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The 1916 Tug Of War

The Irish Government is not yet ready to declare that the State which it governs is not fit to exist, that it should never have been established, and that its founding act was an atrocity that should be condemned rather than celebrated. And the opinion-formers are shocked—as they have a right to be. They have over the years been preparing the way for a great repudiation of 1916, and this has been in line with the way the state has been evolving. But now the Government has repudiated that repudiation, in the form of a Presidential Address at the opening of a historians' conference at Cork University. (We carry a report of that Conference on another page.)

The way history teaching and academic research have been shaped during the past generation could only have been done with the backing of the State. And the logical culmination of that line of development would have been to add the Easter Rising to the Nazi death camps for unconditional denunciation on Holocaust Day. It has for many years been the dominant view, expressed in a number of major papers, that the Rising was the prototype event of European fascism, and rejection of this view is put on a par with Holocaust denial. See, for example, the Irishman's Diary column in the *Irish Times*, written by an English Tory who is in many ways the real editor of the paper, or the views pioneered in the *Independent* by Ruth Dudley Edwards—who has found it necessary to issue an official statement that, though adopted into the English Establishment, she is *not* a member of MI5.

On February 5th Edwards praised the *Independent* for its bravery in publishing the views of dissenters and heretics with regard to 1916. Alas this heresy has long since been orthodoxy. And Edwards was never one to take up positions that damaged her career prospects as a writer.

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McDowell Must Go

The recent Dail debate on the Connolly affair gave an insight in to the threat posed to the State by Frank Connolly.

Bertie Ahern, the nominal Taoiseach of the country, expressed an opinion that the Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell was entitled to reveal the details of Garda files on Frank Connolly to the public, because the "*integrity of the passport system*" had to be protected. When pressed on this flimsy excuse for undermining individual rights he admitted that he was an innocent bystander in this affair and that Government policy would be enunciated by Michael McDowell in due course.

In his speech the Minister for Justice indicated that the Provisional movement represented a threat to the State and this was why he was justified in doing what he did. He did not claim that Frank Connolly was a member of the IRA or even Sinn Fein. Nor did he claim that the Centre for Public Inquiry (CPI) was in receipt of money from the Provisional movement.

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Pat Muldowney and others celebrate the Polish unravelling of the secrets of the Enigma machine (pictured here) : see page 3

AFTER THE WAR What happens to the soldiers?

Since the IRA ceasefire several years ago, and more recently since the destruction of most weapons and the end of all military activity, there has been much speculation in the British and 'Irish' press about the future careers of the volunteers. While much of this is British propaganda against Sinn Fein, implying involvement in criminality, some of the speculation is genuine. How can men and women change from a lifetime of guerilla warfare to living normal lives?

Apart from such a thing happening all over the world, including in Ireland, for the last century, the genuine puzzlement betrays a complete misunderstanding of the very nature of the IRA. The IRA has never been the military wing of Sinn Fein. It has in fact been *the* political party with a Sinn Fein add-on.

When I joined, 90% of Army meetings and activities were purely political, and that has continued through its Provisional phase for the last almost 40 years. It was in the Army that politics was discussed. Not just the situation in Ireland, but the politics of Britain, of Vietnam, of America, of Palestine, and of everywhere else.

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In praising the *Independent* she neglected to do it full justice. James Connolly was wounded in the Rising. The British military authorities had to prop him up for shooting. They knew that the right thing to do was to give him time to recover so that he could stand up by himself before the firing squad. But the *Independent* was anxious lest the killings should stop before Connolly was dealt with. It reproved the authorities for their excessive deference to military etiquette. So Connolly was strapped into a chair for shooting.

The *Irish Times*, too, has only reverted to its original view of the matter. In 1916 it demanded that the malignant growth, which had manifested itself in the Rising, should be ruthlessly be cut out of the body politic by the surgeon's knife. But its advice was not taken. Most of the rebels were not killed. Less than three years later they won the General Election, fought a war in support of their electoral victory, and forced the Empire into a compromise. The *Irish Times* then had to live with a state whose existence it deplored. It had to compromise in order to survive, in hope of better times to come. But it was only biding its time. It is a real element of continuity in the life of the society, representing the same interest now that it did then—drawing in its horns or darting them out as circumstances made expedient.

These media people have reason to be angered by the government's sudden change of tack. They are the media and literary Establishment of the State, carrying out the intentions of the state,

even when criticising it. And the Government has now changed tack for what they see as the worst of reasons: to conciliate the substantial body of Republican sentiment that still remains in the society at large, and that was fuelling the resurgence of Provo Sinn Fein. The State is making a feint in the direction of Sinn Fein in order to curb Sinn Fein. This may be justified as an electoral necessity and a kind of evil inoculation against evil—but it is rightly judged to be unprincipled, and to be destructive of the ideological reorientation which the state itself has been fostering for a generation or more.

It all goes back to 1969-70, when the state aggravated the internal disturbances of the North by its rhetoric and gestures, and set certain things in motion, which it then backed away from after a confrontation with the British Government. It became politically bankrupt *vis a vis* the North in the Spring of 1970. In place of a policy towards the North, it set about indoctrinating the populace of the South with a new history intended to diminish popular concern with the North. And it became a dogma that the eruption in the North was caused by the history that was taught in schoolbooks, rather than the live history—in the form of actual political and social circumstances—in which over a third of the population of 'the Northern Ireland state' lived.

A few years ago (Easter 2001) there was a discussion of 1916 on RTE by R.D. Edwards, Mitchel McLaughlin, Brian Lenihan and Padraic Yeats, chaired by

Olivia O'Leary (who double-jobs between RTE and BBC).

Edwards: "It was a group of conspirators in a democracy who took it upon themselves to decide that a revolution was necessary despite it not being the will of the people. It was entirely anti-democratic. The mantle of these people was stolen by De Valera who had Mrs. Pearse by his side. It was stolen by the Republicans in the Civil War. Fianna Fail then owned the Pearses and owned 1916, until very thoughtlessly the IRA insisted on snatching it back. And so the Provos owned Pearse and Connolly all through the 70s and 80s until, as Danny Morrison said in that programme the other night, Pearse was a very useful person to the Provos when they were making war, not so useful when they were trying to make peace. So now the Real IRA have him. And this will go on, and on, and on until we get rid of—deal with that tradition in Irish history." (It is puzzling why she says "stolen". By her own account, Pearse started the devilment and DeV etc. continued it.)

Edwards' view of 1916 is that it was the work of a conspiracy of troublemakers who had no agreement among themselves about the purpose for which they were making trouble. Tom Clarke, in many ways the organiser, only wanted revenge for his imprisonment as a Fenian. Connolly was a good man fallen among scoundrels. He was a sensible socialist and would not have been there at all, only that he was driven to despair by the failure of the workers of Europe to prevent the war. The real evil genius of the affair, whose purpose was to achieve a spectacular martyrdom, was Patrick Pearse.

Edwards has a real soft spot for Connolly as a kind of harmless Social Democrat, led astray by despair and bad company. She managed to ignore most of what he did, even while writing a biography of him, in order to preserve him as a counter to Pearse.

Her scheme was rather spoiled by Brian Lenihan and by Mitchel McLaughlin. Asked who from 1916 particularly influenced them, Lenihan said it was Pearse, and he never read Connolly until very much later. McLaughlin said he had been greatly influenced by Connolly in his teens.

McLaughlin of course is a Provo. And Lenihan, a Fianna Failer, condemned the Provos and said they had nothing to do with 1916.

We can confirm (having been there) that Connolly was the man in Belfast and Derry in 1969-70. We published a pamphlet in the early 70s, controverting Connolly's views on the North. It never

crossed our minds to deal with Pearse. It would have been a waste of time in a live political situation to deal with a figure whose influence was nowhere in evidence. No doubt he was invoked later in defensive polemics. (As for Danny Morrison's remark, we thought at the time that he was preparing for an accommodation with revisionist culture within the working of the Good Friday Agreement. The subversion of the Agreement by the resurgence of raw Unionism stopped what might have been an interesting development.)

The Provo development in the North arose out of a concrete form of oppression, not out of frustrated idealism. Ideals were adopted in the struggle against the oppression. Pearse was perhaps more relevant to those who were trying to uphold 1916 ideals in the South. It was Connolly who resonated in the North.

The scoundrels who stole Pearse's mantle, and implemented something of the 1916 Proclamation in the 26 Counties, left the 6 Counties behind. Brian Lenihan, while condemning what the minority did in the North, did not say what they should have done—deprived as they were of democratic outlets more than had ever been the case in the South since the mid-19th century. Ruth Dudley Edwards is likewise coy on that subject. Neither of them cared to see the reality of the situation. But the *de facto* policy of all parties and Establishment tendencies in the Republic has been that the Northern Catholic community should find a way of entering Limbo. (Though there is now an agitation to abolish Limbo.)

Lenihan had difficulty coping with Edwards' assertion that Ireland was a democracy in 1916. Others are now finding a similar difficulty in coping with the revisionist *volte face* on 1916, as expressed by the President's statement. It is therefore a bare statement, made for a short-term electoral purpose, without an infrastructure of official thought to sustain it. And the President's misleading remarks about the Great War, as well as the choice of most of the speakers at the Conference, leave ample room for doubt that there is a serious intention to rebuild that infrastructure.

The President's description of the international situation in 1916 was as follows:

"April 1916, and the world is as big a mess as it is possible to imagine. The ancient monarchies, Austria, Russia and Germany, which plunged Europe into war, are on the brink of violent destruction. China is slipping into civil war. On the western front, Verdun is taking a dreadful toll and, in the east, Britain is only weeks away from its

The Theorem That Won World War 2

One of the most closely kept secrets of the Second World War was that Britain had comprehensive access to German secret radio traffic. Even decades after the War, Britain's 'secret weapon', the Enigma machine remained unknown to the public. When, finally, a few years ago, the information was made public, it was done in such a way as to claim the glory for Britain. The TV propaganda documentaries tell a romantic story of dashing, glamorous boffins in Bletchley Park who worked out the secrets of German war-time communications by a typically British process of inspired muddling-through; thus saving the world for tolerance, decency and the under-dog. The reality, however, is that in 1939 Bletchley Park was given Enigma and its codes on a plate by Poland, and the gift was made possible because of the work of a Polish mathematician called Marian Rejewski.

The Enigma machine is like a typewriter, except when you press the key for letter A, for instance, by a complicated process a different letter is transmitted. A similar machine at the other end decodes the letters back so the original message can be read—provided the correct settings for the day are put into both the coding and decoding machines.

In an example of a very simple cipher, A's would be changed into B's, B's into C's, and so on. Codes made up in any such manner can be cracked in a few seconds by inspection. Enigma scrambles the letters in such a complicated way that the codes are practically uncrackable. Actual possession of an Enigma machine is, by itself, no help.

In modern jargon, the secret is in the software as much as the hardware.

The Polish involvement came about as follows. According to the account by Wladyslaw Kozaczuk, <http://www.enigmahistory.org/text.html>, the Polish Army obtained an obsolete commercial Enigma machine which had been purchased in Germany in the 1920s, and recruited Marian Rejewski and two other mathematicians to decode German Army communications in 1932.

While studying mathematics in Poznan, the German-speaking Rejewski attended a Polish Army cryptology course and, after training in Germany as an actuary, he became a civilian employee of the Polish Army working on ciphers or codes.

In a few weeks in 1932, using the mathematical theory of permutations, he solved the previously unbreakable Enigma codes.

The mathematicians subsequently kept pace with their opposite numbers in the German Army as Enigma was developed and improved. The German Army, and after 1933 the German Government, used the fiendishly complicated Enigma machine to encode their messages.

Rejewski continued to work on them until July 1939, when the secrets were handed over to the British, opening up German communications to them at least two years before that could have otherwise happened.

But this view of things is not admitted in Britain. The BBC, for instance, reports that Mr Buzek recently asked Britain to change the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry on Enigma to credit the Poles for their role in breaking the system. At present the *Encyclopaedia* claims that "British cryptographers cracked the code a year before war broke out" (See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/930873.stm>).

After the defeat of Poland, Rejewski escaped to Vichy France via Rumania. His subsequent exploits included imprisonment in Spain. He joined the Polish Army in England where he was wasted in low-level cipher work. After the war he rejoined his wife and family in Poland and made a living as an industrial accountant whilst being written out of history.

But his locality decided to rescue his reputation from obscurity, even if posthumously. It might have been thought that Britain would be gracious enough to participate in a commemoration for a man whose code-breaking enabled Winston Churchill to adopt the 'bulldog' pose after the Dunkirk debacle. But it was not to be. And that is why I was taken by surprise when, on a recent visit to Poland, I was asked to take the stage as 'British representative' at a recent commemoration of the crypt-analyst or code-breaker, Marian Rejewski (1905-1980) in his native city of Bydgoszcz, Poland—the British Embassy having failed to send somebody along to the ceremony.

Pat Muldowney

worst defeat in history" (Irish Times report).

Britain is exonerated of responsibility for the war. The views of the two thoughtful internationalists of 1916, Connolly and Casement, that Britain

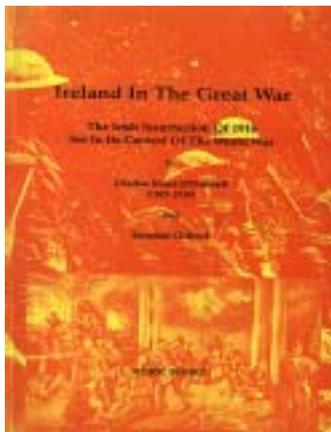
manipulated European conflicts for the purpose of getting the opportunity to destroy Germany, are discarded. This is in keeping with Senator Mansergh's attitude of rejecting them without refuting them. And it is best, if one must reject them, not to try to refute them. Both

Connolly and Casement were well informed, and they reasoned well.

If something like their view of the Great War had been stated by the President we would believe that the Government was seriously intent on following through on its rehabilitation of the Easter Rising. But, if the bottom line is that nothing must be said which conflicts with the British propaganda about its Great War, then forget it.

As to the detail of the statement: the "ancient monarchy" of Germany was all of 46 years old in 1916 and was as democratic as Britain, and rather more so. The Austrian monarchy had been renewed after the loss of the German Confederation in 1866 and had become the Dual Monarchy which inspired Arthur Griffith, Hungary and Austria both being independent under it. And it was on the way to becoming a Triple of Monarchy of Hungarians, Austrians and Slavs. In China, Japan was expanding its Empire as Britain's ally. We cannot imagine what it was in the East that is described as Britain's worst defeat in history. Japan was defending the British Empire in the Far East while expanding its own. And, in the Middle East, Britain was invading Mesopotamia for the first time, and it had got the Sharif of Mecca to proclaim a Jihad as its ally.

