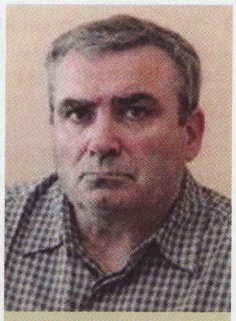
STAKEKNIFE: MI5'S CREATURE

THE RECENTLY published final report of Operation Kenova marks a significant shift from its interim findings regarding MI5's involvement with Agent Stakeknife, aka Freddie Scappaticci. Contrary to the interim report, which placed the blame on the British Army's Force Reconnaissance Unit, the final report makes it clear that MI5 was deeply involved with Scappaticci during the Troubles while he acted as its agent inside the IRA.



Freddie Scappaticci

The interim report had stated that senior MI5 officers, including various directors-general, denied involvement with Scappaticci. Baroness Eliza Manningham-Buller, who led MI5's counter-IRA unit in the early 1990s and later served as DG from 2002 to 2007, welcomed this finding. She asserted that if "it had been our operation, we would have aborted it very early on". She emphasised the need for moral parameters in intelligence work, warning that abandoning ethics risks becoming like the enemy.

The Kenova U-turn was performed after documents emerged demonstrating MI5's involvement in the Scappaticci scandal.

Kenova's loss of confidence in MI5's denial of involvement may have been further exacerbated by the spooks' breach of trust when they broke into the safe where Kenova stored records at MI5's London headquarters.

The break-in is not the first time MI5 has interfered with an official inquiry. It concealed the role of Jimmy Miller at the Widgery Inquiry. Miller, an MI5 agent, fed false information about the presence of armed republicans at the Rossville flats in the Bogside, Derry, in the days leading up to the Bloody Sunday massacre. Parliament was misled about the existence of Operation Clockwork Orange (involving smear campaigns against various politicians including John Hume). Other scandals include arson at the Stevens Inquiry offices; the framing of investigator John Stalker over a 1980s shoot-to-kill investigation; and the confiscation of computers from Canadian judge Peter Cory, who was probing the assassination of Belfast solicitor Patrick Finucane.

The final Kenova report does not explicitly name Scappaticci as Stakeknife, let alone explain how MI5 recruited him.

The Kenova report does include the interim findings of Operation Denton, concerning the 1974 Dublin-Monaghan bombings, giving MI5 and the British Army a clean bill of health despite credible evidence to the contrary.

Given MI5's addiction to deceit and its recently announced withdrawal of co-operation from Denton, it seems unlikely that anyone in MI5 will deliver further documents that might result in a second U-turn and expose MI5 involvement in the 1974 atrocities.

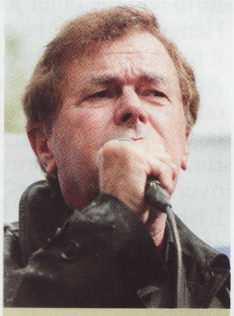
ALAN SHATTER ON IRISH ANTISEMITISM

FORMER MINISTER Alan Shatter's article in the *Jerusalem Post* last week, headlined "Ireland, Israel, and the Normalization of Antisemitism", is largely a critique of the Irish Government's policies on Israel and Palestine as well as the solidarity shown by Irish civil society for Palestinians.

Shatter lambasts Ireland's politicians, trade unions, civil society, NGOs, activist groups and much of the mainstream media for allegedly demonising Israel. In particular he highlights "the relentless campaigning of the Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign and its ever-proliferating offshoots". Shatter disparages Irish Government support for a two-state solution, although he does acknowledge that in the past he advocated for such a settlement.

But Shatter's emphasis on the political left misses the political fact that the locus of whatever antisemitism exists in Ireland is in the new right.

Off-Grid Ireland (OGI), which has accounts on X and Telegram, is run by Offaly native Gavin Lowbridge. The OGI Chat group channel is a stream of extreme content, with regular use by members of racial slurs such as Yid, Kike etc. In the aftermath of the Bondi Beach shooting, in which 15 were killed, a member posted on the OGI Chat: "Turns out they shot up a jew yoke". Another subscriber responded: "Only getting warmed up…"



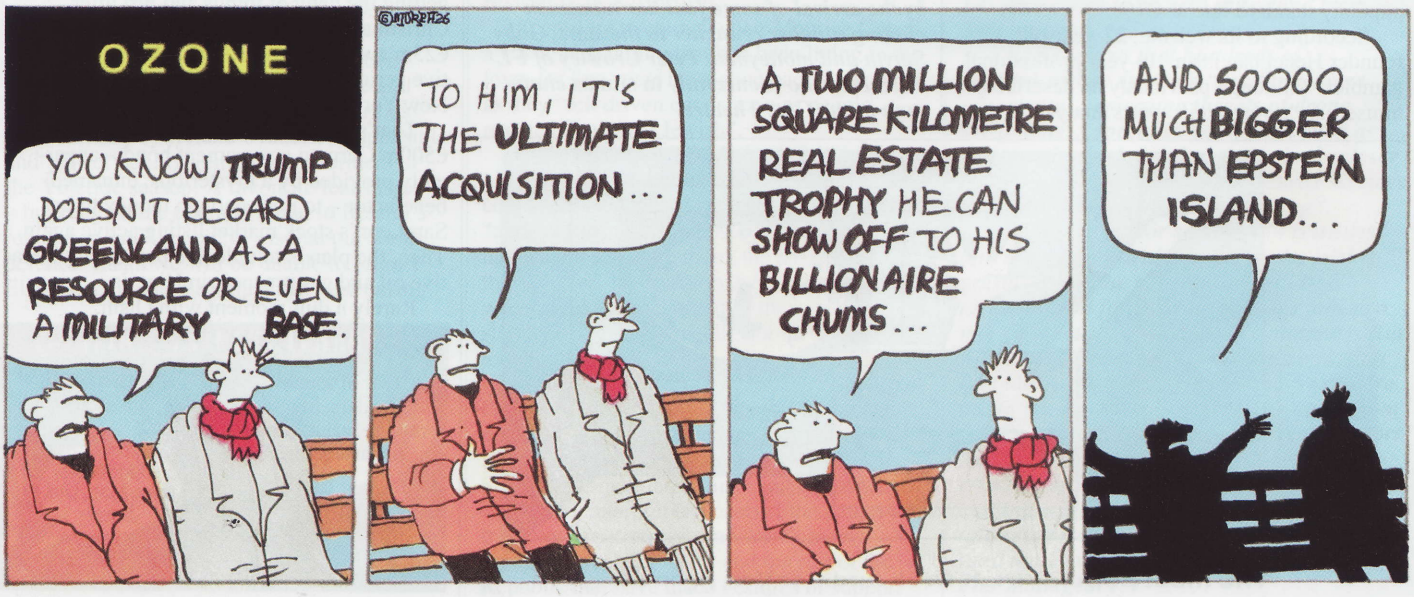
Alan Shatter

A day later a member posted a screenshot of an RTÉ report that gardaí were to increase patrols at centres and events for the Irish Jewish community, accompanied by the text: "Since all Jews! here have dual or more citizenship and one being Israeli… tell them to move home to Israel until there is no longer a threat."

Since then there have been scores more antisemitic posts in the OGI chat, with some posts linking these to conspiracies such as ZOG, a secret Zionist occupation government ruling the world; and the Kalergi Plan, which sees Jews trying to destroy the white race and Europe; as well as multiple posts denying and diminishing the holocaust, or HOLOHOX as it is described by one OGI Chat member.

In the aftermath of the Bondi attack, former National Party (NP) leader Justin Barrett reposted a message on Telegram and X from Australian neo-Nazi leader Thomas Sewell, which blamed the deadly attack on "multiculturalism". Barrett also posted a series of messages and replies on X ridiculing the seriousness of the attack.

