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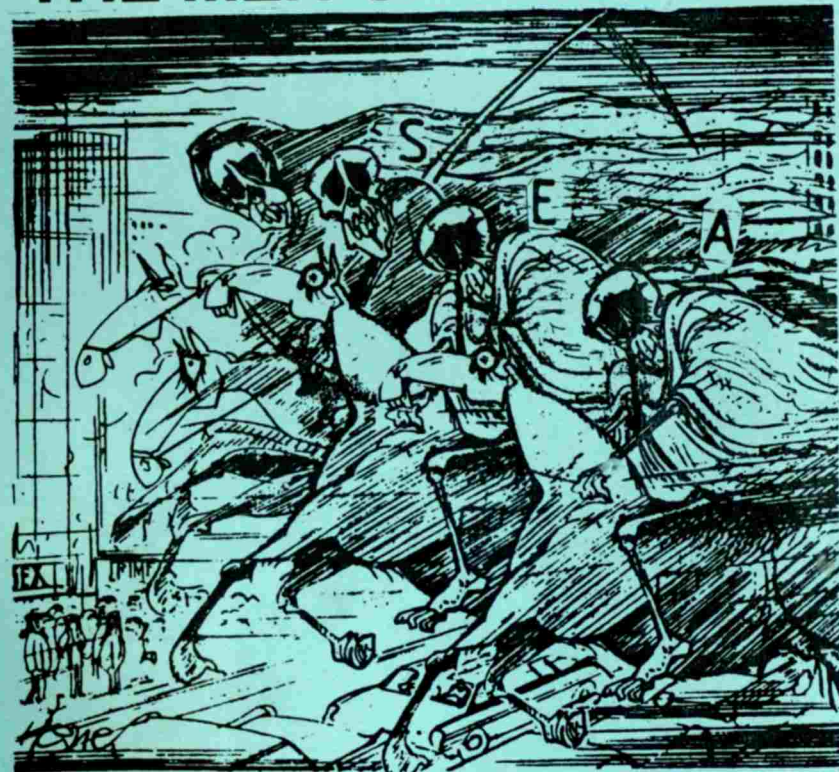
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## Derry Kelleher Referendum Retrospect



## WHO NOW ARE THE MEN OF VIOLENCE?



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and art found wanting."  
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*"The Harvest is Great, but the Labourers are Few."*

WHO NOW ARE THE MEN OF VIOLENCE ?

By Derry Kelleher.

*The average journalist in this country is more right wing, more afraid of new ideas, more in favour of the status quo and of preserving the institutions, I think than the average citizen. . . . Journalists take themselves far too seriously.*

Eamon McCann, Hot Point, Aug-Sept, 1984

*For indeed it is one of the defects of human nature itself that in conditions which are unknown or unfamiliar, we tend to be either too sure or unsure of ourselves.*

Julius Caesar, The Civil Wars, Book 2

*We are indeed most miserable when we dream we have no power over circumstances and I account it the highest wisdom to know this of the living universe that there is no destiny in it other than that we make for ourselves.*

George William Russell (AE), The Candle of Vision, University Books, Inc., 1965



## THE AUTHOR

Although from a Labour background - his grandfather Jeremiah Kelleher, was a Labour Alderman for 18 years in Cork City - his political leanings were initially towards the Republican movement, firstly in the early thirties in Fianna Eireann and subsequently in the Republican Swimming Club and the I.R.A. Interned in the Curragh in 1940 he studied Connolly and concluded that force, as understood by the Republican movement, was not the answer. Released from the Curragh he resumed his studies for a science degree at U.C.C. and was a founder member of the Liam Mellows branch of the Labour Party with other "Curragh" republicans, Mick Riordan, Jim Savage, Donal and his wife Maura Sheehan, and with fellow students Vincent Crotty, Alf Martin and others. This branch, inter alia, ended anti-semitism along with the power of the fascist Ailtiri na hAiseirighe in Cork. Hampered by the effects of the Labour Party split, the group set up the Cork Socialist Party, building up phenomenally in membership and electoral strength but were put down by "Bell book and Candle". Forced to emigrate, Derry found work in Trinidad where he observed at first hand the dying British colonial system. In the fifties he was a member of the Connolly Association and he was active in the Trades Union movement in the U.K. being treasurer of the Leatherhead Trades Council and its representative on the Surrey Federation of Trades Councils, as well as graduating in chemical engineering. Returning to Ireland in the sixties he joined the Labour Party then the Republican movement, becoming Vice-President Official Sinn Fein and using his political and technological experience in support of Civil Rights and for exposure of Government ineptitude respectively until the "flame and shot and shell brigade made a mess of everything". Back in the Labour Party he still endeavours to teach "Republicanism to Socialists and Socialism to Republicans"

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IN PREPARATION:

JUSTICE BOOKS NO.6: *An Open Letter to Ian Paisley*

## INTRODUCTION - A SIMPLE ISSUE

The recent referendum disclosed an appalling lack of public morality manifested in newspeak, double think, evasiveness, and downright lies by the Press, R.T.E., the Government Information Services, the Council of the European Movement, parliamentary wings of Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the Progressive Democrats, the pro-Fine Gael (or POOR LAW RELIEF) faction of the Labour Party, the Democratic Socialist (sic) Party, and the Confederation of Irish Industry.

The issue was simple, singular, and specific, namely whether or not to adjust the Single European Act to bring it into conformity with the Irish Constitution, so as to copper-fasten Irish sovereignty in the sphere of foreign policy, and thus, *inter-alia*, our right to declare for neutrality with reference to any future international conflict, but specifically one between the powers represented by the Warsaw Pact and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.).

In short, all that was required was the insertion in the Single European Act of a clause such as the following, drafted by the Constitutional Rights Campaign:

*"Nothing in the S.E.A. shall affect Ireland's freedom to pursue its independent policies in relation to foreign affairs, security, defence and other vital matters. In the event of conflict, the Irish Constitution will take precedence over any provision of the S.E.A."*

There was, thus, no need for the costly referendum imposing an additional burden on the already overburdened tax-payer. This was the fundamental and only real issue involved. This is what, effectively, Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, T.D., called "abnormal, complex, damaging and dangerous" in his attack on the Supreme Court's finding that the Single European Act was contrary to the Irish Constitution. Because the inclusion of this brief clause in the S.E.A. would be sufficient to nullify the Supreme Court's decision, Fitzgerald's claim was, therefore, sheer perfidy. This fact shows how reprehensible was the Taoiseach's, Mr. Haughey, assertion, "There is no going back at this stage - no question of renegotiation." Mr. Haughey knew this to be untrue, but it was the price he had to pay to Fine Gael for guaranteeing his government's stability. Power at any cost - not even gaining the whole world, but still suffering the loss of his soul for a mess of pottage. And so it was for the whole rotten consortium which "rowed along" with him.

As it was, if the case had been allowed to be put simply to the electorate, the outcome might never have been in doubt. Instead, through the activities of the political consortium mentioned, and the I.F.A. who, Rip-Van-Winkle-like, were fighting the 1972 E.E.C. campaign all over again, the people at large were conned into thinking that a 'NO' vote would mean leaving, or being forced to leave, the E.E.C., whilst a 'YES' vote would ensure that neither would happen.

## THE BIG LIE

At best, a 'NO' vote would mean, according to Mr. Albert Reynolds, that Ireland might be able to remain in the E.E.C. as the sole occupant of a lower tier of a two-tier Europe, deprived of all the additional economic advantages alleged to be forthcoming if we ratified the S.E.A. Mr. Reynolds was, of course, aware that the lies being peddled by the consortium of political party and related pimps were patently spurious because:

- a. Our continued membership of the E.E.C. was guaranteed under the Treaty of Rome if we voted 'NO', thus entitling us to all the advantages and disadvantages attached thereto.
- b. Part III of the Single European Act was the only thing at issue and Part II, dealing with economic matters, had not been declared to be in conflict with the Irish Constitution in the Supreme Court, and therefore it was a non-issue and thus not the subject of the Referendum.

Mr. Reynolds, therefore, opted for the BIG LIE and implied that his source of information was the West German Economics Minister, Mr. Martin Bangemann. Ms. Petra Kelly, as a Green Party member of the West German Parliament, or Bundestag, challenged this statement in this assembly and elicited that it had never been made. Such duplicity by the Fianna Fail government party, remembering Ray McSharry's call for the renegotiation of Ireland's terms of membership (which had been effectively endorsed by the leader of the party, Mr. Charles Haughey, at the 1986 Ard Fheis) could only be calculated to bring joy and comfort to their new found allies. These allies were none other than the agents of the pro-NATO Bilderberg Group and the associated Trilateral Commission, namely Fine Gael, backed by the Progressive Democrats, together with the pipequeaks of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the Democratic Socialist Party.

Matters, of course, did not stop there. Besides this affront to public morality, three illegal actions need recording:

1. The large-scale misappropriation of government funds through the use of the Government Information Service revenue to print pamphlets, leaflets and to place large sized advertisements in the media, not simply to make a case for the S.E.A., but to distort and misrepresent the issue at stake. The illegality, of course, was in the misappropriation of the funds in question to make any case whatsoever.
2. The intimidation of the Director General and Controller of R.T.E.'s programmes by the Minister for Justice, Mr. Gerald Collins, who called them in to object to the



balanced programming of the S.E.A. issue. Initially, R.T.E. had behaved fairly and squarely in giving equal time both sides in this issue. Following Collins' intervention, R.T.E. slanted the news and other broadcasts in favour of the S.E.A.

3. Peter Sutherland, the E.E.C. Commissioner, acted illegally, according to E.E.C. treaties, by intervening in the campaign to the extent of approaching the editors of the newspapers for support for the S.E.A. Excluding the Irish Independent, with its anti-national heritage, the worst offender was the Irish Times, where the volume of coverage for the 'NO' was only one-fifth of that for the 'YES' campaign. Not a single letter of the author, for example, was published, except in a regional newspaper. Again, contrary to the E.E.C.'s statutory neutrality, in this regard, the E.E.C. Commission office, in Dublin, set up a phone-in giving biased answers to callers, and spent huge sums for the issuing of booklets, which carried no reference to the Supreme Court judgement - the reason for the referendum.

In contrast to the pro-S.E.A. consortium, the moral resources of their opponents were enormous. Their financial resources were miniscule, on the other hand. The referendum result demonstrated, however, that morality rather than the cash-nexus can yet triumph in Ireland.

## THE SNAKES PROGRESS

Despite Mr. Reynold's alternative Two-Tier Europe Scenario, throughout the whole campaign, the Fianna Fail poster was everywhere persisting with the simple, but monstrous, perfidy: "STAY WITH EUROPE - VOTE YES". This was a supreme example of moral degradation and psychological violence, in keeping with NATO's nuclear strategy behind Title III of the S.E.A. Nuclear terrorism, thus, has its social and political concomitants.

In December, 1986, in the Dail, Mr. Charles Haughey had condemned the S.E.A., stating, "It is dishonest and misleading to put the ratification of the S.E.A. across as something of great benefit to the people of this country, because this is not, in fact, the case." Now he was trying to appease the Fianna Fail republican rank and file by stating that he would hand in a statement after ratification, on the lines of that drafted by the Constitutional Rights Campaign, as already quoted, for inclusion before ratification. It would be like the village idiot, who, having given the title deeds of his house to a stranger, runs after him with a piece of paper stating that the stranger is not, in fact, now the owner of the house. Such is the imbecility of trying to justify the immorality of having one set of principles in opposition and an opposite set in government. Even Alan Dukes has eschewed such an attitude now that Fianna Fail in government

is doing the Fine Gael dirty work of implementing policies with regard to cut backs in employment, onerous taxation, and national surrender.

Brian Lenihan, Fianna Fail's Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the bogus Humbert Summer School, in Ballina, in August, was up to a similar trick-o-the-loop act, when he stated that the Irish Sovereignty Movement was in error in stating that Ireland's sovereignty had been diminished by the ratification of the S.E.A. On the contrary, he claimed we, in fact, enlarged our sovereignty by sharing it. He clearly forgot what Margaret Thatcher, when screeching, "OUT-OUT-OUT," had stated, (when giving the bum's rush to Garrett Fitzgerald and Dick Spring, after they had tried to get accord on the most modest of the Forum proposals), at the Chequers meeting, "Joint sovereignty is the derogation of sovereignty." And, of course, she was right. Sovereignty is about responsibility with authority - the essential decision-making criterion of good management, i.e. the more buck passing, the less management - the less control over our environment, our economy, our future, in short, the less sovereignty.

But our *lúdrán* foreign minister had to cap the climax of imbecility by then remarking, "To opt out of the decision-making process would be the height of insanity." Ergo, the four horsemen of the apocalypse identified on the front cover are stark raving mad. Which all boils down to the fact that it is only snakes which can progress (if you can call it that!) by 'U' turns.

If the people had not been psychologically battered, bothered, and bewildered, by what appeared to be at one moment, and not to be at another, a re-run of the 1972 E.E.C. referendum, simple common sense would have won the day, in a resounding 'NO' vote. As it was, the results could give little comfort to the politicians, and may herald the day when we can put an end to their reign and the rotten system which sustains them, which is a mockery of democracy.

## THE RAPE OF THE CONSTITUTION

The result of the confusion, spawned by the alignment of right-wing and pseudo-left politicians, was, in fact, a resounding majority of 56% abstention from the polling booths by the electorate. This left less than 30% acquiescing in a derogation of the nation's sovereignty. Despite the united front of the parties in the Dail (with the honourable exceptions of the Workers Party and the socialist T.D.s of the Labour Party, Neil Blaney and Tony Gregory), 70% of the electorate declined to support their ratification of the S.E.A. With only 44% of the electorate presenting themselves at the polling booths, as against 73% in the E.E.C. Referendum of 1972, there was a massive increase, nevertheless, of 'NO' votes, since then, of 113,000, thus representing a commensurate positive radicalisation of Irish politics.

Thus, with a 40% reduction in the poll (or the percentage of electorate actually voting), since 1972 there was an actual 53% gain in the 'NO' vote, with a substantial decline in the 'YES' vote of 27%, corresponding to a numerical drop in support of almost 300,000 voters. Since those not voting were sick to the teeth with the politicians, then, given time to diffuse their confusion, it is well nigh certain that the 'NO' vote would have been substantially higher again and might have won the day for Ireland. Faced with the unfamiliar and being unsure, they abstained, whilst others, similarly situated, voted 'YES', to regret it later. ("Act in haste, repent at leisure.")

The table summarises the results.

REFERENDUM	E.E.C. 1972	S.E.A. 1987	DIFFERENCE		VERDICT
			Actual	%	
Poll	73%	44%	29%	40	Major Reduction
'YES' votes	1,042,000	755,425	286,575	27	Significant Loss
'NO' votes	212,000	324,977	112,977	53	Massive Gain

The result overall was thus most remarkable, in view of the perfidy and fraud in the presentation of non-issues, particularly economic ones, whereby the media, (notably with special reference to R.T.E.'s second TODAY-TONIGHT programme, which was thus slanted in favour of the pro-S.E.A. front), tried to confound the public. In this, the media were largely successful, as regards those voting 'YES'. In contrast to the courteous and balanced debate conducted by Mr. Gay Byrne, in the case of the E.E.C. Referendum in 1972, the TODAY-TONIGHT programme in question was, to the contrary, biased, discourteous and irrelevant. When Mr. Seamus O'Tuathail, one of the lawyers for Mr. Raymond Crotty in the Supreme Court case, tried to insist that the debate be restructured accordingly, his microphone was disconnected, thereby keeping the viewers "in the dark". Mr. Brian Farrell then continued with the phoney programme.

