

IRISH POLITICAL REVIEW

England:
Hitler's Inspiration

Peter Hart's
lesser-known qualities

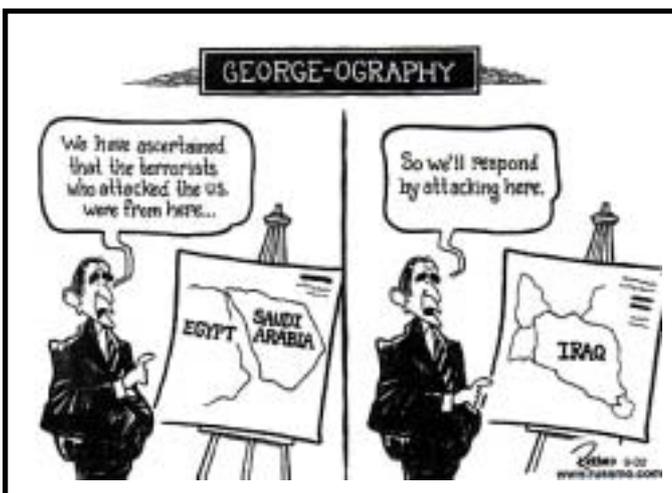
Dublin/Monaghan Bombings
(Labour Comment, back page)

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Perspectives

The United States will break off relations with Sinn Fein and will press Britain to do likewise. Then, there being “no longer any barrier to a normalisation of Irish politics”, the Social Democratic and Labour Party will do a deal with the Democratic Unionist Party. “The IRA might then return to ‘what it knows best’—military resistance—but with strong American political and military backing—that resistance could be speedily overcome. So roll on that day”. The Day will be the day on which “the persons awaiting sentence in Columbia” will be sentenced. The writer is Conor Cruise O’Brien (Irish Independent 3 Jan). O’Brien was a professional anti-Partitionist for most of his life, first as a political civil servant in the Irish Foreign Affairs Department, and later as a hard-line middle-class nationalist Minister, with special responsibility for Northern policy, who played a leading part in subverting the Sunningdale system of devolution by encouraging the intransigence of Lord Fitt and Paddy Devlin in demanding the immediate establishment of a full Council of Ireland, even though the conditions for it, negotiated at Sunningdale, had not been met. A few years later Fitt and Devlin—lapsed Republicans—chucked in the leadership of the SDLP and resigned the party altogether—on the pretext that others had made it too nationalist for them—particularly John Hume, who had never flirted with Republicanism as they had, but had put the Northern Ireland system to the test as a middle-class Catholic with middle-class, rather than nationalist, ambitions, and who therefore discovered its fundamental inadequacies and experienced them in a way that the semi-Republican ideologues could never do. Both Fitt and Devlin then collapsed into the very thing they had spent most of their lives declaiming against. And, when O’Brien lost office in the late seventies, he too flipped over, and dedicated the remainder of his life to compensating for the evil he had done in his prime.

Of course he didn’t put it like that. He re-invented his past and attributed his actual



past to everybody but himself. Roy Foster’s revisionist contention that the Irish make up the past without regard for historical fact is not entirely untrue. But the elements about which it is true are the revisionists themselves. But it’s no use saying to O’Brien: *Revisionist, revise thyself!* He is one of

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What Is This EU Presidency For?

If spoofing by Cowen and snivelling by Ahern could achieve anything then the Irish Presidency of the EU would be a roaring success. Improving relations between the EU and US is apparently number one priority—at least it was a few weeks ago. This is a perfect priority for Messrs. Ahern and Cowen. It is totally outside their control and, if it happens, they can claim the credit but, if relations get worse, it is not their fault. Ahern has already prepared for the latter possibility by emphasising that Ireland is on the edge of Europe and counts for nothing. This is true. In fact it’s only half true. Ireland is held in contempt in Brussels because of its craven attitude to Britain and the US. But the Europeans are too polite to say so openly. What else could one feel towards a Prime Minister who said in Brussels at the beginning of the invasion of Iraq that the legality was unclear and he would have to await its outcome before deciding on the morality of it?

The debate on the EU in Ireland has long since become a totally barren affair. Europe is the source of all good on the pro-Europe side and a source of all evil and slow death for the country on the other side. There is an air of inevitability and predestination on both sides that paralyses any real thought. Martin Mansergh regularly conveys the smug pro-Europe view. A typical piece appeared in the *Irish Times* on 13th December 2003 as a warm up for the Irish Presidency. The EU was the best thing since sliced bread and he confidently declared: “It is clear that a

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Labour Comment, edited by **Pat Maloney**:

Dublin/Monaghan Public Inquiry?

those utterly self-righteous people who can hardly even be said to deceive themselves because they have absolutely no memory about themselves. They are a stream of self-righteous feeling. And, where O'Brien led, the greater part of the nationalist middle class of the 1970 era followed. They are now stolid upholders of law regardless of circumstance—and even regardless of law: “*the persons awaiting sentence in Columbia*” are actually awaiting a verdict. And it is obvious that the verdict is taking so long because it is a matter of politics rather than law.

Recall 1973/74. The Unionist Party led by Brian Faulkner made a power-sharing and Council of Ireland deal in an Agreement with the Dublin Government and the SDLP on the understanding that O'Brien & Co. had committed themselves to constitutional recognition of the North as a legitimate region of the UK. Then, six weeks after the power-sharing Government began functioning, O'Brien & Co pleaded in Court that they had not recognised the North. Faulkner had been deceived by tricky language. Unionist reaction to this revelation took the form of a demand that the establishment of the Council of Ireland should be deferred until the conditions on which it was agreed had been met. It was then up to O'Brien and Co. to call a referendum to amend Articles 2 & 3. Some of the Co. were willing but O'Brien was adamant that the Council must be established on schedule

and unconditionally. This journal—in its *Workers' Weekly* format—took a close interest in the affair as a Sunningdale supporter. It was evident from radio interviews that O'Brien was the intransigent element in the Cabinet, and that was later confirmed by Fitzgerald's Cabinet memoirs. The outcome was that the whole Sunningdale structure was brought down in May 1974 by the Ulster Workers' Council Strike. The SDLP and elements in Dublin declared the Strike to be Fascist. In our view it was one of the few major events in Unionist history that might reasonably be described as democratic.

That was 30 years ago, though it seems like yesterday because so little has happened in the meantime.

The next thing was 20 years later—the Ceasefire brokered by Hume and Adams. When the terms of the ceasefire were not met on the British side, the war was resumed—in the City of London. This was the stimulus to more genuine negotiations, leading to the Good Friday Agreement, and to partial implementation of the terms of the GFA. But the conditions on the two-year decommissioning process under the GFA have not been met any more than the conditions on the establishment of the Council of Ireland at Sunningdale were met. And in both instances O'Brien demanded the unconditional implementation of something which was agreed on conditions.

The plain meaning of the GFA is that the IRA would depart from the scene in the course of two years, during which the devolved and cross-Border institutions would function, the police and justice reforms would be implemented, and there would be demilitarisation in Northern Ireland. Trimble's great concern was to ensure that these conditions were not met, and the only apparent concern of the two Governments was to humour him and to excuse him. (The DUP is now being humoured, which is reasonable since, unlike the UUP, it did not sign the GFA.)

O'Brien's wishful thinking ever since the World Trade Centre affair has been that the White House would deal with West Belfast, the Bogside and South Armagh as it dealt with Afghanistan. (And *a propos* Afghanistan, the British Prime Minister, when making war propaganda, regularly declared that the Taliban regime was responsible for a very great part of the supply of opium to the world market for it. It was obvious, even from the managed news of the BBC, that the Taliban regime had drastically reduced drug production in Afghanistan. And now we have an official report confirming this. The Taliban curbed drug production to such an extent that the world supply was reduced by a third. And, since 'liberation', Afghanistan has again become one of the major producers.)

O'Brien loves and loathes America. He loves it as a fanatical Zionist and loathes it as a blind enemy of the Northern Catholics. A few years ago he published a book demanding that Thomas Jefferson, the chief source of American democratic ideology, should be removed from the American Pantheon and denounced. He dreams of America as an autocracy committed to the expansion of what he thinks of as civilisation. But it always lets him down. America remains Jeffersonian. And, in broadening out beyond its WASP [White Anglo-Saxon Protestant] origins, it has come under Irish influence as well as Jewish. The two *bete noires* of the Ku Klux Klan are now in the corridors of power.

With a fundamentalist WASP President in office at the fall of the Twin Towers, it seemed that the Day had arrived for O'Brien. “*Terrorism*” everywhere would come under the hammer. But America doesn't function like that. It might profess grand principles, but it is choosy when it comes to implementing them, the choice being influenced by ethnic

influences in its domestic politics. The Famine Irish are now well-entrenched and their outlook is beyond the reach of the British influence which now dominates so much of the respectable middle class Irish at home. And so Richard Haas came amidst great expectations in Dublin 4, and disappointed them.

When it was put to O'Brien thirty years ago that he should ease up on the Council of Ireland demand in order to preserve power-sharing and so maintain some ground against the IRA, his response in radio interviews was that the violence in the North was not caused by outside influences. It was "endemic" in the North. It would be affected neither by implementing the Council of Ireland or withholding it.

There was a great deal of truth in that view. But it was not a truth that O'Brien could develop. Perhaps it was just a politician's phrase, serving a purpose of the moment, and not reflected upon. Anyhow it is a truth that he has long forgotten—and a great swathe of the respectable middle class along with him—making it impossible for them to handle the Northern situation with any degree of political competence.

The Dublin Government is simultaneously trying to restore devolved government in the North, and subverting the possibility of it. The Justice Minister declares that Sinn Fein is a criminal organisation, a Mafia. And the Fine Gael Leader urges him to confiscate its 'criminal' assets.

Meanwhile Gerry Adams comes back from the USA with a million and a half openly contributed to the coffers of Sinn Fein by members of the American establishment. What's putting the wind up the Dublin establishment is not the hidden, inactive army, but the sheer political competence of the Republican movement, and its live source of spiritual integrity—a thing which lies well beyond the experience of the present generation of political hacks.

Fianna Fail is toying with the idea of organising in the North and becoming an all-Ireland party once more. It would be well for it to do so before it disappears into total cynicism. But, if it remains committed to Progressive Democrat Justice Minister McDowell's pronouncements, it might as well not bother.

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"Whatever you say, say nothing": write it down instead[?]

In the article on *Republicanism at a crossroads*, (NS Vol. 17, No. 4, April 2003), it was stated that Richard English's book was called simply *A New History of the IRA*. That was due to Philip Dodd, the presenter's, emphatic pronunciation of the thing. The actual title is *Armed Struggle*, with the above as a subtitle, and if it is as coherent and rational as English was on this programme, it should be worth reading. Dodd is the Director of the ICA (Institute of Contemporary Arts, on London's Pall Mall — not a resuscitated Irish Citizen Army), he claimed in the programme that slogans like "Whatever you say, say nothing", used to be painted up in the Bogside and West Belfast. He then proceeded to talk as if that was still the case, and Ella O'Dwyer's book, just published, *The Rising of the Moon* was mentioned. Dodd claimed that she thinks "Republicanism is dominated by a régime of silence only now breaking down". O'Dwyer herself said that Republicans "were very poor on speaking", (by which she seemed to mean debating), and seemed to mean the Provisionals in the midst of the actual armed struggle. But they published two weekly newspapers, *Republican News* in Belfast, and *An Phoblacht* in Dublin. And, like the Official Republican Clubs, a great many Sinn Féin cumainn published their own material, which ranged from the scrappy to the near-professional. The Stickies also had *The United Irishman*, *An Solus*, in Belfast, and in Derry, *The Starry Plough*, which became the organ of the IRSP (and still has a fitful existence), the Officials also produced in the 1980s *The Northern People* in Belfast, and *The Irish People* in Dublin.

The Sinn Féin / Peoples' Democracy Northern Resistance Movement gave birth, among other publications, to *Andersonstown News*, which is now published twice a week and may replace the *Irish News* as the major publication of the whole Northern Catholic community. The PD also published its own press for much of this period as did all tendencies on the Left and within Republicanism. The B&ICO produced an enormous amount of material in this period, including *The Irish Communist* and the Workers' Association [for the Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland] the *Two Nations* then came *Workers' Weekly* this material made a lot of Republicans less inclined to the 'penny-plain, tuppence coloured' views on Ireland's history and politics, admitted to by Danny Morrison. Nearly all of these groups tried their hands a 'pirate' broadcasting. The Loyalists burst fitfully into print, (*Loyalist News*, as such, could be quite politically sharp, as well as quite funny), as did the Alliance Party and the SDLP.