Throughout 2025 prominent NP member Keith Woods (pseudonym of Keith O'Brien) tried to distance himself from his formerly close relationship with another Australian neo-Nazi, Joel Davis. He may, however, regret his December 2024 post on X regarding antisemitic messages written on Australian bank notes. Woods claimed: "Jews in Australia are faking hate crimes to try and justify a crackdown on political speech."

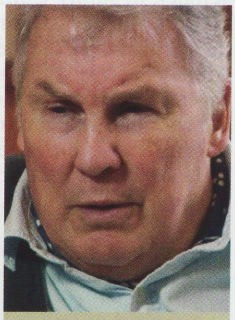


DENTON: MI5 IN THE DOCK

A SIGNIFICANT parting of ways has occurred between MI5 and Sir Iain Livingstone, the Scottish police officer who led the final Operation Kenova report into Freddie Scappaticci and the interim Operation Denton report on the 1974 Dublin-Monaghan bombings.

MI5 has withdrawn co-operation with the ongoing Dublin-Monaghan enquiry.

When he released the Operation Kenova report, Livingstone stated that, while he had not discovered evidence of state involvement in the 1974 atrocity, it could not be "categorically excluded".



Fred Holroyd

Previously, he had been prepared to afford MI5 the benefit of any doubt that arose.

The catalyst appears to be MI5's conduct during the Kenova investigation. The security service initially presented information that seemed to clear it of wrongdoing, leading to an interim report favourable to MI5. But subsequent documents surfaced that proved otherwise. To his credit, Livingstone reversed his earlier findings.

He may now be inclined to re-evaluate his scepticism regarding British intelligence whistleblowers Fred Holroyd and Colin Wallace. Holroyd was deemed "unreliable", whereas Wallace was simply neglected. That neglect ended after it was highlighted in a series of stories in this magazine.

One of Wallace's documents implicated Robin Jackson, a leader within the UVF bomb gang, as a state agent.

Holroyd has also alleged that Jackson was a state agent.

Charlie Simpson, a friend of Jackson, told BBC NI that Jackson worked closely with Captain Robert Nairac of the British Army, alleging that Jackson bombed a pub in Dundalk with explosives provided by the army.

Further corroboration of state complicity in the attacks comes from members of the UVF bomb gang, who told journalist Joe Tiernan that British intelligence was involved in them.

Livingstone would be well advised to scrutinise MI5's files on the O'Dowd murders. On January 4, 1976, Jackson murdered Joseph O'Dowd and his two nephews in Ballydougan. Barney O'Dowd, a survivor, stated that the gunman, identified as Jackson, used a silenced Luger. Later that year, the RUC discovered Jackson's 9mm Luger on a farm owned by Edward Sinclair, a former B Special.

Jackson was warned in advance that his fingerprints had been found on the silencer, allowing him time to concoct an explanation for their presence when he was brought in for an interview.

Livingstone might also benefit from a chat with Lord John Stevens, who later became chief constable of the Metropolitan Police. Stevens conducted a series of inquiries into collusion during the 1970s and 1980s. During these probes, Stevens's team arrested 210 loyalist paramilitaries. He found that all but three of them had worked for the RUC or other intelligence agencies.

What are the odds that Stevens knows the truth about Jackson? His lordship, whose offices in NI were set on fire by RUC operatives, would surely be happy to talk to Sir Iain.

While Livingstone's office has not been visited by arsonists, the safe in which his team kept their files, at the HQ of MI5 in London, was broken into.

WILLING WARRIORS

GENERAL SÉAN Clancy, former Irish Defence Forces chief of staff and now chair of the European Union Military Committee (EUMC) – see p10 – attended the Coalition of the Willing meeting on January 18 with French armed forces commander-in-chief General Fabien Mandon; UK defence staff chief, air chief marshal Sir Richard Knighton; US European Command and Nato supreme allied commander Europe, general Alexus Grynkewich; and the commander in chief of Ukraine's armed forces, Oleksandr Syrski. Syrski revealed that at the meeting "special attention" was paid to the continuation of military assistance to Ukraine.

Clancy has not made any public comment in relation to the proposal by EU defence commissioner Andrius Kubilius that the bloc should establish a standing military force of 100,000 troops. Kubilius was speaking at Sweden's leading security and defence conference, Folk och Försvar – National Conference 2026.



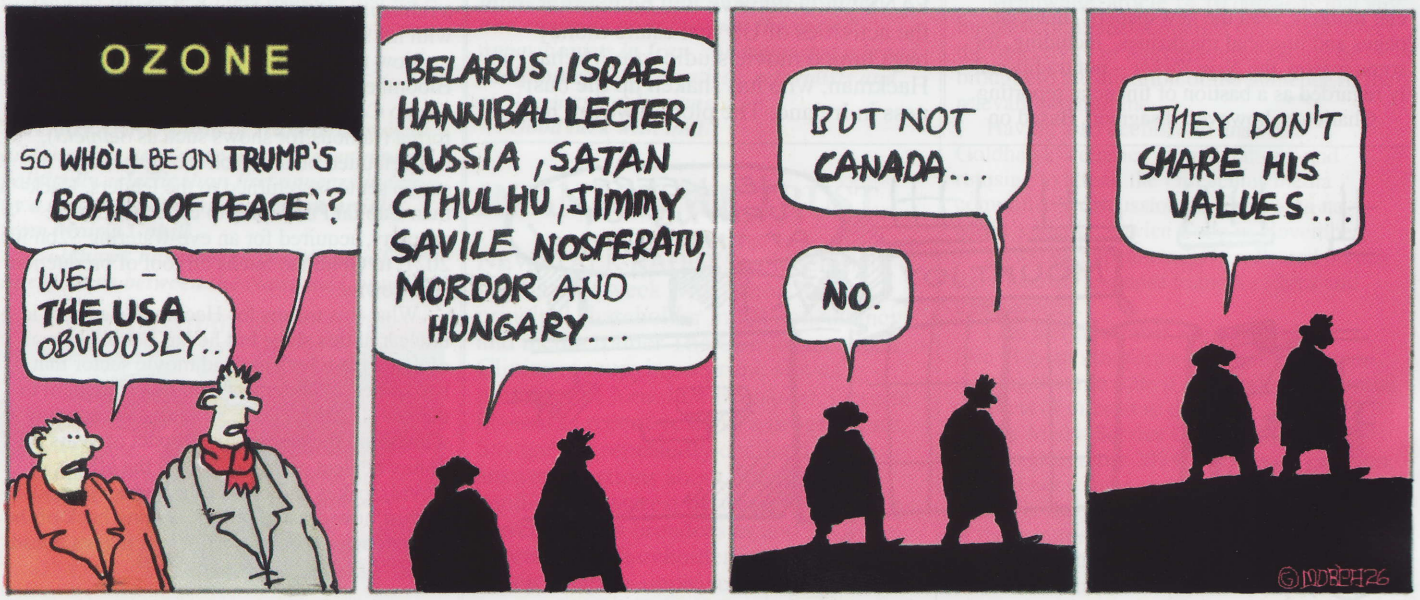
Séan Clancy

Also at that conference, Kubilius argued that the European Union Treaty article 42.7 obliged member states to come to Denmark's assistance if the US invades Greenland. To deter such a threat, he contended that the EU could provide more security for Greenland, with a larger deployment of troops to the island as well as sending more warships and strengthening the anti-drone defences.

Three days later Kubilius met formally with Clancy, who later described the meeting in the vaguest of terms. He said: "The meeting provided an opportunity to look ahead and reaffirm the importance of close co-ordination as the EU moves forward in addressing the challenges and priorities of the year ahead."

