the intelligence services of another State to the highest security position in the Irish State, Fine Gael have embarked on the greatest gamble in their history. If they are wrong, they may have fatally compromised the security and integrity of the State indefinitely. Already emails have been sent to senior PSNI officers urging them to apply for posts of Chief Superintendent in the Gardaí.⁶

State Security

Perhaps one way to minimise the risk to State security would be to totally depoliticise the Gardaí by establishing an independent State security service outside the Gardaí. But, the government's handling of Drew's appointment would not inspire much confidence.

BLOODY SUNDAY

Letter to Newspapers

It seems that most of the British soldiers responsible for the killings of 14 innocent people in Derry on Bloody Sunday in 1972 are to escape prosecution.

From 'Terrorist' to Victim

These victims and their families have had to endure the appalling indignity and lies of the Widgery report, which branded the victims as terrorists, and the incendiary remarks of the current Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Karen Bradley, who said that the killings by the British army and police during the Troubles were "not crimes".

Despite Lord Saville's conclusions on Bloody Sunday, acknowledged in full by former Prime Minister David Cameron who unambiguously exonerated those killed, no one was ever prosecuted for this massacre.

Big Wigs Get Off Scot Free

Lieut-Col Derek Wilford, the officer com-

⁶ *The Sun* 21.7.2018

manding the Parachute Regiment on Bloody Sunday, was awarded the OBE six months after the events of Bloody Sunday.

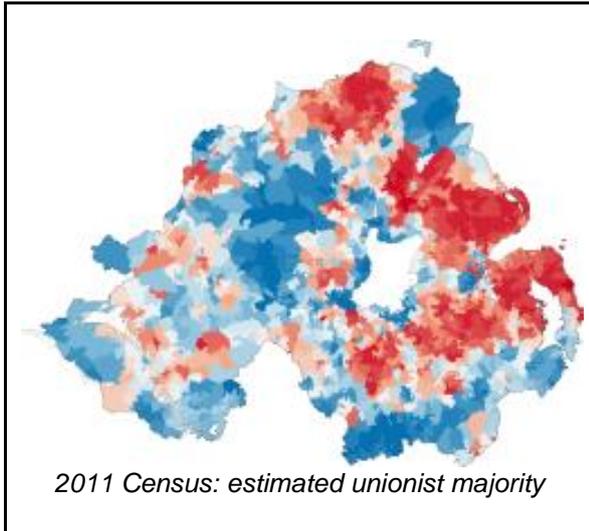
That this man continues to retain his award puts Lord Saville's findings, Mr Cameron's apology and Ms Bradley's hos-

tile remarks into perspective.

Mar 15, 2019

Tom Cooper,
Cathaoirleach, CNE

A FAILED POLITICAL ENTITY



The government of Northern Ireland has been suspended since January 2017. This is only the latest in a perpetual sequence of crises which have rocked the devolved administration in Northern Ireland. The northern Executive has only operated as intended for little more than seven years since it was established. This dysfunctional form of devolution is unfit for purpose.

Devolution & Suspension

The first devolved Executive under the Good Friday Agreement was created on 2nd December 1999; it survived for little over two months until it was suspended for four months from 12th February to 30th May 2000. David Trimble resigned as First Minister from July to November 2001 over the lack of IRA decommissioning. In 2001, the Executive was suspended for two days, 11th August and 22nd September.

Less than three years after it was established, the Executive was suspended on 15th October 2002 amid one of the most dramatic episodes of political polic-

ing ever witnessed in the northern statelet, what became known as the 'Stormontgate' IRA spy ring affair. In a choreographed move, the PSNI raided the Sinn Féin offices in Stormont and arrested three party members accused of intelligence gathering, allowing David Trimble's Ulster Unionist party to pull out of the Executive. In 2005, the PSNI dropped all charges against the three arrested men.