Economic issues, in fact, although they were irrelevant, were made to dwarf completely the essential political, and only relevant, constitutional issue. If, instead of the Single European Act involving the marrying, or stitching together, of two separate issues, namely Title II (Economic) and Title III (Political), these had been presented separately for ratification, then Mr. Peter Barry, the Coalition Government's Minister for Foreign Affairs, would have been legally in order in signing, and the Coalition Government in ratifying, Title II for which no referendum would have been necessary. He would not have been in order in signing, or the Government in ratifying, Title III. Since Titles II and III were presented, or packaged, together, (with clearly devious intent), then Mr. Barry violated the Irish Constitution, and thus broke the law, in signing the S.E.A. For this,

in the writer's view, he should be put on trial, if not now, then some day in a free Ireland. Let us hope that this will not be posthumously.

But for the intervention of Mr. Raymond Crotty, an economist of international repute, from Trinity College, in preventing its ratification, by contesting the Act before the Supreme Court, this would have represented the third uncontested violation of the Irish Constitution by the last Coalition Government. The other two violations were:

1. The Anglo-Irish Agreement in respect to Articles 2 and 3
2. The Geldof Knighthood in respect to Article 40.

In the former case, Mr. Peter Barry made a tour of the schools of Cork City, extolling the merits of this surrender of the territorial claims of the Irish nation to British imperialism. No opportunity was given to the pupils to hear the case against this violation of the Constitution, although in the case of one of the schools, the two publications exposing this constitutional violation were written by past pupils, Mr. Anthony Coughlan and the writer viz, respectively, "Fooled Again" (Mercier Press) and "Garrett's Bloodshed Scenario" (Justice Books No. 2).

These publications are complementary. The "Scenario" traces the treachery leading up to the illegal ratification with Garret Fitzgerald's signature, whilst "Fooled Again" analyses the Agreement in detail, and spells out its inevitable disastrous consequences. The authors were not called in to discuss the issue on R.T.E. The Cork station shied away from a challenge to do so, apparently assigning to Professor John A. Murphy, of U.C.C., (with his "two nations" ideology and his *esto-perpetuo* regarding the state and its institutions), the sole prerogative of discussion in this area.

In the latter case, (following a letter of mine to the Editor, discourteously unpublished, attempting to alert the public), without being given formal permission, it was, effectively, intimated to Geldof, via Ella Shanahan of the Irish Times by the Department of Foreign Affairs, that he did not need permission to accept the title. Yet, the Act is specific and categorical: "No title of nobility or honour may be accepted, except with prior approval of the government."

The American Constitution has a similar restraint, it should be noted, on its citizens, concerning such titles. Thus, the celebrated portrait painter, Sargent, of the Edwardian age, "who, although cosmopolitan in upbringing and immersed in European culture, clung steadfastly to his American citizenship" in refusing a title from the British monarchy. (Marshall Cavendish, "Great Artists", Issue No. 84, London, 1986).

In this 50th anniversary year of the enactment of the Constitution, it is surely a sad reflection on the state of public morality that less than 30% of the electorate have the power to endorse treason against it in high places. It is certainly no tribute to the memory of their late

chief, Eamon De Valera, that Fianna Fail in government has seen fit to mutilate his Constitution, in deference to Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats.

## A MOCK AUCTION REFERENDUM

The attempt to get the S.E.A. ratified, without reference to the Constitution, demonstrated, not simply a combination of covertness, haste and stealth, but an attitude of downright contempt for the rights of the Irish people. This was exemplified in the Coalition Government's foreign minister's indecent panic in endeavouring to have the ratification completed before last Christmas Eve (1986), and, again in April, (after the Supreme Court upheld Mr. Raymond Crotty's case that the act was, indeed, invalid), when, in a state of consternation, Mr. Desmond O'Malley, leader of the Progressive Democrats, accused the Supreme Court of acting outside of its competence in "taking an interventionist line on the S.E.A.", and called upon the Taoiseach to push through the referendum without delay, clearly with the object of bamboozling the people into a 'YES' vote, - the mock auction tactic of "don't give them time to think". Mr. Haughey acceded to O'Malley's request, and decided to support Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats on the issue, as indeed he had done in the case of the Anglo Irish Agreement, following his St. Patrick's Day 1987 visit to the U.S.A., in response to a phone call from Brian Lenihan, who was already over there up to his tricks, where he came under U.S. Government and its "Opppsition" (the Irish American caucus) pressure to "row along", as he put it, with this Thatcherite conspiracy against the sovereign territorial claims of this nation. The issue of the S.E.A., thus, became an issue of the people versus the politicians. In contrast to the latter, amongst those opposing the S.E.A., there was "No one on the make - no one who wanted a job," as Raymond Crotty put it. Yet this did not prevent media personages like John Healy (Irish Times) and Con Houlihan (Evening Press), who should have known better, from indulging, amongst other things, in a smear campaign on the personalities involved in the 'NO' campaign.

In the aftermath of the Referendum, a Mr. Martin Sheridan, in a letter to the *Irish Times*, regurgitated the prejudices of Messrs. Healy and Houlihan, in eulogising the "success" of the 'YES' campaign. As the *Irish Times* has its own private Section 31 directed against me personally, and a few others, I could not have the privilege of "right to reply". There are, in fact, in my estimate, no editors of national newspapers today of the calibre of the late R.M. Smylie of the *Irish Times*, who, self-confident in their own integrity, can recognise it in others, even to the extent of publishing material from those with whom they strongly disagree, undeterred by political or commercial pressures. Mr. Sheridan attacked the "fantasies" of a whole array of people, which went into the "melting pot" of the 'NO' campaign, including the religious orders and missionaries, and a minority of those who voted in opposition to divorce and abortion, in the earlier

referenda, together with making a side swipe at Mr. Ruairi O Bradhaig. But Mr. O Bradhaig was correct in recognising that the results, as I have shown, represented a radicalisation of Irish politics. All those people at the close of the Referendum, by the sheer praxis of interaction, understood what was fundamentally involved.

The great theologian, Cardinal Newman ("A Grammar of Assent", Image Books, New York, 1955), understood fully this process of development of human understanding. One must start from some datum base of conviction, whether valid or invalid. Lenin, likewise, responding to the attacks on the 1916 Rising, (by certain of the Social Democrat "socialists" of Europe, like the "poor law relief" people in Leinster House), understood this also, with reference to the middle class nationalists taking part who, he stated, that, despite "their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weakness and errors ... objectively they will attack capital."

Thus, without prejudice to any viewpoint, everyone concerned knew finally that the fundamental and *sine-qua-non* issue at stake was the protection of the sovereign rights of the Irish people once declared infeasible in the 1916 Proclamation.

So, whatever are, or were, Messrs. Healy's, Houlihan's and Sheridan's feelings about anyone acting from conviction, and not from the cash nexus, which governed and gave impetus to their 'YES' "monolithic" confederates, they have no basis in morality.

Subsequently, the *Irish Times* ("Weekend", 20/6/87) reported on a business reception, when:

"Journalists ... were surprised to be told by the Tanaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Brian Lenihan, that they and he were in the same business - 'entertainment'. Instead of going on to give the audience a song and dance act, the Tanaiste thanked the media for their support in the campaign for a 'YES' vote in the referendum on the Single European Act."

If, and when, Mr. Lenihan is ever tried for treason, it will be interesting to learn if he pleads that he was only engaged in public entertainment - the prerogative of a clown!

As for the newspapers, there is nothing to add, except Euclid's Q.E.D. But then, newspapers depend upon finance from advertisements for their existence and to keep their press gang at work! As Senator Brendan Ryan put it, addressing the Irish-Cuban Friendship Society, it is a new financial Mafia, of Irish origin, who are calling the shots and terrorising both the media and the government into compliance with their "racketeering with our country's future and security, immune from social control and without social accountability." (*Irish Times*, 9/10/87).

The analogy with pre-Castro Cuba is glaringly obvious.

## THE CONSTITUTION - DIRECT NOT REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

years, will be under a dictatorial regime, backed by England ... You know the English are in all this; that they are in touch with the opposition (Fine Gael) leaders."

(M.S./733/National Library)

The issue, therefore, was the people, without resources and media backing, versus the coalition of right-wing political parties, with their tag-alongs or free-booters, with all their resources, financial and otherwise, together with the government's misappropriation of the taxpayers' money, all with the backing of the media. For the fact is, that the violation of a constitution is the violation of the rights of the people and the line-up of political parties to present the issue, as one of representative democracy reduced to a consensus, was cynical in the extreme. The issue was one of direct democracy and members of political parties, whether in government or not, should have been left free to act according to their own independent judgements and consciences, because as Thomas Paine put it:

"A constitution is a thing antecedent to government; it is the act of a people creating a government and giving it powers and defining the limits and exercise of the powers so given. ... The constitution is the property of a nation, and not of those who exercise government."

(The Writings of Thomas Paine, ed. M.D. Conway III, 63  
New York, 1894-96)

Thus, a constitution is intended to limit and control the power and impulse of party, and, effectively, declares to all parties, *thus far shalt thou go, and no further*. Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats, with their Quisling fascist (blueshirt) subservience to British imperialism, and their contempt for the masses, would like to have a system of government like the English, without a constitution, so that, instead of principle governing party, party governs principle. Fine Gael and their nominees, in the judiciary, as I have demonstrated in *Garret's Bloodshed Scenario*, tend to follow British, rather than U.S., legal precedents, which latter are grounded in the U.S. Constitution, whose drafting originally was much influenced by the Republican Thomas Paine, following the American Revolution, and bears the imprint of his *Rights of Man*. In short, the pro-S.E.A. front perpetrated a most treasonable and violent assault against the fundamental republican principle of democratic government.

If the Anglo Irish Agreement is declared invalid in the Supreme Court, is it now to be expected that Mr. Haughey, (instead of re-negotiating it, at least to bring it into conformity with the constitution), will again have a referendum, so as to have Articles 2 and 3 deleted or modified, to change their original meaning and context beyond recognition, and so, once more, to rubber-stamp the treachery of Fine Gael and the Labour Party coalitionists? De Valera, in government, once warned of the effect of its destabilisation, in writing to J.J. McGarrity, a great leader of Irish Republicanism in the United States:

"If we are beaten, Ireland, for the next fifteen

In my booklets, *Garrett's Bloodshed Scenario*, and *An Alien Ideology*, I gave credit to Mr. Charles Haughey and Mr. Ray McSharry in the expectation, on the evidence of their public utterances, that they would stand fast with the grass-roots republicanism of Fianna Fail. Instead, these two personages have become the pliant tools of Fine Gael, and have left their rank and file in the lurch.

If I gave credence to their integrity that is to their discredit, not mine, and I am satisfied that those members of Fianna Fail, who read my booklets, were alerted to what was afoot, and voted accordingly. Ultra-leftists should note that 50% of trade unionists vote for Fianna Fail, and that these will not be won over by *Economism*, (crude bread and butterism), but only through politicisation on the primary issue of self-determination for the whole of Ireland.

Dr. Noel Browne, also, belongs to the ultra-left category, by presenting Irish history in eclectic terms. Thus, he writes:

"With the ending of the predominately Protestant influence ... Ireland became intensely Catholic and ceased to be Republican."

(*Against the Tide*, Gill and McMillan)

One might think he never understood *dialectics*. (v. the author's *On To the Republic*, Ripening of Time, No. 14.) History for him, apparently, must be in neat polarised categories, without the "warts and all", i.e. either "yea-yea" or "nay-nay". Archbishop John Charles McQuaid and his British Jesuit mentors, in their separate ways, are burdening him still ideologically, like Sinbad's "Old Man of the Sea". In short, he must realise that the Fianna Fail rank and file, with whom he is not unsympathetic, have still to play out their Republican role in history. Otherwise, his socialism is just "pie-in-the-sky".

Dick Spring, thus, in winning support for the Anglo Irish Agreement at the 1987 Labour Party conference, cut the party off from its potential future supporters in Fianna Fail. Who the hell is he working for? He clearly does not ever see the Labour Party coming to power, relying as he does on the electoral crumbs of the rich man's table via Coalitionist alliances.

In Mountjoy Jail, shortly before his murder by a free State firing squad, on December 8, 1922, Liam Mellows wrote: "The official Labour Movement has deserted the people for the flesh-pots of Empire." Since then, the Labour Party never has had a leader worthy of its founders, Connolly and Larkin. Reading Dr. Noel Browne's *Against the Tide*, it seems incredible how such a succession of paltry poltroons could have ever been exalted to such a position of trust, influence and honour,



only to inevitably betray "the incorruptible inheritors of the struggle for Irish freedom", namely the Irish working class. Whatever were the sinister and secret forces responsible, they must now be overcome and a dedicated and trustworthy leader chosen to undo the evil of the past, and prepare to drive forward the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, having through it achieved the emancipation of the Irish nation.

## THE ASSAULT ON MANS POLITICAL ESSENCE

Raymond Crotty declared on R.T.E., after the Referendum, "I entered this campaign as a nobody, and I will leave it as a nobody." One press commentator wrote that he was "too honest for politics." Perhaps the reporter meant it, perhaps he didn't, but was simply expressing a personal contempt at the turn of events. In the present climate of fear, with its newspeak, double-think and employment insecurity, both interpretations are intelligible.

Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, on whom St. Thomas Aquinas based his philosophy, described man as a *zoon politikon*, or political animal, to distinguish him from brute nature. Thus, the Greek word "idiot" means a person who is not interested in politics.

It is pertinent, surely in the light of the manner in which the Referendum was conducted, and, in retrospect, its inevitable outcome, to ask if the Irish people have not been reduced to sub-human options, alienating them from their political essence as human beings.

In summary, the pro-SEA front of the major parties, and their freebooters in the parliamentary Labour Party and the DSP, perpetrated a catastrophic assault on fundamental democracy, in relation to the peoples' rights under the Constitution and an act of violence against the citizen in his fundamental human political essence, making a sham of the whole of constitutional democracy and politics in this country. Having thus made a sham of the constitutional process, it is surely pertinent to ask who now are the real men of violence, if not those who have thus presented us, effectively, with the prescription of the armalite to the exclusion of the ballot box, for the redress of the nation's ills? For the sovereign rights of this nation must be re-established, if necessary by arms, or, precisely, by the people, in Connolly's, words "with force, votes and law on their side".

One of the most reprehensible and appalling infringements of democracy, alienating the people from the exercise of their essential human political essence, was the decision of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, when, as Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, representing the Labour Party in the 1973-77 Coalition Government, he set a *ne plus ultra* to the right of the citizen to decide on the situation in Northern Ireland. This was the imposition of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act to deny Sinn Fein, and its elected representatives, the right to appear on radio and television broadcasts.

The implication behind that action is that broadcasters, in the words of David Hanley, in the *Sunday Tribune* (20/9/87), are "easy prey for the brilliant, wily and inordinately gifted Sinn Feiners, who, in two minutes, would wipe the floor with the best that R.T.E. can seat opposite them, and sow sedition and anarchy in the minds of a credulous and impressionable populace."

No member of R.T.E. or the public can accept this, the underlying attitude of Cruise O'Brien, as anything other than a flagrant affront to any self respecting citizen, and a fundamental denial of civil liberty to all concerned. The truth is that Cruise O'Brien, and those who support him in this regard, such as Dessie O'Malley and Garret Fitzgerald, together with the likes of Brendan Halligan of the Council of the European Movement, are all anti-republican. They concede, that is to say, to the Unionist minority in this country, the right to opt out of the nation, taking six of our counties with them, and handing them over to British sovereignty. Of course, this view of Cruise O'Brien, et al, is a distorted one, since it is, in fact, the British who have directly exercised sovereignty over our territory all the time, and the Unionists, like Cruise O'Brien, et al, are but pawns, if not willing subjects, in the game of Empire.

