

# Positive Neutrality is Ireland's best Defence

PANA submission to government  
White paper on Defence



Peace & Neutrality Alliance  
[www.pana.ie](http://www.pana.ie)

**POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.**  
**THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT**  
**OF THE**  
**IRISH REPUBLIC**  
**TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

**IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN :** In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE.

SEAN Mac DIARMADA.	THOMAS MacDONAGH.
P. H. PEARSE.	EAMONN CEANNT.
JAMES CONNOLLY.	JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

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*“We should then look to our own internal resources, and scorn to sue for protection to any foreign state: we should spurn the idea of moving as a humble satellite around any power, however great, and claim at once, and enforce, our rank among the primary nations of the earth. Then should we have what we shall under the present system we shall never see, A NATIONAL FLAG and the spirit to maintain it.”*

‘The Spanish War’ by Theobald Wolfe Tone Published 1790

*“It was their duty to gather together the forces in Ireland so they might place their country in the position it ought to occupy – a position of neutrality”*

James Connolly, President of the Irish Neutrality League at its foundation in October 1914 report in The Irish Worker 17/10/1914

- (1) Ireland consents to be a neutral State, and the British Commonwealth guarantees the perpetual neutrality of Ireland and the integrity and inviolability of Irish territory
- (2) Ireland undertakes, both in the interests of the Irish People and in friendly regard for the strategic interests of the British Commonwealth, to enter into no compact, and take no action, nor permit any action to be taken, inconsistent with the obligations of preserving neutrality, integrity and inviolability of Ireland, and repel with force any attempt to violate Irish territory or use of Irish Territorial waters for warlike purposes.”

“Article 111 of Draft ‘A’ and Article V of Draft ‘B’ Treaty proposals taken by the Irish delegation to London 17/10/1921

# The Peace & Neutrality Alliance

The Peace & Neutrality Alliance was founded in 1996 to advocate the right of the Irish people to have their own independent foreign policy with positive neutrality as its key component, to be pursued primarily through a reformed United Nations.

## Our key demands are:

1. An amendment to the Irish Constitution to ensure Ireland is defined as a neutral state.
2. To enshrine in domestic Irish law the terms of the 1907 Hague Convention which state the duties and responsibilities of a neutral state.
3. The addition to EU law, of a legally binding Protocol similar to Danish Protocol which states:

*“With regard to measures adopted by the Council in the field of Articles J3(1) and J7 of the treaty of the European Union, Ireland does not participate in the elaboration and the implementation of decisions and actions which have defence implications, but will not prevent the development of closer cooperation between member states in this area. Therefore Ireland shall not participate in their adoption. Ireland shall not contribute to the financing of the operational expenditure arising from such measures.”*

The process by which Irish independence, democracy and neutrality have been steadily eroded as Ireland is integrated into the EU/US/NATO military structures were opposed consistently by PANA and we helped achieve important victories in our role in defeating the first Nice and Lisbon Treaties.

PANA's submission to the Green Paper seeks to once more make the case that Ireland's best defence is as a small independent, democratic and neutral state that can use its non threatening status and historic experience of conflict resolution to seek the peaceful resolution of international disputes. Our Defence Forces, forged in a struggle against imperialism, can only play a constructive role as a peacekeeping force directly under the auspices of a reformed United Nations if Ireland is internationally recognised as an independent neutral state.

What is offer in this Green Paper is just the continuation and consolidation of Ireland's deeper integration into the EU/US/NATO military axis and its doctrine of perpetual war.

**Roger Cole**

Chair - Peace & Neutrality Alliance

## Debate

The Peace & Neutrality Alliance welcomes the decision by the Minister for Justice, Equality and Defence to publish a Green Paper on Defence and hopes that it would stimulate a broad and informed debate about Ireland's future Defence policy.

It will be interesting to see how much coverage PANA is given in this debate, in particular, how much coverage the corporate media such as RTE gives to PANA. Since PANA has sought to defend Irish neutrality for the last 17 years, including helping to organise the massive demonstration against the use of Shannon Airport in 2003 by US troops in these endless wars, it seems reasonable that we should get coverage. We shall see.

## History

The Green Paper states that 'military neutrality' has its origins in the country's declared neutrality during the Second World War. This statement is untrue. The decision of the state to remain neutral in the Second World War was, in fact, the culmination of a deeply rooted and long established Republican tradition to achieve Irish independence, democracy and neutrality.

The 18th century was the era of the Enlightenment and saw the early development of democratic values. Key events included the American and French Revolutions from which grew Irish Republicanism. Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of its founders of Irish Republicanism, wrote his first political pamphlet, 'The Spanish War' (published in 1790), when there was the threat of war between the British and Spanish Empires. In this pamphlet Tone openly advocated Irish neutrality and independence. Thus for over two centuries the struggle for Irish independence, democracy and neutrality have been inextricably intertwined.

In October 1914 James Connolly founded the Irish Neutrality League. Speakers at the public meeting to establish the League included Arthur Griffith, William O'Brien, Countess Markievicz and Francis Sheehy-Skeffington. The republishing of 'Spanish War' by Cumann Na mBan in 1915 showed that those in support of neutrality were well aware of the deep historical link between Irish independence and neutrality. The 1916 Rising, and efforts by the British Union to introduce conscription, led to the historic victory for Irish Republicans in 1918 and the establishment of the Irish Republic in January 1919. The British Union's refusal to accept the democratic vote of the Irish people led to the national war of independence.

The continuing link between Irish neutrality and independence is made crystal clear in that the negotiating terms advocated by Michael Collins, on behalf of the Irish Republic, included the demand for perpetual Irish neutrality. In short, there is just no basis to support the allegation by Mr. Shatter that Irish neutrality has its origins in the Second World War.