A town News is now part of a combine that also publishes *South Belfast News*, *North Belfast News* (formerly *North Belfast Independent*) and the Irish-language daily, *Lá*. Republicanism, in the North at least, was not struck dumb. What O'Dwyer may have meant was the fundamentals of, as she put it, the "national discourse or the national ideological vision ... something like a socialist republic", were ignored in reporting the actual conflict.

A strength of the Provisionals in origin was that they had no hard and fast notion of what they were going to put in the place of the two bits of Ireland they perforce worked in in 1970. People from all sorts of ideological backgrounds were able to work in harmony in the business of destroying 'Stormont' and then bringing about a united unitary Irish state. There was a programme about bringing about a "Democratic Socialist Republic" but that was regarded, even by very committed socialists in the movement as a sort of grace note, as was the federal structure proposed in the *Éire Nua* manifesto. Their 'vision' was certainly not Ireland as yet another piece of the Kremlin's 'empire', or a sort of soggy Cuba.

O'Dwyer also talked about an obsession with the border and with England, which probably is similar to what Morrison said about their dealing with the Loyalists and with the Protestant community in general. But she appeared to be on the same wavelength as Dodd, with his "whatever you say, say nothing" notions, as if history has stood still in Ireland or Northern Ireland. O'Dwyer said that the greatest compliment that a Republican could get was that you said nothing and signed nothing and that they had to earn the right to discuss things. The military end, in particular, of Republicanism in the twenty six county state was radically different from the Six Counties, it had to be conspiratorial. (With reason: witness the career of Sean O'Callaghan, not an example the IRA would want followed). But as mentioned above there was a Republican press and also discussions went on in Long Kesh, (the prisoners' huge library was broken up some time ago — most of it entering the dubious care of the Linen Hall Librarian).

Dodd's apparently benign interest in the literary-artistic end of Republicanism may mask yet another attempt to characterise it (and certain long term underlying tendencies in Irish history) as mere 'emotional spasms'. Or a series of emotional spasms, which can be cured by being embraced by the more benign end of specifically English culture. It is conceivable that the Provisionals have not yet cottoned-on to the fact that BBC Radio3 is, if anything, even more of an ideological matter than Radio 4 UK, or the World Service.

There is also the fact that English 'culture' (in the narrow sense of the word) had been sucking the marrow out of Irish culture for the past three or four centuries. The Provisionals, as the [second] most vigorous element in Ireland are going to get the full suction treatment, they should be very careful about 'Englishmen with smiles on their faces'.

O'Dwyer's *The Rising of the Moon* may be worth reviewing; it is also the title of a Science Fiction novel written in the Provi interest about ten years ago, by an American feminist Flynn Connolly. It got a very good write-up in this publication, it was a damn good read, and probably did the Provisionals a lot of good in the world of the SciFi 'anorak'.

Seán McGouran

Re: McDowell: he would be entitled to some respect if he acted on the principle that there must be no deals with terrorists and condemned the GFA. But he is actually a party to the GFA, which is a deal with terrorists ratified by the electorates of both parts of the country, which implicitly legitimises their terrorism on the ground that the state in the North was not democratic. He is a party to it, but he keeps brooding on the thought that it was wrong, or deluding himself about its actual terms. As a statesman he is a hopeless case.

It is curious how the North has increasingly become a domestic political issue in the Republic since it was changed into a foreign policy matter by the amendment of Articles 2 & 3!

Dublin has been incapable of foreign policy ever since those great days when Charles Haughey made Ireland a European Power, convinced Europe that the Republic was not a British appendage, and laid the basis for the 8 billion pound boost for the economy. When Haughey was ousted, Irish foreign policy went with him.

Brian Cowen has been in Israel, not Palestine, on behalf of the European Union, and has made a speech which mightily pleased the 'Official Republican' refugees from the Land of Oz, which they had to abandon when Sir Nicolai Ceaucescu was taken from them. Eoghan Harris was delighted with it.

Israel is a contested conquest and colonisation, justified by an irredentist claim two thousand years old. Its title deeds are the Bible.

What is being done in Palestine now is what was done in Ireland four hundred years ago—and by Bible fanatics then as now. Bet let it not be said that double standards are being applied. President McAleese, who condemned the Palestinians on Twin Towers Day for taking pleasure in a minuscule bit of pain inflicted on their tormentors, has been in West Cork to celebrate the founding of Bandon as a colonial town of the Munster Plantation. We look forward to seeing her celebrate the fourth centenary of the Ulster Plantation a few years from now.

Meanwhile in England the new anti-Semitism (anti-Arabism) has suffered its first set-back. Chat-show host Kilroy Silk has had his show taken from him (but will still appear on other BBC programmes),

An Cor

Laoi molta an combac

Is mór miorbúille an combac -
Caoisead tadar zac críonnaid;
Luib do deannuid zac cléiread,
'S an tAdair Seumus Ó Fíonaid.

Do hní sí síocáin neamhá
Eadar clannuid séimíó lobuis;
Is mílse ná blas na saoi sin
Dalad an tsnaoisín sróna.

"Luib íocsláinte í", ars' an éillead,
"Do-beir cadair do zac cliaólad,
Beir do súilid amarc,
Ags fóireas ar an nGalac fíacal."

Is maic píopa 'san oíche,
Is ró-maic snaoisín ar maidin;
Duilleos is maic san amharas
Faoi'n scardad do hnaic dá éisnead.

Is polláin gal an tsúsa
Ags luic mucaid ags réama;
Is is polláin gal na maione
Ags luic sílead ags méalais.

because of his diatribe against Arabs. If he had made comparable remarks about Jews, he would be off the air, full stop. But most of the English press has come out in support of him. Particularly forceful is Melanie Phillips, who has declared that her primary loyalty is to Israel. She sees the curbing of Kilroy Silk as the realisation of Orwell's 1984 nightmare (Daily Mail, Jan 19). She contrasts it with the BBC's handling of Oxford Don, Tom Paulin, who "called for Israelis settlers to be shot and, in a poem referring to the 'Zionist SS', compared Israel to the Nazis. While criticism of the settlers would have been perfectly justified, this was simply incitement to murder and blatant Holocaust-denying prejudice."

When Jewish settlers, without a shred of entitlement beyond the Bible, take possession of the property of natives, they may be criticised, but not resisted. Did that principle also apply to German settlers in Poland in 1940?

President Mary Robinson said essentially the same thing as Melanie Phillips with her outburst at the Anti-Racism Conference in Africa a couple of years ago: "I am a Jew". The meaning is: there is a master race and there are others, and a common standard does not apply; and we Irish should cop ourselves on and support the winners. That is what Brian Cowen was doing in Israel. That is the way of the tiger.

Tuatail

A Song In Praise Of Tobacco

Tobacco is a great miracle
The chief gleaner of maturity
An herb blessed by every cleric
And by Father Seumus Ó Ffionacht.

It makes heavenly peace
Among the urbane clan of Lobus
Sweeter than the taste of bilberry (*)
Is the smell of snuff.

“It is a medicinal herb”, says the nun,
“That is good for the chest,
It gives sight to the eyes
And it takes away toothache.”

A night-time pipe is good
Very good is snuff in the morning
Without doubt a (tobacco) leaf is good
Chewed regularly under the gum.

A blanket puff (**) is healthy
For sufferers of asthma and catarrh
And the morning puff is healthy
For the sad and depressed (**).

The smoking controversy is an old one, and there are poems for and against it. Use of tobacco was prevalent in Ireland by the mid 1600s; snuff came later; so this anonymous poem probably dates from the early 1700s. It cannot be much later than this since the difficult bardic metre in which it is written went into disuse because of the break-up of the bardic schools. In fact the metre here is the imperfect kind called óglachas - “the effort of a young or untrained person”.

[* This meaning is possible if saoi-sin is changed to fraoichin.

** A smoke in bed.

*** sileadh = shedding (tears), méala = grief.]

EU Presidency continued

European Constitution is close to adoption”. The talks collapsed that day. But, still, everything will always be for the best with Martin while Bertie Ahern is in charge.

What neither side will see is that the EU underwent a radical shift in accommodating the UK after the Thatcher revolution—even though it was as clear as daylight that the UK had reverted to the traditional role of wrecking European developments. And this approach has developed apace since Thatcher was ousted. The current mess is the UK’s achievement—and therefore it never felt better about Europe.

The development that shows any positive hope for Europe is the newly formulated Franco-German alliance, which both countries appear to have realised, is necessary—just in time. Its great achievement so far has been to wreck the ridiculous idea of the Giscard Constitution for an entity that does not yet exist—breaking the first law of a Constitution. This is like writing a cookbook before you have a cooker or even a kitchen to work with. What the EU needs is policies not constitutions and if the policies are right and workable the Constitution will follow with a minimum of fuss and bother.

The development, led by Chirac, of this newly enhanced Franco-German alliance is the only issue that matters today in Europe. The Irish Presidency would do a historically positive job if it made that its priority and ensured that it developed further, and as rapidly as possible. This is more important than all the other agendas, meetings and proclamations that we will hear about for the next six months—but Cowen and co. will loudly and vociferously avoid its reality. With the formalities of Enlargement to take place in a few months it will be a bit like *‘never mind the quality feel the width’*.

Two Europes exist and denying and bemoaning this fact, as Ahern does, is effectively to promote the current mess. Prodi’s line that the two will exist only if a Constitution is not agreed also denies realities and can only promote the *status*

quo—which is not an option for anyone serious about Europe. Everyone knows this and the future is a choice between more dissipation and more coherence. There is no third way and an agreed piece of paper will still only be a piece of paper in the process.

The next logical step is the political development of the Euro area towards a federal state. This is necessary for the Euro itself. In fact it is vital. A currency needs a complementary state, or the definite prospect of such a state, to survive and thrive. But, most important of all, such a move would isolate the UK and spike its wrecking guns.

One need only state this obvious fact to realise how unlikely and impossible it is for the consolidating project to be helped by the current Irish elite. If it was serious about being European and being central to Europe it would be pursuing such a policy and giving every moral and practical support to the only Europe that is worth giving a second thought to—one based on the Franco-German alliance—which was the original basis of the whole project and remains its only reliable core. Clear support for this is how Ireland would put itself at the centre of Europe in the shape of a state to respect, but it would take moral courage in Leinster House to do that and that is a scarce commodity there at present.

But a choice between the two Europes will have to be made sooner or later. The Irish elite thinks it can have the best of all worlds forever. Instead it is quickly heading for the worst of all worlds where both the integrationists and the dissipationists will equally despise them.

Vive Chirac!

Jack Lane

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* **The Rise And Fall Of Imperial Ireland.** Redmondism In The Context Of Britain’s War Of Conquest Of South Africa And Its Great War On Germany, 1899-1916 by Pat Walsh. 594pp. Index. ISBN 0 85034 105 1. 2003. **E24, £18.99.**

* **Sean Moylan. In His Own Words.** His memoir of the War of Independence, with a selection of his speeches and poems. Introduction Jack Lane, Epilogue Brendan Clifford. 234pp. Index. ISBN 1 90349713 2 (2nd edn). Auburn Historical Society, 2003. **E15, £12.**

England: Hitler's Inspiration

Nobody who reads *Mein Kampf* can doubt that Hitler admired England and modelled himself on it. The only question is whether his admiration was soundly-based, or whether he caricatured England in the process of imitating it. Manuel Sarkisyanz's book gives the definitive answer to that question. The England which Hitler admired was the real England—the State and society which rejected the French Revolution and the general rights of man and asserted privileged rights for itself; which in its internal structure was an ordered hierarchy based on leadership and deference; which established ample *Lebensraum* for its people in other countries; which established an impassable racial distance between itself and the native peoples of those countries; and which bred in the lower middle and working classes—which were deferential at home—a mentality which enabled them to function as a master race in the colonies and possessions of Greater Britain, and with regard to foreigners in general. Nazism was in substance an attempt to Anglicize the German state and German society, neither of which had the inherent aptitude for these things which seemed to be present among the English.

The Anglicizing aspect of Nazism, and England's appreciation of its German proteges is extensively documented by Sarkisyanz. (I hesitate to refer to him as Professor Sarkisyanz because of the way that title has been thoroughly debased in Ireland and largely debased in England in recent times. Of all the Professors I have known, there is only one who is not a charlatan, and I did not realise for many years that he was a Professor. But Sarkisyanz is a Professor as in olden times and this book is based on a series of lectures delivered at Heidelberg University.)