Bluntly, Gerry Adams and Co. have every right to demand a declaration of intent from the British to leave the six counties. Anyone reading his book, *The Politics of Irish Freedom*, will obtain considerable enlightenment on this score. If this is what Adams would be telling the people on R.T.E., it would be all to the good. So also would be the refreshing of peoples' memories about the bloody pogroms in August, 1969, and the Bloody Sunday Massacre of January, 1972, when peaceful Civil Rights marchers were gunned down in Derry by the British Army of occupation. In the first instance, it must be emphasised that the I.R.A. had no guns with which to defend the people, so committed were its leaders to ensuring the peaceful constitutionality of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association's (N.I.C.R.A.) campaign - in which, moreover, I.R.A. volunteers acted only to keep the peace, by preventing disturbances, as highly disciplined and most effective march stewards. In the second instance, on the request of N.I.C.R.A., there were no I.R.A. in the vicinity of the march, as was agreed with them in advance, to avoid any provocation whatever being given to Her Majesty's forces. An unpublished Sunday Times Insight Team report established that the massacre was planned by the British, to achieve confrontational action with the I.R.A. attempting to defend the people.

It is essential that people, such as Adams, be allowed to air their views and allow those who, whilst agreeing with their objectives, as this writer does, to question their tactics and strategy for their achievement. In turn, Adams might ask why, having backed up bloody and remorseless freedom struggles in Vietnam, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola and South Africa, involving terror extermination of informers, etc., we should be so squeamish about the methods of the I.R.A. on our home territory. In this, he might ask that consideration be given to the fact that peaceful methods were tried, only to be met by British terrorism: when what was only demanded, initially, by N.I.C.R.A. was that a Bill of Rights be passed into law by the British Parliament,



BELOW: Inspector Harry Baillie, R.U.C., addresses a Civil Rights Rally.



From the September 1968 edition of THE UNITED IRISHMAN we quote the following:

"August 24, 1968 will go down in the books as one of the great days in Irish history. For this was the day on which Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter, Republican, Nationalist, Democrat, Labourite and sundry other groups marched from Coalisland to Dungannon in Ireland's first ever Civil Rights march".

great Armagh march which took place soon after October 5. From left: Brian Quinn (with megaphone), Coalisland; Dan Moore and Oliver McCaul, Newry Republican Club; Malachy

McGurran, Lurgan; Tom O'Connor, Coalisland; Dennis Cassin, Armagh; John Donaghy, Dungannon, and Paddy Coyle, Cookstown.

THE MEN OF VIOLENCE ?

giving all its subjects in Northern Ireland the same rights as those pertaining to any part of the United Kingdom.

It may be claimed that this analysis is questionable. No further attempt will be made to sustain it here. For is not this the very reason that Adams and Co. should be given access to R.T.E. Let us have everything out in the open! Let the debate begin! Let the people judge for themselves! The alternative is that the people will continue to be undemocratically forced to listen, under Section 31's restrictions, to the personages, which this booklet sets out to demonstrate, are the real enemies of this country, the real men of violence, responsible for the fraudulent abrogation of the sovereign rights of this nation, the mutilation of its Constitution, and the rigging of R.T.E. debates, for example, so as to include thereon only those supporting Section 31, faced with weak and ill-informed opposition. Certainly, anyone capable of "driving a coach and four" through any of the former's arguments, foisted upon the public with monotonous, but hypnotic, repetition, is not currently given an opportunity to speak on these programmes. Perhaps Section 31 is applied more "liberally" than what is realised. Its conspiratorial character alone makes such legislation highly suspect, and thus, conducive, in itself, to the very violence it purports to curtail. At the time of writing, an explosion, involving a most horrifying massacre of men, women and children, has taken place, during Armistice Day celebrations in Enniskillen. John Hume of the S.D.L.P. spoke on R.T.E. Gerry Adams could not. Why not!

## NEUTRALITY

Let there be no doubt about it that what was under attack in the referendum was Irish neutrality, and the possibility of having this enshrined in the constitution with the distancing of Ireland from the ultimate violence, which is nuclear warfare. Against such a prospect, any other form of violence is miniscule in the extreme.

The erosion of Irish traditional foreign policy is evident in the behavior of our politicians, thus:

- \* Foreign Minister Brian Lenihan supported the US invasion of Grenada in the West Indies.
- \* Irish representatives at the United Nations refused to condemn US sanctions on Nicaragua.
- \* Ireland followed Reagan in condemning Libya as a "terrorist state". A B.B.C. documentary showed U.S. "terrorist" accusations against Libya to be unfounded.
- \* The Irish Army (see centre page) operates its exercises and manoeuvres with an ideological bias towards NATO, portraying the enemy as the Warsaw Pact (Communist) countries (although occasionally as

terrorists, with presumably, an eye to civil war at home.)

Article 30.6 (c) of Title III of the Single European Act reads:

"Nothing in this Title shall impede closer co-operation in the field of security between certain of the High Contracting Parties within the framework of the Western European Union (W.E.U.) or the Atlantic Alliance."

This, according to the Supreme Court's finding, could: "amount to an undertaking on the part of this State that in the exercise of whatever powers it may have under Title III, it shall do nothing to impede such co-operation in the field of security in the framework of the W.E.U. or the Atlantic Alliance (N.A.T.O.) on the part of those member states which belong to those institutions."

The Supreme Court then clarified the matter further: "All those matters impinge upon the freedom of action of the state not only in certain areas of foreign policy, but even within international organisations such as the United Nations or the Council of Europe. That latter effect of the Treaty could amount to the establishment of combinations within these organisations. In touching upon the maintenance of the technological and industrial conditions necessary for security the treaty impinges upon the State's economic, industrial and defence policies."

All the politicians, supporting the S.E.A. to a man and to a woman, still deny that it affects our neutrality. Whilst keeping up the bluff, but still toeing the Fine Gael party line, Mr. John Kelly, T.D., declared:

"Personally, I think our neutrality is a shameful piece of sanctimonious posturing, and I only wish the SEA did, in fact, mark its abandonment."

Mr. Kelly's type of argumentation has done much to fill people with the despair syndrome that, if nuclear war does come, it will make no difference whether or not we are neutral, we will all go up in smoke anyway, or more exactly, radioactive vapour.

And if it means jobs, in the meanwhile, and subventions for the more privileged, let them adopt the attitude of "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die!" Yes, tomorrow, which should belong to their children and children's children. *Why bring children into the world, if that is to be their end, as end it will be, if nothing is done about it?*

Responsible parents, because they become involved in constructive politics, are often the target of malignant gossip, despite the fact that they are working, not simply for their own children's future, but that of "mankind of every description, without any exception of persons, even those who injure [them] or differ from [them] in religion". Commitment to a peaceful future for humanity, free from the

threat of nuclear annihilation, must stem essentially, thus, from altruistic motives and neither from a hope of gain nor irresponsibility.

Ireland, it must be emphasised, occupies a unique position as a peacemaker, as in the case of Mr. Frank Aiken, of Mr. De Valera's government, of the fifties, who negotiated, as Minister for External Affairs, the ratification of a nuclear non-proliferation treaty at the United Nations and then received the acclaim of the whole world, particularly from the ex-colonial countries.

Our uniqueness is due to the conjugation of our colonial past and our European proximity, with their historical associations. This confers upon us a prestigious moral position, owing to our relentless struggle for freedom, spanning eight centuries and entering the ninth. In the Dark Ages, Irish missionaries brought civilisation to Europe, by helping to preserve the tradition of classical scholarship and philosophy, in a period when, even the Church there had become barbarised, by losing much of its early intellectual content. (v. J.D. Bernal. *Science in History*, Volume 1, Pelican Books.)

In the present context, by means of a neutral stand, we would have been able to adopt a position of moral authority and assertiveness, in keeping with our history. Charles Haughey did this in the case of Thatcher's Belgrano massacre, when in government, and, out of government, when he also condemned Reagan's and Thatcher's murderous bombardment of the Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, involving the slaughter of the innocents, including the child of that country's leader, Colonel Muammer Al Qathafi. Dick Spring, in the latter case, did not utter a pip-squeak against an attack against a socialist and, possibly, the most democratic country on earth. He still gives lip-service to the philosophy of James Connolly and to neutrality. He is the contortionist supreme of the ideological circus. Haughey's 'U' turns bear no comparison with this man's recreancy to the cause of Labour.

Owing to the *suppressio-veri and suggestio-falsi* of our history books, we are bereft of that justifiable sense of pride and moral grandeur, which should be our heritage. We pride ourselves on our Christianity, but, as Father Michael Flanagan, T.D., of the government of the Irish Republic, 1918-'22, put it: "What Ireland needs is less religion of the knee joints and more of the backbone."

It is gratifying to record, however, that all the people who took an anti-SEA stand (including the 18,000 nuns and priests of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors) had moral commitments, regardless of whether or not there was consistency between the groups concerned. This is clearly indicative that the feeling is at last abroad, in Jim Larkin's words, that "the great only appear great because we are on our knees." Let us arise and defeat them, knowing that our struggle for neutrality, which can be propagated through the CND, is also a peaceful way of uniting North and South, because it seeks for universal peace, through Nuclear Disarmament, which will find a response in the hearts of Catholics, Protestants and Dissenters. The 'YES' vote was an

act conducive to supreme violence. It must be reversed and the real men and women of violence exposed.

## THE CLIMATE OF FEAR

These political personages of violence exercise power over other peoples' lives by inducing an all-pervasive climate of fear, paralysing all political initiative by the people themselves.

In the Greystones, Co. Wicklow area, my wife and myself, for example, thus had to initially bear the brunt of the 'NO' campaign, supported by the independent Town Commissioner, Jack Murnane, although, near the end, a small number of people, where hundreds were needed, came forward to help with the canvass and attendance at the polling stations. Many who had registered their support in the early stages, preferred later to act in an "unobtrusive" capacity. Or, as one woman, who had undertaken polling booth duty, but opted out, put it: "I am no good in a 'fronting capacity.'"

There was certainly an appalling degradation, in the public view, of politics, as elicited during the canvass. "I'll vote for none of yez, yez are all the same." It was a *saothar in aisce* trying to explain that this was direct, not representational, democracy, in which people were voting for themselves and their families, and not for a T.D.

It brought home to me most vividly, that *the reason there is so much evil in the world is, not because of evil people, but that the good will not stand up and be counted.* This could not be said of the radical and socialist wing of the Labour Party, including T.D.s Michael D. Higgins and Emmet Stag, who, in the Dublin area alone, printed and distributed 100,000 leaflets, opposing the S.E.A.

The Republican grass-roots of the Fianna Fail Party itself, however, although to a man and to a woman voted 'NO', were presented by a circular signed by An Taoiseach, requesting that, if they could not support his 'U' turn, that they should not publicly oppose it. This considerably reduced our actual and potential activists in the Greystones area, and had similar effects throughout the country.

Thus, without the conjugation of such forces, as had made for the 1916 Rising with, the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, the possibility for the success of the 'NO' campaign was seriously hamstrung. Only Professor Mary McAleese, of Fianna Fail, backed by the redoubtable Neil Blaney, of Independent Fianna Fail, overtly took a public principled stand, and rowed in behind the broad alliance. The Workers Party were ill advised in doing their own thing, like the other ultra-left groups, an unfortunate hangover habit from their "one true church of Irish Republicanism" period, reinforced now, ironically, by their anti-nationalist and Euro-Communist leanings. This latter attitude undervalues the role of national sovereignty, or national self-determination, for the emancipation of the working class. It is a

case of throwing out the baby, and keeping the bath water, whilst ignoring the fact that 50% of trade unionists still vote for Fianna Fail, because it still, however mythically, proclaims its Republicanism. The Communist Party of Ireland and Sinn Fein unobtrusively supported the broad alliance, represented by the interaction of the Constitutional Rights Campaign with Cosain. Both groups had inputs from the Green Alliance and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

'1984'

In so far as fear played a dominant part in disrupting the anti-S.E.A. campaign, it is noteworthy that Orwell's "1984" was written with reference, not to the U.S.S.R. or Stalinism, as people are induced by the media, including the schools, to assume, but to an incipient climate of fear developing from the cold war in the immediate aftermath of World War II. This, he forecasted, would develop catastrophically for Western Democracy, in its preparation for a total war against the U.S.S.R. (Ref. Wicklow People, "Holy Smoke", 10 February, 1984).

Back in 1978, for example, a "Forum for Democracy" was started in the Greystones area of Co. Wicklow. Its object was to hold meetings, at which important issues, which were not being sufficiently dealt with in, or were excluded from, the media, could be aired and discussed. The first public meeting, on "The Case Against Nuclear Power", was scheduled to take place in a local parish hall. But when the speakers, which included such representative public personages as Dr. R.E. Blackith of TCD, Dr. Vincent Flanagan of the ESB and Mr. Sean Dublin Bay Loftus arrived, the hall had been completely locked up and not one of the Forum members, most of whom were young people under 30 years of age, was to be seen. Luckily, through the kindness of the then proprietor of the Horse and Hounds Inn at Delgany (Mr. Malachy Bradley), a very successful meeting was held, after car ferrying the speakers and audience to this alternative venue.

The organisation, however, had literally collapsed. One officer of the committee admitted that he had been "got at". Thus was terminated what could have been a very important source of political and cultural enlightenment in a dormitory town.

During the referendum, the Greystones Democratic Alliance (G.D.A.), formed to combat the S.E.A., held a very successful public meeting, with a panel of prominent speakers, lay and religious. The presentation by myself, as meeting chairman, of the centre page information, led to a "reds under the bed" type interruption, with the charge that the integrity of the Army of the State was being questioned. Luckily, the days of the Irish Christian Front are no more, but Town Commissioner, Mr. Jack Murnane, Chairman of the G.D.A., found it necessary to intervene, to quell the temporary disturbance, and to assure the audience that the message was rather that the Army should be confined to its honoured international peace-keeping role, as in the

Congo, Cyprus and the Lebanon, especially, since, the Irish nation had no history of invading the territories of other peoples, or of colonial exploitation, having rather been a colony itself. Thus, it should not, in any way, be seen to be linked with associations of ex-colonial powers, such as NATO. The politicians, not the Army of the State, were to blame, he said. The meeting continued without further interruption. Although the "old red scare ain't what it used to be", the legacy of fear from the cold war days ("don't rock the boat") still remains.

As a result of my trans-class mobility, owing, *inter-alia*, to my professional status, I have had to liaise and interact with people from all parts of the political and social spectra. This has allowed me to obtain insights, which confirm my experiences, on the pressures to which people can be subjected in their political activities. If independent in their views, their livelihood can be threatened, and, if these views are radical or left, their children can be subjected to harassment, and even assault, in schools, restaurants, public houses, discos, etc. False witness can be borne against and violence perpetrated on them. The violence can acquire a Ku Klux Klan quality, in having the windows of one's home broken, as we experienced on returning home from a Constitutional Rights Campaign meeting in the aftermath of the Referendum (13 June, 1987). Back in 1974, following a similar attack, a Garda Sargeant intimated to me, effectively, that my particular political prominence made me a target for such a malevolence. Until the 1987 Referendum, my political activities had been less overt. Perhaps the message was: "Get sense or else!"

In addition, the whole violence of a smear campaign, involving backbiting calumny and detraction, can be levelled against the family, whilst, in the absence of the father, its womenfolk can be subjected to Nazi-type harassment by Special Branch terrorists, at home and abroad, thus demonstrating how intimidatory violence can become more overt, or less surreptitious. The populace at large is unaware, or, more exactly, *does not want to know of*, such misdeeds, including phone-tapping and letter opening, violations of the sanctity of the family. It knows only its concomittant, the violence of the streets. This latter violence, it is ever ready to condemn, (because it can discommode and threaten them personally), whilst condoning, with its votes, the system which gives rise to it. Of course, they are all good Christians ("God help us!") "Mind your own business ... look after number one ... 'till death do us part ... per omnia saecula saeculorum!"