Apart from neutrality, the partition of Ireland by the British Union also ensured that Ireland would not join NATO, whose members were obliged to accept existing state borders. The then Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs Sean McBride stated:

*"Any military alliance with, or commitment involving military action jointly with, the state that is responsible for the unnatural division of Ireland, which occupies a portion of our country with its armed forces, and which supports undemocratic institutions in the north eastern corner of Ireland, would be entirely repugnant and unacceptable to the Irish people."*

Havel, 61 Ohio State Law Journal at 219 (2006)

McBride remained a strong advocate of peace, Irish independence and neutrality for the rest of his life.

Of course throughout the 19th and 20th century there was an equally long and deeply rooted Irish tradition in favour of imperialist war which was not eliminated. It just waited in the long grass waiting for its time to come again.

The concept of a European military alliance had already been established with the Brussels Treaty (1948) and the Western European Union (1955). However while the WEU continued, the formation of NATO, (a nuclear armed military alliance dominated by the United States) totally overshadowed it as the main military alliance in Europe.

When Great Britain made a decision to apply for membership of the European Economic Community in the early 1960s, the then Irish government decided its best interests was that it should also join. The EEC was then a partnership of states with no military dimension, but because Ireland was the only state not in NATO or the WEU, its neutrality became a factor in the application process.

In these negotiations Sean Lemass made it clear that Irish neutrality would not be perpetual and gained the support of a sizable section of the Irish political elite.

However there was opposition from other major political figures such as Frank Aiken, Ireland's long standing Minister for Foreign Affairs. Neither was it clear how much support for the abolition of Ireland's policy of neutrality there would have been among the people, even if the main driving force to terminate neutrality at the time was the Cold War between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, a context which no longer exists. Since De Gaulle vetoed GB's membership application, and Ireland's application was also terminated, we shall never know.

What we do know was that when the government did apply for EEC membership the abolition of neutrality was not an issue. Its White Paper stated:

6.7 *"The Irish government, in applying for membership of the Communities, declare their acceptance of the Treaties of Rome and Paris, the decisions taken in their implementation and the political objectives of the Treaties. The Government has, furthermore, declared their readiness to join as a member of the enlarged Communities in working with the other Member States towards the goal of political unification in Europe. **It should be emphasised that the Treaties of Rome and Paris do not entail any military or defence commitments and no such commitments are involved in Ireland's acceptance of these treaties.**" (our emphasis)*

However in a succession of treaties the EEC was transformed into a European Union with a strong Common Foreign Security and Defence dimension.

## **Shannon Airport & the Termination of Neutrality**

The steady transformation of the EU from an economic association of democratic states into a centralised, militarised, neo-liberal Superstate was not the only attack on Irish neutrality.

On the 20th of March 2003 Dáil Éireann approved a government motion authorising the use of Shannon Airport for the US-led invasion and occupation of Iraq. Since then Ireland has been actively involved in the US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. In contravention of the Hague Convention, over two million armed US

troops have been allowed to land in Shannon Airport on their way to and from these wars.

The Hague Conventions (V) and (X111) define the rights and duties of a neutral state. This is a state that declares itself to be neutral towards the belligerents in a war. The conventions are part of international customary law. According to Article 2 of the Hague Convention V, belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral power.

Thus, from March 2003 Ireland could not be described as a neutral state. When Dr Ed Horgan, PANA's International Secretary, took a case against the state because it was in contravention of the Hague Convention, Judge Kearns stated that international law was indeed clear on the duties and responsibilities of a neutral state. However since such law was not part of either the Irish Constitution or domestic law, neutrality was just policy, and if the government wished to end it he, as a judge, had no role in that decision. Dr Horgan lost the case.

The Labour Party in opposition, led by its spokesperson on Foreign Affairs, Michael D. Higgins (now President Higgins), had played a key role in opposing the use of Shannon Airport by US troops. There were therefore some reasons to be hopeful that the Labour Party had achieved a major concession from Fine Gael when, in 2011, the FG/Labour government included the following clause in the Programme for Government:

*“To enforce the prohibition on the use of Irish airspace, airports and related facilities for purposes not in line with the dictates of international law.”*

However, to date it has not done so. In fact the Taoiseach, Mr. Kenny has not only assured President Obama that US military could continue to use Shannon Airport indefinitely, but it now been agreed that the Fine Gael/Labour government's Aviation Policy is to seek “additional military flights” through Shannon Airport.

The Green Paper therefore uses the term ‘military neutrality’ that is not defined in international law. This allows the government to destroy Irish neutrality but keep the word neutrality, even though it has no meaning in any reality. It is just a recognition that they know how powerful and deeply rooted the commitment to Irish independence, democracy and neutrality is among the decisive majority of the Irish people, so they cannot just drop it altogether. They need to maintain the illusion.

## **Overseas Deployment and the “Triple Lock”**

One of the key responses to the victory of PANA in the first Lisbon referendum was in forcing the government to agree procedures that govern the dispatch of contingents of more than 12 soldiers of the Permanent Defence Forces on overseas operations. This, commonly known as the “triple lock”, comprises three requirements namely:

1. The authorisation of the operation by the Security Council or General Assembly of the United Nations.
2. A formal decision by the Irish Government
3. The approval of Dáil Éireann

The UN Charter contains a set of international legal obligations, which all UN members are supposed to fulfill. The most fundamental of all is in Article 2.4 which requires that all UN member states



*“shall refrain in their relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political dependence of any state.”*

Only after a decision of the Security Council, or if a state is under attack or the threat of an imminent attack, can a state legally go to war. This legislation recognises the central importance of international law and the United Nations. When the UK, US, French and others governments in the US-led “coalition of the willing” decided that they intended to break international law and ensure that as far as they were concerned the UN was irrelevant by going to war with Syria, the crucial role of the “triple lock” legislation was made very obvious. Since the RedC poll published 17/9/2013 showed that 80% of the Irish people stated that they only supported a war on Syria if there was a UN mandate, there is clearly massive support for retaining the “triple lock”.