Perhaps the President's speech writer had the next World War in mind, and the fall of Singapore to Japan. After the Great War Britain was given an ultimatum by the USA to break off its alliance with Japan or else face America as a rival. It did so, and lost its Far Eastern Empire to Japan in 1941-2. It would be quite understandable if the speech writer did confuse the two Wars. Britain never does anything but good deeds in the world, and the mind, having difficulty in keeping so many deeds of goodness distinct from one another, will naturally tend to roll them together as one great scroll of benevolence.



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Will The Real IMC Stand Up?

The IMC issued a report on IRA decommissioning etc. and gave a clean bill of health, but the IMC report was repudiated by the IMC, which reported that the Republicans were still armed and engaged in criminality.

In Northern Ireland people easily distinguish between the two independent monitoring commissions. They know what is behind each body, and they know which report to discount. But elsewhere there is bewilderment—if people take enough interest in the Northern Ireland peace process to be sufficiently informed even to be bewildered.

Channel 4 News made sense to itself about the conflicting IMC Reports by assuming that what had happened was that the IMC investigators disputed the conclusions which the IMC leadership drew from the results of their investigations.

The BBC, in the form of *Newsnight*, reported that "the group that monitors their activities" said they had given up those activities, but it made its own investigation by going out with night-time patrols in Catholic areas which, it told us, were undergoing "policing without the police". By this means paramilitary groups ruled working class communities, keeping them in such fear that victims were afraid to show their face on BBC television when complaining. On the other hand, it did show the faces of some people who complained of certain incidents, but the reporter did not supply sufficient information to enable one to grasp what it was about—probably because she herself didn't have a clue. Anyhow, the message was that the IRA was actively engaged in oppressing people, even though somebody—God knows who—had given it a clean bill of health.

Persistent and studious readers of this magazine will know about the confidence trick being played being played by the Governments by means of the initials, "IMC". There are two IMCs, the second being deliberately set up to do things that the first was too conscientious to do, and to be mistaken for the first in the doing of them.

The formal title of the first is Independent International Commission on Decommissioning, and it is part of the Good Friday Agreement. It is headed by a Canadian General, John de Chastelain. It has its own investigative team, is independent of the Governments, and acts strictly in accordance with the remit given

to it by the Agreement which was ratified (as we used to be told) by two referendums.

De Chastelain refused to play politics for the Governments. The Governments therefore set up a Committee to play politics for them. The IICD was colloquially known as the International Monitoring Commission long before its rival was established. The Governments called the new body the Independent Monitoring Commission. Its members are Government appointees. It has no investigative apparatus of its own. All it knows is what Governments tell it. And it issues reports to serve the political purpose of the moment.

The IRA made its statement of final decommissioning last Summer. The decommissioning was supervised by De Chastelain's team, with two clergymen as observers.

The political situation in Northern Ireland was that the Democratic Unionist Party had won the Protestant Election and was refusing to form a devolved administration with Sinn Fein, which had won the Catholic Election, because the IRA had not engaged in final disarmament.

The IRA had agreed the previous December to engage in final disarmament as part of a deal to restore devolved government, but rejected the DUP demand that the destruction of arms should be filmed and the film made public. The IRA therefore engaged in what might be called unilateral disarmament—unconditional disarmament that was not part of any negotiation, and that was supervised by the Monitoring body set up for that purpose by the Agreement. This angered the DUP, which felt it had been swindled out of a trump card. And the 'Independent' monitoring body had no part in the process, which was carried out strictly under the terms of the Agreement.

The Dublin Government felt, like the DUP, that the Provos had cheated it by this un-negotiated and unconditional act of final decommissioning. It became more difficult for it to play the blame game in its own internal party-political electoral conflict with Sinn Fein. (And that was when the Minister for Justice, belonging to a party with minuscule electoral support, was given his head to become an inquisitorial Minister of the Interior.)

And so, with Paisley and Ahern both chagrined by the final decommissioning carried out by the Provos without regard to them, it was agreed that there should be

a six-month delay to see if the decommissioning held, before it was put to the DUP that its reason for refusing to form a government had been met.

The authentic IMC delivered a report at the end of January, saying that the Provos had met their obligations. But it was evident that the DUP was no more willing to take part in the formation of a Government under the terms of the Agreement than it had been six months, or twelve months, before. And Paisley was no Trimble. He is an elemental force on the Protestant side on which the Government can gain no purchase.

So, with the Provos having met the terms of the Agreement—and in fact having gone far beyond the letter of those terms—and the major Unionist Party refusing to participate, where does that leave the Agreement? Dead? And if it is dead, what is to be done with it? And what comes after it? And what happens to all those referendums?

This is where the subordinate IMC comes to the rescue. It reports differently from the authentic IMC.

It saw De Chastelain's report before drawing up its own. And, seeing that De Chastelain offered no escape clause to the Government, it offered one. That is why it exists.

Lord Alderdyce's report—for it is he—is verbose and foggy. In substance it goes along with De Chastelain's report—without mentioning it, though having seen it—but with a few minor reservations. But those reservations are the only bit that counts. The rest of it is eyewash, and was rightly ignored by the media. (A summary of the two reports appears in this magazine.)

Lord Alderdyce gave the Governments a little crack to creep into if they cannot get Paisley to play, and want to keep the Agreement suspended on the pretext that the Provos have not quite met its terms.

Lord Alderdyce is a weak, pompous character who needs to be important, and can only achieve this by having importance conferred upon him by serving the power structure. (He probably has a neat name for this complex as found in others as he used to be a psychiatrist.)

There was a time when his name was John and he was the leader of the Alliance Party. In his hands the Alliance Party became a wafer-thin camouflage on Unionism. He led the Alliance Party into the doldrums and then jumped ship. He resigned from it in 1998 to become Speaker of the Assembly. When the Assembly

was suspended, he was given the job of running the spurious IMC as an antidote to the genuine one. It would seem that by doing this he has burned his boats, so far as returning to the Speakership is concerned.

The Alliance was founded in 1970 with the object of establishing a new ground of politics in Northern Ireland. We were engaged in the same object at the time, and we got on rather well with early Alliance leaders, Oliver Napier and Bob Cooper. We got on less well with John Cusnahan—who emigrated and was till recently a Fine Gael representative in Europe. But it was under Alderdyce's leadership that Alliance declined into mere Unionism.

Perhaps this was inevitable. Alliance based itself on the ground which it aspired to transcend, and was determined by that ground instead of altering it. But it had something to it in the days of Napier and Cooper which ceased to be there under the leadership of Alderdyce and Ford.

The finding of Alderdyce's fake IMC enables the Government to keep the Agreement on a life-support machine for another period, at a moment when forcing the issue with the DUP would probably only lead to a death certificate.

Of course the Government cannot simply reject De Chastelain and adopt Alderdyce. De Chastelain has the credibility that goes with conscientious independence. What it needs is a degree of confusion, and that is what Alderdyce has supplied.

Northern Ireland Office leaks indicated that the Government expected both the authentic IMC and its own dummy version to find that Provos had met their obligations. So has the dummy rebelled against the ventriloquist? It is conceivable, though not probable, that Alderdyce acted in disregard of Government expectations, and issued a report to serve the interest of the DUP, and that it is coincidental that this serves the interest of the Government too. It is more likely that he gave the Government what he knew it wanted, so that it could play the situation either way.

IMC Lies About IRA Decommissioning

A Summary Of Two Contradictory Decommissioning Reports Issued By Government On The Same Day

The Independent International Commission on Decommissioning (IICD), headed by General John de Chastelain, presented a report to the British and Irish Governments on 19th January 2006, the first since last September when it announced the decommissioning of IRA arms. The IICD document was held back to be published on 1st February 2006, on the same day as the 8th report of the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC). This devalued the impact of what the official body set up under the Good Friday Agreement had to say in favour of a report from a body which had no status under the Agreement.

THE IICD REPORT

The IICD document begins by reporting the continuing refusal of Loyalist paramilitary groups to disarm and holds out little prospect that this situation is going to change in the immediate future.

The document then goes on to give an account of the IICD's investigation of reports suggesting that the IRA had held on to arms. To be precise, the IICD says that, in the week beginning the 9th January, it received information, from what it describes as "*security sources in Northern Ireland*", that "*some individuals and groups within the IRA have retained a range of arms including handguns*". However, "*there was no suggestion*" in these reports that "*these arms (purportedly*

kept for personal protection and area defence) have been retained with the approval of the IRA leadership or as part of a strategy to return to violence".

This information entered a question mark against the IICD's conclusion in its Report of 26th September last year that "*the IRA has met its commitment to put all of its arms beyond use in a manner called for by the legislation*". At that time, the IICD qualified this conclusion by saying that a small number of arms might have gone astray over the years as individual custodians died or the locations of some caches were lost.

The IICD says that it discussed this intelligence assessment with "*senior officers in the Garda Síochána*", who informed them that "*what they regard as reliable sources in relation to the IRA and its weaponry, have produced no intelligence suggesting any arms have been retained*". On the basis of this Garda intelligence, and after discussions with the IRA representative to the IICD, it concluded:

"We are re-assured by the fact that none of the various intelligence assessments suggest the IRA leadership is moving away from its July 28 commitments [to end their armed campaign and engage in exclusively peaceful activity]. We conclude that in the absence of evidence to the contrary our 26 September assessment regarding IRA arms is correct".

The final paragraph of the IICD report states:

"We have informed the Independent Monitoring Commission of the substance of this report so they are kept aware of developments in our area of responsibility."

So, by 19th January the IMC was aware that Garda intelligence did not confirm reports from *"security sources in Northern Ireland"* that the IRA had held on to weapons over and above what had previously been believed possible by the IICD. This is important in what follows.

THE IMC REPORT

To turn now to the IMC report, in Paragraphs 4.4 to 4.7: it paints a picture of ongoing Loyalist paramilitary violence, and very little Republican paramilitary violence (and none by the IRA), in the period under review (1 September 2005 to 30 November 2005).

For example, according to the IMC, 22 individuals were shot and 9 assaulted by paramilitaries in this period, and all the shootings and all but one of the assaults were by Loyalist paramilitaries. The IMC attributes the other to a dissident republican group, not the IRA.

The IMC attributes the one death in the period (of Jim Gray), to the UDA, and all but one of the 18 paramilitary killings in the nearly two years since 1st March 2003 to Loyalist paramilitaries. It attributes the other to the Real IRA.

Clearly, the paramilitary problem in Northern Ireland is, generally speaking, not Republican, although it would be difficult to glean this from media accounts of the IMC report. Loyalist paramilitaries are still hurting people in Northern Ireland, and driving people from their homes, to a much greater extent than Republican paramilitaries. And there is no evidence, from the IMC report or elsewhere, that the IRA as an organisation has been responsible for any activity of this kind since 28th July last year, when volunteers were ordered to engage in exclusively peaceful activity.

Indeed, contrary to many media accounts, the IMC seems to believe that the IRA as an organisation has lived up to its undertaking of 28th July last year to end its armed campaign and engage in exclusively peaceful activity. Here are some extracts from it about the IRA, which you may not have come across in media accounts:

"We are of the firm view that the present PIRA leadership has taken the strategic decision to end the armed campaign and pursue the political course which it has publicly articulated. We do not think that PIRA believes that terrorism has a part in this political strategy. It has issued instructions to its members about this change of mode,

and has engaged in internal consultation to support the strategy." (Paragraph 3.16)

"We believe that the organisation as a whole is being deliberately restructured to something more suited for the times and no longer designed for terrorist purposes." (Paragraph 3.17)

"We have no evidence of recruitment for paramilitary purposes or of paramilitary training, though non-paramilitary briefings appear to continue. We believe that currently there is no intention to target members of the security forces for the purposes of attack. We have no evidence that PIRA has carried out any authorised paramilitary attacks in the period under review in this report. The PIRA leadership has given instructions that members should not be involved in rioting." (Paragraph 3.18)

"PIRA members have been instructed to offer their services to Sinn Féin and to pursue political activities, as was indicated in the 28 July statement." (Paragraph 3.18)

"...we have no reports of PIRA sanctioned robberies in the period under review." (Paragraph 3.21)

All this indicates that the IMC believes that the IRA is doing what its leadership said it would do on 28th July last year.

* * * * *

As has been widely reported, the IMC qualifies this picture in a number of ways.

First and foremost, the IMC report challenges the judgement of the IICD, expressed in its report of 26th September last year, that *"the IRA has met its commitment to put all of its arms beyond use in a manner called for by the legislation"*. Paragraph 3.23 states:

"We have since received reports that not all PIRA's weapons and ammunition were handed over for decommissioning in September. These reports are not able to indicate precisely what is the nature or volume of any remaining weapons but suggest two things: first, that there is a range of different kinds of weapons and ammunition; second, that the material goes beyond what might possibly have been expected to have missed decommissioning, such as a limited number of handguns kept for personal protection or some items the whereabouts of which were no longer known. We recognise that if these reports were confirmed the key question would be how much the PIRA leadership knew about these weapons."

(The report goes on to say:

"These same reports do not cast doubt on the declared intention of the PIRA leadership to eschew terrorism. For our part, we are clear that this latter is their strategic intent.")

Clearly, these "unconfirmed" reports were what the IICD received from *"security services in Northern Ireland"* (see above)—reports which were not

confirmed by Garda intelligence and led the IICD to conclude that its judgement of 26th September last year was not invalidated by the totality of the available evidence.

However, despite being informed of all this by 19th January at the latest (see above), the IMC went ahead and published a report on 1st February which suggested that the IRA had retained arms contrary to the IICD report of 26th September last year. The IMC did this in the full knowledge that Garda intelligence told a different story. Not only that, the IMC allowed this view to gain currency, without qualification, after the publication of its report, while knowing that there were contrary indications. Putting into the public domain, and publicly defending, what you know to be untrue is generally known as lying.

As a consequence, and with the assistance of the predictable DUP hype, there are now very few Protestants in Northern Ireland, who don't believe that the IRA retained significant amounts of arms last September—and that the IICD's assurance to the contrary was unwarranted. The reputation of the IICD has been undermined in the Protestant community on the basis of *"unconfirmed"* reports that don't even go so far as to say that the IRA leadership was responsible for the alleged arms retention. Thanks to the IMC, *"unconfirmed"* reports of arms retention have become facts in the minds of most Protestants, even though Garda intelligence told a different story.