People thus want to avoid political responsibilities and not "to think too deeply about such things". Survival thus becomes the keynote, and the principle, or lack of it, of "putting one's family first" (i.e. beyond morality, and, thus, to the exclusion of the equal rights and equal opportunities for one's neighbour's family, which, to the writer's knowledge, *has never been condemned from the pulpit*), can ultimately become "nature red in tooth and claw", as the extended family, with good neighbourliness, is replaced by the de-politicised social unit of the nuclear family and its concomittant, the fragmented family, with its anarchistic neuroses. In this climate, begrudgery

becomes rampant and suspicion is directed against those with a social conscience, who are prepared to act in the common good (What is he, or she, getting out of it? He, or she, is only trying to use you, He, or she, is on to a good thing, etc.), rather than against the right wing and pseudo left politicians, the real enemy. These, whilst feathering their own nests, are selling the resources of our land, sea, sub-sea, and our sovereignty to foreign monopolist predators. People distrust such politicians, but still vote for them, since, having been prevented by their psychological terrorism from thinking about politics too deeply, there seems to be no alternative. Finally, in the recent referendum, because of not realising their power vested in the constitution, or what a referendum indeed is, they felt they were involved in a 'lunatic' General Election, in which all the political parties were telling them to do the same thing.

This had a disorientating effect (the rat maze syndrome), contributing to the 56% abstention from the polls, i.e. they had no choice between the parties and were thus stalemated, fearing to take a stand in opposition to them all. This, it is hoped, may resolve itself in a catharsis, enabling them to see beyond the present political parties and the political, economic and social structure upon which their criminal power rests.

## LABOUR - BIG FLEAS AND LESSER FLEAS

Back in the late sixties, Father Martin Brennan, S.J. spoke on Teilherd de Chardin, the great Jesuit scientist, theologian and philosopher, and his perspective for mankind, and referred to "the deadly peril of a soul destroying uniformity". This he said, however, in Teilherd's view, would

"be offset by man's deliberate intensification of the process of cultural diversification, a process inherent in diversity of language. In this way, the individual and the group, contributing each in its own way, to the sum total of truly human living, will feel richly fulfilled. This way, and this way only, will man avoid a degrading depersonalisation, which would lead to his self-destruction by neurosis or mass despair."

The operative word above is "deliberate", involving as it does a definite moral committment. Terence MacSwiney, in his *Principles of Freedom*, stated quite clearly that "whoever fails must be called to account". Thus, with specific reference to politicians, he said,

"When a man takes a position of trust, influence, and honour, and whatever the difficulty, abandons a principle he should hold sacred, he must be held responsible."



Clearly, there is no scope for Haughey-type U turns, or Spring-type somersaults, in such a delineation of political principle."

MacSwiney was aware that "some earnest men are prepared to suffer themselves, but cannot endure the sufferings of those they love" and he recognised the snares involved, for the individual, in "having to fight a secret battle, threats, direct or vague, or subtle, blandishments, cajolery, patronage, indirect and insidious, all coming without pause, secret, silent and tireless." But, he declared uncompromisingly, "He who is proof against this, and above threat or flattery, must have been disciplined with the discipline of life that trains him for every emergency."

There is, thus, nothing for it, but for all good persons and true to stand up and be counted, so as to give support to those with unflinching leadership, so that they may no longer be alone in the struggle, again, in MacSwiney's words, "in high places undaunted, in low places misunderstood, cheering a few comrades with a hope for tomorrow." For this struggle is *for all*, against impending neurosis and mass despair. The Irish people have never been found wanting, once they could safely detach themselves from crooked politicians, without having to attach themselves to an equally or, in fact, a more corrupt set of new-sprung comen. Better, they think, to stick with the devil you know rather than surrender to the devil you don't know, in a case which looks like "out of the frying pan into the fire".

Coalitions, such as those between Fine Gael and the Labour Party, are calculated to inculcate confusion and despair amongst the electorate, particularly the working class. This is the ultimate in political corruption spreading its opportunistic contagion throughout the land, a situation where "big fleas (Fine Gael) have little fleas (Labour Party) upon their backs to bite them, and little fleas have lesser fleas (party hacks) and so *ad infinitum*." As soon as the big fleas, of course, can get rid of all other fleas, they will do so, thus so as to have sole access to batten fat on the body politic - although the lesser fleas (party hacks) still cling to the little fleas, waiting for their future opportunity to jump on the backs on the big fleas. Being essentially parasites, the little fleas and lesser fleas have no future, except in minor bloodsucking, the major role being reserved for the big fleas.

This expendability of lesser fleas is something that Mr. Dick Spring, *pace* Michael O'Leary, might well remember. His action, in conducting a solo T.V. broadcast, allegedly on behalf of the Labour Party, was strikingly reprehensible in not being authorised by the party's Administrative Council, where a motion to conduct a 'NO' campaign was narrowly defeated by one vote only. There was no mandate for the party, *qua* party, to conduct a 'YES' campaign. The position was simply that members were free to vote as they pleased. The Annual Conference of the Labour Party, scheduled to debate the S.E.A. issue at Cork, last November (1986), had been postponed *sine die*, because Spring *et al* feared the outcome.

Clearly, this lesser flea of Fine Gael wants to become a big flea, now that he has become so bloated in his arrogance, with scant respect for the constitutional rights of the Irish people, to say nothing of the integrity of the party of Connolly and Larkin. Of all the party leaders supporting the S.E.A., he was the most despicable.

At least Michael O'Leary never considered the Labour Party his private property. When he did not get his own way, he got out. Only expulsion, however, will shift Spring, who, with his coalitionist confederates, is the main obstacle to the emergence of a viable political alternative in the 26 counties.

The Labour Party's genuine left wing, none of whom belong to any category of the political fleas mentioned, realise this and are in an upward struggle to place the party in the vanguard of all-Ireland national liberation and socialism. A distinction must be made, between them and the party's right wing, and their integrity recognised and supported. Only an enhanced and radical expansion of membership, dedicated to the cause of Connolly and Larkin will achieve this.

Emmet Stag and Michael D. Higgins having become, through their indefatigability and integrity, the focus for such an advance, have a grave responsibility to give due prominence to every literary and cultural manifestation which gives ideological coherence to their efforts, but never uncritically. Errors must be rooted out, lest the acorn becomes an oak. Behind every act of treachery to the Irish nation, and thus to socialism, in recent years, for example, lies the "Two Nations Theory" of Conor Cruise O'Brien and his allies in Jim Kenny's D.S.P. and the British and Irish Communist Organisation. It is this spurious theory which lends plausibility to the Anglo Irish Agreement and has ideologically poisoned the Workers Party. Ireland's advance to socialism can only be via the path set out by Connolly and Larkin, Mellows, O'Donnell and Gilmore. As C. Desmond Greaves puts it, "Non-republican socialism, of the right or ultra-left, is inspired from one common ideological source: British Imperialism." (*Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution*).

Despite the treachery of Spring *et al*, it may be noted that, in working class areas, the highest 'NO' votes were recorded. Thus, on the total poll in Cork North Central, the 'NO' vote was 45.85%, followed closely by Dublin North West, with 45.67%. Scanning some local booth results in Co. Wicklow, for the districts Delgany-Greystones-Kilcoole, Kilcoole's booth No. 1 registered the highest 'NO' vote of 42%. For the 3 areas in their given order of average affluence, above the overall (all booths), were 18, 25 and 36% 'NO's respectively, the booth for the most affluent area in Greystones registering a 91% 'YES' vote.

Thus, wherever there was a higher concentration of the working class, the opposition to the S.E.A. was most manifest. Connolly was correct, "The cause of Labour is the cause of Ireland; the cause of Ireland is the cause of Labour."

## DRAGON'S TEETH

The outcome of the Referendum was a sharp jolt for the establishment and their parliamentary Labour and DSP freebooters, and a beacon of hope for those in the only valid European tradition for Ireland, which originated in the Great French Revolution of 1789, namely Irish Republicanism, with its intrinsic ideal of a free federation of free and sovereign people from the Atlantic to the Urals.

This once formed the keystone of Fianna Fail philosophy, this year (1987) being the 60th anniversary of its foundation when it was promulgated. It only received its first overt repudiation when Brian Lenihan admonished the Welsh and Scottish nationalists in 1967, through the medium of Britain's Tory newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*, to forego their claims to full nationhood.

*The Daily Telegraph* is traditionally an indefatigable enemy of the Irish nation and the British working class, and is noted historically for its scurrility. Here is how Marx described it in the 19th century:

"By means of an artificially hidden sewer system all lavatories of London spew their physical filth into the Thames. By means of the systematic pushing of goose quills, the world's capital spews all its social filth into the great papered central sewer, called *The Daily Telegraph*".

But Mr. Lenihan, now our Minister for Foreign Affairs, did not simply leave it at that, but went on to say (you might think Peter Barry was bad) that the men of 1916 had erred in demanding too much. He, with his scant regard for the sovereignty of the people, was clearly referring to the 1916 Proclamation, with its declaration of

"the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish Destiny, to be sovereign and indefensible."

This *sine qua non* of the 1916 Proclamation is now rendered null and void, as a result of the temporary triumph of the Quisling fascism of blueshirtism, on whose twin pillars of F.G. and P.D. the government of Mr. Charles Haughey's rests, for its, otherwise, unstable existence.

Clearly Mr. Haughey regards the existence of the Fianna Fail party and its governmental power more important than the principles upon which it was founded in 1927. Mr. Kevin Boland, who saw the writing on the wall for Fianna Fail (of which his father, Gerald, was De Valera's right hand man - the "real chief", as De Valera proclaimed over his coffin) summed up his disillusionment with Fianna Fail in his book "Up Dev".

"A political party was of no intrinsic importance whatever. The principles should be the only consideration."

In time, it will, therefore, be shown that the Emperor (Haughey), now seen to be without his clothes, having sown Dragon's Teeth, will reap the whirlwind. Already Mr. Alan Dukes, the present leader of Fine Gael, prepares for a final rally of all the blueshirts for a Blucher-like *coup de grace*, which will be Fianna Fail's Waterloo. In the meanwhile, he leads Fianna Fail on with promises of support from Fine Gael, as long as it continues to renege on its declared position before the recent General election, *vis-a-vis* the S.E.A., the Anglo Irish Agreement, unemployment and everything Republican it stood for.

Back in 1957, with the fall of the then Coalition Government, and the election of a Fianna Fail government imminent, the left wing were deluded into thinking that Sean Lemass would be forced into taking radical steps, such as the nationalisation of the banks, to bring life into the delapidated, though not bankrupt, economy. Ireland was still a creditor nation. Instead, we got the Whittaker Economic Programmes for national expansion, which set us on the borrowing trail, with which to fund as well as giving tax relief inducements to trans-national monopoly concerns to set up business in Ireland.

Now, with the country bankrupt from pursuing this policy at an ever accelerating rate, the authentic left again looked forward to a radical stance from Fianna Fail, such as moratorium on loan payments, whilst the economy was being rehabilitated. In fact, the government of Mr. Haughey had conned not only the left, but its own Republican grass roots, in deference to trans-national capital and its rancher supporters of the countryside, by foresaking its election promise that "There is a better way," i.e. than that of the Coalition government.

It is difficult to see, however, how far the F.F. party can go, relying as it does on 50% Trade Union support, whilst having one morality in opposition, and another morality in government: but certain it is that neither its Trade Union supporters, nor its Republican grass-roots can be won over to a Labour Party pursuing coalitionist policies. *This is the fundamental crux of Irish politics*

Ludraman Lenihan has asserted, "We (F.F.) can live on our martyrdom for another 100 years." But then, as he has stated, he is in the entertainment business. Black comedy no doubt! But then, isn't that what Irish politics really is about as it stands!

Now, in the aftermath of the Referendum, it is imperative to take cognisance of the fact that Ireland has been encompassed in a new Act of Union, more insidious than the last. Now the perfidy of Castlereagh, and his weapon of bribery and corruption, (to the extent of one and a half million pounds from the British exchequer, an enormous sum at the time, together with unlimited secret service funds), which brought the Union into force on 1 January, 1801, has been repeated by the Irish leaders of the major parties, backed by Jim Kemmy and his band of Democratic Socialist Party freebooters. These, through the recent phony referendum, brought us to endorse the S.E.A., through the misappropriation of the taxpayers' money and other illegalities already referred to, together with the future junkets and perks of E.E.C.

# IRISH ARMY NATO EXERCISES ?

1977 ----- 1987.



THE ULTIMATE VIOLENCE

1977

*ASSAULT ON MUCKELTY HILL—A member of the Army Reserve Brigade, a force of men drawn from regular units of the Southern Command, who dislodged a phantom force of 600 Communists who had entrenched themselves on Muckelty Hill during Army manoeuvres in the Tubbercurry area of Sligo*



----- 1987

*The US Military Attache Lt Col Tom Haase (left), and the British Military Attache, Brigadier John Osborne, observing the artillery corps fire power demonstration at the Glen of Imaal, in Co Wicklow,*

office, "Jobs for the boys," but for the rest of us and our children ...?

The 1916 Proclamation, in the excerpt cited, is now contrary to the Irish constitution, and represents a seditious incitement against the European Union, to be secured through the S.E.A. of the blueshirt Doodge (Professor at University College Dublin) and the Euro-Communist, the late Spinelli of Italy. But they will leave it on the walls of schools, post offices, government buildings, etc. and recite it at Republican graves, just to deceive us with "sound and fury signifying nothing."

No matter how much those, who delivered the sovereignty of this nation from the hands of the Irish people, into the custodianship of the Imperial (i.e. monopoly capitalist) powers of Europe (responsible for the destruction of the flower of European youth in two world wars, by their predatory designs on the resources of the planet, and still pursuing that goal *vis-a-vis* their ex-colonies forming the Third World) may now belatedly prate about neutrality and self-determination, as if in death-bed repentance, *the die, as far as they are concerned, has been irrevocably cast.* For nothing can give moral or historical validity to the foul and corrupt deeds which brought us to ratify the S.E.A., with the illegal backing of the E.E.C. Commission. Thirty per cent of the electorate voting 'YES', although it may represent 70% of the poll, is not a mandate to commit future Irish generations to nuclear war, the exploitation of the Third World, and technocratic slavery. The time must, thus, surely come when the people will inexorably learn, as they did with the Act of Union of 1801, despite the blessing for it then by Bishops Troy (Dublin), Lanigan (Kilkenny) and others, that that combination of responsibility with authority (the essential pre-requisites for any form of management, whether industrial or national, where it bears the title sovereignty) vested in them for national self-determination, as enshrined originally in the Constitution, has, under the pressure on our government from the arch murderers, the international terrorists Reagan and Thatcher, been surrendered to European predator superpowers and trans-national industrial corporations.

This hasty and spurious endorsement of an initially attempted violation of the Constitution by the Fitzgerald-Spring coalition government, thus ignoring the democratic rights of the people, is, as already stated, a prescription for the use of the armalite, to the exclusion of the ballot box, by a minority considering themselves historically authenticated thus to save the nation. Such was the circumstance of the 1916 Rising, following the character assassination of Parnell, with the destruction of his constitutional movement by those who would "set bounds to the march of a nation". which, he asserted, none had a right to.