Whatever the details of Clancy and Kubilius's discussions were, the momentum for EU militarisation has continued apace with EU military figures meeting in Segovia in Spain last week for the main planning conference for Milex26. This live exercise involves military forces from across EU states, including Ireland.

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THE GENTLE SAS

IN A most civilised interview with the *Irish Times* recently, three veteran members of the Special Air Service (SAS) presented a sanitised view of their regiment, claiming it had never engaged in a shoot-to-kill policy.

Conspicuously absent from their account was any mention of the controversial Mobile Reaction Force (MRF). It was established in 1971 by counterinsurgency expert Brigadier Frank Kitson. It comprised British soldiers, trained by the SAS, who conducted various tasks including assassinations. Operating in civilian attire and using unmarked vehicles, the MRF employed weapons typically associated with paramilitary groups. Its often-reckless operations led to public exposure during a trial.



Frank Kitson

The SAS led the attempted assassination of William Black, a UDR member who had arrested MRF soldiers involved in a car hijacking. In January 1974 an SAS squad, acting on false intelligence that Black was a terrorist, attacked his weekend cottage in Co Down. Black survived but with severe injuries. Incredibly, one of the would-be assassins later visited him in hospital, brazenly displaying his SAS beret and badge.

The British government eventually compensated Black to the tune of £16,500, with armed forces minister Archie Hamilton admitting in 1990 that British soldiers had shot Black.

Britain's assassination programme also included undercover operatives like Captain Robert Nairac and Albert "Ginger" Baker, who used loyalist groups such as the UVF and UDA to carry out proxy assassinations. While the SAS denies any connection to Nairac, credible reports suggest Baker received SAS training.

During the 1980s, SAS soldiers were integrated into a covert RUC Special Branch unit, E4A, which was implicated in a number of assassinations. Among these was the shooting of Michael Tighe, an unarmed 17-year-old, who was present in a barn under E4A/MI5 surveillance where the IRA stored weapons.

More details about the E4A emerged during the trial of a member of the squad, who had been involved in the deaths of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll of the INLA. His testimony contradicted the official narrative of the shooting of Grew and Carroll, prompting an inquiry into E4A, which was led by the deputy chief constable of Greater Manchester, John Stalker.

Stalker was removed from the investigation after requesting the tape recording of the Tighe killing, amid accusations of underhanded tactics to discredit Stalker.

The SAS also eliminated an IRA unit in Gibraltar, which was planning a bomb attack on a ceremonial British Army band. The SAS's official version of events clashed with eye-witness accounts, including Carmen Proetta, who stated that the unarmed unit was taken down without warning while they had their hands in the air.

Proetta was vilified in the British media, but later won a substantial defamation settlement.

BANNON'S IRISH PLAN

FORMER WHITE House strategist Steve Bannon has been keen in recent years to platform a number of Irish right-wing activists on his *War Room* podcast, including councillor Malachy Steenson and Eddie Hobbs. But his boast of creating an Irish Maga and Trumpian equivalent is somewhat idle.

Ireland's new right is hopelessly splintered. The latest schism broke out within the Irish Freedom Party (IFP) last autumn. Two rival ard chomhairles claim to govern the party, with Michael Leahy and Hermann Kelly leading the rival factions.

After the Leahy faction held its ard fheis, Leahy talked about the "serious division within our party", a "fight for survival", a "dreadful mess" and the need to hold their heads in order to "rescue something".

Kelly has maintained a much more bullish persona online, posting pictures from the MCC conference in Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, Belgium, in December and the Patriots for Europe (PfE) group meeting in Brussels in January. He also made much of his participation in Eddie Hobbs's Ireland Forum conference.

Kelly's prominence in the right-wing scene comes from his previous role as press officer for Nigel Farage and the similar role he now plays for Danish People's Party MEP Anders Vistisen, who is chief whip of the PfE group in the European Parliament.



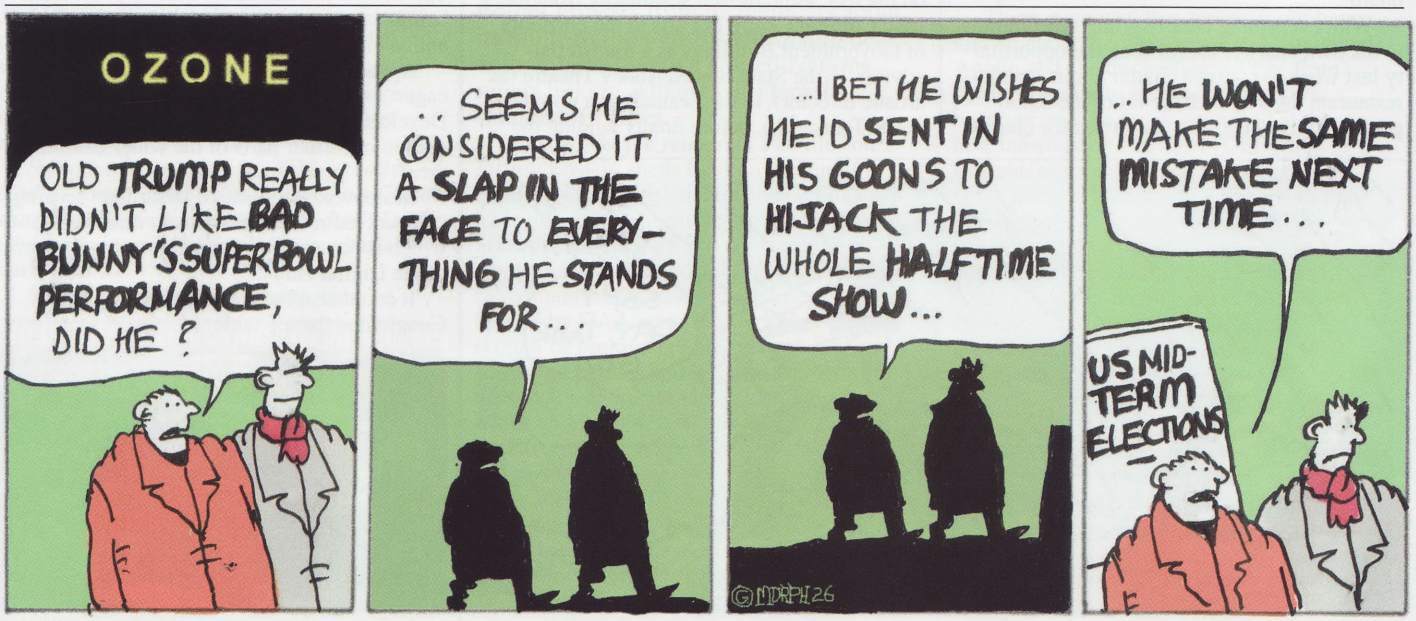
Hermann Kelly

Kelly spends much of his time on the continent, which has meant that, in his absence, discord has developed within the IFP. Also, while Kelly's combative style might serve him well when he is interviewed for rare radio or television occasions, it has not helped him to build a stable political project.

Despite this latest split, Kelly's penchant for factionalism has not abated. He has repeatedly made derisory posts on X about Ireland First, calling it the "Casey/Murphy gang". Both Anthony Casey and Martin Murphy were prominent members of the IFP but left after an earlier split.

Kelly also reposted a message from Derek Blighe reproaching Kerry woman Michelle Keane. She was angered that she had been excluded from a meeting of a new party, the Hibernian Party, which is seeking to unite the right. After its not so secret inaugural meeting in Mullingar, nothing has been heard of it since.

Kelly, however, has thrown his weight behind Steenson for the upcoming by-election in Dublin Central. How Steenson's new Grá na hÉireann East Wall organisation, with its Easter lily logo, will react to support from Nigel Farage's former pit bull will tell a lot about the nature of unity on the right.