The importance of the triple lock is absolutely clear when the Green Paper says:

*“this constraint may lead to an inability to act on occasions where there is a pressing moral or security imperative and overwhelming international support to do so, but where UN sanction is not forthcoming, in circumstances where a veto is exercised by a permanent member of the Security Council acting in its own national interests.”*

Any government that can include such a paragraph in a Green Paper on Defence is making it crystal clear that if the “triple lock” legislation did not exist it would be one of the first to join the “coalition of the willing.” In fact it is forced to acknowledge that there is substantial public support for the legislation. of course the above paragraph from the Green Paper also raises the vital question as to who decides if there “is a pressing moral or security imperative and overwhelming international support to do so”: the Irish military and political elite or the Irish people?

The Green Paper also makes no mention of how the legislation was amended substantially by the Defence (Amendment) Act 2006. The term “International United Nations Force” is redefined and is now so broad and indeterminate that any vague resolution from the Security Council will do. The present Irish Defence Acts state only that such a force should be “established” by the Security Council or General Assembly. A number of recent military missions were “authorised” by the UN Security Council, but this new meaning is deliberately vague.

The Irish government is also given the right to approve the Irish Defence Forces taking part in an EU Battle Group assembly and embarkation. They however cannot “deploy” troops unless the Dáil agrees and UN approval is given. This section is farcical and dangerous.

To allow Irish troops to assemble and embark and go to a war zone, but not actually engage in the war, appears insane. Because when EU Battle Group goes to war, those that they have gone to war with will fight back and the Irish members of the EU Battle Group will have to fight back in return. It makes an absolute mockery of the “triple lock”.

It is however interesting that the Green Paper did not mention this amendment. PANA seeks the abolition of the Defence (Amendment) Act of 2006.

## Domestic Security

The Irish peace process has played a significant role in improving domestic security. PANA clearly recognises that the core of that policy was inclusive politics and it should remain the core of policy to ensure domestic security. PANA agrees that Defence Forces personnel should continue provide a broad range of support in the ATCP role, including cash escorts and other required security.

## Global and Regional Security

PANA accepts that as far as Ireland was concerned there was a benign security environment, which did not contain any specific threats to the overall security of the state, but the Green Paper then makes the statement:

*“national security has evolved beyond the narrow role of territory defence towards the issues of conflict prevention, peacekeeping and crisis management”*

and that “a broad concept of security” had emerged in all of the European and Euro-Atlantic. In other words the key role of the Irish Defence Forces, which for decades was to defend the Irish state from domestic threats or external threats, such as possible invasion from Great Britain or Germany during the Second World War, was now transformed to external military activity because of the development of “broad concept of security” by the EU/US/NATO axis. This new concept is the doctrine of perpetual war. The focus was not to be on defence of national territory but on conquest and invasions of other states by focusing on rapidly deployable armies. In short, the return to the values of imperialism that had dominated Irish history throughout the 19th and early 20th century, which the Irish Volunteers, now the Defence Forces had opposed.

## Roles assigned to the Defence Forces

Apart from national defence the White Paper recognised that the Defence Forces' capabilities were utilised in a range of roles, including, inter alia, fisheries protection, assisting the civil authorities in response to major emergencies, natural disasters and in the maintenance of essential services, all of which PANA supports.

PANA would also clearly support ensuring that the Defence Forces have the capability to fulfill its roles including:

- The retention of a Permanent Defence Force
- A Light Infantry based Army
- A Naval Service
- An Air Corps
- A Reserved Defence Force

These were to be sustained on the available budget on the basis of 70:30 pay to non-pay basis. The cuts in the pay of Irish soldiers have been harsh and need to be reviewed.

## Key Developments since the White Paper and Security Environment

The core development since the White Paper in 2000 has been Ireland's deeper integration into the EU/US/NATO military structures.

Also since the White Paper, the total area over which Ireland claims sovereign rights (to various degrees) has almost doubled and is now approximately 220 million acres extending 1,000km into the North Atlantic. The Irish Naval Service includes ongoing surveillance and patrolling of the States maritime in conjunction with the Air Corps as well as operating as part of the Joint Task Force on Drugs. Ireland as part of this process works with MAOC-N other European States. This is a process supported by PANA.

## Emergency Planning

An Office of Emergency Planning has been established within the Dept. of Defence. Since 2007 the National Emergency Coordinating Centre provides a facility to cope with emergencies such as the volcanic ash crisis in March/April 2010. This is a development welcomed by PANA.

## Civil Defence

Since the year 2000, the Civil Defence organisation service, in addition to continuing and developing its community based support activities, has continued to develop as a volunteer-based high-quality second line emergency response service, the management of which is now reassigned to the Dept. of Defence.

## Global and Regional Security

Since 2000 there has been a major change in the global context. The US/EU/NATO axis of states, with only 12% of the world's population, is driven by the reality that its military-industrial complex is responsible for over 75% of the world's military production. The end of the Cold War, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, meant that in order to continue and sustain its military production, the axis needed a new war, a perpetual war, which it called the "war on terrorism". Led by the USA, which on its own is responsibility of nearly 50% of the world's military production, the axis invaded and conquered Afghanistan and Iraq. It launched wars on Libya and supplied weapon to rebels in Syria. Former member states of the Warsaw Pact joined NATO. France, which for decades remained outside its military structures, joined in 2009. States such as Finland declared they were no longer neutral. NATO is now seeking to develop its global connections. Thus, since 2000 there has been a massive growth in the EU/US/NATO axis.