You can take your pick as to whether the IMC broadcast this misleading information out of incompetence or bias. Either way, they should be composing letters of resignation.

* * * * *

Other *"less satisfactory indicators both of the behaviour of PIRA as an organisation and of the conduct of some of its members"* are described in paragraphs 3.19 to 3.22 of the IMC report.

One thing needs to be nailed at the outset: a paramilitary organisation, with a system of discipline up to and including the execution of members who step out of line, can reasonably be held responsible for the behaviour of its members. But, now that the IRA has ceased to be a paramilitary organisation, it cannot be held responsible for the behaviour of its members. It's like holding the Conservative Party responsible for the behaviour of Jeffrey Archer.

Critics of the IRA cannot have it both ways: they cannot demand that the IRA cease to be a paramilitary organisation, and at the same time demand that it discipline its members, let alone its ex-

members. So, anything in the IMC report that makes allegations about the behaviour of members and ex-members should be discounted as irrelevant.

The IMC does make some allegations about the behaviour of the IRA as an organisation. We are told (paragraph 3.19) that it is engaged in "*intelligence gathering*". In the public mind, this phrase means activity with a view to paramilitary action. Since the IMC specifically rules this out in paragraph 3.19, its use of this phrase is grossly misleading. Insofar as one can make any sense of the MI5-speak that the IMC regurgitates in this paragraph, it seems to be that the IRA is gathering information for political purposes like other political organisations. Journalists sometimes do something similar.

Then, there is the "*accusation*" that "PIRA has used other methods of exercising community control such as 'naming and shaming' and we believe the organisation has encouraged members to engage in community restorative justice as a means of exerting local influence". (Paragraph 3.20)

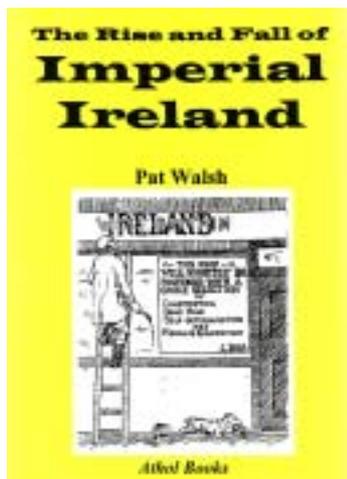
If another political organisation, or a local community organisation, was engaged in such activities, it would probably be generally approved of.

As for criminal activity by the IRA as an organisation, the IMC says that it has "*no reports of PIRA sanctioned robberies in the period under review*". The only hint of IRA sanctioned criminal activity is in paragraph 3.22, where the IMC says:

"... we also believe that it [PIRA] looks to the long term exploitation of the proceeds of earlier crimes, for example through the purchase of property or legitimate businesses. ... PIRA also seems to be using experts and specialists able to assist in the management of illegal assets."

Prosecutions will do doubt come along shortly— together with the flying pigs.

David Morrison (4.2.2006)
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McDowell Must Go continued

He did not question the integrity of any other employee or officer of the CPI. The CPI has conducted two investigations so far and yet McDowell could not point to any evidence from its first two reports of the threat posed by Frank Connolly.

McDowell did not bother trying to establish a link between Connolly and the Provisional movement but, since he kept mentioning the "*Colombian Three*", the listener was left to draw his own conclusions. Connolly's brother was the Sinn Fein's 'man in Havana', and this person travelled to Colombia with an IRA member. Frank Connolly also allegedly travelled to Colombia on a false passport (an allegation denied in unambiguous terms by Frank Connolly), and therefore McDowell apparently believes that the ex-*Sunday Business Post* journalist must be at the heart of a Provisional conspiracy to overthrow the State.

It might be thought that there was never less of a threat to the State posed by the IRA following its decommissioning of arms. It might also be thought that the Irish State's support for the Good Friday Agreement, which when it was operational allowed the political wing of the IRA to share power in the North, was an acknowledgement by the Irish State of the absence of a threat by the IRA. But all such thoughts would appear to be wrong.

McDowell believes that the "Colombia Three" were not "*bird watching*". He hoped that no past or future Minister would think they were "bird watching". But when Emmet Stagg asked him to name anyone who thought they were "bird watching" he was unable to reply. Nor did he say if "bird watching" was a requirement of loyal citizens of the State when travelling to Colombia.

Although the Colombian State in an open court found the "Colombian Three" innocent of any involvement with the FARC, McDowell nevertheless believes that they were involved in the selling of "knowhow" to FARC and that this consultancy service would result in a fee income of "tens of millions of euros" from Colombia alone. These figures would make the IRA one of the most successful consultancy practices in the country. On this basis it would almost certainly be the largest Irish exporter of services to Colombia. The hourly rate that the IRA must be charging would merit a whole series from Eddie Hobbs on these 'rip off republicans'.

Leaving aside the question of what all this has to do with Frank Connolly, the next question arises as to what the IRA will do with all this money. It might be thought that an organisation intent on threatening the State might consider buying arms to replace the ones it had recently de-commissioned. But no! McDowell believes that the IRA will fight . . . elections with this money. And worse still it won't tell anyone how much money it has spent. McDowell claimed that Sinn Fein had already grossly understated its election expenditure in the recent elections in Northern Ireland.

All of this is getting away from the question of the threat posed by Frank Connolly to the State, but let us travel to that planet inhabited by the feverish imagination of the Minister for Justice. How in fact did the State deal with the threat posed to it by the purchase of tens of millions of euros worth of election posters by the Provisional movement?

Bertie Ahern admitted that the State put up money for the bail of the "Colombia Three" and intervened with the President of Colombia to request their release. But Ahern can be excused for such behaviour; it is not his job to protect the State. According to McDowell in his speech in the Dail, the task of protecting the State is the responsibility of the Minister for Justice and the Minister for Defence. The Minister for Defence did not participate in the debate so it must be assumed that the only man standing between our peaceful democratic way of life and the deluge (of tens of millions of euros worth of election posters) is Michael McDowell.

But what did the 'great saviour' do to protect us from the threat to the State? How did he bring this imminent danger to the attention of the public? Did he call a Press Conference with all the media present? Did he seek access to the State Television service? No! He released the information on Frank Connolly to one journalist. And the only reason he gave it to this journalist was because Independent Newspapers asked him. If it were not for the request from the Independent Newspaper group, McDowell might have been quite happy to let the public remain in blissful ignorance of the imminent collapse of the State.

And that is the incredible world inhabited by the Minister for Justice. It is quite clear that Michael McDowell is unfit for high office. By his actions as well as his outrageous defence of those actions he has brought the State into disrepute. This dangerous fantasist must be sacked before he does any more damage.

Shorts

from

the Long Fellow

IRISH FERRIES FRENCH STYLE

In July 2004 the German Group Bosch decided to extend the working week for workers in its factory in Lyon from 35 hours to 36 hours with no extra pay. French law had restricted the working week to 35 hours, but the Centre-Right French Government introduced a law in 2003 "allowing" the working week to be extended if the employees in a company agreed. Accordingly Bosch "allowed" the workers in Lyon to vote for an extra hour a week without pay in July 2004. The company threatened to move its operations to the Czech Republic if the voters rejected the proposal. A small majority submitted to the company blackmail. Such is the freedom of choice in the Global free market.

In December 2005 Bosch decided to extend the new found freedoms of the Lyon workers to its employees throughout France. Except this time it proposes to increase the working week to 40 hours in order to avoid redundancies, you understand.

EMPLOYMENT GROWTH

On the subject of globalisation, recent statistics indicate that employment in the Republic of Ireland has increased by 99,000 in the 12 months to August 2005, bringing total employment to 1,989,800. There was a 40,000 increase in the number of immigrant workers, over 40% of the increase in employment. The total number of migrant workers amounts to 120,000 or 6% of total employment. Dermot O'Leary of Goodbody Stockbrokers is quoted as saying that the immigrants have "*exerted downward pressure on wage rates*" (*The Irish Times*, 1.12.05).

Yes, you can see why the Irish capitalist class has embraced "*multi-culturalism*"! The other interesting aspect of the above statistic is that it shows that the labour force increased by 5%—which is about the same as the rate of economic growth. Irish economic growth is as a result of increased employment rather than any increase in productivity.

SYRIA

Le Monde Diplomatique (2.1.06) gives a fascinating insight into how the democratic West has operated in the Middle East. The newspaper unearthed the following damning document:

"In order to facilitate the action of the liberation forces, to reduce the

capabilities of the Syrian regime to organise and direct its military actions, to keep losses and destruction to a minimum, and to bring about the desired results in the shortest possible time, a special effort should be made to eliminate certain key individuals. Their removal should be accomplished early in the course of the uprising and intervention." The document goes on to say that Syria must be:

"made to appear as the sponsor of plots, sabotage and violence directed against neighbouring governments".

The document is not of recent date but was written in 1957 and approved by US President Dwight D. Eisenhower and British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan. But could the West be up to the same tricks in 2006?

The recent sequence of events in that part of the world is interesting. A UN resolution was passed in September 2004, calling for the withdrawal of Syrian troops from Lebanon. And then in February 2005 the Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri was assassinated. Blame was immediately put on Syria by the USA and France, prompting massive street demonstrations against Syria and even larger demonstrations in the streets of Beirut supporting the Syrian presence in Lebanon. But international pressure led to a Syrian withdrawal.

An international commission headed by a German judge was set up to investigate the matter. Its interim report was inconclusive although a first draft (i.e. not the official version) of this report was leaked to the press and implicated high ranking Syrian officials in the assassination.

The evidence against the high ranking Syrian officials relies on two flimsy sources. The first source for the 'evidence' emanated from a "low ranking official", who claimed to have worked for Syrian Intelligence in Lebanon. His story was implausible to say the least. He claimed the plot was planned in the Meridian Hotel in Damascus. After the likelihood of such a plot being planned in such a public location was questioned, and also when queried on the plausibility of an acknowledged low-ranking official meeting senior Syrian intelligence officials, the person in question issued a retraction at an international press conference, claiming that his "evidence" was extracted under threat from the commission.

The second source for the "evidence" came from one Zouheir Ibn Mohammed Said Saddik. The German magazine *Der Spiegel* has revealed that this character has been convicted of fraud and embezzlement. Other sources indicate that he has received money from Rifaat al-Assad, the Syrian President's uncle, who lives in France and who has made no secret of his ambition to take power in

Syria.

In conclusion, it looks like the "*high ranking Syrian officials*" are as guilty as Frank Connolly!

FRANK CONNOLLY

The Connolly affair shows the extent to which Irish politics has become debased. Words have lost their meaning. What was said yesterday has no validity today. Everything is subordinated to the needs of the moment. And practically all elements in the political apparatus acquiesce in this debasement: from the Government to the Opposition benches, from newspapers to television.

Senator Brendan Ryan captured the spirit of these strange times in his speech in the Seanad.

"I am a member of the Joint Committee on foreign affairs, and we were provided with a succession of confidential briefings in private about the enormous amount of work the Department of Foreign Affairs and its staff was putting in on behalf of three people (i.e. "the Columbia Three") who, we are now told, were involved in the most appalling nefarious activities" (*The Irish Times*, 14.12.05).

Before the Connolly affair broke Bertie Ahern indicated that Fianna Fail would not enter into government with Sinn Fein after the next election because of that party's *economic* policies! Nothing about the "*sinister*" "*threat*" to the state posed by Sinn Fein! It appears that now the script has to be changed in order to keep McDowell in office.

But the most disturbing aspect of the whole affair is the undermining of individual rights. The precedent has been established that the Minister for Justice can use Garda files to undermine the reputation and the livelihood of an individual with evidence that would not stand up in court. And many in the Opposition and the media seem to think that Frank Connolly has questions to answer! Connolly has denied in unambiguous terms that he travelled to Colombia on a false passport, and yet he is expected to account for his movements at that time. It is not up to this writer or anyone else to tell Frank Connolly how he should defend himself against the serious charges of the Minister for Justice, but he is probably right not to submit himself to a trial by a hostile media by answering their questions.

MICHAEL McDOWELL

The Connolly affair is not the first incidence of authoritarian behaviour by the Minister for Justice. Among other examples were his hysterical denunciation of *Daily Ireland* as a Nazi publication and his attempted deportation of a Nigerian student sitting the Leaving Cert. Also, he seems to have taken extreme umbrage at

criticism of his Department's purchase of Thornton Hall. When RTE's *Prime Time* examined this issue, McDowell took the unprecedented step of writing to each member of the RTE Authority expressing his displeasure. He was told that the proper forum was the Broadcasting Complaints Commission but he has not to date deigned to submit his complaint to this body (The Irish Times, 15.12.05).

This column, for reasons of self preservation, intends to keep a close eye on our Minister for Justice.

GERHARD SCHROEDER

The retired German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has recently been appointed head of the shareholders' committee of Gazprom, the Russian energy giant. This company has a 51% stake in the building of a North European gas pipeline from Russia to Germany, bypassing Poland and the Baltic States who supported the US invasion of Iraq. The appointment is in line with the closer relations, which developed between Germany and Russia during the Social Democrat's Chancellorship. It looks like an interesting geo-political move.

FRANCOIS MITTERRAND

The French rightly marked the tenth anniversary of the death of Francois Mitterrand with a plethora of books, articles and television documentaries. The *Irish Political Review* will do its own assessment of this complicated man's political legacy to France and Europe.

AFTER THE WAR What happens to the soldiers?

continued

It was in the Army that paper sales were discussed, collections organised, elections canvassed, polling booths manned, and the issues affecting our communities discussed—housing, traffic, education, and all the rest.

Running around streets and mountains with rifles, stripping machine guns, and such like, occupied very little time indeed. And even such activities, never mind the carrying out of operations, were not expected of people for any great period of time. In prison, for those unfortunate enough to have been captured, there was extensive political study and discussion—as well as the learning of crafts of a distinctly non-military nature.

So former IRA activists who do not

revert to a completely normal life, and many do, the change from being a 'soldier' to being a 'politician' is hardly a change at all.

Of course, a knowledge of military matters cannot actually be removed from the brain. But then such a knowledge is far more widespread in Ireland than many think—especially media types. As the years go by I am less and less surprised by the fact that people I know, from the left, the centre, and the right of politics, as well as people with no obvious particular political interest, know one end of a gun from the other.

So, where a problem is imagined, there is no problem at all.

Where there probably is a problem following the ceasefires is on the Protestant/Loyalist side in the North. This I've had explained to me by people from Protestant working-class communities in Belfast.