ARSON ATTACKS LINKED TO STARMER

IN MAY 2025 several arson attacks targeted properties and a car linked to British Prime Minister Keir Starmer. Three men are scheduled to stand trial next April, charged with conspiracy to commit arson.


Keir Starmer

The investigation into these puzzling incidents is being led by counter-terrorism officers, although authorities have stated that the case is not being treated as terrorism related.

On May 8, 2025, a car formerly owned by Starmer was set ablaze in Kentish Town. Dramatic photographs of the burning vehicle appeared in several British newspapers in the days following the attack.

Three days later, a fire broke out at flats connected to Starmer in nearby Islington. Firefighters rescued one person, using breathing apparatus to reach them safely.

The day after that, another fire was reported at Starmer's former residence in Kentish Town, which is currently rented out.

Two of the accused are Ukrainian nationals, aged 21 and 34, while the third defendant is a 26-year-old Romanian national. They have pleaded not guilty to charges of conspiracy to commit arson with intent to endanger life.

At Westminster Magistrates Court, where the suspects first appeared, the prosecution revealed that an accelerant – preliminarily identified as a "slow burning" substance – was used in at least one of the fires.

Prosecutor Sarah Przybylska stated: "At this stage, the alleged offending is unexplained."

The case has attracted minimal attention from the British media thus far. Online commentators have criticised mainstream news outlets for their silence, suggesting that a D-notice – a government advisory restricting publication on national security grounds – might be influencing coverage.

Meanwhile, the internet has filled the void, with a surge of conspiracy theories implicating various intelligence agencies.

Since Starmer no longer lives at any of the targeted properties nor drives the car involved, the attacks were unlikely to be assassination attempts.

Goldhawk will be keen to see whether the Crown Prosecution Service proposes a motive for the attacks or relies solely on forensic evidence to build its case.

MAC OIREACHTAIGH'S HUNGARIAN ALLIES

THE RECENT visit by National Party (NP) youth wing leader Yan Mac Oireachtaigh to Budapest demonstrates just how extreme the party is. Mac Oireachtaigh visited the Hungarian capital to participate in a conference organised by Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (MHM). The right-wing scene in Hungary is quite entrenched and, in an effort to differentiate itself from the right-wing populism of Viktor Orbán's Fidesz party and the hard-right Jobbik party, MHM has engaged in prolific anti-Roma racism in order to build an electoral following.

While MHM's opposition to LGBTQ+ rights, advocating for traditional family values, promotion of conspiracy theories and Islamophobia are well developed, these are not substantially different from the proposals of Fidesz or Jobbik.

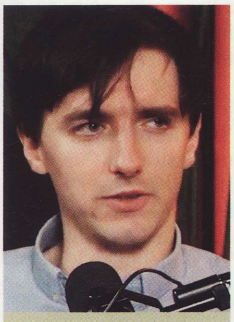
A recent report by the European Roma Rights Centre points out that, in its election posters and leaflets, MHM gives a commitment to prevent Hungary from becoming a Cigányország (Gypsy country) and advocates the use of voluntary self-defence associations in "the need to fight against all aspects of Gypsy delinquency".

MHM has also developed a localised variant of the Great Replacement theory, which was first articulated by French author Renaud Camus in the 1970s, claiming that white European populations are being deliberately replaced by non-white immigrants. MHM claimed: "Gypsies are producing a population explosion typical of the Third World. The number of Gypsies doubles by generations, while the number of Hungarians is almost halved."

Chillingly, MHM calls for a family planning authority to be established to reduce birth rates among Roma.

This is not the first time that the NP has been linked to MHM. In October 2023 Ross Culligan, James Reynolds and Keith Woods (the pseudonym of Keith O'Brien from Roscommon) took part in a MHM conference in Budapest.

In January 2025 Culligan pleaded guilty at Ennis District Court to assaulting Michael Neylon at a blockade mounted against a rumoured centre for asylum seekers in Corofin. Culligan's solicitor, Tara Godfrey, confirmed her client's guilty plea and told the judge that he "has completely removed himself from certain influences that he was under at the time".


Keith Woods

Reynolds had already ended his involvement with the NP in rather melodramatic fashion at the count centre for the Midlands North-West constituency in the European Parliament elections in June 2024. He was dispirited by the 3,201 first-preference votes he received and stated: "You'll never see James Reynolds running for election under the heading of the National Party because the National Party brand is a toxic brand. It's a brand that you cannot sell."

Interestingly, in a *Sunday Independent* article on November 30, Woods was described as "a former member of the right-wing National Party." When journalist Ali Bracken queried why Woods had left the NP, he replied: "No comment."

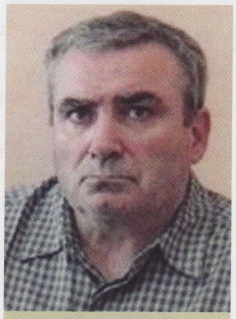
A fortnight later, however, Woods appeared in a number of photos from the party's AGM, which were posted on the NP's social media channels. In all the pictures, he is wearing a lanyard on which the NP logo was prominent.



SCAPPATICCI'S PAY DAY

FREDDIE SCAPPATICCI, a member of the IRA, became an agent for British Army intelligence in 1978. He eventually became second in command of the feared Internal Security Unit, known as the "nutting squad". In 1982, he became an agent of the British Army's newly formed Force Research Unit.

Scappaticci, who died in 2023, consistently claimed he was not the agent known as 'Stakeknife'. Few ever believed him.



Freddie Scappaticci

Last February, Taoiseach Micheál Martin called on the British government to name Stakeknife, asserting that he was known to be Scappaticci. Martin's appeal followed those of Iain Livingston of Operation Kenova and PSNI chief constable Jon Boutcher. Boutcher has described the failure to do so as a "pantomime".

The British government refuses to name Stakeknife, citing its "neither confirm nor deny" policy regarding agents. Strangely, amid all the controversy, the Dublin media has ignored a secret visit Scappaticci made to Dublin long after he was exposed as a British agent in 2003.

In October 2020, Deirdre Younge, a former editor of RTÉ's *Prime Time*, revealed in *Village* magazine that Scappaticci had dealings with the Smithwick Tribunal in Dublin. She has since published a series of follow-up articles about him for the Covert History Ireland and UK website.

The Smithwick Tribunal was established to investigate allegations of Garda collusion in the murders in south Armagh of RUC chief superintendent Harry Breen and superintendent Bob Buchanan, who were killed in March 1989 after leaving a meeting at Dundalk Garda Station.

By May 2011, the Smithwick Tribunal had decided that Scappaticci would receive limited legal representation, which later evolved into full legal representation. Curiously, details of his interactions with the tribunal were withheld from other interested parties.

Tribunal judge Peter Smithwick later stated publicly "that Mr Scappaticci did not provide evidence to the Smithwick Tribunal. Mr Scappaticci (who is outside the jurisdiction) would not co-operate in providing evidence. He declined to give a signed statement or oral testimony."

Younge, however, obtained documents from the justice department, through the usually futile route of making a Freedom of Information Act request. These documents revealed that Scappaticci had met with the tribunal's lawyers in the UK.

A high-level source also confirmed to Younge that Scappaticci had attended meetings with the tribunal over three days in Dublin.

Presumably, the judge considered that there was a difference between private discussions and providing "evidence".

At the conclusion of the Smithwick Tribunal, Scappaticci was awarded his legal costs, approved by the secretaries general of the justice and public expenditure departments. Yet he received only a brief mention in the 2013 Smithwick Report – specifically regarding the issue of amnesty for witnesses.

Scappaticci's lawyers were paid €382,270 to allow him to rebut accusations that he was Stakeknife.