The axis needs to feed its military industrial complex. NATO, especially the US, needs war like Dracula needs blood. There were real threats but they were exaggerated to justify the continued growth of its military-industrial complex. They included "terrorism", "the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction", "regional conflicts", "state failure" and "organised crime". The rising economic power of South American, and some African, countries is portrayed as threats. In particular, the rising economic power of China is portrayed as the greatest threat, leading to a "shift to the East" by the US military, the core dominant power within the EU/US/NATO axis.

## The United Nations

The United Nations is the only inclusive global institution committed to global and collective security. Established in 1945 to seek to ensure there would be not be another World War, its members agreed to the UN Charter. It contains a set of international obligations, which all UN members are supposed to fulfill. The most fundamental of all is in Article 2.4, which requires that all UN member states:

*“shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territory integrity or political independence of any state.”*

In 2000 the Brahimi Report called for a more “robust” use of UN Peacekeeping with more Chapter VII “Peace Enforcement” via the use of rapid reaction military forces, especially by the EU/US/NATO axis that had the military capacity to lead such enforcement. There was an increasing ideological attack on Article 2.4. by the rise of the concept of the “responsibility to protect”. The UN not only expanded its military intervention, it also subcontracted out such military intervention to NATO itself as it in Afghanistan. This was, in reality, the development of the oxymoronic “humanitarian” imperialism.

The problem for this new form of imperialism is that it has dragged on too long. Faced with massive cuts and institutional and perpetual austerity, the people living in the axis states are tired of the wars of humanitarian imperialism. Polls have shown a decisive majority of the people living in the axis states opposed its war on Syria. Having been lied to so often the decisive majority of the people no longer believe their elites and their corporate media. States outside the axis, such as Russia and China, are cooperating together to oppose the axis’ desire for full spectrum dominance.

Thus Article 2.4, which was a key part of the peace settlement after World War 2, is being restored by the force of reality to its central role in the task of achieving global peace.

## EU Developments

Since 2000 the EU has continued to seek to play a greater role within the US/EU/ NATO axis. The key parts of this process were the Nice and Lisbon referendums. Their purpose was to transfer political, economic and military power away from individual democratic states of the European Union dominated by a political caste.

In Ireland however, because of our deeply rooted anti-imperialist and democratic culture, we have a Constitution, which ensures that power derives from the people.

### Article 6 states:

*“All powers of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people, whose right it is to designate the rulers of the State and, in final appeal, to decide all questions of national policy, according to the requirements of the common good.”*

Unlike every other EU state, the Irish elite have no alternative but to hold a referendum every time they wish to transfer power to the EU. This situation is thanks to the bravery of Raymond Crotty who took a case to the Irish Supreme Court over the Single European Act and won. Because of Tony Coughlan’s and Patricia McKenna’s decisions to take cases to the Supreme Court and win, the

state owned media have to give equal coverage to both sides in referendum coverage, and state expenditure on a referendum has also to be equal. The elite lost both the first referendums on the Nice & Lisbon Treaties and only won the second time by a number of concessions, by abolishing the Forum on Europe, and by spending € millions on a yes campaign. The consequence of the implementation of these treaties was a major growth and institutionalisation of the transfer of power from the Irish people and Dáil Éireann to the EU and its elite.

## EU Defence and the Lisbon Treaty

The Lisbon Treaty ensured that:

1. The EU was given a distinct legal identity, separate from and superior to the individual member states.
2. It created a new post, an EU Council President, who presides over the leaders of the individual states.
3. It created a new post of an EU Minister for Foreign Affairs responsible for an EU Common foreign, security and defence policy with an EU Dept. of Foreign Affairs.  
The member states now have a legal obligation to support the EU's foreign, defence and security policy "actively and unreservedly in a spirit of loyalty and mutual solidarity".
4. It legalised the EU Battle Groups and the European Defence Agency.
5. It created Military Structured Cooperation by which the EU allows the creation of new distinct, separate and permanent military structures under Article 28(A) which allows a group of states;

*"whose military capabilities fulfill higher criteria and which have made more binding commitments to one another in this area with a view to more demanding missions" to do so. Once established, these new military forces shall act "in accordance with the principle of a single set of forces"*

and the wars they take part in shall be by unanimity of the states providing the troops. In short, Germany, France and Great Britain can create their own army to take part in more demanding military expeditions such as the invasion of Syria, and manage that invasion without reference to other EU states such as Ireland, that are not members of this new EU army.

6. The Petersberg Tasks define the tasks allocated to the EU Battle Groups or the new armies that can be created by Structured Cooperation. They have expanded to state:

*"joint disarmament operations, military advice and assistance tasks and post conflict stabilisation"*

and in Article 28B (1) states:

*"all these tasks may contribute to the fight against terrorism, including by supporting Third Countries in combating terrorism in their territories."*

7. The EU common security and defence policy is to be compatible with NATO's and a "more assertive Union role in security and defence matters will contribute to the vitality of a renewed Atlantic Alliance, in accordance with the Berlin Plus arrangements (sharing EU/NATO assets)".

8. One of the consequences of the defeat of Nice Treaty was an amendment to the Irish Constitution in Article 29.4.9 which states:

*“The State shall not adopt a decision taken by the European Council to establish a common defence pursuant to Article 1.2 of the Treaty referred to in subsection 7 of this section where that common defence would include the State.”*

However, the Lisbon Treaty introduced mutual defence and solidarity clauses.

