Letters to the Editor

-MORNING VIEW -

Congratulations to GB News, showing up BBC NI on Twelfth

n a way it should not have been surprising that BBC Northern Ireland ditched its live coverage of the oncea-year Twelfth of July parades.

You only need to consider how the corporation covered the centenary of Northern Ireland, treating it entirely as a contested matter between those who want Northern Ireland to exist and those who do not.

This assumed they are even in number, when in fact determined opponents of the existence of NI are only ever 20 something per cent of those who vote in Northern Ireland elections (and even if they were even in number, BBC NI is the broadcaster for one of the four home nations so should not be neutral on the existence of a country that is its role to cover exhaustively, thus including its anniversaries of state).

BBC NI - which has such extensive Irish language and GAA broadcasting - failed at any point in the last year to run a straightforward celebration of the remarkable milestone of Northern Ireland turning 100.

It turned it into a centenary of 'partition'. See the sleight of hand in such an approach? It would be akin to the Irish state, or RTE, in 2016 having treated the centenary of the Easter Rising as a neutral event — the 100th anniversary of two competing views: one pro, one anti that event. Which of course is not how nationalist Ireland commemorated its cherished rising.

The BBC did not even to cover extensively those who wanted to celebrate NI's 100th. Its TV coverage of the 4.5 mile centenary parade, with 25,000 participants and 100,000 spectators, amounted to three minutes on the evening news.

Now, however, GB News has proven that its title does not mean that it just concentrates on the mainland, but in fact it covers one of the big spectacles of the UK — the glorious Twelfth (of July) in Ulster.

Congratulations to the young channel, only a year old. It does not have the resources of BBC NI, so might struggle to do justice to a day so widely celebrated across Northern Ireland. But it is trying, and visibly standing in where the BBC has left.

Protocol Bill is a con and does not advance the unionist cause

LEAD LETTER

Very nearly all commentatorsseem to have fallen

for the political sleight of hand that is the Northern Ireland Protocol Bill. Sure, it throws red meat to

Brexiteers and unionists in the form of promises to uphold the Act of Union, jettison EU State Aid laws, VAT and Excise duty rates.

The icing on the cake is its reference to the removal of the European Court of Justice as the supreme arbiter of the protocol. But all this British chest beating is belied by its last clause

That states only the last six clauses of the bill will pass

All the 'good stuff' trotted out earlier in the bill has no operative effect.

So, what do these last six clauses say?

Well, one of them wastes an entire clause to state that only six clauses, of which it is one, pass into law. So that leaves five.

Of these, one authorises government to incur expenditure in implementing the act and another is a list of definitions.

The remaining three clauses describe how new regu-



It throws red meat to Brexiteers and unionists in promises to jettison EU State Aid laws and uphold the Act of Union

lations can be made once the bill passes into law. In summary, they state the government may itself pass statutory instruments and implement these unless a past act of Parliament is being varied — in which case the regulation must be subject to an affirmative procedure, ie be put to Parliament.

This is just a statement of how government business is done.

In short, any changes to the protocol would have to go through a completely new Parliamentary process. This bill does not attack the protocol and it does not advance the cause of unionists in Northern Ireland, or indeed the union of Northern Ireland with Great Britain.

It is nothing more than an attempt to distract while the government again kicks the can down the road.

> Ben Habib, London SW1

TWEETS OF THE DAY



Isabel Oakeshott

@IsabelOakeshott I can't believe the Bishops are in a

lather over deportations to Rwanda! Where was the Church of England $for its flock \, during \, the \, pandemic?$ Nowhere! Yet now they're exercised by the "suffering" of a handful of fake asylum seekers, AKA economic mi-



Eilis O'Hanlon @EilisOHanIon Trending -Good Friday Agreement, Robbie Williams, and Jennifer Aniston. Are the 90s

Bashing the Order achieves nothing

This is a time for Orange Order bashing. Those given to bashing the Order (whether in the BBC NI management or not) should remember the attitudes within the Order did not arise in a vacuum.

