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14 Sliabh Aoibhinn Uacht,
Dubh Linn 6.

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BEYOND THE FRAMEWORK

In relation to Northern Ireland, Edward de Bono has said that one should begin by listing all the things both sides agree on and put these into operation first. The Framework would appear to have failed by this standard since in Section Eleven it lists all the things both sides disagree on and suggests balanced pain for both sides as the ideal solution! We on the other hand, are suggesting the following as six non-trivial points on which both the political peoples of Ireland can agree, the goal being final agreement on the meaning of the term 'National Self Determination'.

1. Both sides reject London dictation - Carson in 1910, Pearse in 1916.
2. Both sides agree that Protestants acquire a right of self-determination simply by being on Irish soil, that they would not possess if they lived in East Finchley.
3. Sinn Féin's *preference* is for independence, but their *principle* is national self-determination where, believe it or not, Union is possible through a simple majority vote. (Gerry Adams has said this in public).
4. Unionism's preference is for the Act of Union, but their principle includes a right to withdraw from the U.K. - they are 'Irish' contract loyalists, not British nationalists.
5. Both political peoples are at least capable of agreeing their common nation is Ireland. Carson, Craig, both the Paisleys, Ken McGuinness, the McGimpseys, John Taylor (in 1971), and all five of the U.D.P., P.U.P. delegates when in the States, have declared themselves Irish in public. If the two political peoples agree legally that they one national people then this would be *de jure* national self-determination achieved.
6. To effect this unionists can be asked to tolerate at least or even accept, Article Two since Bertie Ahern has said recently 'We can accept the idea of one Irish Nation with two states' (i.e. the status quo), Ireland's unionists only being 'British in the political sense'. Mr. Reynolds has said that only Article Three makes a political claim on Northern Ireland. We suggest London give up resistance to Article Two and we offer these two formulae to effect joint self determination.

The National Homeland

The national homeland, *An Tír Dúchais*, is the whole island of Ireland, its islands and its immediate seas.

The Nation

The Irish national people, *Muintir na h-Éireann*, contains two major religious and political peoples, *Tuatha na h-Éireann*, and it is the nation so described that decides how the island of Ireland is governed.

The Framework has advanced as 'reasonable' two features that violate the political ethics of the E.U.

- (a) Would France tolerate a joint body roping Savoy into Italy, or Italy one roping The Tyrol into Austria, or Austria one roping E. Austria into Slovenia, or the U.S. a joint body 'absorbing' Texas into Mexico?
- (b) Unionist consent is not required to withdraw Northern Ireland from the U.K., only nationalist (51%) consent in 2010 or whatever! Even Kevin McNamara has called this dangerous and Prof. Joe Lee seems to think it unjust.

The document, perhaps was just some mountain greenery to stop the IRA ending the ceasefire. It worked, but only for the moment. Where next?

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TUATHA NA h-ÉIREANN

THE PEOPLES OF IRELAND

Herein a process is described whereby national unity may be achieved without the need to alter the two jurisdictions. When the two political peoples (*Na Tuatha*) agree legally they are one National People, that will be *de jure* national self-determination achieved.

Let no man put a limit to the march of a Nation .