I have been puzzling over the intimate relationship between Nazism and English Imperialism ever since I read *Mein Kampf* in *Slieve Luacra* over forty years ago. But one feature of that relationship had escaped my notice altogether: the founding of the Nazi educational system on the model of the English Public Schools, and the friendly interest taken by the headmasters of English Public Schools in their German

imitators. Education is entirely outside my experience, and I am not the person to judge Sarkisyanz's argument in this respect. He takes Dr. Arnold of Rugby, Professor the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and the schooldays of Tom Brown as described by Tom Hughes, as typifying the ethos of English education. I know something of Kingsley and Hughes, the "*Christian Socialists*" who propagated the "*muscular Christianity*" which was an important component of the popular Imperialism that functioned as a kind of English national culture during the half-century before 1914. I saw a residue of it around 1960 during a brief acquaintance with the Working Men's College in Camden Town (London), and what I saw corresponds with what Sarkisyanz says.

The function of the Public Schools was to forge the middle classes, provincial yokels, and especially talented individuals from the lower middle classes into regimented expressions of Imperial will, inoculated against the temptations of culture by having a smattering of it sprinkled on them, and toughened against feelings of human affinity by the internal regime of the schools, so that they might go anywhere in the world and be immune. And that is what Hitler sought to reproduce in the NAPOLAs—an acronym for the German of National Political Educational Institutions.

"The way the new English leaders and subordinate leaders were being trained; the inculcation of spontaneous conformity (what the Nazis lauded as *Gleichschaltung*); the suppression of the social moral impulse and particularly of intellectual individuality; the moulding of individuals into a single type—all this meant that 'oddities' were jeered out... with no exception made for genius... This was the contribution of the rising middle-classes to the very English elite culture of spontaneous uniformity through a 'mass production of gentlemen of a standardized pattern'" (p120).

"It is plain that developing muscles, rather than feeling and spirit, was the task of elite educational institutions. And their products—disciplined rather

than sensitive or thoughtful—playing cricket and rowing, were (and possibly still are) considered 'infinitely superior to philosophising German louts and spindly French intellectuals arguing about politics and art'. (Those attitudes persist amongst the English, though Germans have not philosophised for quite some time)" (p111).

"The motto of the NAPOLAs... was 'Be hard'. 'The harder and more rigorous the training, the better the finished product: and I have no doubt that this is achieved'. So remarked Christopher Sidgwick, a British Public Schoolmaster, after his 1937 inspection of Hitler's elite training—truly satisfied by the National Socialist parallel to the English models" (p120).

This attitude has declined in England. A generation ago, in the brief era of Ted Heath and Harold Wilson, it seemed that it had been discarded. There has, however, been a resurgence of it under Thatcher and Blair—the lower middle class upstart and the finished Public Schoolboy. The social-democratic mode of development has been aborted, and I would not bet against a complete reversion to the era of "*muscular Christianity*", minus the Christianity.

But the Germans give no sign that they are reverting to what they were before they tried to become English at Hitler's bidding. For two centuries Germany meant philosophy, music and poetry. It appears to have subverted itself in all of those spheres through its gigantic attempt to make itself a state and society of the English kind—as England wiped out its traditional life through the savage iconoclasm of its state-inspired and state-controlled Reformation. In Germany everything was sacrificed to statehood—perhaps necessarily so, in view of what England was doing to the world—and now it is incapable of being a state, except in the formal sense of occupying a large political space at the centre of Europe.

The historian who symbolises the resurgence of Victorian England under Thatcher and Blair is Andrew Roberts. He writes to be read by people who think about public affairs, rather than by students to pass exams. A few years ago, when a statue of Bomber Harris was unveiled, many of the sensitive souls who had developed in the social democratic era, were upset. They asked what was the military purpose of burning the civilian populations of Dresden and other undefended German cities in 1945 when the war was won, if not over. Some

thought it was designed to obstruct the Russian advance and marked the start of the Cold War. Roberts said its purpose was not military but moral: it was to burn into the brains of the Germans the moral principle that they must never again confront England. And it worked. Leaving aside the Christian Democracy of the Adenauer period, it seems to me that the German mind is a kind of English Crown Colony. Habermas may jabber away pretentiously as if there were still a German intelligentsia, but it is only jabbering. Thought is extinct. And even beyond the region of general thought there is obedience. The most socialist thing in Europe in the 1990s was the (West) German economic system. People were accustomed to it, and were happy with it, but it is now being eroded because Blairite Britain says it must—and foremost amongst the British propagandists for the capitalist reform of the German economy was Kim Howells, the Minister for Competition, who was one of the mindless militants of Scargill's suicidal socialism twenty years ago.

Sarkisyanz is the last German intellectual. He is able to be a German intellectual precisely because he is not German. His family background is Armenian/Russian. His parents emigrated to Iran when he was a child and he spent the Second World War there—and he says that, when the Russians invaded jointly with the British in 1941, they dropped anti-British propaganda leaflets. Those leaflets had been prepared in Baku in 1940 when Britain, having merely *declared* war on Germany, was trying to start a shooting war with Russia, first in Finland and then in the Caucasus. Very little has been said in British war histories about Allied preparations to bomb the Baku oil industry, but it is now admitted. The Russians printed millions of propaganda leaflets in preparations for a counter-move, and used them even though a late change of circumstance made Britain an ally. This incident—which is not related in the book—beings out the contingency of the British war with Germany. Sarkisyanz takes it that Russia was the fundamental enemy and this explains the apparent irrationality of British foreign policy in the late 1930s. And Churchill tacitly concedes that point in his War Memoirs, even though his Man of Destiny role was won by keeping the war with Germany going until it led to the arrival of Stalin as an ally and Saviour. And, even though I do not like an understanding of events which is so closely determined, the only alternative I could find to the explanation of British foreign

policy as a bungled attempt to direct the energy of Nazi Germany against Bolshevik Russia, is that it was simply insane.

Sarkisyanz's world outlook is certainly not Bolshevik, or even Menshevik. It lies outside the Marxist spectrum. He says his parents had no political affiliation, but if his orientation reflects theirs, I would guess that it was Right S.R.—the wing of the Socialist Revolutionary movement that was not Marxist. I mentioned names, in search of a response, and the name that got the most direct response was Pitirim Sorokin, who was the most admirable of all the intellectuals who played a part in the Russian Revolution. Sorokin maintained a Right SR resistance until 1922, when he went to America and became one of the more interesting sociologists. Sarkisyanz knew him in the USA, where he also knew Kerensky and learned from him that the British Government undermined his position in the Summer of 1917 by their dealings with the warlord, General Kornilov, who might be seen as a pioneering Fascist, though an ineffectual one because his position was too simply counter-revolutionary. This is detailed in the book.

Sarkisyanz therefore is not only the last German intellectual but also the last intellectual of the bourgeois revolution. He is a displaced Russian, but still a Russian by temperament, with a liking for Nekrassov, the poet of the people. He is a German by intellectual affinity, becoming one after Germany had ceased to be itself, and preserving the outlook of the old Germany in spite of the new. In recent times he has found scope for the idealism of the bourgeois revolution in Mexico, with relation to the Indians. And in this book he has taken revenge on England for the example which, as the leading power in the world, it gave to the Germans when their world was thrown into flux—England also being chiefly responsible for throwing it into flux.

The England/Nazi relationship is not entirely ignored by academics in England. Some detail work is done in obscure corners, with no conclusions drawn, and more with a view to explaining it away than to explaining it. One of these academics, whose writing parallels Sarkisyanz's in a particular sphere, was asked to supply a Foreword to the English translation. He refused on the grounds that it had an Irish publisher. Although that is a very sound reason for a respectable academic, there was also an unspoken reason—that he refused to associate

himself with conclusions which followed coherently from his own work.

The book has an Irish publisher because no English publisher would have it. And it is published by Athol Books because no commercial publisher came forward when Sarkisyanz advertised for one with a whole-age synopsis in *Books Ireland*. Ireland is currently in the grip of Know-Nothingism with regard to the history of Europe, led by the magazine *Translation Ireland* (Editor Marco Sonzogni, chief guru Hans Christian Oeser). But the English edition still fared better than the German, where it found no publisher and no periodical would accept an advert for it—not even the bold investigative magazine, *Der Spiegel*—when Sarkisyanz published it himself. It is treated as neo-Nazi literature by the state which flourished after 1950 by maintaining an extensive continuity with the Nazi state. The kind of Anglophilia that motivated Hitler no longer exists in Germany. He sought to understand England, the most successful state of modern times, in order to imitate it. A different kind of Anglophilia now prevails in Germany—a kind which obeys and does not attempt to understand.

I have long had it in mind to write a book on *the Pre-History of Fascism In England*. The pre-history of Fascism in Germany has been written about extensively in England, some writers tracing it back to the mauling which the German tribes gave the Roman Legions in the Teutoberg Forest 2,000 years ago. It is only fair that the same standards should be applied to English history as England applies to Germany. And that is what Sarkisyanz has done.

By doing it he gave great offence to the Heidelberg University authorities. Unable to sack him, they removed his lectures from the printed syllabus. He took them to the Administrative Court and obliged them to revoke this breach of academic freedom. Would such a thing be conceivable in Ireland?

He was offered his professorship in Heidelberg forty years ago after publishing a book on Millenarianism in the Russian Revolution. He has the interesting idea that Bolshevism was the outcome of Christianity (an idea expressed by Blok during the Revolution, in a poem called *the Twelve* as far as I remember), while Nazism was the outcome of Humanism (a view expressed somewhere by C.C. O'Brien, I think). I don't know if Sarkisyanz has developed this contrast anywhere,

but I can see that there is a case for it. And it is in accordance with the easy transition from capitalist democracy to Fascism—and from Fascism back to capitalist democracy in the case of Spain—while a comprehensive rupture always marked the transition from capitalist democracy to Bolshevism, and no state of the Bolshevik kind ever made the easy transition to capitalist democracy that was made by Spain. Christianity is only the humbug of the capitalist state, and a state forged in earnest through the spirit of Christianity must be dysfunctional in the Christian capitalist world.

Sarkisyanz is too kind—or too Christian—when it comes to accounting for the difference in practical outcome between fascism as applied in England and in Germany. He takes it to be because the “*muscular Christianity*” was in some degree authentically Christian. I think that a great many differences in circumstance should be allowed for before that conclusion is warranted. English fascism was applied deliberately over a period of centuries under the aegis of a securely established State, which fought a multitude of wars and was only defeated once—by its American colony, and that defeat was enacted far from the homeland. If it had been defeated in the 1914 War, and in all probability it would have been but for the entry of America, it would probably have responded much as Germany did. (And, because of the way Britain entered the war, and conducted it, a settlement would have been tantamount to a defeat, since the war was in no sense defensive on the British side, its only European object being to crush Germany.) When defeat seemed an imminent prospect early in 1918, the Pemberton Billing affair showed that there was a Fascist movement ready and waiting.

In any large modern state with a capitalist economy there are conflicting social elements which are held in functional combination. In the Great War, three major European states were destroyed and the social elements were set free. In Russia a new system was founded on one of the elements and the state set itself the object of destroying the others. In Central Europe the freely-conflicting social elements were forcibly brought back into functional combination by Fascism. At least that is the conclusion I reached thirty years ago and I have never found reason to change it. Taking this to be the case, it follows that Fascism has existed in dispersed form in the British state ever since it settled down about three hundred years ago. Heads were regularly broken

during the free conflict of the preceding 60 years, until the emergence of an effective aristocracy capable of eliciting deference from the other classes enabled the conflicting elements to be held in functional combination by means of routine methods which were sometimes almost legal.

The splitting apart of the social elements in the twentieth century, in a capitalist economy which had made itself absolutely dependent on profiting from world trade, obviously needed more drastic action to restore the social combination than was required in the 17th century. But, what was done in a rush in Germany in the aftermath of defeat, and in a condition of deliberately applied national humiliation by the victor, is what was done at leisure in Britain in conditions of security, prosperity, and military triumph. And the racism and territorial expansionism of German Fascism had their clearest precedents in England.

Hitler’s inspiration was *England*, rather than any particular line of Englishmen. The English who declared themselves Fascist influenced him least of all. Hitler looked to the mainstream rather than the fringe, and to actions rather than words—although he specifically acknowledged his debt to the English war propaganda in the use of words. The English writers and politicians particularly singled out by Sarkisyanz are Burke, Carlyle, Disraeli, Baden-Powell, Churchill, Curzon, Milner, Kingsley, Kipling, Neville Chamberlain, G.B. Shaw and H.G. Wells. I put it to him that Carlyle was greatly admired by the Irish nationalists closest to his own outlook, the Young Irelanders, but he would not be tempted into any diversions, and rightly so.