It then emerged that one of those arrested, Dennis Donaldson, was in fact a British intelligence spy. He was later quoted by the *Derry Journal* in April 2006 as saying "The plan was to collapse the institutions to save Trimble. David Trimble was trying to out DUP the DUP and in the end the DUP swallowed him up. The whole idea was to get Trimble off the hook and get republicans the blame." Donaldson was later shot dead by the RIRA in April 2006.

On 8th May 2007, the Executive was restored. However, from June to October 2008, the Executive did not meet as it was boycotted by Sinn Féin over unionists' refusal to devolve Justice and Policing.

In August 2015, the UUP withdrew from the Executive in protest over alleged IRA involvement in the killing of Kevin McGuigan, while the DUP engaged in a campaign of rolling resignations with some DUP Ministers resigning over 20 times from September and October 2015.

In January 2017, Sinn Féin collapsed the Executive after accusing the DUP of corruption in the 'cash for ash' scandal.

Unionist Blocking

In the 50 years of the unionist dominated Stormont Parliament from 1921 to 1972, nationalists succeeded in passing only one piece of legislation, the Wild Birds

Protection Act. In the 20 years since the 1998 Good Friday Agreement, all unionist parties have gone to enormous lengths to stymie the agenda of Irish nationalists and republicans, be it Irish language legislation, dealing with the legacies of the past, or the 11 plus.

This inertia is not accidental; rather is it the deliberate design of political unionism which is seeking to frustrate the nationalist community in order to provoke them back into conflict.

Unionism has repeatedly resorted to a deliberately disrespectful attitude to nationalist representatives. David Trimble said that Sinn Féin would have to be "house trained" before they could be allowed into government. In November 2014, Gregory Campbell disparaged the Irish language with his "curry my yoghurt" comments; he also repeatedly yawned through a speech in Irish by Caitríona Ruane in March 2015. He further said that he would treat their entire SF 'wish' list as no more than toilet paper. DUP leader Arlene Foster in February 2017 said of nationalists seeking an Irish Language Act: "If you feed a crocodile, it will keep coming back and looking for more."

Need for Compromise

The perpetual crisis of devolved government in the north of Ireland is the inevitable result of unionist intransigence. Why would any rational unionists compromise when they know that no action will be taken against them by either the Irish or British Governments. They know that, no matter how outrageously or unreasonably they behave, when a united Ireland does come about, all of their rights and identity will be guaranteed anyway as will a power-sharing regional assembly.

The Irish and British Governments should incentivise compromise through a proposal of reciprocation. If unionists agree to genuine power-sharing and reforms before unity, then similar reforms can be confirmed for a similar period after unity. If, however, unionism continues to treat the concerns and agenda of the nationalist community with disdain, then any future border poll and unification should be preceded by a period of joint sovereignty.

IRISH NATIONAL CONGRESS GENERAL MEETING

The General Meeting-Cruinniú Gin-earáлта of the Irish National Congress-Comhdháil Náisiúnta na hÉireann will be held on Saturday 12th October 2019 at 2.30 pm at the address given below. Those wishing to join or renew their membership, should send in a subscription by 1st October. The rates are €5 for the unwaged and €10 for the waged. It is also possible to join or renew on the day. Please also supply [1] name, [2] address and [3] email.

Membership Subscriptions

Those who send in a sub in advance of the meeting will receive the necessary documentation beforehand.

All those receiving this bulletin and others who have been advised otherwise of the meeting are welcome to attend and speak. However, only registered members will be given a voting card on the day in regard to any relevant business.

COMHDHÁIL NÁISIÚNTA NA HÉIREANN IRISH NATIONAL CONGRESS

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Eagarthóir/Editor INC NEWS: Daltún Ó Ceallaigh

RAFFLE

The winners in the last raffle were as follows:

- 1st prize - Seán Ahern, Clonakilty,
- 2nd prize - P Ó Mathúna, Dún Chaoin,
- 3rd prize – Eugene Lennon, Dundalk.

We would appeal to you to take some tickets in the raffle accompanying this bulletin as the finance deriving therefrom is essential in enabling us to keep up the good work of publication and lobbying on issues which are crucial for the Irish nation. Donations will also be appreciated and acknowledged.