Article 28 A(7) states:

*“ If a member state is the victim of armed aggression on its territory, the other Member States shall have towards it an obligation and assistance by all means in their power, in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter. This shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain member states. Commitments and cooperation in this area shall be consistent with commitments under the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which for those states which are members of it, remains the foundation of their collective defence and the forum for its implementation.”*

This clause has all the qualities of a military pact, granting mutual assistance to its members. The Rapporteur of the Foreign Affairs Committee on the Treaty of Lisbon was Andrew Duff, MEP. On January 9, 2008, in a letter to the Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee, he proposed that the NATO-linked WEU, should be abolished on the grounds its last remaining competence, collective defence, had been transferred to the European Union by the Lisbon Treaty. The WEU has since been abolished.

## The Solidarity Clause

Article 188R states:

*“The Union and its member states shall act jointly in a spirit of solidarity if a Member State is the object of a terrorist attack or the victim of a man-made disaster. The Union shall mobilise all the instruments at its disposal, including military resources made available by the member states, to:*

- a) *prevent the terrorist threat in the territory of the Member States; protect democratic institutions and the civilian population from any terrorist attack; assist a Member State in its territory at the request of its political authorities in the event of a terrorist attack.*
- b) *assist a Member State in its territory at the request of its political authorities in the event of a natural or man-made disaster.*

*To implement the Solidarity Clause, assistance shall be requested by the political authorities of the Members(s) concerned and, if the assistance has military or defence implications, decisions must be taken by unanimity.”*

This is a very broad mandate as it covers the threat of terrorism as well as an actual terrorist attack, leaving the way open for preemptive military actions and undermines Article 29.4.9 of the Irish Constitution.

## EU Battle Groups

The Single European Act was the first EU treaty which ensured that European Common Foreign Policy provisions were introduced into European law. In 1992 the EU's Common Foreign and Security policy provisions were expanded to include Defence. In June 1999 the EU established the Political and Security Committee

consisting of the states' EU Ambassadors, and also established the EU Military Committee consisting of the member states' Chiefs of Defence. In December 1999 the EU agreed a goal of establishing an EU Rapid Reaction Force of 50-60,000 capable of deployment within 60 days. In practice the EU states, most of which had existing military commitments to NATO, were not able to achieve this objective.

The Franco-British military summit (the two EU states with the longest and most deeply rooted tradition of imperial conquest) in Le Touquet in 2003, proposed smaller military forces called Battle Groups, which was agreed to in principle in the London summit in 2003 and adopted during the Irish Presidency in 2004. Since 2007 two EU Battle Groups have been on stand-by to go to war anywhere in the world with 5-10 days notice. The size of the BG's, initially to be 1,500 troops, have expanded to 3,000 which was the size of the German-led EU Battle Group, the last one in which the Irish Army participated, in 2012. Ireland has also participated in the Nordic Battle Group in 2008 and 2011 and will do so again in 2015. The Nordic Battle Group includes Norway (a member of NATO but not the EU), an obvious example of military links between NATO and the EU.

To allow for rotation and back up there has to be nine soldiers for every soldier in the field the EU has 50-60,000 soldiers at its disposal at any time. They have to have:

*"the minimum military, credible, rapidly deployable, coherent force package capable of acting alone, or for the initial phase of larger operations".*

These mechanised infantry companies are supplied with 10-12 combat vehicles armed with 30-90mm cannons, 6-9 light howitzers, 120mm heavy mortar systems, anti-tank missiles, air defence systems and helicopter gunships. They are armed and trained to go to war and kill the enemy. As Jaap de Hoops Scheffer, a former Secretary General of NATO said:

*"EU Battle Groups could be used to go to war. Why did the EU create the Battle Group? It is not just to help rebuild a country. The Battle Groups are not there for building schools. We shouldn't think the EU is for soft power and NATO for tough power."*

The key point of establishing the EU Battle Groups was to have a military force directly under the control of the EU political elite and the EU structures it controlled. This proposition was greatly weakened by the decision of the German Constitutional Court in 1999 which ruled any deployment of German troops (including those in EU Battle Groups) could not be sent to war without a decision of the German Bundestag.

More recently France and Germany have called for more operational effectiveness because the EU needs to assume increased responsibility for international peace and security. In fact there is a general drive to ensure the EU Battle Groups are actually deployed and that EU military expenditure (which has not dropped substantially despite the recession) be substantially increased. There is also an increase in the call for greater centralisation of the EU military forces.

## **EU-UN Cooperation**

There has been a growing level of cooperation between the EU and the UN in security and defence areas including the option of an EU autonomous military deployment in support of UN operations.

## The EU and NATO

NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, was established in 1949. The reason given for the creation of this nuclear armed military alliance, committed to the first use of nuclear weapons and mutual defence via Chapter V, dominated by the USA was: "To protect Europe from an attack from the Soviet Union". Once the Soviet Union collapsed the logical decision was for it to disband and put out the banner, "Mission Accomplished". Instead it underwent a massive expansion and engaged in an illegal aggressive war on Yugoslavia. Twenty one EU states are in NATO. The NATO Lisbon Conference recognised the EU as a strategic partner. In fact since 2003 the EU has a permanent military group in the SHAPE (NATO's HQ), and NATO has established permanent liaison arrangements with EU military staff. The Foreign Affairs Ministers of all EU States and NATO states have regular meetings throughout the year.

The process of expansion has continued to areas way outside Europe, for example NATO is building links with Colombia in South America. It has also built strong links with Israel via the Mediterranean Dialogue and it was the first country to sign a cooperation programme with NATO and participates with it in joint naval patrols in the Mediterranean, and collaborates in joint activity against "terrorism".

The FG/Labour government states the EU and the NATO share a strategic vision and operational ambitions. A small neutral state cannot share a strategic vision with a nuclear armed military alliance and PANA totally rejects any link with NATO. While it is up to each member state to decide its own future, PANA advocates that NATO is past its sell by date, and should disband.