I would, however, raise a quibble about General Lettow-Vorbeck, not only because his long and effective resistance to greatly superior British forces in East Africa in 1914-18 were to some extent an inspiration to the Irish who in 1919 were not willing to just sit down and let their vote be ignored by the British, but because, whatever he might have done in S.W. Africa some years earlier, his actions in East Africa were the beginnings of racial equality between Europeans and natives in Africa.

On the question of extermination, his most quoted author is Sir Charles Dilke. there was a time when England was very frank about the need to exterminate peoples in other countries. Others are as frank today:

“Morris contends that... ‘The great American democracy could not have been achieved without the extermination of the Indians. There are cases in which the general and final good justifies difficult and cruel deeds that are carried out in the course of history’ ...In other words, under specific conditions, specific circumstances, Morris believes that it is possible to justify genocide. In the case of the Indians, it is the existence of the American nation. In the case of the Palestinians, it is the existence of the Jewish state... The circumstantial justifications for transfer and for genocide are exactly the same... If, for instance, you have to expel, and those expelled insist on returning to their homes, there’s no choice but to exterminate them. Morris documents this solution in his book on Israel’s border wars in the 1950s.”

Morris is the eminent Israeli historian, Benny Morris. An interview with him, published in the Israeli newspaper *Ha’aretz*, is here commented on by Adi Ophir, a Jewish Philosophy professor in Tel Aviv University (translation, Daniel Breslau).

Extermination is today being practised on principle in the name of the progress of civilisation in the Middle East. It is something different in kind from tribal conflict in Rwanda where an oppressed majority responded in the only way it could to bloody conquest by a smaller but more aristocratic, better organised and better armed tribe (backed by the Americans and the Ugandans); or to the upsurge of Balkan nationalist antagonism when the state that had contained it for half a century was pulled apart at the behest of Britain and Germany. The precedent for this civilising genocide is not Nazism, because it never tires of telling the world that it is the only democratic state in the Middle East. The precedent for it is found in the state which set the Zionist project in motion (knowing very well that it was a genocidal project: only simpletons could not have known). But that state was also Hitler’s inspiration: a fact for which Sarkisyanz gives chapter and verse.

Brendan Clifford

*** Manuel Sarkisyanz, PhD:** *Hitler’s English Inspirers*. 348pp. Bibliographical Index. ISBN 0 85034 086 1. AB, 2003. **£25, £20.**

Is Peter Hart A Medium?

Readers will be aware of our attitude to Peter Hart and his creative history of the War of Independence in West Cork, the gist of which is that Tom Barry was a murderer who killed soldiers who had surrendered and that the IRA targeted Protestants because they were Protestants.

It is a great pleasure therefore to read Meda Ryan's new book, which was written to counter Hart's 'history'. We hope that all those reviewers—Foster, Harris, Myers etc.—who hailed Hart's book as a classic will now turn their attention to Meda's book and give us their opinion on the massive amount of fact she details to make her case.

Meda Ryan is undoubtedly the most knowledgeable person alive on Tom Barry and the Kilmichael episode—and much else. But, more important, she has had the commitment to spend five years putting this book together without resources comparable to those held in abundance by Hart and the revisionists.

She does a forensic destruction of Hart by simply presenting the facts, page after page of them, on Barry, the ambush and how it has been reported and misreported down the years to Barry's fury.

For example, she nails the story that he wrote an account for the *Irish Press* in 1932 that omitted the false surrender. She quotes his correspondence to show he did not omit it but that the *Irish Press* did.

Hart says he interviewed people from the ambush at dates in the late 1980s but that they did not want to give their names. Meda challenges him to name them, as she knew all who were involved and when they died, and thereby shows that Hart's interviews become a physical impossibility—unless of course he is a medium.

These people would deserve to have a new new version of the famous song written about them—*The Shy Boys Of Kilmichael*—who had to wait for Peter Hart to come along to pluck up the courage

to unburden themselves to him. Maybe he has some hypnotic powers as well. The scenario is as comical as it is unreal. And, if these 'sources' were alive in the late 80s, they are surely dead by now and would not be concerned about what they said being attributed to them. Unless, of course, by an amazing coincidence, all these shy boys happened to live for well over a hundred years. But anything is possible in the world of Hart's 'history'.

When Bishop Coholan excommunicated the IRA in Cork in 1920, the rebuttal of his theological arguments by Alfie O'Rahilly was reckoned to be worth at least an IRA Brigade in the field. Meda's book is worth more than the output of all the Departments of History in the State and puts them to shame.

It is to be hoped that other areas will be fortunate enough to have people like her to insist on the facts of the War of Independence in their localities being told and to ensure that simple, basic respect for the truth prevails among historians. She has already done other areas and individuals a favour, because other fighters were in line for similar treatment and the revisionists concerned may now think twice before attempting another 'Hart job' elsewhere.

Jack Lane

Price and Value

Part 8 of a review of *Das Kapital*

In Marx's analysis of value it was assumed that the price of money was stable. We will look at his views on money at a later stage. However, other things being equal, the value of commodities will cheapen as labour productivity rises or, to put it another way, the less time it takes to make a product the cheaper will be its price and value.

In the first two volumes of *Capital* price and value are synonymous. In the third volume he shows how price can differ from value.

The price can firstly differ from value in an arbitrary way. For example, Capitalist A can overcharge Capitalist B for machinery or raw materials. Marx believed that this deviation merely represented a redistribution of surplus value from Capitalist B to Capitalist A. Within the system such deviations tended to cancel

each other out.

Marx doesn't deal with the possibility of some capitalists overcharging workers for products that they consume. But, if this is not compensated for by other capitalists undercharging, the cost of labour power or the means of subsistence will go up. So the capitalists will have to increase the wages of the workers, which will defeat the objective of increasing profits.

UNIFORM RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

Marx also believed that prices deviated from values in a systematic way.

To understand how this can occur, it is important to re-examine the assumption regarding Labour in Marx's economic model. Marx assumed that labour was homogenous or, in other words, that an hour's socially necessary labour by one

worker had the same value as an hour's labour of another worker.

This is certainly a simplification of reality. The value of one hour's work from a highly-skilled Information Technology (IT) professional is more valuable than, say, that of an unskilled factory worker. But, in a certain sense, there is truth in the simplification. Capitalism has a tendency to 'de-skill' and therefore 'homogenise' work. In an earlier instalment we saw how skilled craftsmen became factory operatives and how productivity ceased to be regulated by the worker, but by the speed of the machine (see part 3). Also, nowadays computers have deskilled the work of shop assistants as well as white collar workers.

All economic models abstract from the numerous particular details of economic phenomena to arrive at general laws which explain those phenomena. Marx suggests that we forget about the multifarious forms that labour manifests itself in, such as the IT professional, Factory operative etc. etc. These are only

distractions from our understanding. It is Labour in its abstract form, Labour in essence or Labour in general which creates value.

We have already seen that the Capitalist is in a position to expropriate part of the value produced by Labour because the worker sells his Labour power. In the whole of society a given proportion of the value produced is expropriated by the capitalists and the remainder is allocated to the workers. As we have seen, the ratio of the capitalists' share and the workers' share is the "rate of surplus value" or the "rate of exploitation" in society.

There is no law that could tell us what the rate of surplus value for society should be, but given that the forces of production have a tendency to increase, it would be reasonable to assume that the rate of surplus value has a tendency to increase.

Marx assumed that the rate of surplus value was spread evenly throughout the various branches of industry. So, if the average rate of surplus value was 100%, there would be a tendency for each branch of industry to have a rate of surplus value equal to this.

Marx doesn't explain why there is a tendency for the rate of surplus value to be spread uniformly throughout the various branches of industry. However, it is a reasonable deduction, given that Labour is homogenous and that workers are paid a means of subsistence. Even if the assumptions of Labour homogeneity and subsistence wages were relaxed, there would still be a tendency for the rate of surplus value to be uniform. Workers who were over-exploited would have a tendency to move to work with a rate of surplus value closer to the social norm. Also, capitalists in industries with a lower than average rate of surplus value would have a tendency to bring this rate of surplus value in line with the social norm.

THE ORGANIC COMPOSITION OF CAPITAL

A second assumption regarding the determination of prices relates to the "Organic Composition of Capital". The Organic Composition of Capital gives the proportion of the total capital which is accounted for by expenditure on labour and other forms of capital. So, if the total capital tied up in production amounts to 100 and the value of the fixed capital, raw materials etc equals 80 and the remaining 20 consists of variable capital, the "Organic Composition of Capital" consists of 80%

constant capital and 20% variable (labour) capital.

The significance of this is that, if it is assumed that there is a uniform rate of surplus value across all the branches of industry, the higher the proportion of capital accounted for by variable capital the higher will be the proportion of surplus value. Furthermore, if it is assumed that the value of products is equal to their price, it follows that the rate of profit in the labour-intensive industries will be higher than in capital-intensive industries. But Marx and Engels knew that this was not the case! In fact, they knew that there was a tendency for the rate of profit to be uniform throughout all branches of industry.

In chapter 9 of Volume 3 there is the following brilliant insight:

"So far as profits are concerned, the various capitalists are just so many stockholders in a stock company in which the shares of profit are uniformly divided per 100, so that profits differ in the case of the individual capitalists only in accordance with the amount of capital invested by each in the aggregate enterprise i.e., according to his investment in social production as a whole, according to the number of his shares".

What Marx is saying here is that one should think of the whole system as consisting of one big company rather than a multitude of companies. The number of shares each capitalist has in this one "aggregate company" is in proportion to the amount of capital each has invested.

Other things being equal, each capitalist will be entitled to a greater share of the profits of society the more capital he has. The rate of profit in all branches of industry oscillates around an average rate of profit for the society. In industries in which the rate of profit is below the average rate there is a tendency for capital to leave until the rate of profit rises. The opposite is true in industries in which the rate of profit is higher than the average: capital moves into such industries until the rate of profit drops towards the average. Although there will be deviations from the average social rate of profit the system tends towards this figure and resources allocated towards investment are made on the basis of this figure.

It is important to emphasise that it is not the objective of businesses to maximise

profits as most economic textbooks imply, but rather to maximise the "Rate of Profit" or the amount of profit for each unit of capital invested.

MODIFICATION OF THE LAW OF VALUE

But there is an apparent contradiction here. On the one hand Marx is saying that the "Rate of Surplus Value" tends towards the same rate throughout all branches of industry. He also says that the "Organic Composition of Capital" differs in different branches of industry, which implies that there will be a higher "Rate of Profit" in Labour-intensive industries. On the other hand he then asserts that the "Rate of Profit" tends towards an average rate throughout the various branches of industry.

This apparent contradiction is resolved by allowing prices to deviate from value. The price of a commodity is equal to the cost-price plus the share of the annual average rate of profit on the total capital invested. The following example illustrates how prices are determined by the average rate of profit. Assume that there are only three products produced in society. To simplify things further we will assume that none of the products employ fixed capital and also that there is only one turnover of capital in a year. The components of value of the three products are as follows:

Product A	$80c + 20v + 20s = 120$
Product B	$90c + 10v + 10s = 110$
Product C	$70c + 30v + 30s = 130$
Total Product	$240c + 60v + 60s = 360$

The composition of the total product of society is arrived at by adding the individual components of the three products.

Since there is no fixed capital and there is only one turnover of capital a year, the sum of the constant capital and variable capital equals the capital employed. In each case the formulas indicate that the capital employed amounts to 100 and the rate of surplus value for each product is 100%. The above figures also indicate that the average rate of profit for the society or the rate of profit for the total product is 20% (i.e. $60/(60 + 240)$). However, given that the rate of profit is 20%, the price of each individual product will equal 120 (i.e. $100 + 20\%$).

Therefore the price of Product A will equal its value and the profit will equal the surplus value. This indicates that Product

A has a composition of capital equal to the social average. Product B, on the other hand, has a higher value of capital employed as a proportion to total value than the social average. For this reason its price of 120 is greater than its value. Finally, product C has a lesser proportion of capital employed to total value than the social average and therefore its price is less than its value.

The sum of the individual prices equals 360, which also equals the sum of the individual values as indicated by the value components of the total product.

HAS MARX CHANGED HIS MIND?

But, if individual prices are determined by costs plus the average rate of profit, what is the relevance of the law of value? The reader could be forgiven for thinking that what Marx said in Volume 3 was in contradiction to his theories of value as outlined in the first two volumes. Those of a conspiratorial frame of mind might even suspect that Volume 3 reflects the thinking of Engels and the remainder of *Capital* reflects Marx's ideas and the two are not the same!