PHILIP DWYER'S CO-STARS

A RECENT video posted by Philip Dwyer on his X and Telegram accounts highlights a series of legal cases faced by some of Ireland's most prominent right-wing activists such as Derek Blighe, Ross Lahive, Ferg Power, Kirk Loco and Dwyer himself.

In February 'citizen journalist' Dwyer appeared in Bray District Court to face a charge of affray. The charge related to a confrontation that developed between Dwyer and People Before Profit general election candidate for Wicklow Kellie McConnell and her canvassers.

Dwyer was sentenced to three months in prison but the judge suspended it for 12 months and imposed a fine of €750.



Philip Dwyer

Derek Blighe of Ireland First was recently sent forward for trial on a charge of harassing a member of An Garda Síochána between February and December 2023. When the book of evidence was served on Blighe, Sergeant John Dineen noted the bail conditions Blighe was to adhere to and how he was "skirting quite close to online commentary, especially in relation to commentary on this case online".

In Dwyer's video, Blighe claimed: "Once you have an audience, they will come down on you like a ton of bricks."

Last year Ross Lahive of the Irish People's Party was given a three-month jail sentence at Tralee District Court for his part in a violent confrontation that developed after anti-LGBTQ+ protesters stormed a drag story event for children at Tralee Library in 2023. He is appealing the sentence and the case will be heard this month.

Last month it emerged that Niall McConnell, leader of the Síol na hÉireann party, is facing charges of operating an unlicensed taxi in Donegal.

A sheep farmer from Castlefin, McConnell has stood unsuccessfully as an independent candidate in both local government and general elections.

In a somewhat different legal case, McConnell is currently taking a case against Independent Donegal County councillor Micheál Choilm Mac Giolla Easbuig. McConnell contends that Mac Giolla Easbuig, who topped the poll in the Glenties ward in the local government elections, made defamatory comments about him in a social media post.



Continued from page 3

Judge Swift and the entire project underlined the legal firm's "lawfare" methodology, as proudly proclaimed in its own literature, which is littered with references to fighting terrorism.

Collins English Dictionary defines 'lawfare' as: "1. The strategic use of legal proceedings to intimidate or hinder an opponent 2. The use of the law by a country against its enemies, esp by challenging the legality of military or foreign policy".

Legal 500, the client guide to the top legal firms worldwide, says McCue senior partner Jason McCue's "specialisation – in practice and academically – is in lawfare (the use of law to gain strategic advantages)".

McCue Jury's own literature boasts that its solicitors "work with the private sector and deliver private solutions". It says it is well known for enforcing legal rights "regardless of who we are up against: whether against terrorists, rogue nation-states, governments, or large global corporations".

It goes on to state: "Our team is highly experienced in cross-border and evidentially complex disputes… Our team includes world leaders in counter-terrorism and counter-radicalization legal matters.

"Our in-house Litigation Support Group (LSG) makes us different and provides the client with an edge in every legal issue that befalls them. The LSG, supported where necessary by RIGEL (our sister consultancy company) provides all forms of essential support… private political diplomacy, campaigning, fundraising, and strategic communications and PR. It also enjoys far-reaching close ties with government, security, and police services worldwide."

Sister company RIGEL also "provides impeccable intelligence, investigatory and strategic communications (PR) capability, and capacity".

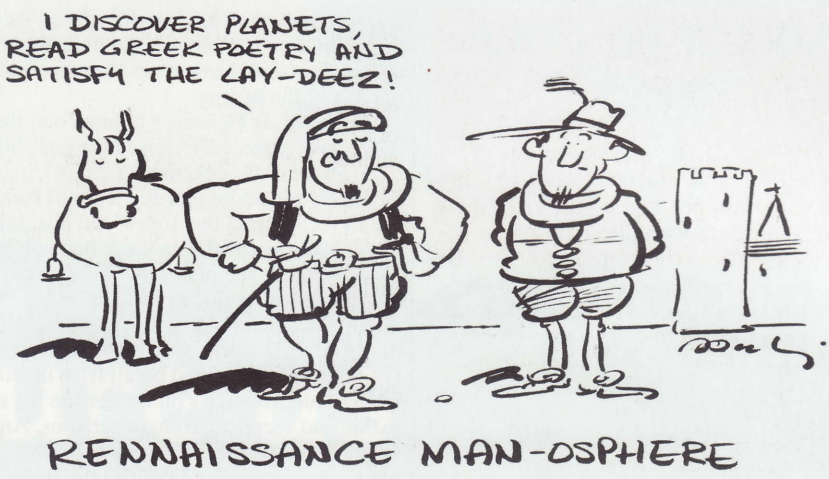
And what is one to make of the brazen claim by McCue Jury that "our team through RIGEL, has the capability to mount appropriate covert investigations".

This all sounds more like a state machine within a state – rather than a firm of solicitors taking personal injury claims, as it purported to take to the High Court in London against Adams. Does the lead involvement of this firm, connected as it says to "government, security, and police services worldwide", explain how the plaintiffs' case was facilitated by a list of military and intelligence operatives?

And why is it that, despite being central to a London court case against the most well-known republican in modern history, McCue Jury's James Bond-type profile evaded the enhanced resources of the mainstream media in Britain and Ireland?

VANDERMEERSCH'S AI DEBACLE





***LOOKS LIKE** the trusting souls in justice are taking no chances when it comes to commissioning a book on the first 50 years of the department, 1918-68.*

The numerous layers of control – sorry, supervision – of the tome can be calculated by the structures surrounding it. The department will appoint the book's researcher; the research will be 'overseen' by an 'advisory' group; this group will be comprised of current and former justice officials nominated by the department; each chapter will be 'reviewed' by the advisory group; and the researcher will be provided with 'support' at all stages of the project.

Hopefully the chosen researcher will not turn out to be a covert sympathiser of the 'irregulars' from the Civil War period, who might find fault with then minister Kevin O'Higgins and his colleagues, who were responsible for war crimes in that period in Kerry, Dublin and elsewhere.

And presumably, current justice minister Jim O'Callaghan, a descendant of those on the anti-treaty side, will not cavil about the generous €270,000 fee for the book.

COLIN WALLACE'S COVERT TRUTH

COLIN WALLACE, a former psychological operations officer in the British Army, is pursuing a legal action to compel the British government to reveal the truth about the covert operations in which he was involved during his time in NI. Wallace was posted to HQNI and also to the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) in the 1970s. One of his responsibilities was to oversee loyalist paramilitary attempts to infiltrate the UDR.

Wallace collaborated with General Peter Leng, the British Army's NI land operations commander. A crucial moment arose in 1973 when Leng directed Wallace to leak information to the press about William McGrath, a loyalist paramilitary accused of overseeing much of the child abuse involving Kincora Boys' Home.

Although he provided detailed information to the *Irish Times* and several British newspapers, the story was never published.

Shortly after, Wallace faced dismissal from the army on false charges. During his appeal, MI5 covertly interfered, influencing Jock Shaw, the chairman of the appeals board. Shaw was wrongly led to believe that Wallace's dismissal was due to alleged UVF membership, causing him to compromise the hearing.

A letter dated December 11, 1974, from the defence ministry's Sir Michael Cary to MI5 director-general Michael Hanley, reveals the extent of this malfeasance. The letter details Cary's meeting with Shaw and their scheme to reject Wallace's appeal without a fair hearing.


Colin Wallace

Wallace has held three meetings with Operation Denton, the inquiry into the Glenanne gang's activities, during which he revealed details of high-level collusion. Leaks from Operation Denton suggest that it has dismissed claims of such collusion, leaving it no option but to challenge Wallace's testimony. Good luck with that.

In 1981, Wallace was wrongly convicted of manslaughter, with Home Office pathologist Dr Ian West later proven to have committed perjury. Wallace was acquitted on appeal and compensated.

