

conflict in Ireland. Kemmy never joined B.I.C.O., whose vitriolic tone was quite at odds with his personality, but he was convinced by some of their arguments and this was a factor in his formation of the Limerick Socialist Organisation in 1972. In 1974, when he was elected to the city council, a demand that Articles 2 and 3 of the constitution be removed featured prominently on his election literature.

Kemmy was also notably courageous in challenging the Catholic Church on issues such as contraception, helping to establish the first family-planning clinic in the city. Limerick's conservatives would have their revenge in 1982, however, when the *Limerick Leader* newspaper, the clergy and the local Labour Party launched a smear campaign on the issue of abortion that helped to deprive Kemmy of his Dáil seat. By that stage Kemmy was a member of the Democratic Socialist Party (D.S.P.), an organisation notable for its pro-choice stance and anti-nationalist politics. Re-elected in 1987, Kemmy – despite some local resentment – oversaw the D.S.P.'s merger with the Labour Party in 1990.

Gregory, in the meantime, had been the most prominent elected figure to endorse the Concerned Parents Against Drugs (C.P.A.D.) movement that emerged in Dublin during the mid-1980s. Often labelled a vigilante organisation and alleged to be controlled by republican paramilitaries, Gregory countered that C.P.A.D. was a grassroots response by communities who were experiencing a heroin epidemic. He was outspoken on the issue, alleging that Garda resources would have been deployed far more readily had the problem affected more affluent areas. He was often a lone voice in the Dáil on the heroin problem and, unlike some on the left, was prepared to demand stronger police powers to lock up drug dealers. On other issues, such as divorce and abortion, Gregory was less vocal; critics noted his realisation that the difficulties of holding an independent seat in competition with rivals on the right and left saw him wary of making local enemies. Kemmy, too, would become a much less vocal and more comfortable member of the Labour Party establishment by the 1990s; his popularity in Limerick, as a local historian and mayor of the city, would surprise those who remembered the divisive politics of the 1970s.

The careers of both men raises questions for those examining the impact of the Northern conflict on Southern Ireland. Did Kemmy's demand for the dropping of the constitutional claim to Northern Ireland gain him any votes in Limerick East? Was Gregory's republican socialism a vote-winner in Dublin Central? Perhaps both men's careers suggest how relatively unimportant the national question was to southern voters. There are many weaknesses in both books, particularly a willingness to accept interviewees' assertions uncritically and, while Gilligan's account is the more detailed, neither provides the critical biography that both men deserve and will surely eventually receive.

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A SMALL STATE AT THE TOP TABLE. MEMORIES OF IRELAND ON THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL, 1981–82. By Noel Dorr. Pp x, 294. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration. 2011. €25.

This is the second volume of former diplomat Noel Dorr's memoirs of the Republic of Ireland's involvement at the United Nations (U.N.), the first being *Ireland at the United Nations: memories of the early years* (Dublin, 2010). In an illustrious career, Dorr served as secretary general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Irish ambassador to the U.K., and Irish permanent representative to the United Nations. When Ireland was elected to the U.N. Security Council during 1981 and 1982, Dorr became Ireland's representative on that body.

The Republic of Ireland's term-of-office occurred during a particularly fraught period in international relations (and at a time when the Cold War still cast a foreboding shadow on global politics). Three high-profile political conflicts came to a head between 1981 and

1982: the debate over the political future of Namibia, the 1982 Lebanon war, and Argentina's invasion of the Falklands in April 1982.

The book's first chapter outlines the history, role and function of the Security Council, providing useful background and contextual information. The second considers the influence of personalities on the conduct of business at the Security Council. Dorr firmly believes that, in international relations, 'personalities do matter' (p. 24). He provides fascinating pen-portraits of some of his counterparts, particularly Professor Jeane Kirkpatrick, the United States's ambassador to the U.N., whom he classifies as 'at heart a neo-conservative ... of a type that came to prominence twenty years later in the Washington of George W. Bush' (p. 30). Spain's representative, Jaime de Piniés, was 'reputed to have served on both sides in the Spanish Civil War – though not, I hasten to add, at the same time' (p. 27).

The chapters covering Namibia (three and four) and Lebanon (five and six), which outline the painstaking, and often fruitless, attempts to ensure the passage of Security Council resolutions regarding these conflicts provide a realistic insight into the frustrating realities of international diplomacy. The Council's 'limited capacity . . . to deal with crises' can be seen from the amount of Security Council resolutions which were passed but subsequently flouted or ignored at this time, particularly in the case of Lebanon (p. 105).

Chapter six, examining Ireland's role in the Lebanon negotiations, during the period when it held the presidency of the Security Council, will be of particular interest to scholars of Irish diplomatic history. Dorr's treatment of the high politics of the Lebanese affair complements Henry McDonald's gritty, and often harrowing, account of this intractable conflict as experienced by Irish soldiers serving in the UNIFIL peace-keeping deployment in Southern Lebanon (*Irishbatt: the story of Ireland's Blue Berets in Lebanon* (1993)).

However, it is the events surrounding the Falklands imbroglio – 'the most difficult issue for us of Ireland's two-year term on the Security Council' – to which Dorr devotes most attention (p. 121). Over ten chapters, he recounts both the origins of the Falklands conflict and the Security Council's role in trying to end it. The tensions within the United States's foreign policy establishment, between Ambassador Kirkpatrick and Secretary of State Haig, concerning how to respond to the crisis are well-covered here.

The effect of Irish government policy towards the Falklands on British–Irish relations also receives significant attention. The then Taoiseach, Charles J. Haughey, played an active part in Ireland's response to the crisis, most notably in seeking the withdrawal of E.E.C. sanctions against Argentina following the sinking of the *General Belgrano* by the Royal Navy on 2 May 1982. Dorr's account of the U.N.'s attempts to resolve the crisis will be a vital resource for scholars of international relations, particularly when read in conjunction with forthcoming official documents, due to be released under the thirty-year rule.

In the conclusion, Dorr reflects on the role a small state like Ireland can play in world affairs. Whilst large states can fend for themselves, small states 'have a greater interest than most in the creation and maintenance of a peaceful, orderly international system'. Small states 'must take their turn in helping to make the international system, imperfect as it is, work better' (p. 284). However, the reader is allowed to decide whether he and his colleagues did all they could to make that system work better between 1981 and 1982.

Overall, Dorr has produced a highly readable and important account of a key period in recent Irish diplomatic history. Perhaps the book would have benefitted from tighter editing, as the author occasionally repeats himself when recalling certain events. This, however, is a minor criticism of a work that will be of much value to scholars of Irish foreign policy and international relations.

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