Pope John Paul II, it will be recalled, speaking at Drogheda, on 29 September, 1979, made the issue clear: "I urge you, who are called to the noble vocation of politics, to have courage to face up to your responsibility, to be leaders in the cause of peace, reconciliation, and justice." He went on to say that, if politicians did not act

accordingly, violence was inevitable. "*Violence thrives best where there is a political vacuum, and a refusal of political movement.*" (Emphases inserted.)

That such political stagnation exists is reflected in the horrendous economic plight of the Irish nation, as demonstrated by Richard Cottrells, British Euro M.P., in his recent book, *The Sacred Cow*. He observes that, after 14 years of E.E.C. membership, Ireland has, as a result of the Common Agricultural Policy

- \* One third fewer farmers
- \* 15 times more agricultural debt
- \* Fewer people at work in a prime industry than at any time since the 18th century.
- \* Lost nearly 100,000 workers, a third of the entire workforce
- \* Virtually all national tax revenue income paid by industrial workers, with farmers paying virtually nothing.

The result, he claims, is that the land could be thoroughly depopulated before the end of the century. For the first time since the treaty in 1922, Ireland has no sense of future, a preoccupation with death and funerals, as beggars roam in our cities and lawless ghettos proliferate.

Fascist means of curbing social unrest have already been advanced by the brother of Garret, the late Fergus M. Fitzgerald. (*Too Much Government*, Able Press, 1982.) (See *Garret's Bloodshed Scenario*.) Those who brought us to our plight must not be allowed to dictate to us further, as they intend to do by harsher and more coercive methods. *The people must organise.*

## THE IRISH CHRISTIAN FRONT AGAIN

There is no doubt that such a political vacuum exists, as no viable alternative to the existing array of political parties (all of which are committed, to a greater or lesser degree, to the same policies) has yet emerged. There is thus no focal point, whereby this nation's right can be asserted before the world. Thus, popular outrage is dampened down on issues such as the use of Irish green passports, *vis-a-vis* the Irangate scandal, (which could end in the impeachment of President Ronald by the U.S. Congress), so that, as yet, the Department of Foreign Affairs in this country, which issues the Irish green passports, has not been the subject of investigation. The CIA, which illegally and criminally made use of the passports in the first case, are now trying to attribute their source of acquisition to the IRA,

thus directing scrutiny from the last Coalition government and, simultaneously, supporting its civil war plans or "Garrett's Bloodshed Scenario".

The reason why the CIA agents used Irish green passports and Irish names to enter Iran, as part of Reagan's master plan to destabilise the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, is because Ireland's historic anti-imperialist status is honoured throughout the whole Arab nation, which has religious affinity with Iran, and, indeed, throughout all post-colonial countries. Everywhere, in the countries concerned, the Irish green passport used to be a great facilitator with officialdom, with Irish people receiving privileged mobility by customs clearances, etc., often being pleasantly surprised in this regard.

Yet our "blithe spirit", Mr. Brian Lenihan, present Minister for Foreign Affairs, declares that he is happy with the new-fangled Euro passport: "No problem! No problem!" But take heed! Take heed! The Irish green passport was introduced by the first Fianna Fail government, in defiance of Fine Gael's opposition. (They wished to keep the British one of the Free State.) Fine Gael has the noose around Fianna Fail's neck and will, when opportune, release the trapdoor. It is not a simple matter for Fianna Fail, like being hoisted by its own petard. Fine Gael are not satisfied with the way Fianna Fail have carried out Fine Gael's policies. Despite his promises not to rock the boat for Fianna Fail, Alan Dukes, the present *pro-tem* leader of Fine Gael (whilst Garrett Fitzgerald works out his future electoral strategy for a coalition government of F.G., the P.D.'s and Labour), has declared that Fine Gael stands in readiness for a general election. Although Labour appear committed to a non-coalitionist policy, one former Minister of the Government's party has declared that the party's Commission on Electoral Strategy did not debar the party from entering the next government. There is something very rotten in the State of Ireland. Time to clean out the Augean Stables!

In the wake of the referendum, we have had the spectacle of a former coalition Minister for Defence, Mr. James Cooney, calling upon the Catholic Hierarchy to excommunicate the IRA, no doubt recalling the halcyon days when Irish churchmen were at his party's beck and call in 1922, in the counter-revolution against the Irish Republic, and later, in the Thirties, when, under the banner of the Irish Christian Front, they, as blueshirts, sallied forth to assist the butcher Franco in overthrowing another Republican government in Spain. This is what Fine Gael mean by being European. He has also been calling on historians, to revise the history books, (as if there was not enough *suggestio-falsi* and *suppressio-veri* there already), so as to make the Anglo Irish Accord appear as an acceptable outcome of our 800 year struggle for freedom, and European Union the fulfillment of the ideals of Irish Republicanism.

Like his ally and fellow "European" in the North, Mr. Seamus Mallon of the SDLP on RTE, Mr. Cooney might like, insofar as it leaves England off the hook, to visualise only two solutions to the partition problem, namely, "drown all the Northern Catholics, or, alternatively, drown all the Northern Protestants in Lough Neagh", completely ignoring the

fact that it was 800 years of British presence which was the origin, and is the sustaining source, of violence there, as it was in Vietnam, Malaya, Aden, Cyprus, India, and wherever the conquering British flag, the "butcher's apron", has flown. Would Mr. Cooney wish, then, to have excommunicated every Catholic in Her Majesty's forces? The recent referendum illustrated once again the depths of self-abasement to which our politicians can sink, in fealty to such conquering powers, and how they hope to drag the mass of the Irish people with them, by instilling into them the belief that they can do nothing for themselves.

Mr. Peter Barry, taking up Mr. Cooney's call to school teachers to do their own historical revisionism, did a do-it-yourself job on this, as already mentioned, by invading the school classrooms with his message, in Cork City. All this, as we learnt, whilst our police and army engage in security duty for the British-made border, that British "Blowpipe" ground-to-air missiles are being manufactured in our national territory, at the Short's factory in Belfast, for sale to the CIA for use in Afghanistan, Chad, or wherever Uncle Sam considers his sphere of influence, which seems without limit anywhere on the earth's surface. If they had but the scantest regard for the memory of Cork's Lord Mayors, MacCurtain, and McSwiney, murdered by British imperialism, the headmasters would have, rather, had their pupils pelt Barry with rotten eggs away from their schools. Perhaps they have never heard of MacCurtain and McSwiney!

Times, as the Referendum demonstrated, have changed, however, and, although the Irish Catholic Hierarchy have not yet repudiated their former activities, in relation to the Irish and Spanish civil wars, as the Spanish hierarchy have done in relation to the latter, they are no longer prepared, at this stage of world history, to further blot the pages of history by a repetition of counter-revolutionary activities. In short, they are not prepared anymore to act as the one in C. Day Lewis' poem:

"who raised his hands  
To brand a Cain  
And bless a submarine?"

especially when it is recalled how the Coalition government of recent years has allowed compliant access to our territorial waters to US nuclear submarines, and of our air space to US F1-11 bomber aircraft, the same which were responsible for the bombardment of Libya and the murder of the innocents, including the child of Col. Muammar al Qadhafi, leader of a country where there is direct popular, rather than representational, democracy. The Labour Party must thus not allow itself to be used for attacks on the Socialist Peoples Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, or seem to be linking itself with Zionist and C.I.A. intrigue.

Mr. Cooney, as ex-Minister for Defence, knows, of course, full well how, in their training and manoeuvres, the Army of the state is being prepared for a NATO role. (See centre pages.) This is the underlying basis of the disgraceful ceremonies, involving the joint participation of the Earl Haigh's Royal British Legion with the Irish Army and



politicians, which have been taking place at the Garden of Remembrance, which had been dedicated by Eamon De Valera, as Uachtaran in 1966, the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Rising, to the men and women of 1916 and all those who died for Irish freedom. The new ceremonies began with a re-dedication of the Garden of Remembrance to include Irish men who had died in wars to establish the hegemony of British Imperialism, a suitable plaque being installed for this purpose. Mr. Charles Haughey, as leader of Fianna Fail, did not attend this ceremony, leaving the task to his political henchman, Brian Lenihan; he was still in opposition, blowing his Republican trumpet.

The venture, organised by the last Coalition government, was a sequel to the Christchurch Cathedral poppy day ceremonies, in which the Irish Army had been participating in recent years. Let us certainly honour, in some way, those Irish dead who were dupes of British and Continental Imperialism, but let there be no truck with the Imperialist agents of the powers concerned, as was witnessed at Ballina recently, when the British Ambassador hypocritically laid a wreath at the 1798 General Humbert monument, as part of John Cooney's, the *London Times* Irish correspondent's (late of the *Irish Times*) con game ceremonial attempt to link the French Revolution and United Irishmen with the recent S.E.A. sell-out. Again, there was an involvement by Mr. Peter Sutherland, the E.E.C. Commissioner in this conspiracy.

If there are ceremonies to honour Ireland's dead in Imperialist wars, let them be on the lines of that organised in 1934, when Irish ex-servicemen from the British Army and the Republican Congress, marched together under the banner "Freedom for this Small Nation." Those who spoke at John Cooney's so-called Humbert Summer School at Ballina, viz: Brian Lenihan (F.F.), Alan Dukes (F.G.), Geraldine Kennedy (P.D.), Jim Kenny (D.S.P.), and Rory Quinn (L.P.), under that redoubtable circus ringmaster, Brendan Halligan, of the Council for the European (sic) Movement, were hardly of the intent or calibre of men such as the late George Gilmore and Peadar O'Donnell, who organised the 1934 ceremony. Sean McBride, of course, was. He, in fact, with the late Lieut. General M.J. Costello, had organised the veterans of the War of Independence to protest against the association of the Irish Army with the Royal British Legion, both at Christchurch Cathedral and the Garden of Remembrance, where they threw 30 pieces of silver at the then Taoiseach, Dr. Garrett Fitzgerald. McBride had been asked to open the spurious Humbert memorial service, which he did by showing that the S.E.A. and the E.E.C. had nothing to do either with Ireland's great European tradition of Irish Republicanism, or with the valid historical aspirations for European unity. Demonstrating that he wasn't allowing himself to be a stooge for John Cooney and his entourage, he quoted Napoleon, in opposition, to the extradition of Irish Republican prisoners. His remarks were as popular with these "democratic" personages as if he had asked them to allow the people of Ireland to hear what Sinn Fein had to say on such issues by the repeal of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act.

What it all adds up to is, in fact, "Garrett's Bloodshed Scenario", by which he envisages that "the only remaining source of tension within the existing European Community would have been eliminated". This

statement was made in the USA and reported in Irish newspapers on 10 May, 1985. In this scenario, he envisaged "the achievement of peace and stability in Northern Ireland ... with what might be a last ditch stand by the IRA, involving, for a period perhaps, a heightened level of violence." This Mr. Sean McBride rightly noted as a recipe for civil war and this was borne out later by Garrett Fitzgerald, Coalition Taoiseach, in an interview with the *Belfast Telegraph* (30 October, 1986), in which he was quite explicit regarding the Anglo Irish Agreement:

"We have no desire to be involved in the process of Northern Ireland any more than is necessary to tackle the problem of the IRA and eliminate it. That is our only interest in the matter."

This is precisely what the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, had said, when the ink had hardly dried with her signature to the Agreement, as reported immediately by *TIME*:

"We entered this Agreement to defeat the men of violence."

In the immediate aftermath of the signing of the Anglo Irish Agreement, Mr. Tom King, H.M. Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, was recorded on BBC radio, as saying in his Brussels speech:

"In Northern Ireland now we have signed an agreement in which the Prime Minister of the Republic of Ireland, notwithstanding the fact that he faces, or has to live with, a Constitution that has aspirations about sovereignty over the North of Ireland, has, in fact, accepted that for all practical purposes, and into perpetuity, there will never be united Ireland. This is because he has accepted the principle of consent that the will of the majority in Northern Ireland must predominate and therefore that Northern Ireland, which is our fervent wish, will remain part of the United Kingdom."

Fine Gael's plan is thus, having surrendered the historic claims of the Irish nation, to become the trusty puppet of the New Order in Europe, fulfilling roles similar to the Quisling fascists of the USA, such as we have witnessed in the Phillipines, Chile and Central America. For this purpose, they seek, like Hitler, to destroy the democratic and Republican legacy of the Great French Revolution of 1789, by emasculation and violence. Once they have finished with what they consider a soft target in Sinn Fein and the IRA, because of their alleged violence, and failure to recognise that a national liberation struggle is 95% propaganda and only 5% military action, they will turn their guns, as I have demonstrated in *Garrett's Bloodshed Scenario*, on constitutional organisations such as the Irish Sovereignty Movement, advocating exit from the EEC.

And be it noted that Dick Spring, leader of the party of Connolly and Larkin, in his role as Coalition Tanaiste, aided and abetted Fitzgerald in this treachery to the Irish nation. As for the Irish

Army's role in this affair, this has already been discussed, but it is noteworthy that Mr. Gay Byrne of RTE, writing in his column in *The Sunday World*, in the early eighties, stated that, in view of the mounting unemployment, that the Irish Army would be on a Red Alert, once the total had exceeded 250,000, in anticipation of Revolution. Mr. Byrne is no red-hot radical trying to stir things up, but a sober and balanced reporter. It is time the people had their own Red Alert, but perhaps this is now not necessary, noting that Dame Britannia has again provided the safety valve of emigration, thereby removing the powder-keg from her doorstep and simultaneously defusing it.

## THE RELEVANCE OF LIBERATION THEOLOGY

On the credit side, of the present gloomy perspective, is that the winds of change, of "Liberation Theology" are now sweeping across the land of Ireland. The Conference of Major Religious Superiors, thus early analysed the Single European Act and, from a masterly study, found that it was unconstitutional, or, in the writer's estimate, treasonable. This organisation is representative of 18,000 priests and nuns and, indeed, many were active in the anti-SEA campaign. Bishop Jeremiah Newman of Limerick, not noted for extreme radical views, took a similar honourable stand. It all seemed to fit into the scenario of my pamphlet, *An Alien Ideology*, which foresaw a conjunction of all radical forces, including religious, for the national liberation of Ireland, as has been happening in the Philippines and Central America, where Catholic priests and nuns join with communists and liberals for the overthrow of Quisling fascist regimes, set up by CIA terror, for the guarding of US imperial interests in the countries concerned.

It remains now to find the form of organisation, a Patriotic Front, which can coalesce these groups into a single focus for national self-determination by Catholic, Protestant and dissenter, or as Cecil Day Lewis might put it:

The red advance of life  
Contracts pride, calls out the common blood  
Beats song into a single blade  
Makes a depth-charge of grief

Move then with new desires  
For where we used to build and love  
Is no man's land and only ghosts can live  
Between two fires.

Thus, between the predatory system of capitalism (now in its final moribund state of Imperialism, the monopoly system of the trans-national companies including the banks) and Socialism, there is but a lost world, a waste land of lost hope and despair. There is no going back, that is to say, to native capitalism, although some temporary protective quasi-capitalist structure may be needed, whether in the field of industry or agriculture. It has failed to solve our economic

problems and has delivered us into the hands of British and European Imperialism, as manifested in the recent national surrender involved in the Anglo Irish Agreement and the Single European Act.

Since there is no going back, we must choose the future world of Socialism and true Internationalism, which, as Connolly foresaw, will have the nation state as its keystone. Colonel Muammar Al Qathafi, from a somewhat different viewpoint, has a similar perspective in his *Green Book*. For this, and this alone, his country was subjected to the murderous aerial bombardment of Reagan and Thatcher. The way to Ireland's future thus does not lie through that supra-national monstrosity known as the E.E.C., the prison house of small nations within it, and a vampire of those outside it in the Third World.