It is interesting to speculate how much of *Capital* reflects Marx and how much Engels. But there is probably no way of arriving at a firm conclusion on this point. Nevertheless, in my view there is no contradiction between what is said in Volume 3 and the remainder of *Capital*. The ideas in Volume 3 are a development and refinement of the law of value.

It is important to understand what is and what is not said in Volume 3. Although individual prices differ from values, this is not the case for the system as a whole. In the whole of the system the sum of all commodity prices equals the sum of all commodity values. Also, the sum of the profits from all commodities equals the sum of the individual surplus values. It is only individual prices and profits that differ from individual commodity values and surplus values respectively.

Individual prices and profits differ from individual values and surplus values because social profits (or the profits of society) are not distributed to the individual capitalists on the basis of the amount of surplus value each generated within his own individual company, but on the proportion that his capital represents of the total social capital.

A REALISTIC ECONOMIC MODEL?

Like his theory of value, Marx's theory

of prices is an abstraction. It generalises from the multitude of particular elements in an attempt to arrive at a general or essential truth. Such abstractions are only valuable if they enhance our understanding of reality.

In my view Marx's theory of prices does capture the essence of the system: the more capital that a person owns the greater will be the amount of profits that he will be able to appropriate. Of course, the system is not stable. There are always innovators who try to beat the system.

In Emile Zola's *Germinal*, which I referred to earlier in this series, one of the capitalists, Deneulin, is an example of such an innovator. He, cleverly, sells his shares in the Montsou Mining Company when the price was high and uses the proceeds to set up his own mining company with all the most modern machinery. Unfortunately, his company fails. It hasn't the resources to weather the economic crisis and the strike. Zola hints that he has also shortcomings in management. This is often the case with innovators. The people with the best ideas are not always the best people to implement them. In contrast to Deneulin, his cousin Gregoire keeps his shares in the Montsou Company and is therefore able to maintain his indolent lifestyle.

Here is an extract from the novel in which the capitalists celebrate their victory over the workers and the impending award of "*Officer of the Legion of Honour*" to Hennebeau, the Montsou Company's General Manager:

"Deneulin was there with his two daughters, forcing himself to hide his grief at his own ruin in the midst of all this gaiety. That very morning he had signed the sale of his Vandame concession to the Montsou Company. With his back to the wall and a knife at his throat he had agreed to all the directors' demands, handing over the prize they had coveted for so long for a sum hardly sufficient to pay off his creditors. He had even agreed at the last moment, as a piece of singularly good fortune, to their wish to keep him on as a divisional engineer, resigning himself to accepting a salaried post at the pit in which he had sunk his fortune. This sounded the knell of small private enterprise, of proprietors soon doomed to disappear, devoured piecemeal by the insatiable maw of capital, lost in the rising tide of great combines. He was the only one to pay for the strike and he felt that in toasting the

decoration of Monsieur Hennebeau they were drinking to his own disaster. His only slight consolation was the fine, devil-may-care attitude of Lucie and Jeanne, who were looking charming in their altered clothes, laughing amid the ruins, scorning money like the pretty hoydens they were.

"As they passed into the drawing-room for coffee Monsieur Gregoire took his cousin to one side and congratulated him on his courageous decision.

"What can you expect? Your great mistake was to jeopardize the millions of your Montsou denier in Vandame. You have let yourself in for all this terrible trouble and the money has all melted away in a life of unspeakable toiling and moiling, whereas mine, which has sat tight all along in a drawer, still keeps me quietly doing nothing, as it will my grandchildren's children."

I can only marvel at the sharpness of Zola's insights. And what was true in the nineteenth century remains true to this day. The names of Berkey, Ampex, Gablinger and Chux are long forgotten in the business world. Yet Berkey was the company that produced the first hand-held calculator; Ampex the first video recorders; Gablinger developed low-alcohol lager and Chux sold the first disposable nappies (from an article in the *Financial Times*).

Of course this is not to say that the innovators and the pioneers have no role in the system. Their role is to prevent the system from ossifying. The large corporations have to watch the innovators, not because they fear them but because they are afraid that other large corporations will adopt their ideas.

Also, some innovators succeed in capitalising on their innovations. These people encourage the subsequent generation of innovators. The most obvious example of a successful innovator is Bill Gates. He managed to patent or capitalise his innovations in the operating system used by IBM, the largest computer manufacturer. Gates is now one of the richest men in the world. But the income or profit that he now receives is not based on his innovations; it is based on his **ownership of capital**. Indeed, there is a significant element of the American political establishment that would perceive Gates's company, Microsoft, as preventing

innovation. This element would like to break up the company to allow greater competition.

Although, other things being equal, there is a tendency for a given amount of capital to generate an average rate of profit, there is no guarantee of this. The system is unstable. It is constantly out of equilibrium. A change in one part of the system can have de-stabilising effects throughout the system. Nevertheless, the system is also constantly trying to correct itself in order to arrive at an equilibrium state. It does this through the price mechanism and the laws of supply and demand.

Modern economics is well aware of these laws, but it makes no attempt to explain what lies behind them. In modern economics the demand curve and the supply curve, which show the relationship between price and quantity for consumers and suppliers respectively, exist in separate universes. They only meet at a point called the equilibrium price in which the price that consumers are willing to buy at is equal to the price at which suppliers are willing to sell. When there is a “glut” or oversupply of a commodity, the supply curve moves to the right and suppliers are willing to supply greater quantities of the commodity for each level of price. The effect is to reduce the equilibrium price. There is no explanation as to why this glut has occurred or whether this higher level of production will continue.

Marx would agree that, if supply exceeds demand, the price will drop. But he also attempted to understand what is meant by supply exceeding demand. In his view supply cannot be separated from demand. They are part of an integrated whole.

Demand is not something that exists in isolation from supply. A key determinant of demand is income. Income is determined by what is produced (i.e. supply) or what can be sold in the market place.

Another key determinant of demand is income distribution. How the revenue from production, or the “supply” of goods, is distributed between workers, capitalists, landlords, financiers, state employees etc. will affect the demand for luxury products, necessary products etc. For example, an increase in the proportion of total income allocated to workers might increase the demand for necessary products and reduce the demand for luxury products. This in

turn might raise the prices of necessary products, raising the rate of profit in those industries. Another effect of raising workers’ wages is that the rate of profit in labour intensive industries will fall and will rise in capital intensive industries.

What “*supply exceeding demand*” in a market context means is that society has allocated too much of its resources to the production of that commodity. The value of a commodity is the average socially-necessary labour time contained in it. “*Average socially necessary labour time*” does not just mean the average time it takes to produce a product in society. It also requires that the production of that commodity is “*socially necessary*” or is required by society or to be more precise by those within society with the income to pay for it. If too much of society’s labour has been allocated to the production of that commodity, some of the labour is superfluous or has no value. In such an industry, the average product contains an amount of labour which has no value. The value of each product is therefore less than the amount of labour actually contained in it because part of the labour is not socially necessary. The redundant element of the labour contained in each product is what causes the price to drop.

This is a far more thorough analysis than a modern economics textbook will give. But the story does not end here. As a result of the fall in the price, the rate of profit will also fall below the average social rate of profit. This will result in a withdrawal of investment away from this commodity towards commodities giving a rate of profit equal to or above the average rate of profit.

The opposite is the case if the supply is less than the demand. The price will rise and therefore the rate of profit in that industry will rise above the social average. This will encourage a movement of capital towards that industry.

All of this assumes that capital is mobile and for capital to function it needs labour. Therefore, by deduction, the system requires that labour is also mobile. But, in order to facilitate labour transferring from one industry to another, the production processes in the various branches of industry must be designed to de-skill the input of labour. Otherwise workers from one industry will take years to acquire the skills of another industry once they have been forced to move to it.

If the system is looked at as a whole, it appears stable. Profits or surplus value are allocated among the various capitalists according to the proportion of capital that they own. However, at the micro-level or individual business level there are constant variations from the average.

The drive on behalf of individual capitalists to increase their rate of profit by increasing productivity has the effect of cheapening the value of commodities and thereby reducing the amount of socially necessary labour to produce a given volume of products. This forces competing capitalists to change their methods of production in order to ensure that the amount of labour that they use in production does not exceed the average socially necessary amount.

Capitalists that conserve existing less productive methods of production are bankrupted. Therefore the system has a continual tendency to increase the productive forces of society.

The system is regulated by the price mechanism and the rate of profit which ensure that productive resources are not allocated to producing commodities in which there is no demand.

Marx argued that there was a glaring contradiction in the system. On the one hand the capitalist system eliminated all private forms of production (i.e. production in which the individual produces products for his own needs). Under capitalism almost all forms of production are socialised (i.e. production organised to produce products for society). On the other hand the ownership and control of the means of production is in the hands of private individuals who act not in the interests of society but in the interests of capital.

Nevertheless, Marx himself recognised that the ownership of capital and the greed for profits had the effect of rapidly increasing the forces of production. Secondly, private ownership of capital through the price mechanism and the rate of profit was a means of allocating productive resources in society. The defenders of the market system might claim that any alternative system might result in stagnancy. Also, if production decisions are not decided by means of the market mechanism how else can they be decided? We will return to these themes in a later instalment.

John Martin

Northern Ireland News Digest December 03/January 04

NI Assembly members are to get 70% of their full salary of £41,000, ie £31,817, for the time being. This could decrease later (16.12.03 IN).

Barron Report: Irish Government releases findings on 2 Irish cases to the media. Joe Costello, Labour Justice spokesman criticises the British Government “for allowing a situation to develop where members of the security forces could cooperate on such an outrage with the loyalist paramilitaries”. He also criticises the Irish Government “for its utter failure to ensure that the bombing was investigated in the manner it merited”. In the Dail, Labour leader Pat Rabbitte, calling for a Dail debate, emphasises, “More importantly, members should consider the report in the environment that obtained in the country in 1974”.

FAIR (Families for Innocent Relatives) defend James Mitchell, a former RUC reservist now in his 80s named in the Barron Report, who is still living in the same S. Armagh farmhouse which Barron claims was used to help prepare the bombs. Willie Frazer says of Mitchell is: “very well thought of, a quiet man and has a few Catholic friends”.

Michael Gallagher demands a Saville-type inquiry into the 1974 Bombings which killed 33 people and an unborn child. Speaking for Omagh relatives, he says “We have had very similar experiences” to the Dublin/Monaghan relatives.

The RUC Federation denies as “fanciful” the claim that RUC members were involved, as the force had no experience of explosives. The *Irish News* reports *Convicted Killer Refused To Assist Barron Investigation*. This is Billy McCaughey, who is alleged by ex-RUC Sergeant John Weir to have been involved in collusion with Loyalists. Both were in the RUC Special Support Group. An *Irish News* letter from ‘Q.E.D.’ of Derry says that, years after the 1974 UVF bombings, the RUC “were on the brink of perfecting car bombs”, so how could they have made the Dublin/Monaghan bombs? The IN headline of 11th should thus have read *British, not Security Force Collusion In Dublin Bomb Says Barron* (11-12, 17 Dec. IT, IN).

Robbery. Republicans were widely blamed for the hijacking of a lorry load of cigarettes, just north of the Border, near Jonesboro, S. Armagh at 7.30 am on the

15th. The evidence for republican involvement is the location of the hold-up and the careful organisation deployed by the 12+ hijackers. *Roadside Heist—Republicans Blamed* is the title of the *Irish News* front-page report, in which UUP Assembly member Danny Kennedy says he “suspected republican paramilitary involvement due to the nature and geographical location of the crime. ‘Whether it’s mainstream or dissident isn’t really relevant.’” The paper reports Justice Minister McDowell’s words of earlier that week: “There is a close connection between Sinn Fein and the IRA and I have no doubt that senior figures in the IRA are at the moment, and have been for many years, engaged in criminal activity to fund the activities of the republican organisation” (16.12.03). Other papers pick up the story as a mainstream republican robbery.

Drugs Trade Unites Paramilitary Chiefs claims Det. Supt. George Mc Camley of PSNI. He refuses to say whether the Republicans he is referring to are dissidents or mainstream (22.12.03 IN).

Gerry Adams spends a week in the USA and raises \$1.5 for SF (5.1.04 S. Ind).

‘Stormontgate’. Police drop case against Fiona Farrelly with no explanation. The caterer had been accused of having a laptop with personal details of prison officers. The other 3 remain on bail. Ciaran Kearney’s solicitor, Joe McVeigh, is pursuing ‘an abuse of process application’ and making legal submissions on the basis of the charges as formulated, while solicitor Peter Madden is pursuing other legal issues on behalf of Kearney’s father-in-law, SF’s Denis Donaldson, and for former Stormont porter, Wm Mackessy. Madden estimates it might be another year before a trial (18.12.03, 8.1.04 IN).