This suggestion is offered by *Cumann Éireann*

SUMMARY

1. Self Respect: not the Border but the sense of self-respect is what must be addressed in Northern Ireland. British citizens are not 'Irish' and therefore have no right to be there. N.I. is 'British' and therefore nationalists have no right to be there. Both sides suffer the lack of self-respect. But since 'Irish' means simply your nation and 'British' your state there is no contradiction in N.I.'s position.
2. Preference is not principle: both sides have (at the moment) a differing preference but they agree on the principle 'people on Irish soil acquire a right of self determination they would not possess if they lived in East Finchley'. Sinn Féin would accept the Act of Union if a majority in an all-Ireland constituency voted for it, while Unionists would go for Northern Ireland independence in certain circumstances; they are each Irish self determinationists.
3. Metanoia: this is not some sentimental change of heart where you 'love your enemy' and do yourself damage. This is where all realise they are Irish in Ireland and seek to *uphold* each other's desires instead of destroy them. Of course, this means nationalists will have to forget about 'breeding out' unionists. Would one ever desire to wipe out the Anglican Church?
4. The people of the island are *na daoine*; the peoples, both unionists and separatists, are *Na Tuatha*; the people, the nation are *An Muintir*. If the two political peoples, *tuatha*, agree legally they are one National people, *Muintir*, then *de jure* national self determination will have been achieved. But first some clarification: (a) every citizen in Ireland has that universal right to self determination whereby one may reject one's government but not one's state; (b) a political people has the collective right to self determination whereby a voter is empowered to reject a state or a union of states (c) a national people has no special right, no immediate right of self determination but it has a right mediated through its political people or peoples. The UN Charter does not mention 'national self determination' anywhere.
5. The Cuchulainn Guarantee: unionists receive only indirect recognition as 'the greater number of the people in Northern Ireland'. In fact this amounts to a mechanism for Democratic Ethnic Cleansing by 2025AD. It irritates Sinn Féin also since it gives a veto to a group who have not legally identified themselves as Irish.

Still, all talks about national unity are a dead duck while eliminating or breeding out the frontier is an element. You do not seriously expect turkeys to discuss a time-table for Christmas. Let us talk turkey but not turkeys. There are 14 reasons why Sinn Féin can, with honour, tolerate (not approve) the frontier indefinitely. De Valera said in 1921, 'as far as I'm concerned any county that wants to secede from the Republic may do so; and Collins, 'perhaps we could beat them militarily, but we could not beat them morally'. Accepting two *political* peoples within the one national people is only old-fashioned republican practice. Sinn Féin could begin the process by issuing a pledge to the one million protestants in Ireland:

The Ard Comhairle of Sinn Féin, while not affirming the moral rightness of the Northern Frontier, pledges itself to toleration of this Frontier for the sake of agreed Unity among the Irish. If thereby we accept an injustice it is to avoid the greater injustice that may ensue from rejection of the prevailing norms of international law.

Remember, not a single liberal democracy in the whole of human history has ever reneged on a border treaty finalised (1925) with another liberal democracy: except one.

6. The national constitution: here are listed the formulae upon which both traditions might agree, and where a 'nation-friendly language' might be formalised. 'Ireland' and 'Irish' must never again have a political or state usage for thereby the Nation becomes a football for mere nationalism. Territory becomes homeland or native land and Article Two becomes tolerable for toleration or full acceptance in Northern Ireland. Perhaps membership of the nation could become a legal status like citizenship.
7. Unionism is Irish: Cuchulainn was an Ulster separatist, the Black Pig's Dyke was dug in 100 BC. Ian Paisley, John Taylor (1971), Ken McGuinness, Craig, Carson, all were and are self-proclaimed Irish people. Let Unionism come south and repossess its all-Ireland saxon roots and achievements - Georgian Dublin, the works of Swift, Beckett, etc.
8. National Structures: a national assembly (non-legislative), a national flag and anthem, and academy must be agreed also, with all-Ireland pragmatic executives. Albion and Éire shall agree exactly parallel structures for 'Albéira'.

TUATHA NA H-ÉIREANN / THE PEOPLES OF IRELAND

THE IRISH QUESTION AND IT'S POSSIBLE ANSWER

Everyone has made the mistake of thinking that the Irish Question is about the Border and about independence. It's not. It's about self-respect. The Hunger Strikers did not die over the border, they died to reject what they saw as criminal status. And the civil war was not about the Border either but about an imposed oath.. Unionists do not necessarily reject forms of independence - six county, even thirty two county, but their voice must be heard and their consent valued equally with that of separatists or their right to self-respect is not being acknowledged.