The Ulster Volunteer Force is the more serious and disciplined of the military groups. But its function was purely military—defending its communities or shooting Fenians—however you wish to describe it. Unlike the IRA, it was disconnected from political Unionism, insofar as Unionism was political at all.

IRA Volunteers were respected members of their communities—and even 'respectable' members. The UVF were despised by the middle-class businessmen who ran the Unionist Party and the Orange order. The UVF may have been considered useful from time to time but its members were looked upon much as Wellington looked upon his troops in Spain—as "*the scum of the earth*".

In the fairly disciplined UVF, a member would obey an order to shoot someone and thereby gain a kind of hard man status in his community. Someone not to be messed with. A "made man" as they say in the American underworld.

But he was essentially non-political. And now, when his leaders try to rein him in and tell him to learn about politics, even of the parish pump kind, he can't see the point of it. There was never much point to the UVF's actual political arm—the Progressive Unionist Party. So the average UVF soldier is now indeed at a loose end.

The situation in the Ulster Defence Association is much worse. Much of it has long since descended into criminality. (Though I suppose that organised criminality has a less brutal effect on society than the disorganised variety.) Although the UVF was often a recipient

of British tip-offs and was somewhat infiltrated, many sections of the UDA were little more than murder gangs controlled by the British administration. Such people are hardly likely to be given pensions to settle down by their controllers, and are increasingly likely to end up in jail.

The Loyalist military groups still see a role for themselves in policing sectarian boundaries, especially in rural areas where Catholics have begun to buy homes in traditionally Protestant villages. This is also a problem in North Belfast where Protestant workers with a decent job tend to move out, whereas Catholics tend to stay put.

So, for example, Ardoyne is bursting at the seams, with the population threatening to move into Protestant areas. This has also happened in South Belfast but with fewer problems as the 'areas' are less well defined. Consequently Loyalist groups there have already gone further down the criminal road. (The presence of large numbers of students in the district, providing a substantial drugs market is also a factor.)

To sum up. In Nationalist areas the chances of former Volunteers 'going private' is very slim. But in the Unionist areas there is a serious and very demoralising problem.

As for the other soldiers—the British Army—there is a steady reduction of troops based in Northern Ireland. At the same time there is an intense campaign of recruitment in the media. Doubtless they are needed to annoy other people in other places.

Conor Lynch

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A Revealing Book

Conor Brady was one of the most successful editors in the recent history of Irish journalism. Of *Irish Times* editors only Douglas Gageby's achievements were more impressive. Gageby turned around a moribund organ of the Anglo-Irish into the most influential newspaper in the state. Brady built on that success.

As Brady says a newspaper is a lot of things: a business, "*the first draft of history*", a mirror to society and sometimes a "*player*". The last characteristic is the most controversial.

For people not involved in the commercial media it is interesting to read Brady's description of how the media cultivate politicians and *vice versa*. This was a game that Albert Reynolds was not interested in playing despite the fact that, unlike Charles Haughey, he seems to have been obsessed with everything that was printed about him.

There is a chapter on *The Irish Times'* unhappy relationship with Albert Reynolds and the events surrounding the fall of the Fianna Fail/Labour coalition in 1994. Brady's account is very inadequate. An *Irish Times* report from Geraldine Kennedy (now editor of the paper) was the catalyst that brought down the Government but Brady only devotes a couple of pages to this.

He gives a more detailed account of the events leading up to the sacking of Brian Lenihan. It is clear that Lenihan walked into a trap set by Fine Gael. Once the PDs decided to make an issue of it by threatening to pull out of the Coalition Government, it is difficult to see how Haughey could have avoided sacking him.

Brady's view of Haughey is quite superficial. For example, he suggests that Haughey only came late to the "*peace process*". This opinion only makes sense if it is considered that the Peace Process was a continuation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985. In my view this is rubbish.

However, his opening chapter is interesting. He describes the dismal economic situation in 1986 when he first became Editor of *The Irish Times*. But he also says that he was amazed at the optimism in some quarters about the future of the Irish economy. He describes a meeting he had with Haughey in which the latter outlined his economic plans. The optimism was also reflected in the IDA which had decided to concentrate on high value jobs. So the Celtic Tiger did not just happen, it was planned.

I found Brady's treatment of the

'scandals' superficial, but he has an interesting explanation for why the media did not expose them. One reason was that the media have no connections within the business community. There is no doubt that this is true. There are plenty of right wing free market ideologues writing in Irish newspapers but there are very few people with a business background in journalism. Some of the reporting of the scandals when they did emerge through the tribunals has been almost infantile.

Brady writes about the power of the media. In my view the media has the power to 'damage' but has limited influence on social development. But the power to damage is a kind of power. The book has some thoughtful comments on accountability or the lack of it within the Irish media. In Brady's view other sectors of society have had to make changes in line with best practice elsewhere but the Irish media has remained immune from such considerations.

He gives a realistic framework for assessing the place of *The Irish Times* in the scheme of things. It is not a "*great*" world newspaper, but he argues that it compares well with other "*quality*" newspapers in small countries. However, he admits that, in some respects, other quality papers in countries such as Denmark, Portugal and Switzerland give a better service to their readers.

Having read a letter from Brady in *The Irish Times* on the subject of the so called "*white nigger*" letter, I was not expecting too much from Brady's book. Not surprisingly, Brady does not deal with this issue, which concerns a description by the British Ambassador of a meeting he had with the Chief Executive of *The Irish Times*, Major McDowell, in 1969. The letter, dated 2nd October 1969, says that McDowell was of the opinion that the then editor Douglas Gageby was a "*white nigger*" on Northern matters. It also indicated that McDowell wished to place the newspaper under British State influence.

Brady was Editor of *The Irish Times* at the time the so called "*white nigger*" letter was released by the British Records Office in December 1999. *The Irish Times* reporter Rachel Donnelly either failed to discover it or failed to report it. Other reporters who did likewise were Bernard Purcell (*Irish Independent*), Professor Fanning (*Sunday Independent*) and Aidan Hennigan of the *Irish Examiner* (now Aidan Hennigan, OBE).

But both Purcell and Donnelly discovered and reported on another letter (dated 7.11.69) which referred to the "*white nigger*" letter (see *Irish Political Review*, December 2004). Purcell's report on this letter is by and large an accurate representation of its contents, but Donnelly of *The Irish Times* gives a very misleading account.

I've always doubted that Donnelly wrote her report of this letter on her own. Also, I've also wondered about the procedures that *The Irish Times* had for covering a story in which it itself is mentioned. Brady's book provides some insight into the latter point.

In 1994 Labour TD Joe Costello sent in a letter to the editor criticising the newspaper for its nepotism in connection with the appointment of Major McDowell's daughter as Deputy Managing Director, with a view to her succeeding the then managing director Louis O' Neill who was about to retire. This was in the context of *The Irish Times* having criticised Labour for some very minor appointments of family members. Brady gives the following very interesting insight into how the newspaper handles such a situation:

"One of my duties under my contract was to advise the chairman when anything was due to appear in the newspaper that concerned the newspaper itself or the company." (page 185)

It is clear from the context that the "*chairman*" means the Chairman of *The Irish Times Trust Limited*. From 1974 to December 2001 Major McDowell held this position. Given that Brady was contractually obliged to inform the Chairman, he would have had to make arrangements to ensure that his journalists would in turn inform him of anything that "*concerned the newspaper itself or the company*".

In my view it is almost inconceivable that Brady and McDowell would have been unaware of the document dated 7th November 1969 from the British Foreign Office before it was published. The document includes the following comment from Kelvin White, a senior Foreign Office official:

"McDowell did not seek ammunition for use against his Editor, but he did, as you forecast, mention rather apologetically that Editor's excessive zeal."

Needless to say this extract was not in Donnelly's report in *The Irish Times*.

It is also inconceivable that neither Brady nor McDowell made arrangements to investigate other documents relating to *The Irish Times* that might be in the British Records Office, including the "*white nigger*" letter which is referred to in the November 1969 letter (assuming they were still unaware of the "*white nigger*" letter in December 1999).

But, in April 2004, when the

controversy arose again, Brady attempted to distance himself from it by indicating that he asked his London Editor Frank Millar about it and he stated that only one letter dated December 1969 was discovered by Donnelly (*The Irish Times*, 29.4.2004). So, not only did he not know about the "white nigger" letter when he was Editor, but he in effect claimed to be unaware of the "ammunition" letter dated 7th November 1969.

In fairness to Brady he seems to have been partly responsible for preventing McDowell establishing a dynasty in the newspaper. By a stroke of luck, when the controversy over the appointment of Karen Erwin, the daughter of Major McDowell, emerged, Major McDowell was unwell. Former Trade Unionist Donal Nevin who deputised for him seems to have been a bit vague. Brady describes how the newspaper handled the complaint from Labour TD Joe Costello in 1994.

"I telephoned Donal Nevin to apprise him of the Costello letter...

'What will you do with the letter?' he asked.

'I'm publishing it tomorrow.'

'Do we have to?'

'Yes. And if we don't Costello will read it into the record of the Dail and it will appear everywhere.'

I heard Donal Nevin sigh. 'Well, we'll have to publish a rebuttal along with it.'

"There would be no difficulty in principle with that. The editor often appended a note to a letter by way of explanation or response to some issue raised. But I wasn't going to do it in this instance. 'Sure Donal. You draft the response as acting chairman and let me have it by 7 o'clock. I'll make sure it runs along with the letter.'

'What will I say?' Nevin enquired after a moment.

'Why don't you say that the appointment of the next managing director will be publicly advertised and filled on merit and by competition?' I ventured.

'Could I say that?' he inquired. 'I don't see why not', I answered. 'It's what's in place for the appointment of an editor—more or less.'

"Half an hour later he telephoned his response to Costello's letter. I jumped with delight. He was the acting chairman committing the company to a formal process for filling the company's top commercial position" (page 185).

Very clever! I like the "more or less" phrase regarding the appointment of the editor. Ultimately, McDowell had a veto on whatever appointment was made at that time. There is no requirement in the Memorandum and Articles of Association for the post of either Editor or Managing Director to be publicly advertised.

Brady's devious intervention certainly did not help Erwin's cause but, at the end

of the day, McDowell and the so called "Trust" controlled the company and the newspaper. They could do what they liked. Although Erwin remained as Deputy Managing Director, she did not apply for the job of Managing Director when Louis O' Neill eventually retired in 1999. It seems she was unwilling to 'tough out' the hostility to her presence. She was too 'nice' to be a managing director. This, rather than Brady's intervention, was the real reason for McDowell's failure to build a dynasty in the newspaper.

The open and transparent selection procedure for the successor to O'Neill led to a disastrous appointment. Brady is economical to the point of parsimony in his account of internal matters relating to *The Irish Times*. Referring to the financial problems in 2001, he says that he had to bear the brunt of the adverse publicity because Managing Director Nick Chapman was "on leave". That's one way of putting it. Another way of putting it would be to say that he was in the midst of a bitter legal dispute with his employers. Brady also doesn't tell us anything about the legal dispute with the Financial Controller of *The Irish Times*. There is nothing about the acrimonious departure of Louis O' Neill: nothing about the latter's refusal to accept a presentation from the board of directors or his letter to that board describing his treatment in the last years of his 42 years with the company (*Sunday Business Post*, 20/6/99). There is nothing about the remuneration of Erwin and McDowell which was allegedly nearly 1.08 million euros in total in the year prior to the financial problems of the company (*Sunday Independent*, 21.12.01).

Brady has a chapter about the so called "Trust" which is not without interest. It is now public knowledge that McDowell had extraordinary powers. Brady admits that the new structure enabled McDowell "to have his cake and eat it" (page 113). He cashed in his shares and yet increased his powers. However, Brady insists that McDowell's power did not extend to the Editor:

"Only one authority stood clear of McDowell's. That was the power of the editor, to order and prescribe the content of the newspaper, on a day-to-day basis, subject to the authority of the board. In the ultimate, of course, the editor could be removed. But he was 'solely responsible' to the board for the content of *The Irish Times* (including the content of advertising). There is no doubt that this construction came into existence specifically to accommodate Gageby and to meet his vision of an independent editorship." (Page 114)

There is a contradiction here. The editor is "independent" and yet is "subject" to the board.

But let's see what the Memorandum and Article of Association actually says. Article 80 says:

"The editorial policy to be followed by *The Irish Times* shall be as decided by the Directors from time to time and they shall ensure that it is in conformity with the objects of the Company."

Article 81 says:

"The Editor shall be solely responsible to the Directors for ensuring that the editorial content of *The Irish Times* is consistent in every way with the editorial policy of the *The Irish Times* as hereinbefore provided."

It goes on to say:

"Subject to the foregoing, the Editor shall be responsible to the Chief Executive for carrying out such duties commensurate with his office as the Chief Executive may from time to time prescribe."

There is nothing about the editorial independence of the editor in the Memorandum and Articles of Association of *The Irish Times Limited*. And, even on a day to day basis, the editor was not independent. The Chief Executive of course was McDowell for most of Brady's period as Editor. From this it would appear that, if the other Directors allowed the editor to be "independent", they would have been derelict in their duties and McDowell had the right to decide what the Editor's duties were.

Brady gives some very interesting details on how the so called Trust exercised its power.

"The Trust took its work very seriously, in my experience. It met once a month, August excepted, in McDowell's gloomy office, around a couple of extended tables. After a private meeting that might last an hour, the Governors would be joined by the editor and, later, by the General Manager (later styled successively as 'Managing Director' and 'Chief Executive'). This procedure enabled the editor and the Governors to discuss editorial matters privately." (page 115)

So the "Trust" discussed editorial matters among themselves and when they were finished they would summon the Editor to appear on his own before them. Brady continues:

"When the Trust meeting 'closed', the meeting of the board of *The Irish Times Ltd* would 'open'. The executive directors—the editor's senior deputies and the manager's senior executives—would troop in. The board meeting might last another hour. The company accounts would be reviewed. Circulation and advertising figures would be presented by the manager. Production and printing problems, if any, would be aired. There might be further discussion of editorial matters, although McDowell kept these to a minimum at the board, preferring to deal with them at the Trust meeting." (page 115)

It appears that the meeting of the Board of Directors was just for routine business. Presumably the Board of Directors that were not "Trust" members had to wait outside McDowell's office before being called. The real action was at the meeting of the "Trust" (Brady doesn't say if any of the Governors left before the Board of Directors meeting since not all Governors were also Directors of the Company). Brady appears to have had problems with being accountable to the "Trust".