Election. Fionnula O’Connor expresses satisfaction many feel at the defeats of Trimble and the SDLP: “With a touch of long-suppressed amusement because they no longer need to struggle to empathise, the watchers note David Trimble disappearing into renewed theological dispute about procedures for the disciplining of Jeffrey Donaldson”. And, “those steering the process look away from a sad SDLP. Averted eyes contain a stubborn mix of guilt, irritation and what could grow up to be sheer dislike. There are limits to sympathy and many had reached them before the count”. She adds that Unionist and Alliance vote-monitors claim their voters stayed away, disenchanted by on/off devolution. They didn’t trust republicans and were alienated by the split UUs. And UUs preferred to

see the DUP win to “voting across the divide, for the pro-agreement, dubiously nationalist, but definitely non-unionist SDLP” (12.12.03 IT).

Donaldson leaves the UUP on the 18th, along with Arlene Foster (also of Lagan Valley) and Norah Beare (Ferm/S. Tyr)—but not David Burnside or Martin Smyth, who continue to disrupt the UUP, seeking to displace Trimble. After some weeks’ delay, the 3 join the DUP. This raises the DUP in the Assembly-to-be to 33 seats, a majority of 9 compared to the UUP’s 8 last time and 6 Westminster seats to the UUP’s 5. These changes would also alter the Unionist/Nationalist balance in the Executive, with it being suggested that instead of Ministerial positions being 5/5, it would be 6/4 (19.12.03, 6.1.04 IT).

The Equality Commission reports that the number of Catholics in the NI workforce has risen by 1.2% in 2002, Protestants dropping by 0.6%. In the Public Sector Catholics have 40.5% of jobs, Protestants 48%. 4,000 employers were surveyed in the private sector, where the figures were Catholics 40.9%, Protestants 59.1%. The 2001 Census is said to show 57.3% Protestants of working age, 42.7% Catholics. However, Protestants have an older population profile, with Catholics having 51% of the 16-35 age group. Joan Harbison of the EC comments that Catholics are still under-represented in some sections of the workforce (17.12.03 IT).

Lord Chief Justice Carswell bids farewell to NI, being elevated to the Lords. Tributes at his last sitting come from Peter Cush, Chairman of the Bar Council and John Pinkerton, Chairman of the Law Society. Carswell says when he started there were 5 Supreme Court judges and 60 barristers, now there were 13 and 600. Carswell followed Lord Hutton (now investigating the Kelly death).

He is replaced by Sir Brian Kerr (55), the 2nd Catholic to become LCJ. A Lurgan man, he was educated at St. Colman’s, Newry and QUB; was called to the Bar in NI in 1970 and England 1974; silk 1988; Senior Crown Counsel for NI 1988; HC judge 1993. He is married with two sons and was appointed ahead of 3 more senior colleagues: Appeal judges Nicholson, McCollum and Campbell. Kerr presided over the DUP challenge to the manner in which the Assembly was revived and over the SF challenge to Trimble not nominating it to N-S bodies.

The first LCJ of NI in 1921 was a Catholic from S. Derry, Sir Denis Stanislaus Henry, who remained in place

till his death in 1925. In 1916 he became the first—and last—Catholic to represent a Unionist constituency in Ulster at Westminster (12 & 20.12.03 IN).

MacPhilemy. In a court libel hearing, various shops apologise to Officers named in *The Committee* (20.12.03 IN).

Letters To Editor

De Valera's little problem?

Dear Editor,

We told recently that Prof. Michael Fitzgerald 'diagnoses' Yeats and de Valera as having had Asperger's Syndrome. He also includes the Indian mathematician, Ramanujan, in this diagnosis (as well as suggesting that Byron had Attention Deficit Disorder).

It has been suggested by some professionals that AS be designated 'difference' rather than 'disability' once people were guaranteed access to the necessary support. However that would deny people such as Fitzpatrick and other psychiatrists the emphasis on the disabling nature of the condition and I wonder why? Could it be the loss of lucrative business! The AS society in Ireland, ASPIRE, has a leaflet in which they advise GPs who have a young patient who may have AS to send the patient to a child psychiatrist. But there is only one in Ireland, guess who? Prof Fitzgerald!

A journal on conditions in childhood was sceptical of the 'diagnosis' of de Valera. It asked whether every person seen as odd or eccentric should be seen to have AS. Incidentally, whereas in the case of Ramanujan, Fitzgerald used 4 biographical sources, in de Valera's case he used only 2. One of them was Tim Pat Coogan's biography. Could anyone be surprised at any conclusion drawn from such a source? Coogan has some pathological anti-De Valera syndrome that disables rational thinking and it deserves a proper name. I am setting myself up as the expert on this disability when it is identified. I am thinking hard about a suitable name. Any offers?

Most are agreed that an inability to 'empathise' with other people is a feature of Asperger's. Fitzgerald's astounding discovery is that the Civil War and partition were both caused directly by de Valera's inability to empathise with others. It may make the work of generations of historians redundant, but is it not reassuring to know that Britain and the Free Staters had absolutely nothing to do with it.

Rumour has it that the discovery will

feature in Roy Foster's next book.

Yours sincerely, **Helen Hilton**

The Anti-Smoking Crusade

Progressive humanity just can't leave us alone. In days gone by, Vatican ultramontaniam was zealous about saving souls—any and every soul, but above all Catholic souls. Statute law, judicial rulings, social customs, literary output, the education process, the Labour movement, public opinion, social status—all were subordinated to Catholic ends and deployed against the errant human, usually to curb sexual misbehaviour: the soul was sacrosanct.

Nowadays progressive humanity has superseded the soul. It is something of an embarrassment, best ignored. Something not to be discussed in polite society. It is the body which is sacrosanct. And, just as the Irish Catholic Church was going to save the soul, regardless of the person who went along with it, now the Liberal totalitarians are going to save the body, regardless of the person who inhabits it.

It seems that Irish progressives can't desist from doing good in the world. Before it was Sex, now it is Smoking. The 19th century ultramontane crusade ousted the easy-going Catholicism of Gaelic Ireland. Now the liberal crusade is taking on the easy-going way of life of continental Europe. The process started with Commissioner Pdraig Flynn, who tried to ban any advertising of Smoking at all—a ban that was overturned in October 2003 by the European Court in a case brought by Germany. Then came Commissioner David Byrne, who is intent on banning Smoking in any public place. And now there is Irish Health Minister Micheál Martin who wants to stop anyone smoking at all, but is starting by taking an axe to working class social life by banning it in pubs (among other places: wherever people are employed).

To achieve this totalitarian piece of do-goodery, Micheál Martin has run roughshod over the law and democratic norms—using a European *Safety At Work* Directive in a way that was never intended. And, as in the old Vatican I days in Ireland, there is a *Gleichschaltung* of public opinion to back Good and marginalise Evil.

Though Martin sails under the flag of protecting workers' rights by preventing the occasions of passive smoking in the workplace, he, like Byrne, is intent on washing people clean of their original smoking sin in every situation. This is shown by the fact that he intends to introduce a ban on nicotine products that

do not involve smoking—and which, therefore, cannot be caught under the Safety at Work Directive. Nicotene has taken on a Satanic aspect that must be combatted by every means possible. After all, is it not a carcinogen? No matter that practically everything humans consume has carcinogenic properties, as well as many of the products in household use. Smoking is the fad of the moment.

In this anti-social crusade, Martin has found support from anti-socially minded individuals, many of whom are obsessed with their own longevity. The complaint of many is that they have to breath 'second-hand tobacco smoke'. Indeed, for these people Martin has not gone far enough: he has failed to ban smoking in open-air stadiums (see *Grounds For Banning Smoking In Stadiums*, Daire Whelan 13.1.04)!

The thought is inescapable: what these people really hate the thought of is, not so much the smoke, but the idea of sharing AIR with messy, germ-ridden, fellow-humans—people they might not even know (and who knows where they've been?).

Many of Martin's supporters (such as Lady Kilbracken) aver that, given the smoking ban, pubs will magically fill with people kept out all these years by having to breathe all that second-hand smoke. But any publicans relying on that source of business might as well shut up shop now. It is second-hand air—and particularly working class air—that offends the faddists in their crusade.

Of course, the Smoking issue has political advantages. It does not cost much money to bring into being. And it distracts attention from real health problems—such as the failure to put in place proper health care provisions. Cancer care—particularly outside of a few urban areas—is abysmal in Ireland. It costs around Euro 30-40 to visit the doctor in most of the country, even for children. The Medical Card system is abysmal, with patients having to wait over a year for a first referral to a specialist. The dental service is non-existent for those who cannot afford to squander a few thousand Euro. All these things are crying out for attention, but it is so much easier to go in for what is expected to be an easy victory against an ill-regarded sector of business (cigarette companies and publicans) than tackle poor availability of medical treatment.

Martin has failed to approach the Smoking issue in a pragmatic and reformist manner—which there is scope for. He has gone in for ideological purity and over-

kill. Failing to tackle real health problems, the Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrat Government has embarked on a progressive ideological crusade. But Irish humanity out-witted and survived the religious totalitarians. It will surely do the same to their liberal descendants.

E. Courtney

THE CLONBANIN COLUMN

(continued from September 2004 issue)

“AN OPEN-DOOR policy for refugees and asylum seekers would ultimately create huge tensions and could lead to the emergence of far-right organisations, the general secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions said yesterday.

“Speaking at the launch of the annual report of the Refugee Information Service, David Begg said the way we treat refugees and asylum seekers would ultimately reflect on us as a society”

(*Irish Independent*, 17.6.2003).

Is that not what Aine Nhi Chonaill of Immigration Control told us five years ago?

“ATTORNEY General Rory Brady was urged yesterday to order the reopening of inquests into the deaths of six people in the Monaghan bombing nearly 30 years ago, on May 17, 1974.

“The request was made by Monaghan Town Council after a motion in the names of all the councillors was unanimously carried” (*Irish Independent*, 22.7.2003).

“THE greatest political challenge facing Ireland was how to combine economic efficiency, individual freedom and social justice in the right balance, Irish Congress of Trade Unions general secretary David Begg told the Patrick MacGill Summer School.

“Speaking in Glenties, Co. Donegal last night, Mr. Begg urged Ireland to adopt the European Social Market Economy Model in pursuit of that goal and abandon the American model currently being courted by the rich and powerful.

“There is much to admire in the United States in terms of its openness, its tolerance, its sense of patriotism, and American investment in this country has also been

BOMBINGS continued

on board. Even McDowell, the Dublin Justice Minister would have more cop-on than his British counterparts in that regard.

“An astounding shortcoming has been uncovered in legislation to empower the new Inspectorate/Ombudsman.

“If they want to raid a garda station for evidence, watchdogs will have to warn gardai 48 hours in advance.

“Northern Ireland Ombudsman Nuala O’Loan could barely speak through the smirks, when she heard that. Her officers work to the ‘Golden Hour’ rule of evidence seizure, not the 48 hour rule” (Eve. Herald, 9.1.2004).

However, the Chairman of the current Garda Complaints board, Mr. Gordon Holmes stated that public confidence in the Gardai was at, or near, an all time low. While the majority of gardai were ‘first-class’, the public perception was that officers who behaved less than honourable were not being adequately investigated and punished.

Referring to the proposed Garda Inspectorate/Ombudsman, Mr. Holmes said this may not be in place for a number of years despite the fact that relevant legislation is about to come before the Dail.

“We have a situation in the UK where legislation on a new independent complaints body was passed last July 12 months, yet it doesn’t begin operation until April, 2004,” he said,

very welcome but its record on equality and social cohesion is not to be emulated,” the Trade Union leader said.

“The European belief that the wealthy and propertied have reciprocal obligations to the society of which they are part and which cannot be discharged by charity alone, goes back to early Christendom” (*Irish Independent*, 22.7.2003).

EDITORIAL NOTE:
Due to pressure of space we have been obliged to hold over part two of a report on the Casement Symposium.

adding that the Government’s decentralisation plans will see the Garda Inspectorate, or Ombudsman moved to Portllington, Co. Laois” (*Irish Times*, 9.1.2004).

Nearly 5,000 claims for injuries by the Garda Síochána have been made over the last decade, with the State paying out over 70 million Euros; the average payout per claimant in recent years is around 60,000 Euros.

Since 1996, a total of 26 members of the force have been constructively dismissed.

And between January, 2000 and December, 2002, there were 567 cases of internal discipline investigated while 11 gardai were either sacked or forced to resign and 105 gardai were brought before the courts on criminal charges.