To spend time bashing the Order alone will achieve noth-

Bashers need a reminder that until Vatican Council II young people in Roman Catholic grammar schools that made use of Archbishop Sheehan's book on Apologetics were taught that the 'tolerance' of the present age was not true tolerance but a tolerance based on indifference to the truth.

The Vatican II decree made it redundant — something a more with it Orange Order at the time would have welcomed.

That Apologetic (defence) teaching was based on the Lateran Council decree of 1215 (the medieval church the mother of us all) dispossessing 'heretics' of their lands. $To jump\,centuries\,to\,the\,Battle$ of the Boyne commemorated on the Twelth brings us, what with the Bill of Rights that followed, on the Boyne victory, to the opening of the way to parliamentary democracy. That can be celebrated by all. That and the support of William's Dutch Guards, all Roman Catholic, who landed with him at Torquay in his invasion of England is nearer to the complexities of the time than the BBC's often simplistic description of the victory of the 'Protestant' king over the 'Catholic' king.

WA Miller, Belfast 13

grants, heading to Kigali?

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Nednesday, June 15, 2022 www.newsletter.co.uk

Austen Morgan



EU misuse of deal is biggest threat to NI stability since '98

he government as expected — on 13 June, one week after D day! — introduced legislation on the Northern Ireland Protocol.

The protocol forms part of the United Kingdom's withdrawal agreement of October 2019, made with the European Union, followed by the free-trade agreement of December 2020 ... some two thousand pages drafted in Brussels, which restored national sovereignty at 23.00 (Greenwich mean time) on December 31 2020.

There will be reference in coming weeks and months to the 1998 Belfast Agreement, which ended the Troubles in Northern Ireland ('NI') after thirty years

Ironically, while the EU was legally incorrect to play the Belfast Agreement card, after the 2016 Brexit referendum, the UK government is right to now follow suit — as Liz Truss did in the commons on May 17 2022 — given the east-west Irish sea border created by the protocol.

The Belfast Agreement is in fact two agreements: one, a short treaty between London and Dublin; and the other a multi-party agreement — neither of which is called the Good Friday Agreement!

Legal obligations and political aspirations interact in the related text of the two agreements.

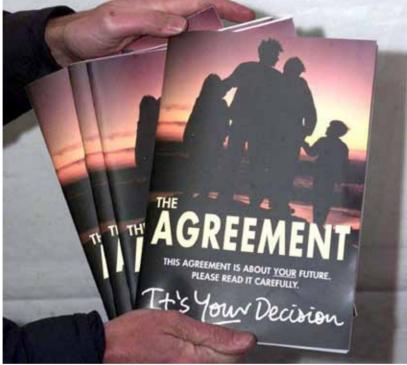
The noun border appears nowhere in the Belfast Agreement, which left the international frontier between the two states expressly unchanged.

This is because it was the 1986 Single European Act, which provided for the single — or internal (in EU terminology) — market.

At 23.00 on December 311992 (shortly after the Maastricht treaty), customs controls were removed by the EU on both sides of the Irish border.

I was one of those after the 2016 referendum who argued for a virtual border — advocating bilateralism between London and Dublin — to protect both the EU's internal market and the UK's single market while allowing trade (not that there was much) to continue flowing.

Bilateralism was legally arguable, because the Belfast Agreement had established the British-Irish intergovernmental conference: 'The Conference will bring together the British and Irish Governments to promote



The noun border doesn't appear in the Belfast Agreement, which left the land frontier unchanged

44

Michel Barnier adopted a nationalist interpretation of the agreement!

bilateral co-operation at all levels on all matters of mutual interest within the competence of both Governments.'

All levels.

ill matters

Enda Kenny (Taoiseach until June 2017) held to this position, until Leo Varadkar, his successor, took a EU-multilateral approach to Brexit. The Irish state finally admitted its destiny was EU dependency.

The two governments had a mutual interest in keeping a hard border out of Ireland, and it was practically doable. (The little-noted Irish walking away from the Belfast Agreement has been reciprocated by number 10: the Northern Ireland troubles llegacy and rec-

onciliation] bill now before parliament was not negotiated with Dublin).