Ireland must, in short, move again into the mainstream of the advancing humanity of ex-colonial territories, like ourselves, thereby protecting its resources of people and territory, both geographically on a 32-county basis, and economically with reference to the brain drain. We must, thus, be mindful of the enormous cost of the educational development lost to the Irish economy and of its mineral and petroleum wealth, which have, and continue to be, surrendered to predatory trans-national companies. Ireland's future does not lie in trying "to keep up with the European Jones'", whilst fighting a rearguard action with them in perpetuating Imperialism (monopoly capitalism) in this pseudo-European union, which is the E.E.C. The days of Imperialism are numbered. It has destroyed, by unemployment, the purchasing power for its commodities, which is necessary to sustain it. It has killed the goose which lays its golden eggs, because its only criterion of efficiency is the profit motive, which leads to the anarchy of competition. In this, it is every factory for itself, and the devil take the hindmost, leading, in theory, to the triumph world-wide of the single industrial group, with its "micro-chip" manipulation of robots replacing its manpower. But who then is there to buy all its goods and services, produced for exchange, in short its commodities.

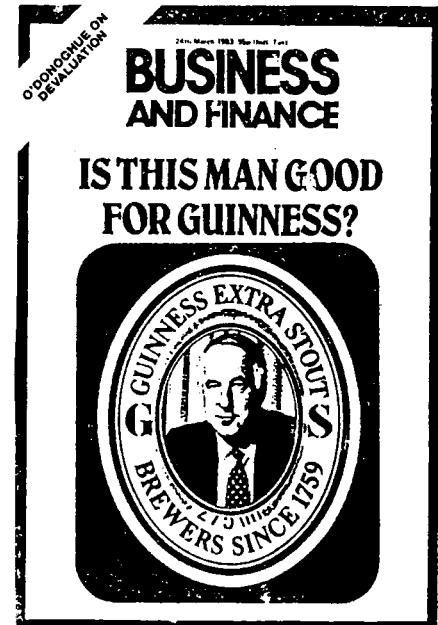
Thus, in terms of social dynamics, the problem cannot be simply stated as capitalistic greed, for each capitalist rides a tiger from which he cannot dismount, because, should he be forced, or even opt, to do so, he is annihilated as a capitalist, i.e. he sinks into the ranks of the unemployed or the wage or salary earners if he is fortunate. By being circumscribed in his morality, by an ethic which has no further relevance to this epoch of human history, the capitalist is the most alienated of humans, (as the Dallas and dynasty sagas demonstrate), divorced from family and social roots, with an ultimate perspective of nuclear war to preserve the hegemony of his predatory existence. Monopoly capitalism (the superstructure upon capitalism) or Imperialism is not immune from the problems of the individual entrepreneur. The motive force of each is profit and not what should be the fundamental basis of economics as Engels, (*The Family, Private Property and the State*), put it "the production and reproduction of human life", since this is the motive force of history itself. Hence, in *Business and Finance* of 24 March, 1983, I wrote

No doubt all this philosophising about correcting the "defects" of the capitalist system and the pietistic peddling of panaceas for its amelioration adds up to good vote catching material in Senate and other elections simply because it is innocuous and "moderate" and acceptable to the *via media* brigade amongst the churchmen. But this is nowhere near the nub of real political analysis which can provide an answer to the problem that whereas Science and Technology provide the means of continuously enriching mankind, with the perspective of abolishing want and destitution globally, the capitalist system by virtue (or rather lack of it) of producing for profit and not for use (or only incidentally for use) acts as a brake on this enormous potential by being incapable of harmonious development intrinsically. It is a system characterised by booms with the euphoria of rising expectations followed by the anticlimaxes of slumps with the dole queues, which we are now experiencing in this fourth quarter of the twentieth century and which correspond to the "reserve army of unemployed" of the nineteenth. All the indications however suggest that we are at the end of this cyclical and erratic economic behaviour and that society is experiencing a creeping paralysis for which any inbuilt system of checks and balances devised by capitalist economists can no longer suffice to provide even a temporary solution. ...

The solution is then not in the contemplation of a better Ireland or a better world by the excision of the "greed" from capitalism but as a much maligned nineteenth century scientific socialist put it "formerly the philosophers have merely interpreted the world. Our purpose is to change it." And this change means revolution, in fact, in the Irish context the completion of one revolution, which started with the 1916 Proclamation, namely the democratic or Republican revolution to restore the sovereign controls over Irish destiny, and then the Socialist revolution which will end the exploitation of man by man by initiating an ordered economic development in a planned economy.

The current destabilisation of the world's stock markets (20 October, 1987), four and a half years after the foregoing was written, confirm the instability of the whole capitalist system - with a possible repetition on a more protracted scale of the "Wall Street Crash" of 1929.

The issue of *Business and Finance* in question, on its front cover, had, ironically, the Guinness label-crested picture of "Deadly" Earnest Saunders with the caption "Is This Man Good for Guinness?" He has since become the "sacrificial wolf" of the wolf-pack, in order to keep up the facade of an acceptable face of capitalism, which is now doubly ironic with the yo-yo'ing of the world's stock markets, reflecting the anarchistic or unplanned nature of production under this intrinsically predatory system. Saunders's only crime was that he understood the system better than most, and did not, as a competent manager, try to convince himself that he was involved in a "game of



## THE FALL GUYS ?

## Nobel prize winner warns of recession

**John Kenneth Galbraith**  
The Great Crash 1929



● John Kenneth Galbraith "Inaction will be advocated in this present even though it means deep trouble in the future. Here, at least equally with communism, lies the threat to capitalism. It is what causes men who know things are going quite wrong to say that things are fundamentally sound."

LAST week's world-wide stock exchange crisis is a warning that recession is coming, the 1987 Nobel economics prize winner, American Robert Solow told the Spanish weekly *Diario 16* in an interview published in Madrid yesterday.

"A recession is close... the stock exchange is only a sort of messenger and its present state justifies pessimism," said Professor Solow, adding that the recession could be greater and could arrive faster than the last one.

cricket" or football match with no goalposts, i.e. playing for the honour not for the prize, like some Etonian nit-wit.

As Teilhard de Chardin put it, to understand, it is only necessary to "see" what is right before our eyes, in the vast concourse of emigration, the mounting dole queues and the crisis in self-confidence of our political leadership, as its will first falters, and then collapses, in confrontation with the political representatives, such as Reagan and Thatcher, of this nightmare system, incapable, despite all its vast resources, of ensuring mankind's right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" - the unfulfilled aspiration of the American Revolution. Let us, therefore, "see" and take steps to ensure that Ireland's historic destiny, to be a "lodestar amongst the nations", is not numbered with that of Capitalism at the end of its tether, or, indeed, with that of the whole of humanity by its nuclear war.

The leaders of the capitalist world, traditionally, fell back, in times of economic crisis, to the panacea of producing "perfect", or infinitely expendable, commodities, namely the weapons of war, the "guns before butter" of Adolf Hitler. But with robots, not human labour power, to do the manufacturing, this, now too, is a *cul-de-sac*. It can no longer provide even the temporary solution before the onset of war. Thus, the sorcerer's apprentice, who has conjured up forces he cannot control, rather than surrendering these to those who can, sees no other solution, but that of a suicidal maniac, bent on destroying all humanity with him by nuclear holocaust, since, as stated, "he who rides the tiger can never dismount". Let us therefore take steps to unseat "him" by securing our country's independence, both politically and economically, and thus identify ourselves with the onward march of the human race.

At this stage of our history, within this perspective, there is clearly a need for the primacy of radical politics ("If you don't know where you are going, any road will get you there."), with the purging of our political system from what Connolly called the "stain of social cannibalism - the preying of man upon his fellow man." We need to identify our place in history, not simply contemplatively, but by active intervention in political events. "Theory without practice is dead; practice without theory is sterile." Public house patriotism and bar-counter spoofing, together with their academic equivalents, lead absolutely nowhere, but into endless repetitive mindlessness. Constructive involvement is essential, so that we can identify ourselves in our political essence as human beings; before we can identify our problems and solve them collectively. No dim-wit incantations about being "Europeans", (which for us, in the given context, is equivalent to being Orwell's "proles"), by people who have no idea whatsoever of what Ireland's European traditions really are, will suffice as a substitute, but quite the contrary. People who are not in the political movement, but just "sitting on the fence" and "interpreting" events, most often wrapped in their private pessimisms, must get off it and get involved. Only in political work and struggle is there hope, and in idle speculation despair.

## THE DERANGEMENT OF THE IRISH MIND.

The truth, in fact, is that in the present circumstances, almost everyone is in personality crisis from psychological and social disorientation, arising from sensory deprivation, in relation to a political perspective. Dr. Ivor Browne, Ireland's leading psychiatrist, speaking to a meeting of the Irish Foundation for Human Development in Sligo in 1976, on *Mental Health in Ireland*, described the Irish as a mentally ill nation, because we are not prepared to examine and admit the effects upon us of our 800 years of servitude. According to Dr. Browne:

"Our past as a nation has been so crushing and so painful that we are too inclined to rush blindly ahead and leave it behind us. The fact is, that we cannot go ahead in any real sense unless we can identify where we are in relation to where we have been. (Emphasis inserted.) If, as a society, we cannot take hold of ourselves so as to be effective in the running of our affairs, and the management of our economy, and if we adopt a relationship of dependency to other countries and outside economic forces (emphasis inserted), then is it any wonder that the individual can find no place or room to act; that when, in this country, someone comes up with a creative idea (e.g. the returning exile with his acquired enterprise and "know-how" expertise), all those around him set themselves energetically to the task of denigrating that idea, of finding reasons why it could never work. This country represents a dependency culture ... a society which fails essentially to take responsibility for itself, fails to state itself in the light of its history and its true needs, fails to be self-directing and to manage itself" ... so that we are "concerned with aping our oppressors, with proving to ourselves that we are the same as they were, and use the same methods of oppression on each other. After 50 years of independence (sic) we are still afraid to cast off the security of oppression. (Emphasis inserted.)"

The lesson in all this is that we must make the break, from this sensory deprivation from our national ethos, by making the effort to observe, by a deliberate act of will, to "see" in other words, what has happened, is happening, and as surely as the night follows day, will, otherwise, end in total catastrophe for our nation. If we can succeed, then the need to rid our land of all enemies, foreign and domestic, wherever and however they may be ensconced, will become abundantly clear.

The primary immediate problem of emigration is that the wrong people are leaving (i.e. the more highly skilled and professionally educated). As William H. Whyte (*The Organisation Man*, Pelican Books) has demonstrated, it is the most resourceful people who are the first to leave, i.e. the most independent minded and patriotic, who detest the alternative prospect of enslavement by political jobbery and corruption in order to

survive. These often are selectively forced to emigrate by the Establishment. Brian Lenihan's statement in *Newsweek*, to the effect that Fianna Fail has nothing to fear from emigration, and that this small island of Ireland of ours is too small to provide employment for all, is simply a reversal to the fifties mentality, when such "malcontents" were "weeded out". When he piously adds that there may be a place for exiles later, if they return with their newly acquired experience and skills, he is simply fostering the same delusion as Mr. Feargal Super-Quinn, that such "know-how" will be put to the benefit of the Irish economy.

These returning exiles soon learn that they are anathema to the stay-at-home "witch doctors", the appointees of nepotism, with their secret lore of one year's experience, which, by the tactic of "make yourself indispensable", they had hoped would last them for life in a "secure pensionable job". Our exile, on the contrary, may see Ireland's management solution rather in job specialisation and technical manpower mobility, which makes for, in companies such as Esso abroad, highly efficient, and continually improving, departments, with the absence of featherbedding of personnel.

Alternatively, the exile may be obliged to work, for example, under British subjects, very often unqualified, who originally left the UK to avoid the "rat race" and "to get away from it all", i.e. from the very competitive challenge in the work place which our resourceful fellow Irish man or woman has met and triumphed over in the homeland of these "invading Sassanaigh" so welcomed by the IDA. (See "Garrett's Bloodshed Scenario".) Both types of incompetent management, Irish and British, may work in the same enterprise and reinforce one another in their fear of anyone, such as our exile, whose reputation abroad has been established by "rocking the boat", i.e. having the courage of his technological convictions and thus enhancing both his own advancement and that of the companies in which he has worked. Reinforcing the hegemony of such incompetent managers, who prevent the experience of our exiles from becoming effective, is the seniority ruling in job promotion, backed, with all due respect, by the trade unions, "last in-first out". In short, Ireland needs its *glasnost*.

Behind Nitrigin Eireann Teo's financial crisis (involving the proposed transfer *gratis* of 48% of its assets to ICI, in order to have the latter market its surplus production, its avoidable capacity overestimate, at the planning stage, through management incompetence) was its failure to recognise the expertise of the returning emigrant, with knowledge of the techno-economics of scale in the chemical process industry. The writer early recognised this lack of competence in NET in a joint article with Dr. Roy Johnston in *Business and Finance* of September, 1966, entitled "The Economics of Scale at NET". In fact, this techno-economic incapacity seems to be an avoidable, but nevertheless a chronic, feature of state and semi-state enterprises, including also the INPC and ESB, as I have demonstrated in a number of case histories, viz. on "Whitegate Refinery", "NET", "Ceimici Teo", in *New Hibernia*, of, respectively, January, 1985, April, 1985 and October, 1986 and "Moneypoint", scheduled for *Aspect*, November, 1987. These industries, in the aggregate, have lost, in this regard,

hundreds of millions to the Irish economy. This has unnecessarily undermined confidence in the public sector of the economy, and made it the prey for the privatisation designs of the Progressive Democrats, Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, all who bear responsibility, through the government departments concerned, for the underlying nepotism. Bureaucracy, in fact, may possibly be preventing NET from obtaining extra revenue, between £8 and £10 million per annum.

In the context of employing British subjects, in preference to more experienced and better qualified Irish citizens, certain facts may be noted. Firstly, this practice was observed at a multinational company operating in the Cork area, at a time when it was illegal. The door has since been opened wide, under EEC regulations, for all and sundry to come in. Secondly, a senior sales executive confided to me some years ago, for example, that, whilst recognising that Irishmen should make excellent salesmen, (they-both sexes- can do quite well abroad, to my knowledge of the UK scene), he had perforce to employ Englishmen, because his customers, actual and potential, were overawed by their "superior" accents, ~~mesmerised~~ like the rabbit before the stoat. Having worked for 14 years with British subjects, both in the UK and overseas in colonial and ex-colonial territories, I am not professionally, or otherwise, prejudiced against them. Dr. Michael McGreil's, S.J., findings in this regard, (The Crane Bag, final issue, December, 1985), are most interesting in the light of Professor Ivor Browne's observations on our post-colonial attitudinal schizophrenia, viz. "Those who 'look up' to the British, deep down were most hostile to them, whilst those who neither looked 'up' nor 'down' at them, were least hostile to them. In other words, there was a negative correlation between low esteem and hostility, whereas, normally, the two are directly correlated."

This validates my own experience, which has also demonstrated that Irish people have a low esteem of the type of pro-British politicians, shown on the cover (who themselves have a similar resentment of, cum subservience to, the British), but they are subservient to them also. Hence, the Anglo Irish Agreement and Single European Act, both of which removed from the people their sovereign rights under the constitution. Hence, the enormous financial losses to the economy mentioned, through the appointment of such politicians to represent us.

In the meanwhile, until we cure ourselves of our malaise, Ireland, and its most resourceful and enterprising citizens, will have to pay dearly, again and again, for our political schizophrenia, and for the paranoid "Jacks in office", who are not solely confined to the Civil Service vintage, with their subservience to the "master races" of Europe and their hatred of their own competent and independent fellow countrymen.