## Capability Development

Irish Defence expenditure has decreased in real terms since 2000. Overall, as a percentage of gross Government expenditure, it has decreased from 2.9% in 2000 to 1.6% in 2010. Over the same decade, defence expenditure as a percentage of GNP has decreased from 0.85% to 0.70%. Irish military expenditure, as a percentage of GDP, is one of the lowest in the EU. If Ireland takes part in a UN led operation the UN reimburses the Exchequer with costs in respect of contributions of personnel and equipment, but not where it takes part in UN military operations franchised to organisations like NATO or the EU.

The economic crisis caused by the dominant neo-liberal ideology has forced the Government to reduce total Defence Forces to 9,500. There are two Brigades and a Reserved Defence Force of 4,069.

## European Defence Agency

The European Defence Agency was established with an initial budget of €1.9 million in 2004 which grew to €30.5 million by 2011. Its role in developing an EU based military industrial complex was analysed in 2006 in "*Arming Big Brother*" and more recently in 2012 in "*The EU as a Driving Force of Armaments*" and "*Guns, Debt and Corruption: military spending and the EU Crisis*". These booklets are available on [www.pana.ie](http://www.pana.ie)

The Lisbon Treaty consolidated EU militarisation via Article 28(3) which states:

*"member states shall undertake progressively to improve their military capabilities."*

In July 2011 the government approved Enterprise Ireland becoming even more



involved in the EDA. A defence Enterprise Committee has been established and an Irish Military Industrial Complex encouraged. This is in sharp contrast to the ethos which used to prevail in Ireland.

There are basic questions which must be asked about Ireland's involvement with the EDA. Historically, Irish Governments - in keeping with popular sentiment - have not been proponents of the arms industry. Ministers had denied the existence of any indigenous Irish arms sector (despite evidence from Amnesty International and AFrl to the contrary). In fact the original provisions of the National Board for Science and Technology legislation, namely:

*"The Board shall not engage in, or promote any activity of a primarily military relevance without the prior approval of the Government" remains in place today in relation to the Science Board's successor, Enterprise Ireland. See for example: <http://www.enterprise-ireland.com/en/funding-supports/Company/HPSU-Funding/CSF-Term-Sheet.pdf>. This outlines terms for investment by EI, including that the company seeking investment should not "be supplying goods and services of a primarily military relevance".*

EI seems to be considering straying away from these values. A straying that blends in well with the pooling and sharing of the different national military complexes in the individual member states.

## NATO/PfP

The government joined NATO's so called Partnership for Peace (PfP) without holding a promised referendum. The purpose of PfP is to ensure strong links between the nuclear armed military alliance and states that are not members. In many cases it has become a training course for full NATO membership. Ireland should terminate its membership of the PfP.

## Other Roles assigned to the Defence Forces

The Defence Forces also fulfills roles such as Major Emergency Management, a Ministerial Air Transport Service, maritime patrols and Search & Rescue.

The primary task of the Naval Service is, and should remain, that of sea fisheries protection while also providing assistance to other maritime agencies including the Irish Coast Guard and drug interdiction operations. It will also play a role in the government integrated marine plan for Ireland, titled " Harnessing Our Ocean Wealth".

## Future Defence and Security Environment

Ireland will continue to face minimal threats in the future. Its best defence against threats is best achieved by a policy of positive neutrality. The reality is the risk of a conventional military attack on Ireland's territory from another state virtually does not exist.

The threats to wider interests do not have to include Ireland, and derive from the commitment to perpetual war by the EU/US/NATO military alliance. They only involve Ireland because of the decision of successive Irish government to destroy Irish neutrality and integrate the state into these structures.

The real threats to our long term security come from global warming and mass poverty that can be best faced by not by for ever increasing the size of the

military but by using the developing technology to solve these problems in conjunction with other states in a peaceful and constructive manner. Al-Qaida and other terrorist groups have come into existence because the EU/US/NATO axis commitment to perpetual war. In fact, in many of these wars such as in Afghanistan (1980 – 1990) and Syria presently, the EU/US/NATO axis has allied itself with Al-Qaida and other terrorist organisations.

Many of these terrorist groups have grown as a consequence of the massive colonisation of Palestine by Jewish settlers via the formation and expansion of the state of Israel. A real agreement between the people of Palestine and the people of Israel would provide one of the main solutions to the problem of terrorism.

In any event Ireland's best defence, insofar as there is nothing on offer from the EU/US/NATO axis other than perpetual and total support for Israeli colonisation, is to restore the right of the Irish people to have their own independent foreign policy with positive neutrality as the key component.

## Domestic Security

The Good Friday Agreement has delivered a level of peaceful co-existence. Its achievement was via the peace process by the acceptance of the concept of inclusive negotiations as the key part of building a lasting peace rather than by a military victory. Groups and political organisations that are not supportive of the settlement still exist so the peace process is an ongoing project and should continue on the same basis.

The Green Paper claims that the main international threat to domestic security arises from 'terrorists acts', which is assessed as 'low'. Yet, as Ireland is dragged deeper and deeper into the perpetual war on terror, especially by the government decision to allow the US use Shannon Airport in their "war on terrorism", this assessment could change and change rapidly. An effective decision to ensure domestic security therefore is to terminate the use of Shannon Airport by the US.

## Cyber Security

Cyber crime by the US NSA needs to be strongly opposed and basic civil liberties restored as a key value. This should not detract from Ireland's opposition to non-state criminal acts of cyber crime.

## Maritime Domain

The 2012 integrated marine plan "Harnessing our Ocean Wealth" plans to double the value of our wealth and to increase the turnover from our ocean economy to exceed €6.4 billion. Ireland's Naval Service is crucial in defending these resources. The total Marine Institute estimates the total available fish catch off Ireland is valued at €1.18 billion. Defending our fish stock and Ireland resources is and should remain the key function of Ireland's naval service. It should have no role in the process of the militarisation of the EU. PANA views with concern that the two new naval ships in order from the UK at a cost of €49 million will be capable of handling military drones.