"I always disagreed with him {i.e. McDowell—JM} on this. The editor was responsible for implementing the *directors'* policy, not the *Governors'*. McDowell argued that the editor should not be obliged to discuss his decisions in the presence of his subordinates. It was never a problem as far as I was concerned. On the contrary, I was often glad to have the support of executive directors like Bruce Williamson, Ken Gray, Pat O' Hara or Eoin McVey when issues of detail might arise." (Page 115)

I wonder, did it ever occur to Brady that the support of his colleagues was the last thing that McDowell wanted for Brady? The arrangement by which Brady appeared alone before the "Trust" was precisely what McDowell required. Of course, there is no doubt that Brady is technically correct. The Editor *was* responsible for implementing the *directors'* policy. But that is a debating point. The substance of the power behind the newspaper rested with the "Trust" and still does. In Brady's time each Governor on the Board of Directors had five votes each, while non "Trust" directors only had one vote. There was an inbuilt majority in favour of the "Trust". And McDowell as Chief Executive, along with being Chairman of both the Trust and the Board of Directors, was the power behind the "Trust". (Since December 2001, following adverse publicity, the "Trust" decreased its voting power in the Board of Directors, but it still controls the company and can change the rules back to the old way any time it likes.)

Elsewhere in the book Brady gives examples of McDowell's power. When he wanted to open an *Irish Times* office in Moscow he went to McDowell. This is how he describes the meeting:

"McDowell was enthusiastic. He waved aside the question of funding and told me he would 'get Louis {i.e. Louis O' Neill the Managing Director—JM} to find the money'. Furthermore, the proposal would not have to be approved by the board. He could assure me there and then that it would happen." (page 62)

And McDowell's appetite for power did not diminish with age: *au contraire*.

"As the years went by, however, I felt that McDowell came increasingly to

dominate the Trust. In the early years of my editorship, he would sound me out about possible candidates for the Trust. But in later years he came up with some names that worried me. In one instance I expressed my views very strongly. That individual never joined the Trust. But McDowell did not ask me for my views again."

Another means of control which McDowell exercised was through Brady's employment contract.

"Once a year, also, my contract of employment had to be renewed. Tom {i.e. McDowell—JM} would sign the single sheet of paper to a ripple of 'hear-hears'. I think very few people in the organisation—or outside—realised that the editor of *The Irish Times* had to go on the hazard, as it were, of having his employment renewed ever 12 months". (page 116)

But despite all the control mechanisms Brady insists that he was independent.

"His {i.e. McDowell's—JM} respect for the editor's independence in regard to the content of the newspaper was absolute. Over 16 years I never once had the slightest attempt at an encroachment. And I have no doubt there were many occasions when the editorial line, the treatment of a particular story or the advancement of a particular journalist were gall and vinegar to him." (Page 117)

I seriously doubt whether there were many occasions when any aspect of Brady's editorship was "*gall and vinegar*" to McDowell. If McDowell had felt the need to intervene that would have meant that the formal mechanisms of control were not effective. Intervention would have been a sign of weakness. Non-intervention on specific stories is in no way proof of editorial independence. It would be amazing if the editors in other Irish newspapers were subjected to anything like the same control as Brady.

Brady also touches on the secrecy of the 'Trust'.

"A journalist searching in the cuttings library of *The Irish Times* for information on the Trust would find only three or four relevant clippings. These included the announcement of its foundation in April 1974, the accompanying editorial written by Gageby and the analysis of the deal done with the ordinary shareholders, written by Andrew Whittaker.

"In 1996 a sombre panel was published in *The Irish Times*, setting out the aims and objectives and the current membership. This came about after a series of critical articles had appeared in *The Phoenix* magazine and after calls for clarification had been made by the editorial committee." (page 117)

This is typical of *The Irish Times*. Only when its internal affairs are discussed by other newspapers and magazines does it say anything about itself.

Brady hints at the strange internal working of *The Irish Times* when he mentions the requirement to take an oath which has been described in the *Irish Political Review*.

"Once a year all Governors and directors had to affirm, on oath, their commitment to the principles of the Trust. A solicitor came with his bible and 'swore' each of us individually as well as witnessing our signatures." (page 115)

But Brady does not mention that the oath includes a clause on secrecy as follows:

"I will observe a strict secrecy respecting all transactions of the Company, all opinions given at meetings of the Directors and all matters which may come to my knowledge in the discharge of my duties except when required so to do by the Directors or by a Court of Law and that I will never disclose any such matters by hint, innuendo or otherwise save as aforesaid."

Towards the end of the chapter he attempts to deal with the "*charitable status*" of the 'Trust'.

"The Phoenix magazine regularly excoriated the Trust for its failures to deliver on the understanding that it would endow hospitals, schools and scientific research. In all the years, Phoenix would point out, not a penny had been diverted from the organisation to any charitable cause.

"This was not quite the full picture. Modest sums were allocated each year from *The Irish Times* Ltd to sponsoring good causes. Smaller sums, on occasion, were donated to certain charities. But in general, the charge was accurate." (page 118)

It was not the "*full picture*", "*but in general the charge was accurate*". The facts of the matter are that practically all companies give charitable donations from time to time. *The Irish Times* is on record as admitting that its charitable donations are not above the norm despite its charitable claims. That is the "*full picture*".

Brady says that he asked Major McDowell about this.

"Although I was not a member of the Trust, I believed the institution was being damaged and I raised the issue with Tom on several occasions. He was defensive and argued that the critics misunderstood the status of *The Irish Times* as a 'charity'. It did not exist to fund charities. It was a 'charity' in the same way that the Lifeboats Institution or the Red Cross is a charity."

This is disingenuous. In plain language the *Objects* of the 'Trust' include:

- a) The advancement of education.
- b) The relief of poverty.
- c) The advancement of "medical, surgical, and veterinary science" (Does not the word "medical" cover the word "surgical"?)
- d) The advancement of research

directed to the discovery of the "causes cure or relief of diseases of mankind or animals useful to mankind".

- e) The prevention of cruelty to children and animals.
- f) The maintenance and service of lifeboats and other means of saving life.

And all this is to be done without funding!

I don't know why these objects are in the Memorandum of Association of *The Irish Times Trust Limited*. And if Brady knows he is not telling. *The Irish Times* is on record as saying that the organisation did not avoid or reduce its tax liability as a result of the 'charitable' status. There are two other possibilities. The 'charitable' status might have enabled the five directors/owners in 1974 to avail of tax relief. Secondly, the Bank which lent the money to enable the owners to cash in might have been able to avail of tax relief and could have passed on the benefit in terms of reduced interest.

I am not a tax historian, but if either of the above guesses is correct, *The Irish Times* has been less than honest in this matter. Certainly the Memorandum of Association is a misrepresentation of the true nature of *The Irish Times Trust Limited*. Why it felt it necessary to misrepresent itself remains a mystery.

Brady gives some brief details of the people involved in setting up the "Trust". Among the people who were involved was Lord Arnold Goodman. All he says about this person is that he was "a leading lawyer and chairman of the *Observer newspaper which was also, at that time, controlled by a trust*". I've heard it said that Lord Goodman was one of the most influential people in Britain at the time. He was described as Prime Minister Harold Wilson's "Mr Fix it".

There is much more that is left unsaid. When Brady left *The Irish Times* in 1973 to edit the *Garda Review* he explains the decision with this intriguing comment:

"Nonetheless, I was disquieted about the notion of defining my career solely within *The Irish Times*. It had a world view—and a national view—that could institutionalise those who remained there too long or who had no other experience of life." (page 40)

But he gives no explanation of what the world and national views were. Also, there is very little on the departure of John Healy who was a Haughey supporter.

Brady's book is a very interesting read. It is revealing as much for what it says as for what it leaves out.

John Martin

An Cor Tuathail · Compiled by Niall Cusack · An Cor Tuathail

This poem, inspired by the heroic attempt of the Boers to achieve national independence during the Anglo-Boer war was written in August 1902 by Tomás Ó Flannghaile, a poet from Mayo, who spent most of his life as a teacher and as an editor in England.

Caoineadh na g Curadh – Tomás Ó Flannghaile (1846 – 1916)

Mo bhrón go deo, mo chreach mo chrádh!
Na léomhain fé dheoidh faoi neart a námhad –
An tsaoirse thíos, 's laoiach á gelaoidheadh,
A dtír fé chíos 's a ndaoine ag caoidh!
Caoín, caoín, a chinneamhain ghéar,
Is bí go faoidheach ag sileadh dear,
'Na luighe tá mílte groidhe-fhear tréan
'S a sliocht gan bhrígh mo loma léin!

'S bhuaidhir mo chroidhe im' chlí thar meodhan,
Gan truagh at tsaoighil do shíol na mBóer,
An domhan go dúr, gan rún gan báidh
Gan cabhair gan súil le congnamh d'fhagháil;
Caoín, caoín, an tsaoirse ar lár,
An comhthrom thíos, an claon ar bhárr,
Neamh-shuim 'sa cheart, 'san neart go géar,
Na gaiscidhigh theas, gan reacht gan réim!

Acht bíodh gur buaileadh líon a bhfear,
Is gidh gur chuaidh sé díobh le seal,
D'fhág siad a rian go dian go trom,
I lár na ndiabhal do chiap tré feall;
Cian, cian, bheidheas cumha na nGall
I ndiaidh an ghéar-chrádha fuair siad thall,
Minic do theicheadar le n-a sluagh
Cois abhann is sléibh' ó faobhar na mBuar.

Tá dóchas fós don laochraidh i ndán –
Ní neart i gcómhnaidhe bhéarfais bárr –
Fulaing fear groidhe don tsaoirse is síol;
Agus muinighin chroidhe 'seadh is treise brígh;
Éistigh le ciall, ní buan droich-riaghail,
Má's tréan an diabhal, is tréine Dia,
Iad féin, leo féin, le congnamh Dé,
Beidh Bóeir fós saor 'na ndúthaigh féin.

Lament Of The Champions

My eternal sorrow, my strife my torment!
The lions at last put down by the strength of their enemy -
Freedom defeated, the heroes vanquished,
Their land under taxation and their people mourning.
Weep, weep, oh bitter fate,
And patiently be shedding tear,
In their graves lie thousands of strong men true
And their dynasty lifeless, oh my woe!

It worries my heart in my side beyond measure,
The absence of worldly pity for the Boer race,
The grim world, without intention without sympathy
Without help, nor hope of receiving aid;
Weep, weep, freedom absent,
Justice defeated, prejudice victorious,
Disinterest in right, in the bitter strength,
The southern heroes, without regime without power!

But be it that their men were beaten,
And although success evaded them recently,

continued on page 14

1916 Versus Whig History

The Long Revolution—the 1916 Rising in Context set out to explore the circumstances in which the Easter Rising took place, in the year that will mark its 90th anniversary. These same circumstances have been the source of much contention in recent years. To sum up arguments many of you will already be familiar with: according to 'revisionists' 1916 was variously a criminal act, undemocratic, sectarian, led by a fanatical madman who had no 'mandate' from the people, caused untold carnage and misery in the heart of Dublin and was roundly denounced on all sides at the time. Not much of an event to be celebrating then, you would think. Indeed perhaps it would be even better to try and erase it from our memory as if it were some kind of Irish holocaust (though the Germans, on the contrary, are never let forget their misdeeds). Revisionists have even attempted to exploit this link, trying to find ways to tie those whose political ancestry lay in the events of 1916 with Nazi Germany. This has led to IRA man Sean Russell being 'outed' as a Nazi, though it seems he was nothing of the kind and was simply glad to get help from whatever quarter; a bit on the same level of logic as arguing that the IRA who accepted guns from Colonel Gaddafi were Muslim extremists. For all their 'constitutional pacifism', most revisionists generally let themselves down badly when it comes to discourse on the role of the Irish in the British military over two world wars: for here and without the least sense of irony they find true heroism, bravery, selflessness, ideals and so on *ad nauseam*.

I have explored this phenomenon of modern Irish cultural life in a previous article and shown that it springs from at

least two fonts—the need of the Irish political establishment since 1969 to undermine real or supposed popular support for the IRA; and the resurgence of old southern unionism as exemplified by the Reform Movement. The mainstream media has generally reflected this view, hardly surprising when one considers the fear under which it operated over the last 30 years or so. Section 31 and Conor Cruise O'Brien let the media understand in no uncertain terms the consequences, should they dare to challenge the official 'consensus'. Some papers, notably the *Irish Times*, represented the unionist voice in any case and were hardly sympathetic to the republican tradition. Mindful of such a context I went to University College Cork expecting to encounter variations of these themes.

The Aula Maxima, the main hall, was packed to capacity. For once everyone was in their seat prior to the start of the event, as demanded by State protocol. As President McAleese strode up to the podium to loud applause, one legacy of 1916 was already evident: during the whole event security was very low-key. True, we had had to submit our names prior to the event for a Garda check, but on the day itself I could have counted the number of Gardaí about the place on the fingers of one hand and had fingers left over. Indeed, after speaking, the President found time to meet and shake hands with a few members of the audience on her way out. I found myself reflecting that the head of the State founded on the events of 1916 was able to meet its citizens at such close quarters and be in no danger of being shot except by camera. I couldn't help but compare her situation to that of George Bush and Tony Blair—whose countries

boast such a long tradition of exporting 'democracy' and 'freedom' around the world (having such a surfeit of it at home apparently). So beloved are they, that whole cities are virtually closed down on their arrival, becoming armed fortresses, and with thousands of police and secret service to keep them as far as possible from their adoring fans. Where did we go wrong in Ireland, I wondered?

I was mindful of the furore that erupted when the President commented that some people in Northern Ireland had taught their children to hate Catholics, and settled down to hear some insipid speech designed to say nothing and please everyone, as is the wont of politicians the world over. Therefore it is with complete sincerity I can say that the President's speech caught me totally off-guard. She began by putting the Rising in its historical context of jingoism—the whole world it seemed, had gone to war and militarism was glorified in all quarters. I have long held this opinion myself, but had become used to the revisionist mantra that republicans had cornered the market in glorified violence, and that what was going on in British ranks at the Somme etc. was altogether of a different calibre. My ears pricked up. Other revisionist assertions, such as the Rising not being a democratic event, were put in further context when the President reminded us that, whereas the 1916 Proclamation at least accepted "*the suffrages of all her men and women*", Westminster was "*still refusing to concede women the vote on the basis that to do so would be to give in to terrorism*". It appears that the Rebels may have had a better grasp of the fundamentals of democracy than the revisionists give them credit for. However this needs some qualification—on Day Two of the Conference the issue of women in the independence movement was given further coverage. Gerry White and Dr. Brendan O'Shea (authors of *Baptised In Blood—The Formation Of The Cork Brigade Of The Irish Volunteers*) noted how the Irish Volunteer manifesto included women by simply stating that "*there will also be work for women to do*", and added that this generally was supposed to consist of traditional roles such as nursing, tailoring and so on. Likewise, Rosemary Cullen Owens (UCD) noted that women found themselves dealing with almost as much chauvinism in the Republican movement as with the political establishment (all Irish MPs were against women's suffrage around the time of the Rising). Their media organ *The Irish Citizen* caustically commented that maybe even Republicans needed educating in this matter. Yet, from 1918 onwards, all political parties courted women's votes. Posters of the Irish Parliamentary Party excluding women from meetings began to disappear

They left their mark firmly and heavily,
In the heart of the devils which tormented them through treachery.
Sorrowful, sorrowful, will be the homesickness of the foreigners [Englishmen]
After the bitter-torment they received yonder,
Oft they fled with their crowds
By river and mountain from the blade of the Boer.