THE TWO FORMS OF DIS-RESPECT IN NORTHERN IRELAND

There are two forms of the denial of self-respect that prevail in Northern Ireland, nationalists deny full self-respect to 'British' citizens in Northern Ireland through implying that somehow they cannot possibly be 'Irish' and therefore are somehow usurpers, aliens. This irks one million of Ireland's people to a depth they will not readily admit. Meanwhile, unionists loudly declaring that Northern Ireland is 'British' might seem to deny the Irishness of part of Ireland and thus rob nationalists of their national homeland and national dignity. Each degrades the other simply over the meaning of the words 'Irish' and 'British'. But the first is the name of a nation and the latter the name for a state, so there is no contradiction.

THE DUAL MISTAKE

An Indian village was terrified by a large sleeping snake. The local sage came and held it up by the 'neck'. 'See, he said, 'it is nothing but a piece of old rope'. The Border does not 'divide the political integrity of the Irish nation' since a nation is a national unit like ancient Greece, not a political unit like Athens. The Irish are one national people on an undivided homeland and when the two political peoples in their two territories agree legally one Nation with institutions and symbols to match, *de jure* national self determination shall have been achieved. Nationalists will be legally Irish, and Unionists will no longer be accusable of being 'confused' or blow-ins. But first we must discuss the two forms of self-determination recognised by the U.N. and how to construct an acceptable form of National Self-determination .

MUINTIR NA H-ÉIREANN

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF IRISH NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

Sinn Féin's *preference* is for All-Ireland independence but their *principle* is 'national self-determination' - a majority vote in an All-Ireland constituency, legally free of 'British interference', a vote that quite possibly might be in favour of tolerating Northern Ireland's existence.

Unionism's preference is for Union but their principle, 'self-determination for Protestants on Irish soil', includes the option of withdrawal from The U.K., so both sides agree that the very presence of Protestants or Catholics on Irish soil confers on them a right of self-determination they would not possess if they lived in East Finchley. 'Unionists' are contract loyalists, not British nationalists. Sinn Féin are not nationalists in principle, they are national self-determinationists.

Both sides reject London dictation and each is capable of agreeing to be called Irish. 'I am an Irish citizen of the United Kingdom' (David Ervine). 'For centuries Loyalists were as Irish as the rest of us, but they were the loyal type of Irish' (Gerry Adams). These quotes indicate that national allegiance, one's nation, and political allegiance, one's state, are two totally different things. One's Irishness transcends difference - it does not compel one to be Catholic or to hate the Act of Union. Bertie Ahern has argued for a National identity that is non-political - 'we can accept the idea of one Irish Nation with two states' (i.e. Republic and United Kingdom). Since Mr. Reynolds declared that only Article Three makes a political territorial claim, that leaves Article Two free for acceptance by Northern Ireland in a referendum. If the two political peoples agreed legally that they were one National People then that would be *de jure* national self-determination achieved.

THE FORMS OF SELF-DETERMINATION CLARIFIED

IRISH PEOPLE, DAOINE NA H-ÉIREANN AND THE CITIZEN'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The primary right, in United Nations usage, is the citizen's right to accept or reject the prevailing government. But one cannot use this right as an excuse to secede from or break up a state. Everyone in Ireland has the primary right, but U.N., O.A.U. and E.U. legal and moral practice absolutely forbid one to renege on a frontier already agreed legally between two states, and *especially* between two liberal democracies.

IRELAND'S PEOPLES, TUATHA NA H-ÉIREANN AND A PEOPLE'S RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

Irish people, *daoine*, comprise two major religious and political peoples, *Na Tuatha*. In 1910 Ulster protestants declared themselves to be a separate political people with an independent right of self-determination. London legally recognised this in 1922 and Dublin has done so only indirectly (the greater part of the people in Northern Ireland,) in '74, '81, '85, '94 and '95. This (secondary) right is the right to unite with, or, separate from, other political peoples. However, this right belongs not to national peoples (e.g. the Germans, the ancient Greeks), but to political peoples - Austrian, Swiss, Bavarians, Ancient Athens, Texas, etc. Ancient Ireland had 160 *tuatha*, 'peoples', each with a king.

THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, MUINTIR NA H-ÉIREANN, AND THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

The U.N. charter never mentions 'national self-determination', just 'the self determination of peoples'. The U.N., the E.U. and the O.A.U. are loathe to appear to confer any secessionist powers on ethnic groups. The Second World War was caused by the desire of nations to become 'exact' nation-states where 'lost territories' were 're-attached' to the political nation, and the notorious Article Three of the 1937 Constitution appears to betray the same dangerous appetite. The use of the word 'territory' in Two taints even that with the same vibration. The Sinn Féin problem is that a unitary - political nation has no real legal or moral standing any more in western civilisation - they wrongly seek *nationalistic* self-determination - yet they are wise enough to admit that the nation itself may reject their nationalism and choose, in the end, two states instead of one. But though *nationalistic* self-determination is impossible, *national* self-determination is easily within our reach.

METANOIA

A lateral thought that changes things.

Metanoia is the opposite to paranoia - it means a total change of mind as well as heart, based on a liberating insight. Our suggested insight is this - our unionism and separatism are our differing preferences but our Irishness unites us and liberates us from the moral burden of having to push our preference to the limit. If Irishness as a whole (not as a mere majority) displays a strong unionist tendency then a separatist (with 82% of the island in his possession already) should seek to derive happiness from also upholding the smaller and more beleaguered tradition.

The Northern Ireland nationalist who claims absolute degradation because he is forced to live under UK sovereignty is a partitionist of the worst sort - just a glance at the map would reveal that in the context of the entire national homeland his tradition is accorded considerable respect and he is anti-national if the only policy he tolerates is his own. Joint sovereignty would be a very dishonest piece of 'parity of esteem' since it would leave this disparity in existence - absolute Republic sovereignty over 82% of the island and no absolute U.K. sovereignty over any part of Ireland! The 'nationalist' is often completely blind to the fuller meaning of the word nation.

THE TWO METANOIAS

The hard boiled unionist will never be at home in Ireland until he or she fully embraces the name 'Irish'. The Northern nationalist will never win 1,000,000 Irish Protestants for the Nation until he or she gives up pro-claiming that only a separatist is truly pro-national. The unionist (a British citizen) must take a positive joy from being a member of the Irish Nation. The Northern Ireland separatist must take positive pleasure from upholding the last 18% of Irish unionist self-respect on the island.

'THE GREATER NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE IN NORTHERN IRELAND'

The Joint Declaration and the Framework have given only indirect recognition to the right of self-determination of the unionist people of Ireland, as Dublin did in 1974, 1981 and 1985. By vesting this right in 'a majority' in Northern Ireland merely a mechanism for the destruction of Northern Ireland was described, not an act of parity of esteem. "But surely a majority vote in a territory is what self-determination is all about". No, the Poles, if the non-Poles in the 1919 republic had outbred them and voted them into the USSR, would hardly have taken such a theory lying down. Texas is there to keep Anglo - Saxons out of Mexico not to drag them into it! There should have been no reference at all to 'the majority' since it's the political people that matters. Since Northern Ireland's frontier is an international frontier guaranteed in perpetuity by several treaties, its validity cannot be discussed at all. France, Italy, and Austria have ethnic minorities within their territory but would be outraged if a neighbour questioned their possession of the same by describing a method of removing same from their jurisdiction.

DEMOCRATIC ETHNIC CLEANSING

You cannot even begin to engage in discussion with unionists unless you accept the weight and responsibilities imposed on you by the great post-war frontier treaties of Western Europe: Helsinki Article One, the Treaty of European Union etc. You cannot ask turkeys to sit down with you and discuss a time-table for Christmas. The two states should scrap the 'breed 'em out by 2025' nonsense and simply repeat that the security of Ireland's unionists rests on the validity of the great European Border treaties that validate the frontiers of every single one of the E.U.'s member-states.