The level of complaints against members of An Garda Síochána fell to a near 10-year low last year. The Garda Síochána Complaints Board received 1,174 complaints compared with 1,405 in 2002, a record year. The level of complaints in 2003 was the lowest since 1995.

But wait for it: “The enormous number of rejections (1,998 of 2,000 recent complaints) is used by the force to deny wrongdoing” (*Evening Herald*, 9.1.2004).

And whilst we’re on the question of reform—where does the European dimension fit into all this? All reform and deregulation in Leinster House appears to be confined to the ‘AngloAmer’ template!

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BOMBINGS continued

could have little faith that it would order an independent and impartial inquiry—the British had made a commitment to abide by the judge's recommendations.

"I don't think the concepts of independence and impartiality are compatible with how the British government does its business," said Mr. Michael Finucane.

"I think the fact that Judge Cory felt compelled to contact us shows up the British government as being, as the very least, guilty of bad faith and, at worst, duplicity and lies," he added.

"Mr. Finucane described Judge Cory as a man of 'unquestionable integrity'. But Mr. Finucane said he was concerned that if an inquiry were called the British government would attempt to restrict its remit" (Irish Times, 13.1.2004).

The Finucane family have begun legal proceedings in Belfast in an effort to compel the British Government to publish Judge Cory's reports. The family want a full judicial inquiry. Any inquiry that could not compel witnesses, could not order the disclosure of top-secret documents and have penalties for perjury or refusal to comply would not be worth co-operating with, the Finucane family argue.

Last November, the Northern Secretary, Mr. Paul Murphy, said he hoped the reports would be published before the end of 2003.

London has been citing issues of national security and the protection of people named in the report for the delay. The Dublin government believes the main issue here is Judge Cory's findings in relation to the UDA murder of Pat Finucane.

Dublin suspects that Judge Cory's findings on Mr. Finucane's murder could be quite explicit and provide more detailed and damaging evidence of alleged British collusion with loyalists in the killing.

'BLAIR HAS TO DEAL'

The President of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams accused the British government of seeking to find excuses to prevent publication of the reports, and said the British Prime Minister, Mr. Tony Blair, must personally address the issue. "There was a policy and administrative practice of collusion between British agencies and

agents with unionist paramilitaries. That obviously is a huge thing for a British government to deal with. But Mr. Blair has to deal with this issue". concluded Mr. Adams.

"The SDLP is writing to the US administration, to leading US senators and congressmen and to the United Nations urging that they use their influence to force Tony Blair to live up to his word. He cannot be allowed to bury the truth," said SDLP leader Mark Durkan.

ROYAL GARDA SIOCHANA

The Government passed the *Garda Siochana (Police Co-Operation) Bill 2003* during the Autumn, allowing exchanges of personnel between the Gardai and the Police Service of Northern Ireland as part of a major cross-Border police co-operation programme.

The British Government had already introduced legislation to facilitate the implementation of the proposals that emerged from the Patten Report.

The *Garda Siochana (Police Co-Operation) Bill 2003* is designed to provide legislative basis for the lateral movement and secondment of personnel with full policing powers.

Under the terms of an agreement between the two Governments, Gardai and PSNI members will be able to swap posts for a maximum of three years.

Officers at the rank of Superintendent and Chief Superintendent will also be eligible to compete for posts in the other police force.

The Gardai will have no difficulties in taking part in joint training or exchange programmes. Joint conferences on policing issues have already been held under the auspices of the FBI at its academy in Quantico, Virginia, and subsequently at the Garda College in Templemore, Co. Tipperary and the PSNI training college at Garnerville, Belfast.

The training of more than 70 then RUC officers in Templemore, Co. Tipperary for United Nations peace observation duties in Kosovo also heralded a new era in inter-force relations.

The improvement in operational relations between the two forces was dramatically underlined by the joint investigations into the Omagh bomb atrocity and boy, was that not a successful joint operation?

All that is left now, is for the two armies to bring in an Army Co-Operation Bill and the Brits will be back in Kilmichael. This Bill went through a so-

called Irish Parliament without a twitter!

"They have remained unchanged since 1922. Indeed, it can be argued that they have not changed since the establishment of the Irish Constabulary—later the Royal Irish Constabulary—The constitutional model is scarcely different from when the Inspector General of the RIC reported upwards through the Chief Secretary to the government of the (then) United Kingdom." (Conor Brady, ex-Editor, Irish Times, 14.1.2004).

LEGISLATION to create a Garda Inspectorate/Ombudsman will be published this month. The new three-strong body will be able to investigate allegations of poor conduct, corruption or other charges against the gardai.

A hue and cry has gone up in Dublin media circles after an RTE1 programme, *Prime Time*, made allegations of corruption, perjury and disciplinary breaches by the Garda Siochana.

What's new, you might ask! The problem with many of the would-be reformers is that for years some of the most draconian and repressive legislation that ever existed, *Offences Against the State Act*, etc. has been perpetrated mainly against Irish Republicans and the Dublin liberals and reformers never said boo! Had a substantial and serious Socialist or working-class movement existed in Dublin, rest assured that the same legislation would have been applied might and main. We saw it during the Housing Action protests in the late 60s and early 70s.

Prime Time has given encouragement to those seeking a new Garda Inspectorate/Ombudsman, most of whom desire a body based on the Northern model of Nuala O'Loan or indeed, the British Independent Police Complaints Commission (IPCC). In fact, the head of the current Garda Complaints Board (GCB) made a visit to the IPCC last month.

The present writer is perplexed with the make-up of the new British IPCC. Under legislation, the 18 Commissioners of the IPCC must never have worked for the police. This is New Labour political correctness gone berserk. Akin to setting up a fishing inspectorate with no fishermen

continued on page 15

BOMBINGS continued

Bombings, claims that his report misattributes evidence to him.

Lt. Col. John Morgan told the *Sunday Business Post* that the report wrongly accords evidence to him and that no attempts were made to confirm statements with him prior to publication. This is despite a contention in the report that all interviewees were approached for confirmation.

Morgan alleges that the Barron report is riddled with inaccuracies and questionable terminology. He noted that the report refers to "mainland Britain" twice and pointed out that this was constitutionally inaccurate.

"For a report commissioned by, and submitted to, a sovereign government it contains subservient and constitutionally incorrect language" said Morgan (*Sunday Business Post*, 11.1.2004).

"This is all the more incomprehensible coming from a former Judge of the Supreme Court" (*ibid.*).

LIAM CAMPBELL

On Friday, 19th December 2003, the Court of Criminal Appeal overturned the conviction and a five, year sentence of a Co. Louth man against his conviction for membership of the 'Real IRA'. A retrial was ordered.

"In October, 2001, Mr. Liam Campbell, (39), a father of two, of Upper Faughart, Dundalk, Co. Louth, became the first member of the 'Real IRA' to be convicted, under the 1939 Offences Against the State Act" (*Irish Times*, 20.12.2003).

It would be up to the DPP to decide whether there would be a retrial or not.

There is little doubt that the abominable convictions imposed on both Colm Murphy and Michael McKeivitt in similar courts will be overturned in like fashion—it is a reflection of how rotten and politically influenced justice is meted out in the State which now presides over the European Union. But then maybe it better reflects how superficial the whole 'European concept' has now become!

JUDGE PETER CORY FROM CANADA

Retired Canadian Supreme Court judge, Peter Cory, was commissioned by the Irish and British governments in May 2002 to investigate six killings allegedly

linked to secret intelligence agency collusion. Cory has a team of retired British and Irish detectives who have been working six days a week since June, 2002 on the six cases, keeping in close contact with the families involved. Cory reckons it's the hardest he's ever worked in his life.

Cory is said to be an extremely shrewd, canny, politically-astute character who values his integrity and independence and has done a thorough job.

"On arriving in London, he set up shop in a secure suite of offices at his country's High Commission in London. He then recruited Canadian lawyers, Renee Pomerance and James Reilly, as assistants, in preference to the kindly offer of personnel from the Lord Chancellor's office. Finally, he gave the bum's rush to a group of British 'officials' with intelligence expertise who had been banded together by Whitehall in the appropriately titled Collusion Investigation Team to ensure he reached the right conclusions. In dispensing with their services, Judge Cory wrote that no reflection on the individuals concerned was intended" (*Phoenix*, 5.12.2003).

The six cases were selected after the SDLP insisted on inquiries into the Finucane, Nelson and Hamill cases before they would endorse the new policing arrangements in the Six Counties.

When the British Government proposed asking a judge to review the evidence in all three cases, before deciding whether such inquiries were justified, the UUP "went ballistic" said one observer.

They were then invited to submit cases where they were concerned about alleged IRA/Garda collusion and came up with Gibson and Breen/Buchanan cases.

Only two incidents involved accusations about complicity in the Republic—the Border ambush of Lord Justice Maurice Gibson and his wife, assassinated in a 1987 IRA radio-bomb, and those of Chief Supt. Harry Breen and Det. Supt. Robert Buchanan. The Cory report on the Gibson killings is a classic of judicial investigation. It convincingly refutes claims that the IRA had assistance from any Garda member in targeting the couple on the grounds that the Gibsons extensively revealed their travel plans.

"In December, 2003, the Irish Government accepted Judge Cory's recommendation for an independent inquiry into the IRA murders of two

senior RUC officers, Chief Supt Harry Breen and Supt. Robert Buchanan, close to the Border in 1989" (*Irish Times*, 13.1.2004).

In the Breen-Buchanan case, however, Cory recommends a tribunal of inquiry. He said he had seen "evidence that, if accepted, could be found to constitute collusion". Cory acknowledges that this evidence was given by Newry informer and self-publicist, Peter Keeley (aka Kevin Fulton, dubbed *The Masked Spook* by the Northern media).

Cory has gone over the head of the British government to inform the families of Pat Finucane, Rosemary Nelson, Robert Hamill and Billy Wright that he has recommended independent inquiries into their killings.

British officials had contacted Judge Cory to inform him that he would be in breach of his agreement if he attempted to contact the families to tell them his recommendations.

The move angered Cory who felt the British had placed him and the victim's families in an intolerable position.

Cory informed the families that he urged the British Government to hold inquiries into the killings of Finucane, Nelson, Hamill and Billy Wright.

The British Government has cited a series of legal reasons for not publishing the report into the killings. "The Prime Minister has made it clear that we will publish the reports as soon as the legal position is complete", said a British spokesman last night.

Cory has told the families that he was motivated in his actions primarily by reasons of humanity and fairness to the families.

"I got a call from Judge Cory out of the blue about 3.30 p.m.," said Mr. Michael Finucane, son of the murdered Belfast solicitor, and, now a solicitor himself in Dublin. "He said he had informed the Northern Ireland Office that he was going to make the families aware of the bottom line in his report because he felt it was the humane thing to do."

"Judge Cory told the families of his recommendations but did not go into the details of his report. Mr. Michael Finucane said the British government's stance on the report indicated that he

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some of the blame for the fact that this did not happen" (Irish Times, 20.12.2003).

MUIRIS MAC CONGHAIL

The former 1973 Coalition Government Press Secretary, Mr. Muiris Mac Conghail, has come out strongly in dispute of the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Justice Henry Barron and that a more robust defence of their actions was not made by the former Coalition ministers in defence of their government at the time of the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings.

"Noting that he was a friend of Dr. FitzGerald, Mr. MacConghail said: 'I'm surprised that the then government didn't take the opportunity to make a robust defence of itself, particularly Dr. FitzGerald'" (Ir. Times, 15.12.2003).

"He said any suggestion that the then government has 'kow-towed' to the British authorities was wrong. He noted that the Fine Gael-Labour coalition had negotiated the Sunningdale power-sharing agreement with the Tory government led by Mr. Ted Heath and was determined to defend it after the Labour government led by Mr. Harold Wilson came to power."

Mr. MacConghail said the judge did not show a knowledge of the political context in which the events occurred. The Labour government had an 'ambiguous attitude' to the pact, which collapsed after the strike, because 'it wasn't a child they had given birth to.'"

"They were so taken with the use of the word strike. Being a Labour government they presumably meant not to break them. It was pointed out to them that the Labour part of the [Irish] government were familiar with the word 'strike' in the democratic use of that weapon and pointed out that this was not a strike but a coup d'etat."

"The British intelligence community was out of control at the time. Some of them were so paranoid that they actually believed that Prime Minister Harold Wilson was a Soviet spy, and they were conspiring to bring him down" (Ryle Dwyer, Irish Examiner, 13.12.2003).