The economist Graham Gudgin has recently recalled the expert work done on an electronic Irish border, including by Lars Karlsson (former director of the world customs organisation in Brussels), the European parliament publishing his Smart Border 2.0 in November 2017 (Spiked, May 25 2022).

Michel Barnier — a Hibernophile French Gaullist — and his taskforce 50 within the commission adopted a nationalist interpretation (the Good Friday Agreement!) in the negotiations with the UK.

He was to claim, in his Secret Brexit Diary: 'My strategy has been to make sure that the British ... recognize their responsibility for the continuation of North-South cooperation in Ireland, set up under EU law, with EU funding, and supported by EU policies.'

This is simply untrue.

First, NI's trade was substantially within the UK; a mere 5% of turnover went to the Republic of Ireland, and a further 3% to the rest of the EU.

Second, Barnier was generalising from a special EU programmes body to six later north-south implementation

And third, these bodies were — relatively small — bilateral international organisations, legally belonging to the two states.

Neither Theresa May as prime minister, Gavin Barwell her unlikely Sancho Panza nor (Sir) Olly Robbins stood up to this Brussels Behemoth on the Irish question. Their contribution – a major failure of statecraft – was acquiescing in the Irish backstop of unblessed memory. It took Boris Johnson, with Sir David (Lord) Frost, to replace the Irish backstop – related to a future trade agreement – with the NI protocol, followed by the trade and cooperation agreement without tariffs or quotas.

The October 2019 withdrawal agreement provided for an orderly withdrawal (which happened eventually) and legal certainty in the UK and EU afterwards, which shapes how we should interpret the NI protocol.

The protocol — with 19 articles and seven annexes amounting to 132 pages — is a drafting nightmare.

The UK has quit the EU, but it has left NI behind in the single market. The UK is recognised as a third county in the protocol, with its own customs territory, but the protocol scatters EU law (including customs but also regulation) across the province in five of the seven annexes.

The real problem is governance, with the UK acting as agent of the EU – whether light-touch EU customs controls on east-west trade or heavy-handed tracking of every consignment? There are better ways of preventing British goods leaking across the Irish border into the EU.

The so-called Irish Sea border is an imagining of popular unionism, not its political leaders. Trade from Great Britain to NI has become constitutional. In February 2022, the first minister (Paul Givan) resigned over the protocol. The assembly did not come back after elections in May 2022.

The lesson from history is clear: the EU's opportunist and confused use (with Irish support) of the Belfast Agreement – in order to shift customs functions from the Irish border to the Irish Sea — has led to the greatest challenge to stability and even peace in NI after 24 years.

Bien joué, Michel.

• Austen Morgan is a barrister and author of Pretence: why the United Kingdom needs a written constitution, to be published this September

ON THIS DAY

1215: King John put Royal Seal on Magna Carta near Windsor 1330: Edward, the Black Prince, eldest son of Edward III, born 1381: Wat Tyler, 1st poll tax protester, executed at Smithfield 1572: Harrow School founded 1621: 1st greenhouse in Britain

erected in Oxford in preparation for predicted severe winter **1844:** Charles Goodyear patents vulcanised rubber process

1846: 49th parallel established as US-Canada border 1860: Florence Nightingale began School for Nurses, London 1934: Dictators Hitler & Mussolini 1st met, in Venice. 1945: Family Allowance payments introduced in UK — no payment for 1st-born but 5 shillings (25p) a week for subseauent children **1996:** IRA 3,300lb bomb in Manchester city centre caused huge damage but no deaths LAST YEAR: Queen held rare face-to-face audience at Wind-

Quote of the Day

sor Castle — met Australian

prime minister, who told her she

was 'quite the hit' at G7 summit

'I know this storm will pass but in the meantime I know Jesus is with me'



Justin Bieber who has Ramsay Hunt syndrome (causes facial paralysis)

BIRTHDAYS

Noddy Holder, singer (Slade), 76; Simon Callow, actor, 73; James Belushi, actor, 68; Helen Hunt, actress, 59; Courteney Cox, actress, 58; Ice Cube, rapper, 53; Jake Busey, actor, 51; Justin Leonard, golfer, 50; Neil Patrick Harris, actor, 49

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