## Resources and Information Sharing

It is true, as the Green Paper states, that global and regional, political, economic, technological, energy, environmental and climate trends will cause the wider defence and security environment to remain unpredictable. The United Nations remains the only inclusive body charged with coping with global security

## Conclusion

PANA accepts that is the core function of a democratic state to provide security for its citizens. To do so effectively, the state needs to reject the policy of continuing the states integration into, and support of, the doctrine of perpetual war, this “war on terrorism” as advocated by the current Fine Gael / Labour Government in their Green Paper. There needs to be a restoration of the values of an independent Irish foreign policy with positive neutrality as its key component. The attached RedC poll commissioned by PANA shows that there is massive and widespread support for the values advocated by PANA.

PANA has consistently opposed the decision by successive Irish governments to support wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and now Syria. The RedC poll shows that the vast majority of the people support PANA’s position. The decision of the UK government to massive expand its war on Syria was rejected by the UK Parliament and 70% of it’s people. Over 70% of the French people did not support President Hollande’s desire to expand his war on Syria. President Obama’s decision to massive expand his war on Syria was rejected by 68% of the American people and because it was clear the US Congress were going to reject his plan to launch a massive bombing campaign on Syria, he was forced to cancel his new war.

Thus, throughout Europe and the United States of America, the people are rejecting the doctrine of perpetual war.

In short, PANA rejects the core philosophy of the Green Paper that offers Ireland’s continuing integration into and support for the doctrine of perpetual war. We are confident that we reflect the values of the vast majority of the Irish people.

On the 12th of July 1955 in Dail Eireann An Taoiseach Eamon De Valera stated:

*“ A small nation has to be extremely cautious when entering into alliances which bring it, willy nilly, into those war.... we would not be consulted in how a war should be started – the great powers would do that – and when it ended, no matter who won...we would not be consulted as to the terms on which it should end.”*

2016 will mark the 100th anniversary of the 1916 Rising. The spirit of resistance to imperialism remains and commitment to Irish Independence, democracy and neutrality will shine again. It will never be defeated.

Submission to the White Paper on Defence  
1/10/13

on behalf of the Peace & Neutrality Alliance

**Roger Cole**

Chair, Peace & Neutrality Alliance  
www.pana.ie

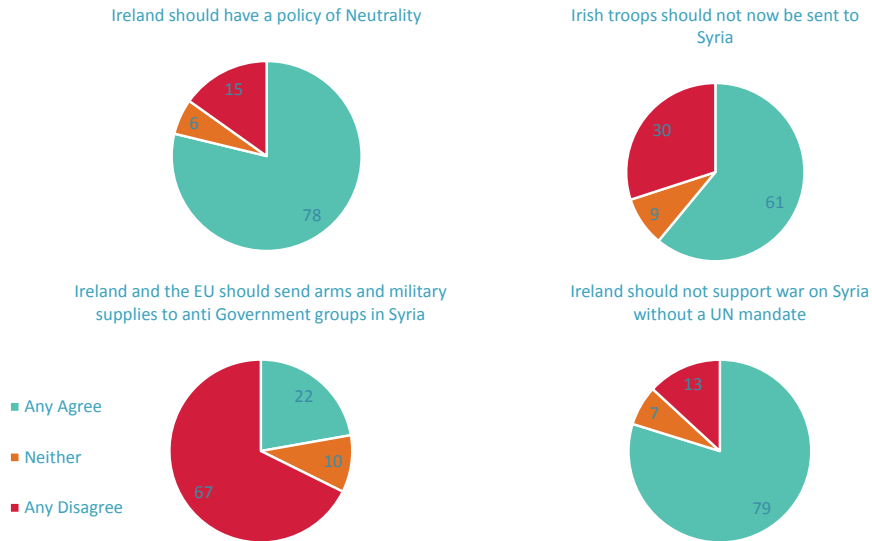


# PANA - Neutrality Poll

Fieldwork: 9th to 11th September 2013

## Sentiment Overview

(Base: All Adults Aged 18+; n=1,003)