Regretfully, it is in my own native city of Cork, and its environs, that these types have established their greatest hegemony, in industry, technological third level education, and the Arts. This, in the writer's opinion, is connected, in some way, with the fact that Cork was perhaps the worst hit area of the country during the Cold War of the fifties. The trauma of McCarthyism still survives there. The spirit of



Cork North Central must, therefore, be harnessed under such excellent leadership, as of those who constituted the Campaign for Irish Neutrality and Independence, which led the Anti-SBA campaign in the Cork area. Cork has still its august historic role to complete. Therefore, the people of Cork must observe the ground being eroded under their feet and take remedial action immediately.

## UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMIGRATION ACTS OF MAN NOT GOD.

To hell with Fianna Fail  
To hell with Fine Gael  
One million wrathful exiles  
Will make those tyrants quail.

They drove us from the land  
Across the seas forlorn  
They drove us from the land  
From the land where we were born.

(D.K.: Reflections in Exile, 1958)

Our young Irish emigrants are deprived of their rights as citizens to vote against (or for!) the system of society responsible for their plight, whilst British subjects, ensconced in this country, have this right by a recent constitutional amendment. (C.J. Haughey's promise to Margaret Thatcher, which Garrett Fitzgerald kept.) It is important that our exiles organise themselves abroad, in bodies such as the Connolly Association in the UK, or at least keep in touch with events at home, through newspapers such as the *IRISH DEMOCRAT*. Otherwise, they will either become bitter and resentful to their native land, without reference to the politicians who have failed them through their parents' votes. They should also reflect on whether they themselves exercised their voting rights properly and, indeed, if they exercised them at all. They should form themselves into Emigrants Rights Associations, in preparation for returning to their homeland forewarned and thus forearmed.

The parents, who have sustained this system of society by their votes, now in deference to their exiled children, and those still awaiting that unjust fate, must begin to distance themselves from it, and shape a new future for their daughters, sons and grandchildren. These parents must ask themselves if they brought their children into the world for this fate, and thereafter for ultimate destruction by nuclear holocaust. For either we put an end to this system of society, or it will put an end to us. For this, we must clear our minds of all superstitions regarding its permanence. Science and Technology make for plenty, while Capitalism intrinsically cannot order production and distribution to achieve it. It, in fact, replaced a previous system

known as Feudalism, and it, in its turn, will be similarly replaced irreversibly with the system of Socialism and a more direct system of democracy. All the "weakness of human nature" type arguments against such a transition are meaningless in the light of the failure of Capitalism, manifested in its progressively inevitable catastrophic breakdown across the planet. We have no choice but to change our social system, human nature's weakness or no human nature's weakness. The first stage in that transition is the return of sovereign control to the people on a 32 country basis, i.e. without the power of decision making, we can do nothing. If we do not make this choice, there is no meaningful future facing us.

The most important thing to understand is that unemployment is an act of Man, not God. It is the failure to give enough purchasing power to people to buy goods and services. If certain goods and services are not purchased, then the factories producing them, or the stores distributing them (e.g. H. Williams) must shut down. The people made redundant, and now on the dole, have their purchasing power thus diminished, and this causes the closure of more enterprises, in turn, as the process snowballs.

The writer described the effects of ensuing developments, in *BUSINESS AND FINANCE*, in March, 1983, to which there was no reply from the establishment economists, at least that I know of.

Remember, this was 1983, and things, as I forecast, have got worse and worse, as emigration now swells to massive proportions. Here is the forecast:

"As the Western world's economic crisis deepens, with near catastrophic effects on ex-colonial territories, it is essential that the nature of this crisis be understood in its Irish context in order to determine its political implications, for the forces of Labour in particular. For the circumstances are such (and this problem is endemic to western capitalist society) that, as more and more people become unemployed, less and less people are expected to feed, clothe and shelter them, via increasing taxation. Currently, the number of unemployed has reached such proportions in Ireland, that it exceeds the number of people employed in agriculture, and will soon outstrip those employed in manufacturing industry. This cannot go on indefinitely, because a critical threshold must be reached beyond which a total breakdown of the economy must ensue.

Hastening the onset of the collapse are, paradoxically, the 'rationalisation' plans of industry to meet sharpening competition which, by reducing labour costs, relegates more and more people to the dole queues, directly, by their own operations, and, indirectly, by forcing the closure of smaller and weaker uncompetitive industries.

With the rising tide of unemployment, there is an increasingly lower demand for commodities by the restriction of purchasing power, and this results in the closure of, first the smaller,

# THE 1987 MONEY MELTDOWN



## How Panic Gripped The World's Markets

*What do these crises mean for OUR EARTH?*

**VIOLENT CRIME & TERRORISM**—"Fear stalks the Streets" as violent crime becomes "A Worldwide Epidemic." ("U.S. News & World Report") Rapidly mounting international terrorism is called an "Ogre Eating the World."

**ARMS RACE**—At least five tons of explosive power exists for each person on earth, yet \$1,000,000 a minute is being spent for more.

**POLLUTION**—Toxic chemical and nuclear wastes foul land, water and air. "Planet Earth is gradually being polluted to death."—Toronto "Globe and Mail."

**FAMINE**—"Every year some 50 million people starve to death, including 17 million children under age five; one billion humans are always hungry."—World Food Council.

**INFLATION**—Now a "worldwide disaster," says a noted economist, that can "eventually destroy one society after another."—"Industry Week."

**ENERGY CRISIS**—"Emergencies centered around oil will set back world progress for many, many years."—"Foreign Affairs."



and then the larger, industries, producing these commodities. Thus, every attempt by individual industries to meet competition by 'rationalisation' steps, involving the cutting of labour costs, makes matters worse, producing the 'anarchy of production' described by a famous 19th century scientific socialist much maligned by orthodox economists.

So now in Ireland, we have the free market economy, the ideal of these orthodox economists, with a vengeance, and with it the collapse of the necromantic euphoria of Honest Jack and Garret the Good, which ushered us into the El Dorado of the EEC in 1972. Two factors in this situation exacerbate Ireland's plight, namely the borrowing policies of all governments since 1972, (the 'Juno and the Paycock' syndrome - the Pavlovian response to the stimulus of El Dorado expectations) and the tendency, as purchasing power diminishes, to buy cheaper imported commodities. These factors interact, i.e. the money borrowed is used to finance debt payments, which purchase foreign goods, thus tending to stabilise foreign firms at the expense of Irish industries, which suffer the corresponding loss in trade.

Businessmen, such as [the late] Ben Dunne, find it neither possible nor expedient to display, as was possible before 1972, banner notices announcing that '95% of the goods sold in this store (Cornelacourt) are of Irish manufacture.' Neither is it permissible to pursue the 'Buy Irish' campaign further, because to do so would be in violation of the Treaty of Rome."

These developments, for a country inadequately developed, such as Ireland, mean ultimate catastrophe, with government borrowings on a massive scale, from native and foreign bankers. Much of this borrowing is used to fund trans-national companies, which, at the same time, are free from taxation on their exports. Short of forcing the multinationals concerned to pay taxation, like the rest of us, Professor Noel Mulcahy's recommendation for a Research and Development Levy-Grants Scheme should be implemented, as a temporary palliative. But this is only a drop in the ocean. The money borrowed by this country, it may be noted, very often comes from the country of origin of these trans-national companies, having equity holdings in the banks concerned, and their profits are transferred back to the country or banks concerned.

Garret Fitzgerald, with his usual shameless effrontery, has chided Irish manufacturers, on the other hand, for the failure to produce goods of competitive quality, for the Common Market. As an economist, he seems ignorant of the economics of scale, whenever it suits his purpose. It is not simply a question of quality, or packaging, but the fact that the much larger-scale EEC companies first recover their costs on their base, (or break-even) load of business on their local markets, and then "dump" their goods, at much reduced prices, on the Irish, and other distant, markets, within the community, whence the revenue therefrom is absolute profit. Since there are no anti-dumping laws within the EEC, but, quite the contrary, a free and unrestricted movement of manpower, commodities and capital, the Irish government

has no choice but to accept this. Prior to our entry to the Common Market, the workers, both staff and management, of Gouldings Chemicals and NET, for example, came out and demonstrated against such dumping, by the UK firm Fisons Ltd., of fertiliser on the Irish market, and the Government was forced to impose appropriate protective tariffs. Such action is now illegal, according to the Treaty of Rome. It may be noted that every other Imperial power, except Great Britain, built up its economy on such Protectionism, until it was strong enough, as in the EEC, to engage in Free Trade. Ireland never produced a strong enough industrial base, under its short period of protectionist policies, because this, *inter-alia*, was crippled by the jobbery and corruption of political nepotism.

When we entered the EEC, it was forecast, on the "sink or swim" principle, that the resultant inefficient Irish management would learn to swim. Instead, they thought they were entering an El Dorado. As I forecast at the time, in the *United Irishman*, there would be much more sinking than swimming. What further exacerbates the unprotected state of our economy is, that, under the Lomé Convention regulations, cheap goods, (such as footwear), from as far away as Korea and Taiwan, have to be admitted to EEC markets. The robust economies of Europe can adjust to meet such competition, Ireland cannot. Hence, the closure, amongst all others, for example, of our footwear manufacturing concerns, as successive governments try to staunch our mortally wounded economy by still more borrowings.

The Irish PAYE employee is called upon to fund the government's interest payments to the banks, whilst the number of unemployed increases, thus imposing a greater and greater burden of taxation for unproductive dole payments. Then the government deprives the county councils of their revenue, and these begin to re-impose the obsolete rating system, which is burdened, not only upon the PAYE worker, but indiscriminately on old age pensioners and dole recipients. although the latter may obtain some relaxation by a means test.

Whilst the recession may hit the transnational companies in their country of origin, these export their unemployment to where their marginal investments are, in countries such as Ireland, by shutting their Irish factories, thus stabilising their home base. All this the writer forecasted in an article, "*Science Technology and the Common Market*", *United Irishman*, September 1966 to January, 1977. In respect to the more "viable" multinational enterprises, their profits are simply "flooding out", and not being re-invested in Ireland, apart altogether from being untaxed.

In the process, the money invested in such marginal developments by the government, through the I.D.A., goes down the drain. This is apart altogether from the money lost to 'fly-by-night' concerns. Back in 1972, there was a certain prosperity, relatively low unemployment, and reasonable growth in the economy. We were told everything would be rosier, if we joined the EEC, which we did, and then began the catastrophic borrowings by successive governments to fund the El Dorado promises of Jack Lynch and Garret Fitzgerald.

Where are we now, with all those EEC benefits, real and imaginary? Surely our exiled children will tell us - in the gutter! And enduring all this, what does 30% of the electorate, the phoney 70% majority, do to us? They sign us into further bondage, whilst they follow the quadrumvirate of pied pipers Haughey, Fitzgerald, O'Malley and Spring (or the "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse") in destroying the nation's sovereign power to decide its own future, without dictation from outsiders, who have no interest in our welfare, but in their own pecuniary gain.

Mr. Haughey, in reply to attacks that his party is right-wing, admonishes the Labour Party to observe how Denmark, (which, like Spring *et al*, he regards as Socialist), rehabilitated its economy by similar "cuts", to what is again a relatively thriving economy. But Mr. Haughey does not compare like with like, he does not take into account that Denmark and the other "Socialist" countries in Europe, which he has in mind, all have far more advanced industrial infrastructures than Ireland. They start, before belt-tightening, with a much higher datum base of affluence than we do. Any pruning of expenditure, they have had to do, did not result in massive unemployment and massive emigration.

Things are rather beginning to return to the condition of the 'fifties, in Ireland, but with the difference that, then we were a creditor nation, now we are a debtor. With most of Irish industry in the private sector destroyed by free trade, we now have neither solvency nor adequate industrial infrastructure. In short, Ireland is the *ECONOMIC BUBBUC OF EUROPE, THE EEE IN THE EE SEA*. Or, as a recent UCD graduate put it: "Small fry in a big SEA. Big mouth, small clout."

To keep going, we must borrow more, and keep on increasingly servicing our ever mounting debts. So impotent are we, that Fianna Fail has neither the purpose nor will that De Valera had in stopping the flow of Land Annuities to England, following the advice of the late Peadar O'Donnell, by initiating this strategy with regard to Ground Rents, thereby deflecting some useful capital to the Irish economy and removing the burden from lease holders in the family home category.

It is essential to have a proper perspective to realise our condition. Despite the appalling state of the economy back in 1957/1958, when this country, under the leadership of Sean Lemass' Fianna Fail government, was about to embark on the Whittaker programmes for national expansion (which involved moderate borrowings to fund, *inter-alia*, industrial investments by trans-national (or multinational) corporations in Ireland, with tax relief on their exports, etc.), Ireland was still a creditor nation. Now, facing an appalling and devastating economic collapse, Ireland is a debtor nation.

In the language of the economist, at the start of the Whittaker plans, in 1957/1958, Ireland had the highest *positive Net Factor Income (NFI)*, relative to Gross Domestic Product (GDP), of all countries in the world. Now, (1987), the situation has been completely reversed, and we have the highest *negative NFI*, relative to GDP, of all countries in the world. Up to 1976, the relationship was still positive, although

our international status in this regard had gone into steep decline, with the preponderance of borrowing on a scale which Mr. Whittaker has assured us, in the press and on RTE, he had never envisaged in the first instance. Up to 1972, the country was relatively prosperous, with a high level of employment and the emigration of the fifties seemingly only a most horrible nightmare. Then, by 1976, we went finally into the red, when the MFI relationship to GDP suddenly went negative, so that, by now (1987), with our indebtedness to the tune of 25 thousand million pounds, we are in an utterly bankrupt state - we have no current assets to set against massive current liabilities. Our country is up for grabs!

## THERE WILL BE ANOTHER DAY

All this has happened because the Irish people have persisted in being morally and psychologically sapped, by the *ag feiteamh ar chabair thar saile* syndrome, never truly relying, first on their own strength, or that of the nation's exiled children, the outcasts, who could have supplied them with the lifeline of moral fibre to pull them out of the political quagmire into which they had chosen to sink. But no! - all those grand "gentlemen" over in Brussels, in the EEC, would look after us all, and isn't Mr. Joe Ray, of the IFA, still telling us that, without their help, our island of Ireland would float out into the middle of the Atlantic, where we would have nothing to eat but spuds and cabbage, washed down with nettle soup made from bog water.

This defeatism has been made sophisticatedly palatable by our whizz kid nonentities of politicians, certain prominent businessmen, and MEPs, all out for their fast-buck perks and backhanders, from the surrender of our highly educated and skilled manpower (by emigration), and our national resources of land, sea and sub-sea to the foreigner. The latest act, in this macabre drama, is the surrender of the government royalties on petroleum and natural gas finds, to the petroleum moguls, in order to give them an incentive to release, or un-cap, those resources which those boys have bottled up, but claim are not there, and, if so, are non-commercial. These companies, nevertheless, have been messing about our coasts for over 20 years, spending vast sums of money in exploration. In similar circumstances, in the sixties, the Indian government became exasperated, and called in USSR expertise, which was followed by the discovery of large and economic reserves of petroleum. What is stopping the Irish government from imitating the Indian? The answer is nothing but cowardice and village idiocy! There is a Russian Embassy down the road! Will someone tell these ludramanai!

Now, with Dessie O'Malley calling for the privatisation of Irish semi-state industry (with Michael McDowell, his henchman, calling for an anti-communist crusade), it is pertinent to recall how he refused an offer from the U.S.S.R. to set up a metallurgical smelter for the Irish state. Instead, O'Malley allowed trans-national companies to mine and ship our ores abroad to enrich the economies of other countries. Yes, Dessie can do it! - and do us into the bargain.