Wallace also exposed a smear campaign targeting politicians, including prime minister Harold Wilson. His assertions were later corroborated by Peter Wright in his book *Spycatcher* and cabinet secretary John Hunt.

Further revelations from Wallace detailed Operation Clockwork Orange, a series of dirty tricks carried out by MI5. The British government initially denied the operation's existence and misled parliament but eventually, when related files emerged, the Thatcher government was compelled to apologise to Wallace.

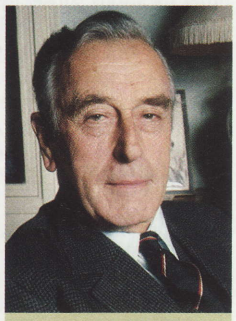
The Calcutt Inquiry, established to investigate the misleading of parliament over Clockwork Orange, caused Thatcher headaches. On December 12, 1989, northern secretary Tom King wrote to her, stating that it was going to "be important to restrict" the "terms of reference" of the inquiry "so that [the investigator] could avoid getting drawn into [the] Kincora [child rape scandal], 'Clockwork Orange' and alleged assassinations, etc".

The latest shady manoeuvre in the Wallace saga is the convenient disappearance of his UDR file, which contains many of his reports.

KINCORA SURVIVOR'S MANY BATTLES

RICHARD KERR, a survivor of sex abuse that he suffered at Kincora Boys' Home, will commence his legal action against the NI state before the High Court in Belfast next month.

Kerr was among the boys trafficked to Lord Mountbatten in Sligo. An Garda Síochána has refused to release visitor logs from August 1977, the period during which Mountbatten abused Kerr and another Kincora boy, Stephen Warren, who tragically died by suicide in November of that year by jumping from the Ulster Monarch ferry.



Lord Mountbatten

In the years since, Kerr has faced numerous attempts to discredit and intimidate him. One effort involved linking Kerr to Karl Beech, a conman who garnered acres of press attention when he posed as an alleged victim of abuse by VIPs in Britain before being exposed as a fraud. Beech's conviction for misleading the UK police in 2019 allowed the British media to dismiss all allegations of sex abuse committed by VIPs as fantasy.

Kerr, however, recognised Beech as a conman early on and refused to participate in an Australian television programme with him.

Kerr subsequently received a threatening letter, purporting to be from the UFF, at the address of one of his supporters, which he had provided to Beech's handlers – an address otherwise known only to the BBC. The 2016 letter accused him of having "in fact killed Steven on the boat, rather than the story you tell of him committing suicide... You have been discussed at a very high level and although this is not a threat, as a group we would like to inform you that you are no longer welcome in the UK or in Northern Ireland and if you are seen, active service units of the Ulster Freedom Fighters and their friends will forcibly remove you to an airport."

Another attempt to discredit Kerr came from Judge Anthony Hart, whose 2017 tribunal report on sex abuse in the north has been widely criticised. Hart reported that Kerr had stated that he had been abused by Sir Maurice Oldfield, chief of MI6, a claim Kerr never made. Later in the same report, Hart contradicted himself by stating that Kerr had not made that assertion.

In 2020 an anonymous internet group, claiming to support victims of child abuse, contacted Kerr and subsequently released a video falsely alleging that Kerr had provided them with a photograph of Mountbatten. Kerr did not provide the picture, which was not even of Mountbatten.

This was but one of many false allegations made in the video.

VRAI'S PADDY'S DAY BASH FOR US ARMY

THE DEEPENING crisis in the Middle East this month did not deter Irish company VRAI Simulation from pursuing business opportunities with the United States Army. As the US and Israeli war on Iran entered its third week, VRAI hosted a St Patrick's Day event at Fort Rucker, Alabama, the headquarters for US Army's aviation branch.

In recent years VRAI, which has its headquarters on Exchange Street in Dublin's Temple Bar, has been expanding aggressively and has opened offices in Newcastle, England, and Orlando, Florida. VRAI specialises in creating virtual reality (VR) content that is used in training simulators and gathering data generated by personnel using the simulators.

The company has developed a close relationship with British armed forces using VR and data capture technology to help train Royal Air Force pilots and has developed a multi-launch rocket system tactical simulator for the British Army.

In late 2024 VRAI opened its third office at the Business Incubation Program on the University of Central Florida campus in Orlando. Most of the simulation industry in the US is based in the vicinity of the college, having developed there initially due to its proximity to the Nasa base at Cape Canaveral.

Fort Rucker covers about 63,000 acres in Dale County in south east Alabama. In 2008 the base was designated as the US Army Aviation Center of Excellence. Not only is it the HQ for both training and developing technology for this branch of the US Army, it is also responsible for deploying and co-ordinating all of the US Army's aviation operations.

Big Mike's Fort Rucker Bar & Grill is located on the base and, to mark St Patrick's Day, VRAI co-ordinated an event at the venue. Publicity for the event told US soldiers to "get ready for a sham-rockin' good time" and that they would get in the "Irish spirit with live music from Blake Malone". On the day itself, not only was there a "scavenger hunt to find the hidden leprechaun" and Irish tricolour jello shots available, there was also some marketing to be done.



Pat O'Connor

VRAI staff were on site to demonstrate a helicopter flight simulator, which patrons could try out. Posters and menus with the VRAI logo prominently displayed were around the bar and there souvenir shot glasses with the company's logo were also available.

The Fort Rucker branch of the US Army's morale, welfare and recreation programme was effusive in its praise for the event, describing it as a "night to remember".

True Communication Technologies Ltd, trading as VRAI Simulation, was first incorporated in August 2017. The most recent annual return for the company notes that 59,680 A2 shares are still held by Enterprise Ireland.

VRAI CEO Pat O'Connor, however, does not seem too worried that Enterprise Ireland would be concerned with the shenanigans in Fort Rucker, despite the war on Iran rumbling on and the mounting body count.



DECLAN GANLEY'S IMPERIAL PROPOSALS

AS THOSE active in the networks of Ireland's new right continue to jockey for position, Declan Ganley has been taking an increasingly hands-on role to put right recent political mistakes. But Ganley is a follower of Donald Trump and penned an opinion piece in the *Wall Street Journal* (*WSJ*) on April 8 encouraging the US president's imperial ambitions. This is a posture unlikely to get on the right side of the Irish electorate.



Declan Ganley

Ganley – along with Paul Treyvaud, Elaine Mullally and Nick Delehanty – launched *The Irish Question* (*IQ*) podcast in early February and, since then, a dozen episodes of these live-streamed discussions have been broadcast.

None of the themes on *IQ* are particularly ground breaking, with lengthy discussions on topics such as immigration and trans ideology; asylum seekers and housing; and 'Covid – The 6th Anniversary'. These are standard fare on many of the podcasts, X Spaces, YouTube channels etc that have proliferated across Ireland's right in recent years.

That is the point though. These sober and serious chats won't radically shift the Overton window right away. Of course, when you consider the shambles of splits, factions and a succession of appeals to the Electoral Commission that have plagued the National Party, Ireland First and the Irish Freedom Party over the last two years, you see how the staid atmosphere of *IQ* might seem, from their perspective, the right choice.

As head of Rivada Networks, Ganley was among the business leaders from the tech sector in attendance at Trump's inauguration. His article in the *WSJ* – "A Place Like Greenland, Only Unclaimed" – was an effort to replicate Trump's Greenland proposition — at the opposite pole of the planet. It opened with: "President Trump has shown he is willing to make bold strategic moves. He should seize an opportunity to expand American sovereignty over the world's largest unclaimed territory. Marie Byrd Land covers some 620,000 square miles of Antarctica – an area roughly the size of Alaska."