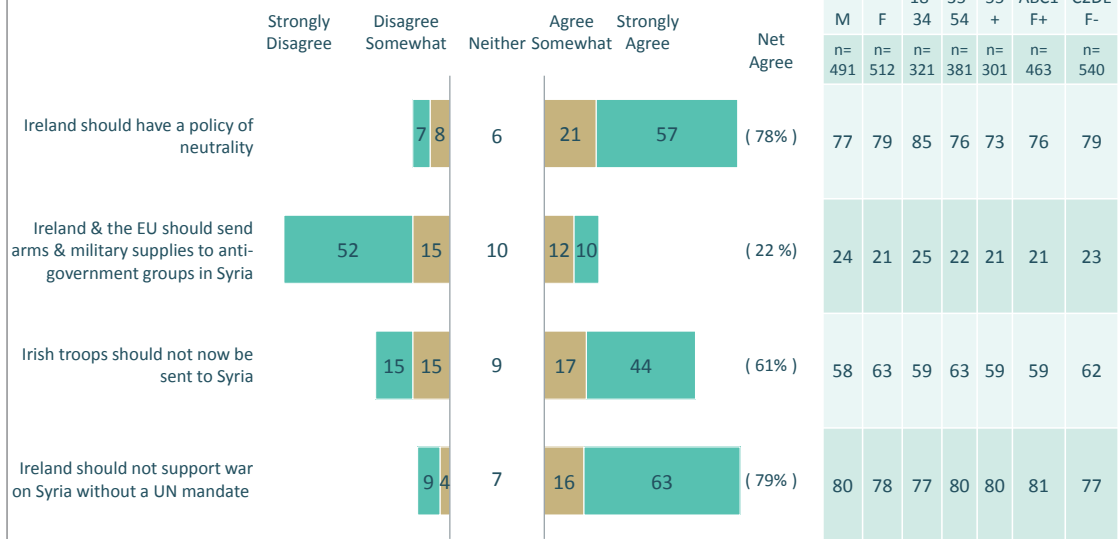


( 3,214,000 ) = number of Adults 18+ in population

REDC

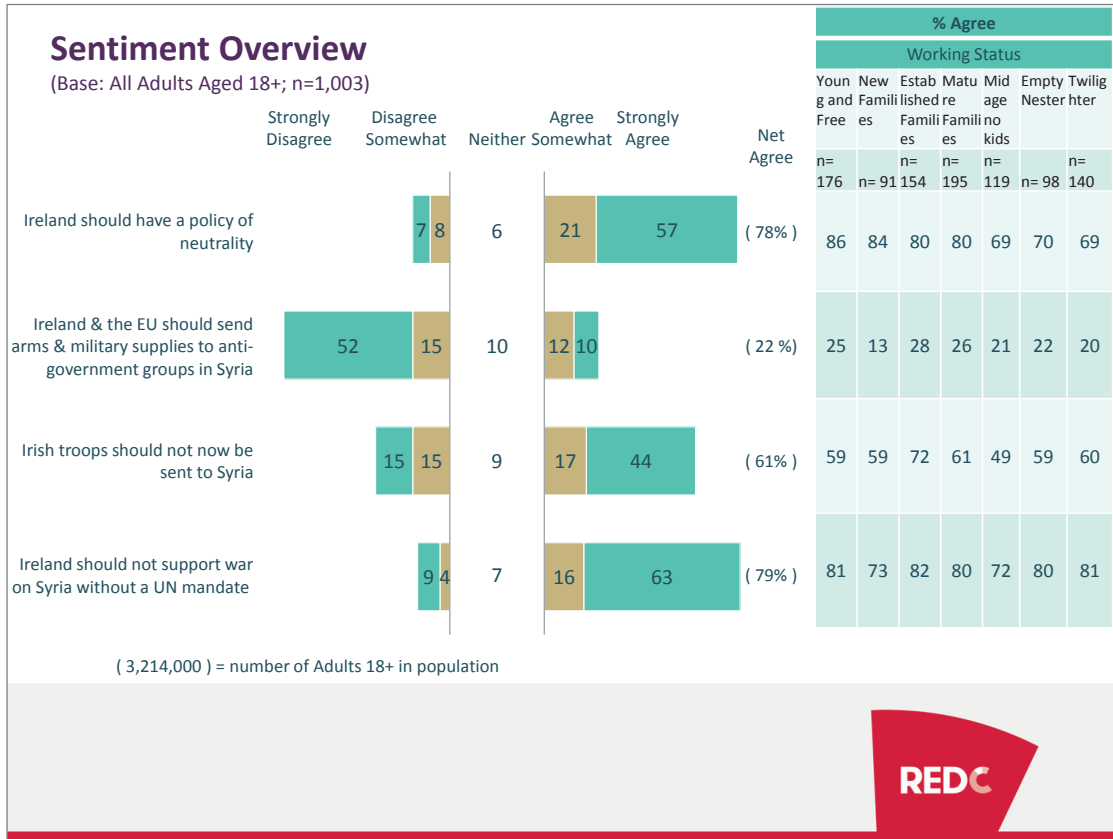
## Sentiment Overview

(Base: All Adults Aged 18+; n=1,003)



(3,214,000) = number of Adults 18+ in population

REDC



### Overlap In Opinions

(Base: All Adults Aged 18+; n=1,000)

		Agree With Statements			
		Ireland should have a policy of neutrality	Ireland & the EU should send arms & military supplies to anti-government groups in Syria	Irish troops should not now be sent to Syria	Ireland should not support war on Syria without a UN mandate
% Also Agree With ...	Ireland should have a policy of neutrality	100%	75%	85%	82%
	Ireland & the EU should send arms and military supplies to anti-government groups in Syria	22%	100%	22%	23%
	Irish troops should not now be sent to Syria	66%	58%	100%	65%
	Ireland should not support war on Syria without a UN mandate	83%	80%	85%	100%

Interpretation Note: Highlighted figure indicates that 83% of people that agree that "Ireland should have a policy of neutrality" also agree that "Ireland should not support war on Syria without a UN Mandate"



# Peace and Neutrality Alliance Comhaontas Na Síochána is Neodrachta

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## OBJECTIVES

1. It is within the OSCE and a reformed United Nations, and not the EU, that Ireland should pursue its security concerns.
2. Ireland should pursue a positive neutrality and independent foreign policy and not join or form an association with any military alliance, such as NATO.
3. Ireland should seek to promote European and international security through a policy of disarmament and should therefore oppose the militarisation of the EU.
4. Ireland should refuse to cooperate with or condone in any way policies or military groupings which maintain nuclear weapons or any weapons of mass destruction.
5. Irish troops should only serve abroad as peacekeepers under the auspices of the UN.

## MEMBERSHIP

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Group 501 - 1,000. .... €180

Group 1,001 - 4,000 .... €385

Group 4,001 - 8,000 .... €650

Group 8,001 - 12,000. . €1,000

Group 12,000 + ..... €2,000

Membership is open to all individuals, groups and organisations that support our objectives.

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PANA submission to government White paper on Defence





The Peace & Neutrality Alliance  
advocates the right of the Irish people  
to have their own independent foreign  
policy, with positive neutrality as its  
key component, pursued through a  
reformed United Nations and the OSCE.

For more information see:  
[www.pana.ie](http://www.pana.ie)