THE CUCHULAINN GUARANTEE

But what if Catholics out-breed Protestants? Kevin McNamara has suggested big trouble if democratic ethnic cleansing actually begins to work, and the answer of the E.U. and of U.N. Resolution 1514 Article 6 (1960) is 'nothing is legally permitted to change'.

Another answer is 'your intention, if you agree a common nation with unionists, is that you have no intention of taking away their political dignity. As Irish you, though your preference is separation, should uphold the union out of neighbourly respect'. A last resort would be repartition but this violates European practice and is simply the wrong attitude. Since we can't distinguish the unionist people from the mere majority in Northern Ireland perhaps no specific guarantee is useful: simply a general pledge to respect all E.U. frontiers equally. In practice of course, since 40% of Roman Catholics have no zealous desire for unification, Northern Ireland will be 'safe' until the year three thousand!

**THE REASONS WHY SINN FÉIN SHOULD TOLERATE
NORTHERN IRELAND AND SEEK AN AGREED NATION**

1. It is Sinn Féin's preference, not principle, that Ireland be always one independent state.
2. National self-determination is not National Dictation, therefore, Sinn Féin cannot tell Ireland to vote against the Act of Union. This means the permanent survival of Northern Ireland would not offend against Sinn Féin's principles, only its preferences.
3. For Sinn Féin to demand a 32 county constituency to decide for or against the Union would be gerry-mandering since unionists would be totally disempowered. This would be an anti-national act since they are one of the two *major* political traditions within the nation.
4. The Irish People as a whole can hardly be the same thing as a mere majority, so the single constituency proposal is inadequate to encompass fairly the whole people's choice or choices.
5. A single constituency would not equal the nation if there were no conscious agreed nation in existence in the first place, so an all-Ireland vote in this case would not amount to national self-determination. Sinn Féin should seek to generate a legally agreed Nation.
6. Northern Ireland becomes fully legitimated as an allowed national constituency in the following case : those territories, constituencies, that come together to give the Nation its agreed legal existence become, at Its moment of birth, legitimate elements in the Nation's political being. If the nation has marched by this road let no one put a limit to its chosen march.
7. Between 1912 and 1922 Pearse, Fr. Flanagan of Sinn Féin, De Valera and Collins all made fairly liberal comments about the rights of unionists to be a separate political people on the grounds that they were fellow Irish and should not be dictated to either by London or Dublin.
8. Gaelic culture ran from John O' Groats to Kerry and contained several British - Irish States. During the Middle Ages the word Irish (*Éireannach*) was little used but *Gaelach* was. This meant that Ireland in Gaelic eyes was not some single magical unit. In 100BC Ulster dug The Black Pig's Dyke to separate that territory from the South. (Cuchulainn should be in Belfast City Hall, not in the GPO in Dublin). If old Ireland was one nation it was many peoples, *tuatha*. The idea that one nation must equal one state is a simple-minded insult to the complexity of Ireland's past and present, as is the idea that Ulster cannot be connected justly with the island of Britain; remember Dal Riada.
9. Curiously enough the Catholics of Northern Ireland have no right in U.N. eyes (Res. 1514, Art. 6, 1960) to seek to dissolve the Frontier. They are absolutely forbidden also by E.U. Law (which secures Savoy, Tyrol etc), and by the Tri-partite Agreement of 1925, to seek to secede Northern Ireland from the U.K. even if in a huge majority there. Why? Because (a) such a right would destroy the security of every single post-war frontier, (b) if their cultural practices and civil rights are upheld there is no extra fundamental right that they are denied - there is no special right of nationalistic self-determination recognised in U.N. law. Western civilisation does not bring race into politics. The Slavs think differently of course. Dumping secessionism to be respectful to peace in Europe and to unionist neighbours is a honourable and dignified procedure for an Irish separatist.
10. No liberal democracy in the whole of human history has even reneged on a border Treaty concluded with another liberal democracy - except one. The O.A.U. absolutely forbids all discussion of self-determination based on ethnic arguments.