Gerry Fitt, the former MP for West Belfast, and now Baron Fitt of Bell's Field, blamed the British miners for the downfall of the Sunningdale Agreement, their actions eclipsing the political future of Ted Heath. Muiris would surely agree with the Fitt analysis and must have taken great satisfaction in 1979 when Baron Fitt brought down the Labour government and

cleared the stage for Mrs. Thatcher! Now they are both rubbing shoulders in the House of Lords!

Despite Mr. MacConghail's Dublin Four rantings, the British Labour Government were under no illusions about the democratic nature or otherwise, of the Ulster Workers' Council, and was in daily 'collusion' with the TUC and probably the ICTU to a lesser extent, as to how the Strike might be smashed. Mr. Mac Conghail might have been prepared to do a 'Churchill' but whatever about his shortcomings, Wilson was not prepared to take responsibility for the slaughter of hundreds of Belfast workers by the British Army.

Muiris MacConghail was hardly oblivious to the real canker in the Sunningdale Agreement for the Unionists: the Council of Ireland, his mentors FitzGerald and Cruise-O'Brien were acutely conscious of the risks posed by that aspect of Sunningdale. It would be incredible if their Chief Press Officer was not aware also!

SENATOR BILLY FOX

The *Sunday Independent*, which is opposed to a full judicial inquiry, called on readers to view Judge Barron's accusations of inadequacy in the investigation in the context of the fact that, after the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, the Garda's main criminal investigators and most of the senior officers of the Cavan/Monaghan division were tied up in the Fox murder trial.

"The Government in Dublin and the Garda Siochana were also most concerned with the perceived threat by the Provisional IRA to overthrow the State" (S. Indep, 14.12.2003).

"The assassination of Senator Billy Fox and the escape of the Littlejohn brothers from Mountjoy prison, one of whom was recaptured, events that occurred within hours of each other on Monday night, have left the Taoiseach and his ministers very disturbed about the whole security system of the State" (Cork Examiner, 13.3.1974).

The Littlejohn brothers were self-confessed British spies and gangsters, Kenneth who made good his escape was the more important of the two. "*Speculation in the capital last night that the escape was master-minded from the outside possibly by the British Government, though such an admission even if true, is never likely to be made*" (ibid.).

Two months before the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, Fine Gael Senator

Billy Fox was shot at his girl-friend's home near Clones, Co. Monaghan. Fox was the most prominent Protestant member of the Oireachtas. The slaying of Senator Fox was the first such death of an Oireachtas member since Kevin O'Higgins was shot in 1927.

"The Government successfully directed the full weight of the Garda Technical Bureau (the old Murder Squad) to detect Senator Fox's killers, obtaining convictions against four Provisional IRA members during a prolonged trial in the Special Criminal Court which started right after the Dublin and Monaghan bombings" (Sunday Independent, 14.12.2003).

Five men faced trial for the murder of Senator Fox on Monday, 20th May 1974, three days after the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings.

On Friday, 6th June 1974, the five men were sentenced for life in the Special Criminal Court, Dublin.

"On 11 March, 1974, Senator Billy Fox inadvertently arrived on the scene of an arms raid in County Monaghan and was shot dead by one of the raiding party. During the raid, the house, belonging to Mr. Richard Coulson, and a mobile home belonging to his son, Geroge were burned down. The raiding party, members of the Official IRA, were apparently acting on the mistaken belief that there were arms in the Coulson house" (Tim Pat Coogan, *Disillusioned Decades*, Gill & Macmillan, 1987).

"Billy Fox (FG). Born 1939. Educated at Victor Weymount Grammar School, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan. A member of the Fine Gael Youth Group in the mid-sixties and a radical member of the party. Sympathetic to Republicanism. Elected for only one term from 1969 to 1973, when Fine Gael for the only time ever had two TDs for the Monaghan constituency. Was murdered on March 11, 1974, at a farmhouse near the border by members of the Provisional IRA, when he happened on an arms dump by accident. He had been elected to the Senate in March of that year" (First "Magill Book of Irish Politics" 1981).

'MAINLAND BRITAIN'

A former senior army intelligence officer who was interviewed by Judge Henry Barron about the Dublin/Monaghan

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was unable to uncover evidence that they were but that is hardly surprising when the British government refused to provide him with all the intelligence material that he asked for. Their failure to do so will only increase suspicions of secret service involvement," he added.

"The families had rightly called for a full public judicial inquiry into the bombings, he added and the SDLP back their call."

"Private inquiries—North or South—are never sufficient to find the truth for the families of those killed, but for a public inquiry into the 1974 bombing to get to the full truth, the British government must face up to the massive duty on it to co-operate fully.

"With the Stevens, Barron and Cory reports, the truth is being uncovered about some of the darkest days of the Troubles and the worst acts of the state or its agents," Mr. Durkan said. (Irish Times, 11.12.2003).

Is this the same SDLP that took a hammering in the recent Assembly elections? Is it the voice of political frustration reflecting that it was sold short by Dublin and London? If it is, the SDLP might start falling back on whatever limited resources it possesses, for it can apply the same objectivity to other issues in the manner in which it had adjudicated on the Barron Report, its future might not be so uncertain!

"Last Friday, the Government ruled out both a tribunal of inquiry and compensation for victims' families.

"The Government fears a tribunal because of the huge costs involved and because most of the main figures are dead.

"They are worried it could turn into another Saville Inquiry, which is still probing the deaths of 13 civilians shot by the British Army in Derry which has so far cost the British Government 207 million Euros." (News of the World, 14.12.2003).

The *News Of The World* is the authentic voice of Aherm's Fianna Fail these days—ignore it at your political peril!

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE BARRON REPORT

The following advertisement appeared in the daily newspapers in Dublin during December, 2003:

"...the Joint Committee also decided to establish a Sub-Committee to

be called the Sub-Committee on the Barron Report to report back to the Joint Committee... As part of its consideration of the Report, the Sub-Committee intends to hold a series of hearings, starting on Tuesday, 20 January, 2004, which various interested parties and bodies and some of those persons referred to in the report will be invited to attend. In order to assist the Sub-Committee in the hearing process, submissions relevant to its terms of reference are invited from interested parties and bodies and from members of the general public... Submissions should be made in writing."

The closing date for written submissions was 9th January 2004.

"The Republic of Ireland learned some painful security lessons under the National Coalition, but none as painful as the events of May 17, 1974...

Initially, Cosgrave responded with a proposal for an auxiliary force of reserve security personnel in every city and town in Ireland, to offer protection against car-bombers. The idea was not pursued. But it was indicative of the underlying law-and-order approach which became a dominant factor of the National Coalition, and a form of substitute policy for Northern Ireland initiative." (Bruce Arnold, *What Kind of Country*, Jonathan Cape, 1984).

DUBLIN BOMBS

The Barron report gives a detailed, previously published, list of 15 UVF bomb attacks in the Republic before May, 1974, including:

* December 1, 1972: As Dail debates the *Offences Against the State (Amendment) Bill*, two are killed and 127 injured by two explosions in Dublin. Fine Gael drops opposition to the Bill, which passes (69 votes to 22, Fine Gael abstaining) on 3rd December; act enables a Garda Superintendent in the Republic to secure a conviction by swearing that he believes an accused to be a member of the IRA. Paddy Cooney, a future Fine Gael Justice Minister, saying it was a Bill "*the like of which can only be found on the statute books of South Africa*".

"Had the bombs not gone off Lynch would have called a snap election and Cosgrave would almost certainly have been promptly dethroned as leader of Fine Gael, so great was the antipathy to the measure not alone in his own

party but throughout the country. At one stage in the debate, the Dail was in a virtual state of siege, and as the stage was debated thousands of troops and gardai ringed the Dail to keep back the huge crowds of demonstrators" (Tim Pat Coogan, *Disillusioned Decades*, Gill & Macmillan, 1987).

* 20th January 1973: A car-bomb explosion in Sackville Place, Dublin, kills a 25-year-old bus conductor and injures 13 other people.

* 20th December 1973: 13 letter bombs bearing British and Northern Ireland postmarks are discovered in Dublin (all safely detonated by Army).

* 17th May 1974: Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, 33 dead.

* 29th November 1975: One killed and five injured in explosions at Dublin airport for which U.D.A. claim responsibility.

* 3rd July 1976: Bomb explosions in Dublin, Killarney, Dublin and Rosslare, for which responsibility is claimed by Ulster Freedom Fighters.

PADDY COONEY

The points to which the former Ministers of the National Coalition (FG/Labour) have most strongly objected include the suggestion that the Government of the day did not show sufficient concern about or interest in the bombings; failed to give gardai information it had received politically; did not give political assistance to the investigation and may have intervened to have it ended prematurely.

According to Paddy Cooney, the Justice Minister in 1974, the key personnel from the Department of Justice and the Garda were now regrettably dead. "*This points up the futility of trying to inquire into events of so long ago.*"

Mr. Cooney concluded with a general criticism. "*This report should be regarded with circumspection for much of its reasoning is opaque and it relies excessively on hypotheses, as it is forced to because its subject happened so long ago*" (Irish Times, 22.12.2003).

Garret FitzGerald adopts the same attitude: "*...it would have been better to have launched much sooner an inquiry of the kind Mr. Justice Barron has now undertaken. All who subsequently held political office, myself included, must bear*

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LABOUR

Comment

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Dublin/Monaghan Public Inquiry?

By going ahead with a judicial public inquiry, the Irish Government will not only fulfil a national duty to its own citizens, it will provide credibility to Judge Peter Cory and his own quest for sworn public hearings into the Finucane, Hamill, Nelson, and Wright killings. Such action must further compel the British Government to at last admit in a frank and open way to its awful years of maladministration, neglect and sectarian rule of Northern Ireland.

That would be the correct course for the Dail to take, but don't hold your breath—"I can see their holy patience : but where is their holy anger?" There is even less 'anger' in the media. The *Independent* Group of Sir Tony O'Reilly is completely opposed to such a course? The *Irish Times* is not sure—the *Times* is never sure, especially when an issue of national interest is at stake.

On the demand for a full Public Inquiry, the editorial of the *Irish Examiner* (11.12.2003) was in full accord. "*Such an inquiry is their entitlement, and, undoubtedly, the Government will face strong calls for one from the opposition.*" Like hell they will! The calls so far from the Opposition are faint indeed!

Labour TD, Mr. Joe Costello said: "*The 1973 Fine Gael/Labour coalition must be criticised for its 'utter failure' to ensure that the bombings were properly investigated by the Garda 'in the manner that they merited'*" (Irish Times, 11.12.2003).

Joe Costello himself serves on the Joint Committee and would undoubtedly favour a Public Inquiry—I doubt that his party leadership would be so convinced of the necessity of such an inquiry.

The Fine Gael leader, Mr. Enda Kenny, issued only a holding statement pending detailed study of the investigation carried out by Mr. Justice Barron. So far as we know, Fine Gael are still pending, just like Paddy Cooney, 30 years ago!

Sinn Fein Cavan/Monaghan TD, Caoimhghin O Caolain described the

findings—

"as an indictment of successive Irish and British governments.

"The British thwarted any proper investigation of the bombings. They failed to co-operate properly with Justice Barron.

"The investigation pointed to the involvement of agents of the British armed forces in the bombings.

"Equally serious is the report's scathing criticism of the role of the authorities in this State. The Garda investigation was totally inadequate, and was compromised by the close links between the Garda and elements of British intelligence, including British agents within the Garda.

"Successive governments were content to preside over a conspiracy of silence on all of this. It is appalling that when evidence was shown to the Irish government that the British knew the identity of the bombers, they showed little interest."

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Green Party leader, Mr. Trevor Sargent expressed 'shock' at the findings—

"which indicate a distinct lack of concern on the part of the government at the time following the worst atrocity in the history of the State.

"On top of the government's lack of interest, the investigation was thwarted by the reliance on British forensic laboratory facilities. Given that British authorities are strongly suspected of collusion in these appalling crimes, it only adds to these suspicions that the British failed to fully co-operate with the Barron investigation.

"Despite the passage of 30 years, he said the State should use its current forensic laboratory facilities to examine any material held since the bombings." (ibid).

The SDLP leader, Mr. Mark Durkan, backed the families' call for a full public inquiry into the bombings and accused the British government of failing to properly assist the inquiry. He said Mr. Justice Barron found it likely that individual members of the UDR and RUC assisted in the slaughter and it was also clear that on both sides of the Border there was a failure to investigate the case.

"And the stakes could not have been higher. Not only did key loyalists kill that day but, because they were not brought to justice, they were able to kill and kill again in the decades that followed without real fear of prosecution," said Mr. Durkan.

"What we don't know is whether the British government or the secret services were involved. Judge Barron

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