Ganley goes on to dismiss the importance of the 1959 Antarctic Treaty, which froze existing territorial claims. He instead highlights the potential to secure 45 billion barrels of oil, which lie untapped underneath Marie Byrd Land, along with significant deposits of coal, iron ore and rare earth minerals. For Ganley, seizing Marie Byrd Land would be similar to the US's acquisitions of Louisiana in 1803 and Alaska in 1867.

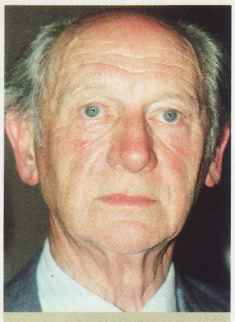
Ganley's imperial proposals fit right in with Trump's war on Iran and attack on Venezuela, as well as his warmongering in relation to Greenland.

JACK LYNCH'S 'CARTE BLANCHE' TO UK

RECENTLY DECLASSIFIED files from the 1970s offer an insight into the Cosgrave government's diffidence in its dealings with Whitehall after gardaí arrested a unit of armed SAS soldiers in an unmarked vehicle, all of whom were in civilian attire, shortly after they had crossed the border. The arrest took place on a bright moonlit night at 10:40 pm on May 5, 1976. The SAS mission was probably connected to the escape the previous night of nine INLA prisoners from Long Kesh through a tunnel. The SAS men claimed they had made a map-reading error but, when they didn't return to Bessbrook military barracks, six more SAS soldiers crossed the border at exactly the same point, belying the map-reading error excuse. They were also arrested.

The declassified files do not reveal the anger of then-Garda commissioner Ned Garvey at the arrest. The files only scratch the surface of the highly secretive level of co-operation that had existed between Britain and Ireland, which suffered a blow after the SAS unit was apprehended.

Edward Heath, the PM of the UK (1970-1974) started the ball rolling on security and intelligence co-operation with the Republic. On April 25, 1972, Heath wrote to then taoiseach Jack Lynch, urging the immediate creation of a system of security co-operation along the border. When questions were raised in the Dáil about these discussions, 'Honest Jack' denied that co-operation had been broached. But behind closed doors, the crafty Lynch was telling British ambassador John Peck that he agreed "discreet collaboration was clearly called for".



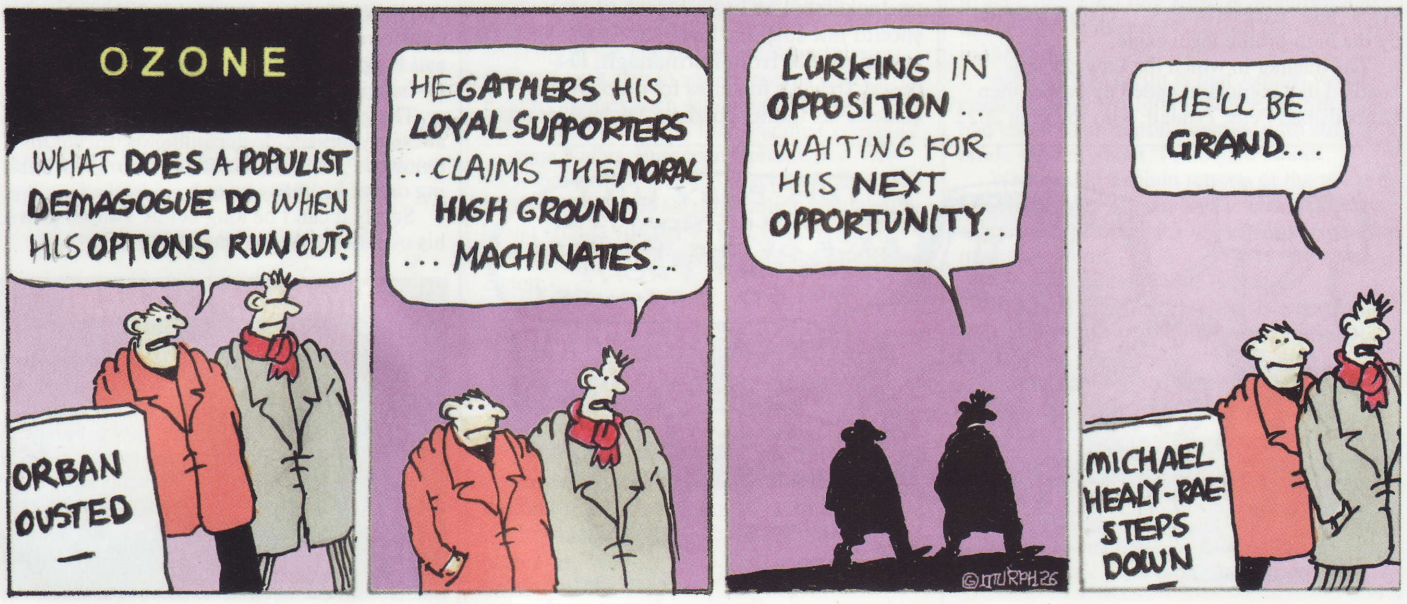
Jack Lynch

That same month, Lynch gave Peck what the latter interpreted as "*carte blanche*" to pursue the establishment of security co-operation directly with the departments of defence and justice in Dublin. Peck sent a telegram to London stating the co-operation would be "mutual and discreet, bearing in mind that it has to be deniable in the Dáil".

Afterwards, there was a meeting to kick start the co-operation between the Irish Army's chief-of-staff and the military attaché at the British embassy.

Peck's contact at the justice department was Andy Ward. Peck later secured meetings with Larry Wren, of the highly secretive C3 Garda intelligence unit. Peck retired as ambassador in 1973 and settled in Dún Laoghaire, Co Dublin.

Ned Garvey was undoubtedly aware of these developments, having overseen Garda intelligence in the early 1970s before his appointment as Garda commissioner in 1975. Curiously, when judge Henry Barron, chair of the Dublin-London bombings inquiry, asked Garvey about contact with British military intelligence officer Fred Holroyd, Garvey did not refer to the deniable instructions issued by Lynch nor to any that might have been provided by his successor, Liam Cosgrave.



McENTEE'S NATO STRATEGY

DEFENCE MINISTER Helen McEntee highlighted the growing threat to Ireland's maritime infrastructure at the Valentia Island Subsea Cable Security and Resilience Symposium on April 23.

McEntee is building up the navy so that it will soon be shipshape and ready to participate in Joint Expeditionary Force (JEF) activities.



Helen McEntee

The JEF, founded a decade ago, is a UK-led rapid-response military coalition. Its 10 members include Nato countries. It primarily focuses on security in the Arctic and North Atlantic regions.

The British public was the first to learn of this. In November 2025, a British "security expert" disclosed to London's *Financial Times* that the UK was leading a campaign to integrate Ireland into the JEF. The plan was described as "still far from fruition" and requiring careful management.

The "security expert" revealed: "Finland and Sweden joined the group in 2017, several years before their accession to Nato, and the prospect of Ireland doing the same has been under discussion for some time, according to two people familiar with the conversations."

The names of the clandestine pair were not revealed.

The "security expert" also predicted that the Irish media would ignore the manoeuvring. "It won't be highlighted in any headlines... There'll be lots of complex acronyms and policies quoted by poker-faced civil servants" to confuse the Irish public.

Last month, Irish minister Jack Chambers attended the Bilderberg conference in Washington, where he met Sweden's defence minister, but we don't know what , if anything, he discussed, as secrecy surrounds the Bilderberg group.

Last February the Government took its first formal step towards participation in the JEF by publishing the National Maritime Security Strategy 2026–2030. A passage in the appendix states that Ireland intends to "commence agreement with JEF countries for Ireland to participate in appropriate activities".

McEntee declared that Ireland would begin negotiations in the second quarter of 2026 to join the JEF, with a focus on training and maritime risk assessment. "We are looking at ways in which we can co-operate more in these types of partnerships," she explained.