11. 'Northern Ireland is not East Finchley'. Right, , and Savoy is not Paris, nor the Tyrol Rome, but Paris and Rome would not tolerate joint bodies on their soil. To amputate part of the UK state is a step backward in a Europe where we are all common citizens already. Let us create one Nation instead.

12. Republicanism is not obliged to be nationalism. An Irish labour front, or an All-Ireland republican front, could easily be agreed with libertarians of all parties North and South. 'Republicism' (one state alone) is the empty and idolatrous shell of republicanism.

13. Nationalism (one nation equals one state) is anti-national as it forces nearly a quarter of the population to reject the name 'Irish'. It dictates that a mere preference be the only national aspiration. It seeks to put a limit to the march of a nation.

14. Although nationalistic self-determination does not exist as a special right and the nation is not a political unit, yet it is a unity of the political wills within it. If a legal unit, then the nation's harmonious political peoples have achieved, through it, national self-determination.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

The Nation, *Muintir na h-Éireann*

The national people or nation is all the people living on the island of Ireland and these may be styled also the People of Ireland.

The National Homeland, *An Tír Duchais*

The national homeland, the native land of the People of Ireland, is the whole of the island, its islands and its immediate seas. The jurisdictions within it shall be styled the Territories of Ireland.

The Peoples of Ireland, *Tuatha na h-Éireann*.

The national People contains two major religious and political peoples or traditions, Na Tuatha; accordingly, the People of Ireland as a whole is a Gaelic - Saxon nation comprising two major linguistic, religious and constitutional traditions.

National Self-determination

The national people through its two political peoples decides how the island is Ireland is governed. The nation as a whole determines its will when Ireland's political peoples in their territories declare together their political will.

The Name of the Nation

The name of the nation alone is Ireland.

The Name and Description of the State

- (a) The name and description of the state shall hence - forth be the Irish Republic. That name alone shall be appended to international documents and treaties.
- (b) The name of the United Kingdom shall be that and never 'Britain', the name merely of the island.
- (c) The expression 'Irish Citizen' shall cease to be employed and 'Irish Republic Citizen' shall replace it, as Irish Republic Pound, I.R.P., shall replace 'Irish Pound'.

The Irish Race

The Irish Race is a union of the Nation and the Dispersal or *diaspora*, the latter being all those, wherever they may live, who acknowledge Ireland as the homeland of their fore-bears.

The States of the Nation

There are two states that share the Nation, the Irish Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. The first is a state of the Irish Nation and a Republic, the latter is a Union of Kingdoms and a multi-nation state.

Pan-National Rights in Law

A member of the Irish Nation wherever on the island he or she resides, who holds a passport to either of the states on the nation shall not be denied a right regarded as constitutional in the state which issued that document eg. the civil right of divorce.

THE QUESTION OF THE MEANING OF ARTICLE TWO IN LAW

The Supreme Court is capable of rejecting nationalism, the theory of the nation-state, since Chief Justice O'Higgins has described that theory as simply 'one of a number of theories believed at the time' (1937). Just as a formula is capable of changing its moral impact as time passes so Article Two has evolved a non-nation-state meaning over the years:- 'the interpretation of the Constitution is not fixed for all time'. Experts have seen Article Two as a uniting force, one that might speak of common nationhood, of nationalism not nationalism.

The proximity of Article Three plus the use of the tricky work 'territory' in both has contaminated Two and there is no doubt that Two and Three form a dangerous molecule. The Supreme Court was not being nationalistic merely when it told the Government that Two and Three together bind them to seek political unification by all possible means short of war. The Court does not regard law as decoration, but Governments do and the Court wanted to force the issue - do it, or change it. At the moment the Court cannot regard UK jurisdiction over Northern Ireland as *de jure*! This is ridiculous and must be resolved. Three must be excised and two slightly amended so as to include unionists. The U.K. must not oppose the retention of Two. In the new Article Two rests the solution, by lateral thinking, by metanoia, to all our Irish British paranoias.