It should now be increasingly clear to anyone, except such politicians or cretins, that old fashioned Sinn Féin, translated correctly as self-reliance (self-determination!) and *mórtas cine* (national pride) are still the prerequisites to national salvation (and not simply for those rare occasions when the likes of Stephen Roche give us a lift by dogged determination overcoming all obstacles). Sean Lemass, perhaps, up to his death in the sixties, could not foresee that his economic advisor's (Ken Whittaker's) panacea for moderate borrowings and subsidised foreign investments with tax holidays, would ultimately go off the rails from subsequent massive borrowings, following EEC entry. Now, as the vultures come home to roost, and, as the foundations of our economy sink deeper and deeper into the quicksand, we are only aware of an impending doom, unrelieved by any prospect of an end of the present onerous taxation, to pay off the debts incurred by our politicians, with their mutilation of the sovereign controls of the 1937 Constitution, whereby we would be enabled to arrest what appears to be economic AIDS, i.e., the destruction of the immunological system of the economy, namely sovereignty, with its power to buffer us against the worst effects of the international trade recession.

It must never be forgotten that Mr. Charles Haughey went, in the words of Padraig Mac Piarais, to the holiest spot in Ireland, namely the grave of Theobald Wolfe Tone, in the autumn of 1986, to renew, apparently, the baptismal vows of Fianna Fail to this Protestant father of Irish Republicanism. His action, amongst other things, rekindled the flame of hope in the heart of many veterans of the War of Independence, which had gone cold at the spectacle of the desecration of the memory of their martyred comrades at the Garden of Remembrance, by Fitzgerald, Spring and Co. He seemed, at this time, with his attack on the Anglo Irish Agreement, and reaffirmation of Ireland's neutrality, recalling his plea for a re-negotiation of Ireland's terms of membership of the EEC at the 1986 Fianna Fail Ard Fheis, (and his stand against the Belgrano mass murder by Margaret Thatcher, and her co-operation with the US President Ronald Reagan, in the Libyan murders), to be, not only ensuring Ireland's future national security, but restoring its honoured place and dignity, before the whole of mankind, (recalling the Coalition government's "mute of malice" attitude to the murders in question). This latter had particular regard to Third World peoples, driven into poverty and famine, unrelieved from their exploitation, by the continued Imperialisms, (under a new guise as the EEC), of their former oppressors.

Back in 1969, Mr. Haughey did not hold such a high regard, in my estimate, as he seemed to warrant in recent years. Replying to an article, which had eulogised him, invoking Teilhard de Chardin, (Ref: *The Future of Man*), in the Irish Times, I wrote:

"When such analysis is brought to bear ... then people such as Charles James Haughey must be placed in Teilhard's category of those of the 'bourgeois spirit' as opposed to those whom he described as the 'toilers of the earth'. These are respectively on the one hand the cast offs; on the other hand the agents and elements of planetisation."

In my more recent experience, Mr. Haughey seemed to have chosen to place himself in the latter category, and I gave credit, where credit appeared well merited. (See *GARRET'S BLOODSHED SCENARIO* and *AN ALIEN IDEOLOGY*.) But then, his nerve seemed to fail him, firstly in the RTE debate with Garret Fitzgerald, before the recent 1986 General Election, on the issue of the Anglo Irish Agreement, and, secondly, in New York, afterwards, on St. Patrick's Day, when he agreed, under Irish American caucus pressure, to "row along" with it. Faced with his marginal electoral victory, he set aside his pre-election promise of "a better way" and, for the sake of power at any cost, rested his party's future on the treacherous twin pillars of Quisling fascism in Ireland, namely the blueshirtism of Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats. Foreseeing such a calamity, the writer sent a circular to all "left wing" deputies in the Dail, calling for a Democratic Front with Fianna Fail, prior to the election of Taoiseach. Perhaps it might have failed to elicit a response from Haughey *et al*, but it would certainly have had a radical catalytic effect on the party's grass roots, many of whom had voted 'NO', or constituted the bulk of the 56% poll abstention. As it was, Fianna Fail in government continued, with even greater intensity, the Coalition's disastrous policy of gelding the Irish economy, in order to pay the pledge money interest to our national and international pawnbrokers.

Referring to national leaders, who are remorselessly driven forward by such a thirst for power at any price, the great Russian writer, Leo Tolstoy, in his monumental novel, *War and Peace*, has this to say:

"Every action of theirs, that seems to them an act of their own free will, is, in an historic sense, not free at all, but in bondage to the whole course of previous history and pre-destined from all eternity."

Such, in Tolstoy's view, was the impulse which drove Napoleon to the mistake of invading Russia, from which we may draw a striking comparison with Charles Haughey's *volta face*, following the recent General Election, and his decision to commit this country to an unnecessary and costly referendum. This referendum was, for him and his new found allies, like the Battle of Borodino for Napoleon, an apparent victory only, involving electoral battle casualties of 300,000, together with a silent mutiny in the ranks of 56% abstentions. The patriotic front emerged, not only with its forces intact, but augmented by 113,000. Provided the alignment of patriotic forces can be kept intact, and consolidated, as was achieved by Marshal Kutusov for the the Russian Army, after Borodino, which seriously disturbed Napoleon, and, as the "winter of discontent" begins to have its attrition, whilst the staircases and bannisters (of the economy) are used to "keep the home fires burning", then a Moscow-type retreat must inevitably ensue, by the forces of Fine Gael, the Progressive Democrats, right-wing Labour, etc., (with their inevitable disarray by catastrophic harassment and decimation by the patriotic front forces), as led, Napoleon-like, by Charles Haughey and a few of his tattered Fianna Fail parliamentary entourage, they reach the frontier, defeated, utterly and irrevocably, never to return again with all

their plans of destruction and desolation. Then may we say with the prophet Jeremiah (4:18):

*THY WAYS AND THY DEVICES HAVE BROUGHT THESE THINGS UPON THEE.*

Napoleon, afterwards in exile in St. Helena, had time to reflect and admit that Wolfe Tone was right, in advocating that the key to the destruction of Britain's imperial might was through the support of the Irish revolution, by sending a major expeditionary force to Ireland, where he could count on the majority of the population as allies. Instead, he settled for less, and deployed the mass of his army, and its allies, for the invasion of the hostile and climatically intractable territory of Russia.

Charles Haughey was right, in making that pilgrimage to the grave of Wolfe Tone, in 1986, and pledging his, and his party's, re-dedication to the philosophy of Wolfe Tone. But so much ground had been lost, by the successive surrender of Tones' ideals, by Fianna Fail's leadership in recent years, that, faced with the apparent necessity of support from those whose objective, like that of Hitler, has been to undo the legacy of the Great French Revolution of 1789, namely the Quisling fascists of Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats, he surrendered, and followed the "will-o-the-wisp" of power into an adventure which is but a snare and delusion. He, like Napoleon, will live to learn, perhaps also in exile, that Wolfe Tone was right.

Now the real struggle for the emancipation of the Irish people must begin to be re-asserted, in the face of the terrible fate to which we have been committed. As one graffiti wag has scripted: "The cuts have extinguished the light at the end of the tunnel." We can no longer put up with such necromancy as the "Building on Reality" of Fitzgerald and Spring, which has now become Haughey's perspective. Neither must we settle for any other such doomsday perspective, which as Raymond Crotty, (Ireland's foremost and most internationally experienced economist, with particular reference to the problematic field of agriculture), has demonstrated is not necessarily inevitable. But this inevitability can only be discounted, provided the people understand clearly and unequivocally, unlike that great master of "hamesmanship", Mr. Brian Lenihan, the meaning of sovereignty, and exercise it. By sweeping aside the present crop of politicians in question, and their corrupt political system, it is possible, as Mr. Crotty, fully understanding the implications, puts it, to put the loan interest payments "on ice" and, amongst other things, with the money reserved, to devote ourselves to the rehabilitation of our crippled economy and, in Dr. Ivor Browne's estimate, of "a mentally sick nation".

The case of the right wing of the Labour Party against the Fianna Fail government's policy of taxation and cuts is weakened by ignoring this necessity for national re-habilitation. The left wing, likewise ignore it, in confining their demand simply for socialist policies. *But the issue must be faced. It is the sine-qua-non.* The Irish working people simply cannot pay the debts incurred by Lynch, Haughey and Fitzgerald, backed by his Coalition Tanaiste and train-bearer, Dick Spring. *LET THEM PAY!* They signed their bonds with no, apparent, pay-back



collateral, as is normal for the securing of bank loans by ordinary citizens. In the latter case, if there is no specified collateral, does it not, in fact, mean the roof over one's head, and, in the former, the case of an Irish government borrower, does it not mean, ergo, the Irish nation and its sovereignty, now betrayed by the Single European Act?

It is time for the Irish people to tell our treacherous politicians where to get off once and for all. If they hypocritically cry treason at us for this, then let us, in Connolly's words, "By means of the revolutionary ballot, make the air of Ireland so charged with treason as it is today with the cant of compromise and the mortal sin of flunkeyism."

Without a mass movement, involving the mass conversion and politicisation implied in such a social transformation, the physical force aspect of national liberation must inevitably come to the fore, for the job must be done somehow, if Ireland is to be saved from foreign and domestic predators. But the leaders of the struggle must endeavour to keep the mass movement intact, and, regardless of even the violence of murderous provocation, (as was perpetrated on the Civil Rights Movement in the North, by the action of British agents in the Bombay Street programs of 1969, or the direct action of the British Army in the murderous shooting down of unarmed Civil Rights demonstrators at the end of January, 1972), they must keep to the political struggle and avoid precipitate armed retaliation. If force is demanded, it must be with "votes and law" on our side. Until then, Gandhi's principle is the only solution. It is the people who must



THE I.F.A. RIP VAN WINKLE IN SLUMBERLAND

## John Lane

DOWN THERE

I saw him kneel. His crooked fingers hooked  
The cold, white cloth on the communion rail  
This man whose hate hell-hounded me, whose guile  
Cesspitted me in places of distaste,  
Whose stories tied me in a knot of want,  
Caused coughs to pickaxe at my children's hearts  
And packed me on the boat, for England bound.

Tongue-out he waited for that wafer now,  
With snake-eyes closed (not canonised - not yet)  
Swallowing Almighty God in lumps and gulps,  
He wriggled, rattled, till I thought he looked  
A thick carbunkled coil all knots and knobs,  
A snake swallowing his onward motion,  
Searching incessantly the surfaced floor,  
Until I felt I wanted to cry out,  
Strangled in the long swallow of that shape  
God help Almighty God down there. Down there.

know, and see, and face down the monster for what it is. No armed action by a minority will substitute for this. No matter how enlightened they may consider they are, the people will turn against them, and their media access to the people will be cut off, and their own organs of propaganda will finish up like *An Phoblacht* in the 26 counties, preaching only to the converted.

The horrendous spate of terroristic violence, to which we the Irish people, North and South, have been exposed for the week ending Sunday, 8 November, would have done "credit" to either the C.I.A. or M.I.6, because of its nihilistic and apolitical potential for destabilising the prospects for an ordered political advance, especially in the light of the referendum results. Coming at a time when British perfidy and malevolence is being exposed with reference to the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four, it is hard to resist the conclusion that these events have not something in common with the failed "supergrass" operation. They fit in well with Garret's Bloodshed Scenario. The Poppy Day massacre was entirely inconsistent with Gerry Adams' call for a rapprochement between Protestants and Catholics in facing down British Imperialism. *Cui Bono? Cui Bono? Cui Bono?*

Let us hope, pray and plan that our new movement, unlike the Civil Rights struggle in our north-eastern territory, still occupied by British forces, and being ceded as of right to them by our treacherous government through the Anglo Irish Agreement, will be able to hold its ranks to the end, and that the peaceful way will prevail. But certain

it is, in the words of that dauntless and indefatigable Irish socialist-republican, the late Peadar O'Donnell, "There will be another day," and that day will be a day of retribution, when Ireland, as in 1918, will be again seized and secured for the Irish nation. Then, in the prophetic words of Padraig MacPiarais:

"THE PEOPLE WILL BE LORD AND MASTER ... AND WILL COME IN THE END TO GIVE JUDGEMENT - A JUDGEMENT JUST AND TERRIBLE."

OPEN LETTER

THANK YOU IRELAND

*O sons of green Erin lament o'er the time  
When religion was war and our country a crime,  
When man in God's image inverted his plan,  
And moulded his God in the image of man.*

William Drennan.

Those were the times when Irishmen and women collected on the strands of Drennan's Emerald Isle, and, like the Wild Geese, sought abroad what was denied them at home. Some 20,000 Irish emigrants in that vein arrived in Argentina, and, finding a haven of peace in untrammelled surroundings, began to forge their future and contribute to the progress of the young South American republic. Over 300,000 (three hundred thousand) descendants of those victims of British colonialism still look today with tearful pride on the struggles of their ancestors for Irish sovereignty. Their Argentine hearts likewise beat with joy today at the recovery of the Malvinas Islands, and all the more so at the thought that Ireland was the first country in Western Europe to withdraw the economic sanctions against Argentina over the crisis in the South Atlantic.

The Malvinas have been part of the Argentine national territory since 1810 by way of inheritance from the Spanish Crown to which they belonged as an integral part of her territory. The Argentine Government rightfully appointed the first governor of the Islands, distributed land and granted fishing concessions. The Argentine population of the Islands prospered under Buenos Aires.

In 1829 a civic and military command was established over the Malvinas with headquarters in Puerto Argentino (Port Stanley) and with Luis Vernet as Governor. The United Kingdom made no reserves about Argentine sovereignty over the islands in a treaty it had signed with Argentina in 1825. Yet on January 3rd, 1833, a British warship took possession of the islands by force. Never since did Argentina cease to reclaim the islands which had been illegally occupied by the British Empire. In 1965 the XX General Assembly of the United Nations accepted this claim by an overwhelming majority and ordered the decolonisation of the islands. The Conference of Non-Aligned Countries held in Sri Lanka in 1976 firmly supported Argentina's claim to sovereignty.

Since the United Nations' resolution in 1965, Argentina has contributed handsomely to the welfare of the 1,800 inhabitants of the islands, while England has virtually washed her hands of those same islanders. This contribution which merited the congratulations of the UN consists principally of: (a) a distribution center of oil and petrol; (b) the construction of an airport; (c) medical attention and transfer if necessary to hospitals on the Argentine mainland; (d) communication once a week for the islanders with the outside world instead of a previous two or three times a year in a boat sailing between the islands and Montevideo.

Finally, for the best part of the last 20 years England deliberately dragged her feet on the negotiations and shouted diatribes against Argentina because she rightfully recovered the Malvinas Islands after 149 years of patient waiting. England has now taken them again by force as she did in 1833.

THANK YOU, IRELAND. Argentines without distinction of race or creed will remember your stand for their country.

*Federation of Irish-Argentine Societies.*

NOTE: The cost of this Open Letter has been defrayed by the contributions of Irish nationals and Argentine nationals of Irish descent all resident in Argentina.



You adopted me, Reagan  
assassinated me.

COLONEL QUATHAFI ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION

*"To disregard the national bond of human groups and to establish a political system contradictory to social reality sets up a temporary structure which will be destroyed by the movement of the social factor of those groups, i.e., the national movement of each nation."*

.....

*"All the states which are composed of several nationalisms for various reasons - whether of religious, economic, military power or of man-made ideologies - will in turn be torn up by the national conflict, until each nationalism is independent, i.e., the social factor will inevitably triumph over the political factor."*

Muammar Al Qathafi, *THE GREEN BOOK*, Part Three  
The Social Basis of the Third Universal Theory

**Title:** Referendum Retrospect: Who Now are the Men of Violence?

**Author:** Derry Kelleher

**Date:** 1987

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