There is still hope for the heroes –
It is not always strength which brings victory –
Brave men suffer for freedom and race;
And confidence of heart yes and the power of their worth;
Listen to sense, no bad-rule is permanent,
If the devil is strong, God is stronger,
Themselves, alone, with the help of God,
The Boers will be free yet in their own homeland.

Translator: **Natalie Simpson**

from this date onwards. The main clawing back of women's rights came about under the Free State. In acrimonious Dáil debates there were attempts to bar women from jury service, typical of the ways in which the Free State tried to clip women's wings. Nonetheless, the Proclamation remained an important step forward in women's rights even before the self-proclaimed cradle of modern democracy at Westminster was able to contemplate the step.

President McAleese also argued that the Rising was not sectarian, thus countering some revisionist claims that republicans intended to set up a Catholic-dominated state and persecute their Protestant neighbours. Dr. Owen McGee (UCD) threw some further light on the matter on Day Two by explaining how the Catholic nationalist followers of political parties, such as Redmond's, were vigorously opposed to the IRB on the assumption that it was anti-Catholic and that it would attempt a separation of Church and State such as was being conducted in republican France. These Irish Parliamentary Party supporters and the like were not too concerned whether their state gained Home Rule under a monarch or not as long as its Catholic character remained intact. It would seem from this that Protestant unionists had less to fear from republican revolutionaries than Catholic constitutional nationalists. The 1916 Proclamation set out to guarantee religious tolerance and liberty for all the nation's citizens.

Following on the President's introductory speech, Professor Keith Jeffrey (Queen's University, Belfast) introduced the issue of Irishmen serving in British forces. He also spoke of how commemorations of World War dead might be a potential common meeting ground for unionist and nationalist. I spoke briefly to him afterwards and asked him if we are to celebrate a common heritage, why are monuments to IRA men like Tom Barry and Dan Breen not erected in the UK. These men after all were British up to 1922 according to history and are therefore as clearly a part of Britain's past as they are of ours. Moreover they were—or at least believed they were, depending on your view—fighting for the same causes we are told their Irish brethren in British uniform struggled for: the freedom of small nations, liberation from tyranny and so on. He concurred the point had some validity but added he could see that there might be opposition to it over unionist sensibilities and among people who had had relations in the security forces.

A slightly smaller audience was in attendance on Day Two. It seemed reasonable to assume that some of the audience present the day before had come

at least as much for the purpose of seeing the President as for hearing the talks. The first speaker of the day—Dr. Jérôme aan de Wiel (University of Rheims)—set the 1916 Rising in a wider, European context. He reminded us that Ireland had long being a strategic lever in inter-European relations stretching back through the Armada, the French Revolution and so on. Revisionists make much of the IRB-German connection as a betrayal, but Dr. aan de Wiel reminded us that the loyalist UVF guns brought ashore at Larne had been acquired from the Steyr factory in Austria-Hungary, Germany's main ally. In the early years of the 20th century the Germans found themselves being encircled by a series of Treaties between Britain, France and Russia. During the First World War the German High Command considered the value of exploiting internal tensions within the UK—i.e. Irish nationalism. In spite of the failure of the Rising, at least it convinced the German High Command that the republican movement was serious, and a second round of help was planned for early 1917. This was the so-called 'Sinn Fein' conspiracy. 'Room 40'—British wartime intelligence HQ—knew all about these plans as well as the fact they'd been cancelled. However they chose to use the plot as a reason to arrest as many republicans as possible. From my point of view, quite possibly the most explosive piece of information all day was the revelation that the British had obtained at least 3 German code books early on in the war (one of which was apparently hauled up in the nets of a British trawler!) and used this as a basis to set up Room 40, a wartime intelligence HQ. Thus British leaders knew well in advance of all the plans for the Rising, including the date for which it was set. Despite this they allowed it to go ahead in order to draw the Republican leadership out in the open and decapitate them. This directly contradicts claims that the IRB alone were responsible for the carnage in Dublin. (Though a related question is trying to establish who exactly killed the 300+ civilians who died during the week—presumably some were killed by British forces also.) Indeed, Casement had offered to try and stop the Rising after his capture, but his offer was turned down by the British authorities. As to the suggestion that Room 40 didn't act on the Rising in order to avoid alerting the Germans to the code breaking, aan de Wiel noted the case of the Zimmerman Telegram where Britain intervened with no loss of life. The British were confident they would be able to beat the Irish easily and so the loss of civilian life was an acceptable risk factored in.

Dealing with legal circumstances, The Hon. Justice Adrian Hardiman (a Supreme Court Judge) concluded that the executions

had been legal under DORA. The Rising had been dealt with under two parallel legal systems: martial law with courts martial, and civil law under DORA. The approach was contradictory and confused however. The politicians wanted to impose martial law mainly as a PR exercise, to show they were getting tough on Republicans, while the military took their brief seriously. Gen. Maxwell tried to operate DORA as much like martial law as possible. W.B. Wiley was given the position of King's Counsel and a free hand in framing the charges to be brought. In the event, the formula he designed covered "...taking part in an armed rebellion, making war on the King..." all of which implied the rebels were at war and therefore deserved POW status; and "...acting in a manner prejudicial to DORA / aiding the enemy...", which last sentence proved to be crucial, as it allowed for the death penalty. Many of the rebels condemned themselves out of their own mouths by reference to "help from our allies in Europe [i.e. Germany]". Those who did mount a legal challenge were often able to beat the charges against them. Presumably many of those who did not, did so because they refused to recognise the court in which they were being tried. As time progressed, the authorities tried to switch the focus from the rebels' belligerent status and to try them for specific civil crimes, such as murder (which could not be tried in a court martial) in order to 'criminalise' the Rising. Gen. Maxwell's main shortcoming in conducting the trials, according to Hardiman, was to hold them *in camera* and thus give the impression that, as the papers of the day began to record, the rebels were "shot in cold blood".

Dr. Brian Murphy OSB (Glenstal Abbey) rounded off the day with a talk on censorship and propaganda, centring on a mysterious figure named Maj. Ivon Price. Unfortunately, due to a late start on the second day, and changes in the order speakers appeared, Brian was unable to finish his talk and had to summarize much material. I only caught a tantalizing glimpse of this Maj. Price, who seems to have been central to the British Government's attempts to direct public opinion in the aftermath of the Rising. Maj. Price brought to my mind a more recent incarnation—Colin Wallace—head of a sort of British forces misinformation centre during the Northern Troubles. Interestingly, Price later claimed that Britain lost as many as 50,000 army recruits due to Nationalist propaganda. His comments are central to understanding the British mindset that regarded the War as the priority and the Easter Rising as a sideshow. It would also help explain, as emerged during Gerry White and Brendan O'Shea's talk, why the British authorities would arrest a volunteer armed with a

revolver and ammunition and yet only charge him with seditious writings! Brian explained how censorship operated on three levels—suppression and censorship of the press; acts against individuals, such as when Sheehy-Skeffington was arrested under DORA for sedition (read: pacifism); and censorship of the mail/postal service. I see all of this having particular resonance today, both here (as with Section 31), and in Britain in how opposition to the war in Iraq is dealt with. Due to time constraints Brian was obliged to finish ahead of his talk and I look forward to hearing more at the launch of his book on the same topic next April in Cork. This concluded a most enjoyable and interesting weekend, and I came away feeling I had learned something and filled many important gaps in my own understanding of the events.

Given the conference title—of putting 1916 in historical context—it is worth putting commemorations in present day context. There have been many who have questioned the Taoiseach's wisdom in reinstating the Easter Parade and who have suggested alternative dates for a national commemoration, ranging from November 13th (formation of Irish Volunteers) to the inauguration of the Irish Republic in 1948. The main thrust seems to be to play down the significance of the Rising. It has to be said that, whatever the merits of the other dates, the Rising did mark the start of the modern struggle for independence. Home Rule would have granted Ireland a 'caretaker' parliament in Dublin, but the Proclamation set its sights on the higher goal of Irish sovereignty—the *right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies*. Under Home Rule, control would have had to be fettered, with Britain dictating foreign policy in particular. This has particular resonance today when, for example, Britain has given its backing to George Bush's illegal war on Iraq (against the wishes of a sizeable part of the British population, but that's another story).

Contiguous to objections to holding Easter 1916 commemorations has been an attempt from some quarters to downsize all celebrations of our War of Independence. Reasons advanced for this tend to variously include: burying the divisions of the past, not wishing to commemorate fighting and killing, assuming that all things republican equate with a hatred of all things English and wanting to avoid embarrassment with our English friends, not wanting parallels to be drawn between that period and the Northern Troubles and so on. By way of example, Peter Levy has argued that it is time to call a halt to 'the IRA commemorations' such as those at Kilmicheal, Beál na mBláth and so on. His rationale was that such occasions are

simply an excuse for 'republican crawling', keeping the civil war alive and a free opportunity for politicians to score political points. He writes, "*the problem with Kilmichael and other commemorations like it is that no other views save those of the zealots are allowed*". Precisely the same justification can be given for maintaining the commemorations. Revisionist views have wide currency in the media and as we have seen have unofficial mainstream political sanction as a tool in undermining support for republican ideology in this republic. Commemorations are an opportunity for another voice and view to be heard, a republican one that is much in the minority these days. Sometimes it seems it is the revisionists who wish no other voice to be heard, and who would rather the struggle for Irish independence was forgotten about completely. In fact, Peter Levy goes on to write that "*if you want to do a republican war dance, you could buy a Wolfe Tones' CD and do it in the privacy of your own home*" (where you need not upset anyone with your wayward views, presumably).

Interestingly, this is also precisely the argument atheists and agnostics often seem to make about religion when they want to banish it first from the public sphere as a step to banishing it altogether: fine for the privacy of your own home, but it should not intrude in public life where it might have some impact. This denies the nature of mankind as social animals whose society is a creation springing from the negotiation of the public coming together of privately held beliefs in the first instance. It is equally important to remember that where a vacuum is created in social identity by the disappearance of traditional principles, it is inevitable that others will move in to take their place. For those such as the Reform Movement this is precisely the intended effect. For those with a more global perspective, old nationalisms must be broken down before a new one-world order can be created. Seen from a global rather than parochial perspective, far from being 'narrow', nationalism can allow for the existence of a plurality of voices. The critics of 'republican' history seem to overlook that it is only a strong whisper alongside the much louder shout of what Desmond Fennell has called "*The Whig Interpretation of history*". In sum, Fennell argues Whig history marries social Darwinism to a colonial version of the past where WASP society and history are seen as evolving through phases to its present position as the pinnacle of civilization. The anomaly of having two of the worst wars in history occur around the peak of this progress is explained by "*suggesting that in the twentieth century it was discovered that the great advances of Good in European history had not entirely eliminated Evil... but happily, in the two*

*great wars of the century those Europeans [term includes Americans, as **overseas Europe**] ...who had profited morally by the great advances were victorious over Europeans who had not*". Thus "*Auschwitz and Belsen were evil, Hiroshima and Dresden were good. So the standard history was saved*". Put simply, it is reminiscent of Nicole Kidman in the movie *The Others*. When her children ask whether their father is fighting on the side of the 'goodies' or the 'baddies' in the war, she answers "*your father fought on the side of the English, so on the side of the goodies*".

Whig history is being harnessed to work today as perhaps never before. It is hardly a coincidence that the last few years have seen a wave of large-scale World War commemorations. The very historical Trafalgar was recently celebrated also, and no word of protest came from the quarters where 'narrow nationalism' (for what was it that sent countries to war in both wars if not a generous measure of nationalism in the first instance?) and violence for political ends are so usually and roundly denounced. The most obvious explanation is that such commemorations are viewed as so self-evidently natural that no justification is needed: 'of course, why wouldn't they celebrate? Are they not the goodies?' Without wishing to imply any prejudice to the individual men and women who fought as combatants (my own grandfather among them), it is difficult not to perceive the commemorations as something of a massive PR exercise. It is difficult to take seriously sentiments such as 'never again' when genocides have been allowed to happen (and even facilitated, as in Kurdistan under Saddam) by the very countries that claim to be the peak of moral civilization. Instead of laying wreaths on the tomb of the unknown soldier a much more effective way of demonstrating respect for the soldiers of your army is not to send them as cannon fodder into unpopular illegal wars for political and financial gain—so the rich can get richer, and the powerful more powerful.

Commemorations of 1916 and the War of Independence in such a world order should not only be continued but also encouraged. They serve above all as a reminder that Whig history is not so straightforward and the 'goodies' not so good. One purpose of recalling both World Wars (especially World War 2) is to show that Britain and the USA are the great moral champions of the world—altruistically fighting the Hun and the Nazi. We are invited to perceive the war in Iraq, Afghanistan and wherever else this colonial adventure may yet take them, as part of the same continuum. If 1916

and War of Independence commemorations are allowed to disappear, Britain, for one, will no longer have to reconcile Whig history with how it unleashed the Black and Tans on Ireland, how the Irish Volunteers—supposed to be a national army for Home Rule Ireland—became just another wing of the British army under Redmond, and how they refused to recognise democratic principle and self-determination until practically forced to do so at gunpoint.