THE UNIONIST OPTION

Unionism must go national and south. Sir Edward Carson resigned in disgust when Ireland was partitioned because he believed the Union of the four home nations of the three hundred million English - speaking peoples to be the most natural state for Ireland to live in. Unionism is an all-Ireland ideology and Unionists must not be afraid to sit in all-Ireland bodies once the Frontier has received guarantees based on E.U. and international law, explicitly from the Republic.

The Church of Ireland, The Presbyterian Congregations, the original Unionist Party, Irish Lights, the Irish Rugby Football Union, The Royal Irish bodies of various sorts, all are national. De Valera kept the King as external Head of State up until April 18th of 1949, this British Symbol being all that was left that could give both traditions a form of united sovereignty. Let us remember that both traditions yearn for Irish unity and most Ulster protestants regarded themselves as Irish up until 1922.

Unionists must take back membership of their nation denied them by nationalists, and nationalists must abjure that ideology and embrace republicanism and Nationhood, since both sides can agree on these ideals.

THE NATIONAL STRUCTURES

1. The National Assembly of Ireland, *Mór-Dháil na h-Éireann*: All strands of the nation's fabric shall convene periodically in St. Patrick's Hall, Dublin Castle to express the totality of the nation's identity - scientific, artistic, religious, political, economic. Politicians, while present, shall only be one among many strands of a nation which will convene its trade union, church, business, cultural and scientific (and sport bodies also) in one absolute expression of Irishness. Bodies like Aosdana and the Royal Irish bodies shall be part of this total expression also, as shall be the judiciary.

2. The Academy of All-Ireland

This shall parallel the French Academy and meet at The Royal Hospital Kilmainham. It shall project to the world the scholarly and artistic genius of the island. Research North and South in physics, medicine and economics shall be coordinated so that the nation, though lacking material wealth, may make a global contribution through pure thought as it has done three times in history already. It shall contain elements from Aosdana and the Royal Irish bodies and all the Nation's universities.

3. The Irish Parliamentary Union, Parl-Chumann na h-Éireann: Frontiers in the E.U. having been validated, Article Three excised and Article Two legally tolerated in Northern Ireland, participation by all Irish elected representatives in an All-Ireland cumann, or 'Community' is legally and morally possible. MEPs, MPs, TDs, Senators North and South, and also those Irish Lords who may sit in the Westminster House of Lords shall gather in the old Irish House of Lords periodically to express to all Ireland the validity of both the national political tendencies - separation and union.

4. Flags, Emblems and Anthems.

A national flag, green with a gold harp shall be made constitutional in U.K. and Republic law. The National Flag of Ireland shall be flown beside both the state flags (tricolour and union jack) all over the island. A national anthem shall be agreed and given like legal status and played on national occasions. At end of evening firstly the national and secondly the state anthem shall be played on Republic and Northern Ireland T.V. as happens now on Welsh and Scottish T.V. 'A nation once again' is not an impossible choice though not likely.

5. Pragmatic National Executives

These are sporting, economic, artistic, E.U., touristic etc. bodies based entirely (like Irish Lights) on pragmatic need. These are not tiers of expensive decoration to give nationalists the hallucination of a half-victory.

6. National Sports Teams:

All olympic, soccer etc. teams shall be 'nationalised', and only *national* flags and anthems employed at their matches - i.e. no tricolour or Soldier's Song at Rugby Internationals.

7. Albeira:

The 'psychic' union of Albion and Eire shall be created, re-created through Mór Dháil Albéire - the totality of artistic, political and religious life in the two islands gathered in one place - on an island part neither of the UK nor the I.R.: The Isle of Mannanán. Parl-Chumann Albéire shall unite the politicians of both states and all three possible parliaments and sit alternately at Westminster and the Irish House of Lords.

8. A Northern Ireland Parliament shall rise also amidst this matrix and shall be the ultimate cause of all the other creations.

Logan in a telephone conversation in Iceland "When I see a
her of children being killed I stop just in distress
to someone being a philosopher."