Last March, Nato issued a tweet describing Ireland as a "Nato Partner Nation" after the Irish Navy and Air Corps joined a Nato Passex or "passing exercise", an event designed to enable navies to communicate and co-operate with each other.

Ireland's future involvement with these Nato-light organisations will be through an enhanced partnership called JEF+, which enables "flexible, ad hoc co-operation".

GERMANY AND PSNI TARGET PA PROTESTS

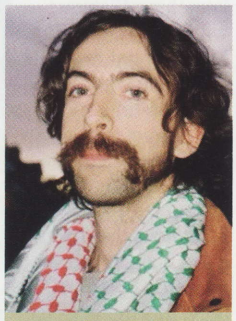
IN THE last week of April, just as the trial of Dublin man Daniel Tatlow-Devally opened in Germany for allegedly participating in a Palestine Action (PA) protest, a freedom of information request revealed the scale of the clamp down on the group in the north. The arms industries in both Britain and Germany have cashed in on Israel's genocidal war on Gaza and in 2024 they approved arms export licences to Israel worth respectively €165m and €170m.

In Germany Elbit Systems Deutschland, headquartered in Ulm, Baden-Württemberg, became the focus of protests against the war. It is Israel's largest weapons manufacturer, not only producing Hermes drones but also components for Merkava tanks and munitions. The output of Elbit's German subsidiary includes military communication devices, radar technology and laser target designators.

Tatlow-Devally and four other defendants, are accused of occupying the Elbit offices in Ulm last September and causing damage to office equipment, smashing windows etc.

The Ulm 5 are also charged, under section 129 of the German criminal code, with being members of a criminal organisation, Palestine Action Germany. Section 129 was used extensively in the 1970s and 1980s to target members and supporters of the Red Army Faction. If the Ulm 5 are convicted of breaching section 129, they could receive sentences of up to five years.

North of the border here, French-owned arms company Thales has a factory in Castlereagh, east Belfast, and a test facility near Ballynahinch, Co Down. Thales has had a close association with Elbit and until recently they jointly owned a subsidiary in England, which supplied the Israeli military with "I-Master airborne surveillance radar" that "detects and locates moving and stationary targets at long stand-off ranges over land and sea". There have been many protests at the Thales facilities in the north and over Thales close links to Queen's University.



Daniel Tatlow-Devally

While the PSNI has arrested relatively few PA supporters, it has referred 32 files (each file could refer to multiple people) to the Public Prosecution Service for alleged offences under Section 13 of the Terrorism Act 2000. Section 13 makes it a crime to wear, carry or display an item in public that might give rise to "reasonable suspicion" of membership or support for a proscribed organisation. In the PA cases, the individuals concerned are like the thousands arrested in England who were charged in relation to clothing and posters saying "I oppose genocide. I support Palestine Action."

A freedom of information request submitted by *The Detail* news website revealed that in less than a year the PSNI had submitted more than three times the amount of files against PA supporters (32) than it had in relation to loyalists (10) in over 25 years since the legislation was introduced. Loyalists have largely been able to fly UDA and UVF flags, as well as wearing and displaying the organisations logos with impunity.



MI5'S ROLE IN CORCORAN KILLING

A SEQUENCE of events involving the IRA and two Garda informants unfolded in 1985, when one, John Corcoran, was shot dead by the other, Sean O'Callaghan. At best, it was a catastrophic failure of management and oversight at the highest levels of An Garda Síochána. At worst, it amounted to the deliberate sacrifice of Corcoran's life by senior Garda officers to protect O'Callaghan's status as an intelligence asset.



Sean O'Callaghan

The Irish government has criticised Britain for engaging in this type of behaviour in the case of Freddie Scappaticci, codenamed Stakeknife, who was permitted to kill fellow informers within the Provisional IRA to preserve his position.

Corcoran's Garda Special Branch handler was JP O'Sullivan, the author of the recently published book *Veil of Silence*, which delves into the affair.

But for the first time, Goldhawk can reveal the role of British intelligence in the assassination of Corcoran.

In 1975 Corcoran became a registered agent of An Garda Síochána, operating under the code number C4E. Larry Wren, then head of C3, Garda Intelligence, and later Garda commissioner, was informed of his identity.

Des Long, who was deeply involved in the Provisional IRA's intelligence activities in Munster and served on the IRA's Army Executive for two decades, will publish his memoir, *In the Blood*, this year. In it, he recounts how he was suspicious of Corcoran, among others.

O'Sullivan was transferred out of the Garda Special Branch for a number of years and Corcoran became inactive as an agent.

On September 29, 1984, the vessel *Marita Ann* was intercepted by gardaí and the navy, acting on intelligence from O'Callaghan. British intelligence was deeply involved in the operation.

Following the interception, a scapegoat was needed to deflect suspicion from O'Callaghan.

According to Long's book, a three-part trap was devised by O'Callaghan to expose Corcoran. The first two attempts were unsuccessful. The final, fatal stage of the plan unfolded when Corcoran collected an IRA man from the Ballincollig safe house and drove him to the northside of Cork.

O'Sullivan was becoming increasingly concerned about a trap and he contacted a senior officer involved in anti-IRA operations to tell him not to raid the northside property. The next day O'Sullivan discussed his concerns with C3 in Dublin. Despite all this, the house was raided.

That search enabled O'Callaghan to shift the blame for many of his activities on to Corcoran, accusing the latter of being an informant.

By this stage, O'Callaghan was being handled jointly with MI5, with London dominating the relationship.

Crucially, O'Callaghan had become an MI5 agent by the end of 1984 – before he executed Corcoran. As a senior member of IRA's southern command and a member of the GHQ staff, O'Callaghan was one of London's most valuable assets in the IRA.

In his book, *The Informer*, O'Callaghan concealed his true involvement with London, claiming he did not become involved with British intelligence until he went to England in December 1985. He alleged, disingenuously, that the gardaí "had already asked me if I would be prepared to meet the English police once I arrived at Heathrow and I knew that someone from Special Branch would meet me at the airport".

McDONNELL AND THE ENGLISH HARD RIGHT

LAST SATURDAY Kildare county councillor Tom McDonnell took to the stage, while waving a tricolour, in London's Parliament Square at Tommy Robinson's (pseudonym of Stephen Yaxley Lennon) Unite the Kingdom rally.

McDonnell tried to play to the prejudices of this gathering of English nationalists and, seemingly oblivious to Ireland's colonial history, he claimed that the Irish "have a great affinity with the UK". He stated: "We've had no problem. They love us. We love them."

This was met with a lukewarm response from a crowd enduring just another one of the 33 speakers over six rainy hours.

Eager to please Robinson's supporters, McDonnell moved topics, claiming to roars of approval: "It's a united front is what we need because the threat is Islam and it's a massive threat and it's coming right through Europe."

During his speech McDonnell held aloft a brown envelope with a photocopied sheet of A4 paper containing the text, "An Irish Letter to President Trump". McDonnell assured his audience on the day and in a video uploaded to his X account that, through his connections in London, the letter would be delivered to Trump. He explained that it had been "given to me by the Elders of Ireland" and it's "against the globalists and the government in Ireland".

In videos and pictures that McDonnell posted online he is joined in the square by Garda whistleblower – and in recent years anti-immigration campaigner – John Wilson. The grinning and dancing duo seem oblivious to the fact that Robinson's rally has been something of a damp squib. While Robinson claimed there had been millions marching, independent estimates put the crowd at 60,000, less than half the number that attended Robinson's rally in the English capital last September.



Tommy Robinson

Robinson told his audience: "You have to join a political party. I don't care if it's Reform, if it's Advance or it's Restore or it's the Conservative Party."

Interesting company for an Irish patriot like McDonnell to be keeping.