Nick Folley

EDITORIAL NOTE: Prof. Jeffrey's lame answer to the question about establishing memorials to Tom Barry and others in Britain was interesting. If Unionists and

the relatives of people killed fighting Irish independence have a veto in Britain, why should Nationalists and the relatives of those who died in the Independence Wars not have the same privilege in Ireland? It is hard to escape the conclusion that the exercise is intended to affront the national lobby and to 're-educate' the Irish about Britain and its wars. The whole remembrance/commemoration exercise is for Britain a preparation for further war, as Eamon Dyas has shown in his pamphlet on the British Legion (available from Athol Books), while in Ireland these ceremonies are really a form of thanksgiving—and perhaps a subtle warning—more than anything else.

waned. The ladies could not bear to bathe in Cuaisín, where we bathed, lest the water be polluted by the presence of my poor father. We were philosophical about this, and I think Máire Óg was too" (p105).

As far as I am aware, no public correction of these remarks was made at the time. It is ironic that Muriel, a dedicated anti-fascist, should have been tarred with the Nazi brush. Her daughter was sent, not to Youth Camps, Nazi or otherwise, but to progressive schools (at some expense to Muriel). The story about how she came to be in Ireland is also totally inaccurate. But, in her naive way, Mrs. O'Brien has done history a service in retailing the nasty gossip about Muriel which was doing the rounds in Fianna Fail circles at the time. Her father was Sean McEntee, second-in-command in Fianna Fail, and Fianna Fail was in its first year of office. And the kidnapping was not a rescue from Nazi Germany, as Mrs. O'Brien says. It did not happen in 1933, when Hitler came to power, but in 1932.

Muriel MacSwiney

Muriel MacSwiney, widow of the War of Independence Hunger Striker, came into the news in 1995, as a result of a biography of Terence MacSwiney. From being officially ignored and written out of Irish history for decades, she became the object of character assassination as a "manic-depressive" and "bohemian", who had a relationship with a Communist Jew. The whole thing was so vitriolic and unfair that I felt obliged to put her side of the story in a book published in 1996. There the matter rested until 2005, when the daughter of Muriel and Terence, Máire MacSwiney-Brugha, published her memoirs. It seems to me that Máire was at some pains to answer her mother's case as stated in the letters published in my book, though she does not mention the book as such. Again, Máire's book has been reviewed in a way that puts Muriel in a nasty light.

In addition I found that Muriel is mentioned in Máire Conor Cruise O'Brien's memoirs in 2003. She had a childhood acquaintance with Muriel's daughter, Máire, which she described as follows:

"In or about the summer of 1933 an event occurred that brought the outside world bodily into our Dunquin lives. The daughter of Terence MacSwiney, Máire Óg, was being brought up in Germany by her ravishingly attractive, if somewhat feckless mother and her mother's Nazi lover. Máire will correct me if I have any of these facts wrong; I write as I remember, or as I heard from adult conversations at the time. The child—she was twelve—with remarkable courage and maturity, wrote from her German youth camp to her

aunts, Mary and Annie MacSwiney, the ladies who gave those idyllic tea parties, asking them to come to Germany and bring her back to Ireland with them. She did not like Nazis, or camps. She told them at what point on the road she would wait for them to pick her up. The intrepid ladies did not hesitate. Taking with them Mrs Professor Stockley, a German friend, as an interpreter, they followed their niece's instructions and, with the help of the Irish Legation in Germany, brought Máire back to Ireland. Enough was known of conditions in Hitler's Germany, even then, for the aunts never to have doubted the propriety of their action. They were then inspired, I use the word advisedly, to send her—she was about two years older than me—to stay with us in Tigh na Cille to get acclimatised to Irish life and Irish children. The visit was a providential success. My uncle spoke German and we sang student songs in German in the evenings. She was an undemanding child and so were we undemanding children, and we welcomed her unquestioningly as someone out of a girls' adventure story. We envied her her smart, navy-blue shorts; we were only allowed to wear skirts. ^Muireann i mbriste (Miriam in britches) was culturally anathema in the countryside then, like 'the whistling woman' and 'the crowing hen'... I know Máire Óg was happy with us for those weeks of summer, and felt safe in our calm, unregimented environment. She became the light of her aunts' declining years and never regretted her tremendous decision. Later, sadly, when the rift between the Fianna Fail government and the IRA grew more acute, the friendship between the MacSwiney house and ours, separated by barely a couple of miles of road,

The fact is that Fianna Fail was party to what was done to Muriel—the kidnap of her daughter, legitimised after the event by secret court proceedings. De Valera personally assisted Mary MacSwiney (Terence's sister) in her plans to go to Germany. Máire was put on her aunt's passport, enabling the child to leave Germany and travel across Europe.

When Muriel brought legal proceedings in Dublin to regain custody of her own daughter, the child was made a ward of court and given garda protection, for fear the mother would try to take her back.

Because she had fallen out with the official Church and become a Communist revolutionary, Muriel was written out of the republican pantheon, and made a non-person in the public life of the State. But, thanks to Mrs. O'Brien, we now know the way this public stance was justified with private calumny. In the early 1930s the Communist tag might not have been black enough in Fianna Fail circles—presumably that is where the Nazi slur came from.

In her memoirs, Muriel's daughter replied to Máire MacEntee-O'Brien as regards that Summer:

"The MacEntee children spent the six months between Easter and September every year with Dr [Paddy] Browne in his bungalow...

"One day... he discovered I had

learned no Irish. He said to my aunt, 'I'll bring her up to stay with us for a week and we'll teach her'... That was when I first got to know Máire MacEntee. She was twelve years old and I fifteen...

"...She remembers me in shorts, which was certainly not the case. My aunts would have been horrified at the thought of me wearing shorts. She also wrote in her book that my mother had a Nazi lover and that I had written to my aunts from a youth camp in Germany, where I was supposed to have been unhappy. These stories must have been circulating at the time and Máire obviously believed them, but they were untrue. In fact, my mother was an extreme communist and living in Paris with intellectuals and writers of her own way of thinking. I had never been in any youth camps. Actually, I had spent those years in the most modern *avant garde* educational establishments in the country. My mother, to give her her due, saw to that!... (p130-32).

Máire MacSwiney Brugha's own book was reviewed by Diarmaid Ferriter in the *Irish Times* (3.12.2005) under the title, *History's Orphan*. He writes of Muriel:

"Máire's mother, Muriel, was a cruel, erratic and mentally ill woman who, Máire records, simply "did not understand how to bring up a child... history deprived me of my father. My mother deprived me of herself"..."

The description of Muriel as cruel and erratic does not match what I know of her. It does, however, fit in with the general character-assassination to which she has been subjected. Yet, when Francis Costello, in his biography of Terence MacSwiney, described Muriel as "manic-depressive", and T. Ryle Dwyer repeated that fact in his *Cork Examiner* column, Máire wrote to the paper denying the accusation, and saying she "suffered from severe depression—an illness that affects many people in Ireland. She certainly was not a manic depressive".

Máire added that she was "quite happy growing up in Germany. I was not aware that I had any 'plight' other than being moved, more often than I liked, from one school to another" (CE 2.12.95). Yet the chapter about the kidnap episode in her memoir is called *Escape*.

Unfortunately, Máire has not corrected Ferriter's suggestion that her mother was "cruel", which is not an accusation that appears in her book.

Mrs. MacSwiney-Brugha does say in her memoir that Muriel had "always" suffered from "extreme depression"

(pp29,43). I don't know how she knows this. For instance, did Muriel suffer from this debilitating condition before she married Terence? I have never seen it suggested. I think it is quite possible that she became prey to post-natal depression—which is more common than is realised. And her difficult circumstances could well have aggravated the condition—husband in jail during the birth of their first baby and an imminent prospect of widowhood hanging over her for a couple of years. Muriel endured the whole hunger-strike with Terence, visiting him every day and watching the life being squeezed out of him. She was the only one who made no scenes, despite having to watch her beloved Terence being forced during his periods of unconsciousness. For that reason, she was allowed to stay when other visitors were excluded. Straight after this awful time, she made further sacrifices for Ireland, leaving her darling baby in Ireland when sent by the republican movement to give evidence on conditions in Ireland to an important Congressional Committee in America. Muriel opposed the Treaty from the first and campaigned with the other republican widows and bereaved mothers during the Treaty Election.

Muriel had been a social-minded republican from the start: she fought for a free Ireland so that the conditions of the people could be improved. To see all the sacrifice produce nothing more than a gombeen Ireland, killing republicans and playing its part in the British Commonwealth, must have been bitter indeed. It is not surprising that she moved to Germany with her little daughter, to make a completely new life.

I cannot hold it against Muriel that she brought up her child without telling her about her father's death on hunger strike at a time when it appeared that the sacrifice had been in vain. Perhaps she was waiting to tell Máire about it all when she was older and better able to understand. It is also often held against Muriel that Máire was brought up without the English language. Of course, that was Terence's wish. Muriel learned Irish and the family spoke nothing but that language in the home. It was the ambition of the revolutionaries to reduce English to the status of a foreign or second language in Ireland—and Muriel certainly succeeded in doing that with her daughter, until Mary's intervention, that is.

Incidentally, Eoghan Harris picked up on Máire MacSwiney-Brugha's book in

his *Sunday Independent* column (4.12.05), and in particular he took up the suggestion there that Muriel spoke English with "a pronounced Oxford accent" (made on page 15 of the book). I met Mrs. MacSwiney many times and, as I said in my book about her, she spoke with a soft Irish accent. This may seem a trivial point, but it seems to me to illustrate a fault in Máire's book: many of the things she says about Muriel are things that she has been told by others—such as that she "always" suffered from depression. She was, of course, in no position to say what kind of English accent her mother spoke with. As a small child they spoke Irish, later they spoke German. Máire had to learn colloquial English after she came to Ireland. But what she says about Muriel stands with the authority that it comes from her daughter, even though it is reporting unattributed hearsay as her own opinion.

The kidnap of Máire by Terence's sister is referred to by Ferriter as follows:

"At the age of 14 her aunt, Mary MacSwiney, sister of Terence, brought her back to Ireland, though she strongly refutes the description of this as a kidnap. Subsequently, she was the subject of a court case in which, sensibly, the judge asked about her own preference as to where she should live. She chose to stay in Ireland and went to live at Scoil Íte, the only lay school in Cork, which was run by her aunt."

Is Ferriter of the opinion that to take a child from her mother without the mother's consent, the father being dead, is not kidnapping?

Here is what Máire herself says about the kidnap—

"[In 1932] my aunt had received a small legacy... Now she made arrangements for the journey [to Germany]. As she did not recognise the Free State, she would not go through the normal channels to acquire a passport. She went straight to de Valera to provide her with one. From then on Mr de Valera was extremely helpful assisting my aunt with her plans in every way..." (p64).

This is a significant remark, "with her plans". It implies more than just a holiday near her niece.

Máire also says about her name being in her aunt's passport:

"...My mother later claimed that Aunt Máire had this done in Dublin, before she came to Germany. This could be true, if she had it done in anticipation of bringing me back to Ireland for a holiday.

My mother maintained that this was illegal. But since my aunt was also my legal guardian, it probably was in order" (p68).

Muriel had made an attempt to re-establish a family life for Máire around Easter 1931. She had had a second daughter in 1926 and was now in a position to make a home. For whatever reason, Máire refused absolutely to co-operate. She liked living where she was, staying with the Kaltenbach family, in the Bavarian Alps. Both mother and daughter dug in their heels. According to Máire, Muriel said that she would no longer pay for her upkeep nor her school fees. It seems Mrs. Kaltenbach agreed that Máire could stay, but told her she could not afford to provide her with clothes or pay her school fees. She suggested that her Cork relations might help—Mary MacSwiney had previously sent emissaries to visit Máire in Bavaria. Máire reports a couple of instances in which Mrs. Kaltenbach pushed her in the Cork direction: and she says that the suggestion that she run away with Mary MacSwiney on her visit came from this lady.

Here is Máire's account of how she came to leave Grainau:

"My aunt informed Frau Kaltenbach that she was coming to Germany to visit me. My aunt brought Madame Stockley to accompany her because she spoke fluent German and French; she acted as interpreter since my aunt spoke no German, though she did speak French. The two ladies arrived in our village of Grainau, where they stayed at the only hotel. They also brought with them Madame Stockley's sister, Fräulein Madi Kolb [of Munich]. Before coming to Grainau, my aunt had spent a few days in Munich where she consulted a lawyer as to her legal position *vis-à-vis* me. (The previous summer, 1931, when Frau Fleishchmann and her son, Aloys, had visited me, I remember her bringing me to see Cardinal Faulhaber, the Archbishop of Munich and Freising, who was known for having given sermons that were critical of anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda. Of this meeting I have a very vague impression. My aunt may have asked him for advice.) The lawyer's advice was that my mother's guardianship took precedence over my aunt's. He suggested that it would be no harm if my aunt got my name on her passport: at the time, a minor could be written into the passport of an adult relative" (p64).

What is "*the advice*" that Mary MacSwiney had had asked of Cardinal Faulhaber in 1931? My knowledge of the

ways of the world leads me to suspect that the visit to the Cardinal in 1931 was to feel out the Church's position in Germany to Máire's anomalous position as a Catholic being raised in a non-religious way, to see if it would support proceedings to remove the child from Muriel's care on moral grounds. I believe Muriel was in a relationship at the time. It is often held that the Catholic Church considers that denial of moral formation to a Catholic child in itself as sufficient grounds to remove a child from such a situation to one in which a proper religious upbringing would be provided. But, as far as I know, this has not happened in modern times. In any case, it seems clear that Mary MacSwiney got no help from that quarter.

The visit to the lawyer is a third confirmation that Mary MacSwiney had it in her mind to remove her niece from Germany. The first was having the child put on her passport before she left Ireland: the advice about the passport entry from the Munich lawyer was presumably superfluous, de Valera having done the necessary; the second was arranging the visit of Frau Fleischmann to the local Church authorities for 'advice'; the third was the visit to a Munich law firm. Máire justifies her aunt putting her on her passport before leaving Ireland, on the basis that it was done "*...in anticipation of bringing me back to Ireland for a holiday*" (p68), but surely the visits to the Cardinal and the lawyer tell a different story?

There is a fourth confirmation that bringing Máire to Cork was in Mary's mind: she gave her niece travelling money when she was about to leave Germany as we see in the continuation of the story:

"When the three ladies had booked into the little hotel in the village, they came to the house of the Kaltenbachs to see me. We all had tea together, but my aunt and I could not communicate with one another as neither of us spoke the other's language. Madame Stockley interpreted.

"Some days later, Aunt Máire made her sad farewell, giving me some German money in case I could at any time try to make the journey to Ireland. I realised this was an unrealistic suggestion and we parted company, they to return to Ireland the following day.

"In the meantime, my mother got wind of this visit. She informed the Kaltenbachs that she was sending a male acquaintance to collect me immediately and bring me back to Heidelberg. It was the summer of 1932, fifteen months after my mother and I had parted company at the Garmisch railway station. As promised, she immediately sent

somebody to fetch me back to her. This gentleman had been introduced as Herr Borchner, but I knew him later as Herr Pullmann. He had arrived at the same time as my aunts, but checked into a hotel in Garmisch. As the three ladies were leaving that evening, he came to the house. My aunt and he exchanged unfriendly glances in the hall as they passed one another. He announced that I was to be packed and ready the following morning to travel back with him to Heidelberg.

"Next morning my aunt fully intended to return with her two companions via Munich to Ireland. I was getting ready to be collected for the journey by my mother's messenger, Herr Pullmann. I went into Frau Kaltenbach's bedroom to say goodbye to her... [She] looked at me and said: "If I were you, I would run to the aunt in the hotel and ask her to take her to take you back with her to Ireland." But she asked me never to tell anyone that she had suggested it. I followed her suggestion out of desperation: the only way I could see myself having a future was to take the chance of persuading my aunt to take me with her as she was leaving that morning to go back to Ireland...

"I had decided what we should do. There was a back road from Grainau to the Austrian border, just half-an-hour's drive away...

"We all got into the cab and my aunt put me lying down on the floor at the back seat and covered me with a rug. It was an open Landau model so if I had been sitting up, I would have been seen driving through the village..." (p66-7). Did Máire discuss going to live in Cork with Mary during her aunt's brief stay? I would guess so, why else would the Aunt give her travelling money?

Máire left from Germany via Austria. As she was on her aunt's passport she was allowed to leave Germany and enter Austria by the frontier guards. The party went on to Geneva, where they stayed with Sean Lester (a League of Nations official), who lent Mary the money she needed to get them back to Ireland. (More help from de Valera?)

I have no doubt that Mary MacSwiney, when she prepared for her visit to Germany, also prepared for the eventuality that she might have the opportunity to bring the adolescent back with her to Ireland, knowing that her mother did not consent. She had already put Máire on her passport before she ever saw her in Germany. Things may have happened as Máire describes, but that does not take away from the fact that Mary kidnapped her in the strictly legal sense that she

removed the child from the care of her mother.

Certainly the German police treated the event as a kidnapping. Máire continues:

"...when Herr Pullmann discovered that I had left, he alerted the police. They started to look for us all over Germany, thinking that my aunt and I were *en route* back to Ireland in the normal way. The only people they could interview were the cab driver, who didn't understand what had gone on, and poor timid Mádi, who was terrified of the police and everything to do with them..." (p71).

Having failed to stop her daughter leaving Germany, Mrs. MacSwiney opened legal proceedings in Ireland in the Summer of 1932. Máire writes:

"The case dragged on all that summer and must have been very stressful for my mother, especially as she felt she was being blocked at every turn. In a way, there seemed to be some truth in that. De Valera, and with him any authorities involved, was anxious to keep this matter out of the public domain. This was to protect my father's name and memory..."

"The Catholic Church had absolutely nothing to do with it, however. My mother had an obsession about the part she supposed the Church had played. The Church's position may have had some indirect bearing on the case, insofar as it was perfectly obvious that, had he been alive, my father would have brought me up a Catholic, but that was the extent of the influence..."

"My erratic upbringing, moving frequently from place to place, did not help my mother's case. In the end, the presiding judge, Judge Meredith (later a Supreme Court judge), made the sensible decision to ask me directly what my wishes were. He took me into his private chambers. By now I had passed my fourteenth birthday... I made it very clear to him, in my limited English, that I wanted to stay in Ireland with my Aunt Máire. That was the only time that I was brought to the court.

"In making my aunt my co-guardian, my father had understood that my mother was not well and would probably be unable to look after me, which must have been of great concern to him. In the end the case went against my mother and my aunt was granted custody over me. However, there were conditions attached to this. First, I was made a ward of court and placed under police protection... [to prevent a re-kidnap]

"Secondly, an order was made that I was not to be involved in any way in Republican activities. For this I was eternally grateful..." (p75-6).

According to Máire, Terence when he

became Lord Mayor of Cork in succession to the murdered Tomas MacCurtain made a will in January 1920 making Mary joint guardian with his wife over his daughter (p29). I don't know how this was phrased in the will, as it is not quoted. Possibly it was no more than a desire that his sister should help his wife with the burden of bringing up a child on her own. I imagine this provision later caused real friction between the two, when the two had very different ideas about how the child should be brought up. Quite possibly that is why Muriel moved to Germany in the early 1920s. Whatever about that, Terence's provision had no legal validity.

Máire tries to refute her mother's suggestion that her Aunt Mary putting her on her passport was illegal, saying: "*...since my aunt was also my legal guardian, it probably was in order*" (p68). But, whatever Mary MacSwiney was, she was not Máire's legal guardian at any point. As a result of Muriel's court proceedings, Mary was given custody of Máire, but the court itself became her legal guardian.

I am sure that one of the things that was held against Muriel by the court was the fact that she was in a relationship: she never discussed this with me. But my feeling is that she would not wish to remarry as she did not want to give up the MacSwiney name: it was her way of keeping in touch with her husband. The name also made her more politically effective in Irish politics. It was Dennis Dennehy's housing agitations and hunger strike on behalf of the homeless of Dublin in the late 1960s that made her want to become practically involved in Irish affairs again. She wrote to Dennis, who asked me to correspond with her.

Not only did De Valera and Fianna Fail betray Mrs. MacSwiney, so did the Communists. And the betrayal by the Communist Party would have affected Muriel far more than Fianna Fail's—after all, this was her movement. When she tried to enlist Communist support in Britain for help in exposing what had been done to her by the Irish State, she was given no support at all. Desmond Greaves had obtained control of the Connolly Association. And as far as the Communist Party of Great Britain was concerned, he determined their Irish policy. I have been told that, when Muriel was hard up some years earlier, Greaves allowed her to live in his flat on the basis that she did his housework. But, when I met her, she was thoroughly disillusioned with Greaves and

blamed him for blocking her appeal to the Communist Party of Great Britain.

So, where does that leave us? I think it was a mistake for Máire to write up her adolescent recollections of her mother in this way, over sixty years after the event. She is now a completely different person to what she was then. At the age of fourteen the child comprehensively re-made herself to fit in with a new life. It is simply not possible to say what would have happened if the kidnap had failed, she had stayed on, and she had been forced to resume a family life. Even Máire admits that she and Muriel had very happy times together: there just weren't enough of them.

The one notable thing about the whole saga is that there is no segment of opinion that defends Muriel, despite her republican and anti-fascist record. Right across the spectrum she is vilified with any insult that comes to hand—Nazi, manic-depressive, bohemian, cruel. It started seventy years ago, and it is still going on. What is it about her that provokes such a hostile, defensive reaction?

But the woman Terence fell in love with had a strong sense of social duty, living in revolutionary times—both in Ireland and the Continent. She had more personal problems than most people, because of what she had had to contend with. If this detracted from her role as mother, that is no reason to demonise her. The fact that she was not always there for her eldest daughter did not mean that she did not love her or that she was a 'bad mother'.

Forty years later, when I met her, she still had a passionate commitment to furthering social justice. Thankfully she had got over her personal traumas and appeared serene.

Reproduced here are a couple of poems which Terence wrote about Muriel. When the going got tough, she was a rock on which he could lean, rather than a source of weakness. What more can you ask of a revolutionary?

Angela Clifford

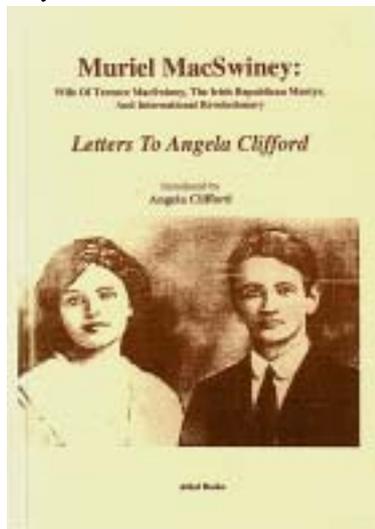
Soul To Soul

My gentle one, while still from thee delayed,
I walked about in pain, shut up in soul
To keep emotion wild in full control.
I prayed; God only knows, love, how I
prayed!

By thee I can stand calm and unafraid;
There is a peace that breathes from soul to
soul.

But when alone I struggled for the goal,
A thousand fears upon me ever preyed.

How I could all conceal! Yet I confessed
In solitude, even in the crowded street,
Low to myself in secret gasped-out prayer.
I could not walk alone and undistressed.
Life seemed a thing broken or incomplete,
That pain did seem to walk with
everywhere.



The Path

I dreaded asking thee to take my hand
Lest on a path regretted it should lead,
And lest thy heart in after years should
bleed,
If then 'mid scenes unwelcome thou
shouldst stand,
And thou shouldst think: "It is a harsh
demand
This path makes on my labour." Yea,
indeed,
I feared this. I knew what the path might
need,
But more than this I did not understand.

I did not know that I had won a place
In thy true heart, and that I was to thee
The counterpart of all that I hold dear.
I did not know thy love too could efface
All questionings, as Love had done to me.
But oh, my joy! Soon didst though make
it clear.

Further information on Muriel can be
found in: *Muriel MacSwiney: Letters
To Angela Clifford* (Athol Books, 1996.
£9.99, Euro 13 postfree.

Long Kesh: The New "national" Stadium, A Practical Proposal ?

In recent weeks the Government has attempted to move ahead with its proposal to develop a 42,000 capacity stadium to be shared by football, rugby and GAA sporting bodies at the site of the former Long Kesh prison near Lisburn. Is the stadium a practical proposal?

However, the Government, through its Strategic Investment Board, refuses to allow access to the Economic Appraisals, Environmental Impact Assessments, and Business Plans associated with the current proposals to legitimate supporters' groups. Labour believes that an open process will strengthen any stadium proposal (particularly one where some £85,000,000 is at stake) but believes that the determinedly secretive approach masks several key failings in the Long Kesh proposal.

Notwithstanding the laudable willingness of the three main sporting bodies (the Irish Rugby Football Union (Ulster Branch), the Irish Football Association, and the Gaelic Athletic Association to constructively engage in the current process to develop a multi-sports facility, it is unclear that the development of a stadium to be shared by all three sports is a practical proposition.

ISLAND-WIDE STADIUM PLANNING
The first thing to be noted is that

existing major developments of stadiums, for both rugby football and Gaelic games have been planned on an island-wide basis—and for well-established sporting (rather than political) considerations.

The GAA has developed a magnificent stadium at Croke Park, in North Dublin, with a capacity of more than 82,000. Recent changes in GAA rules have opened the prospect that Croke Park could be used for both rugby and association football matches which could not be accommodated at Lansdowne Road. Provincial finals, such as the 2005 Ulster final between Armagh and Tyrone, were played at Croke Park to crowds in excess of 60,000. Croke Park, in short, holds no barriers to accommodating matches which cannot be accommodated by the capacity restrictions of matches at *provincial* grounds such as at Clones or at Casement Park, Belfast.

The IRFU, in collaboration with the Football Association of Ireland, are set to redevelop a stadium to hold 50,000 to 60,000 on the Lansdowne Road site. It is noted that, where provincial rugby venues (such as Ravenhill, Thomond Park, the RDS or Anglesea Road) are insufficiently large to accommodate supporters, there has been no impediment in switching Munster, Leinster or Ulster Heineken

European Cup rugby games to Lansdowne Road for such purpose. In particular, it is noted that over 40,000 Ulster rugby supporters found no impediment in travelling to the 1999 European Cup Final at Lansdowne Road, filling the ground to capacity.

In short, given the right sort of game, supporters of both Gaelic games and rugby football find no difficulties in travelling to Dublin for *provincial* games.

The needs of the Northern Ireland football side, its supporters and the IFA cannot be met within this context. However, the crowd restrictions at the current Windsor Park venue, and its potential 'chill factors' for some supporters, have been well ventilated. A new stadium is needed predominantly for Northern Ireland football, which could be used, on some occasions, for large rugby football matches.

There are significant planning difficulties associated with planning a stadium for sports with such different pitch size requirements. A stadium could be planned for both association and rugby football, whose pitch size requirements are similar, but that the pitch size requirements for Gaelic games—with pitches some 50-60 metres longer—could not be easily combined with the other sporting codes without significant loss of ground atmosphere.

WHAT THE SUPPORTERS THINK

The grass roots supporters of all three sports hold strong reservations about the wisdom of the current development plans—for a 42,000 stadium at the site of the former Long Kesh prison in the Lisburn City Council area.

Surveys undertaken by the Amalgamation of Northern Ireland Supporters Clubs have shown 80% to be in opposition to the Long Kesh proposal. Almost all of the 40 or so Northern Ireland Supporters Clubs have indicated opposition.

Opposition to the current proposals has seen the setting up of a website at www.stadium4belfast.com which is currently raising an online petition in support of the location of any stadium being in Belfast. It cites the example of the Millennium Stadium in central Cardiff as a good example of where a stadium can contribute to urban regeneration.

The official supporters of Ulster Rugby have indicated a preference for remaining at the current provincial rugby stadium at Ravenhill, where Friday night rugby, in particular, has proven successful on a sustained period. Average attendances at Ravenhill have been around 7,000.

The supporters of Gaelic games have not, to date, expressed strong views, probably because the development of a multi-sports stadium has not, to date, been presented as one which would be a replacement of current facilities.

WHAT IS NEEDED

Except for occasional, almost 'one off', competitive matches against very big sides, such as England, it is unlikely that a capacity of more than 20,000 will be required for the vast majority of Northern Ireland football matches.

For most competitive rugby matches at the top provincial level (eg Heineken Cup matches or those against major touring teams), a capacity of 15,000 would be ample for Ulster Rugby. A 20,000 stadium would cover any match. Anything larger could be moved to Lansdowne Road.

There are some external issues as to why top provincial GAA matches are more likely to go to Clones or Dublin—the VAT exemption which applies in the Republic of Ireland being one—the crowd capacity of Croke Park another. GAA matches for any new stadium would be more likely to be smaller-gate affairs, in the range of those set out above, such as Railway Cup matches, county club finals, potentially an occasional compromise rules game, McCrory Cup school provincial finals—particularly as all Counties in Ulster have County Stadiums of 10,000 or more and would resist county club finals being moved to Long Kesh

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICAL FACTORS

The determination of the Government to press ahead with development at Long Kesh has little to do with the practical needs of the three codes, and everything to do with—

- a) the cost of land (land at the Long Kesh site being in Government ownership and, therefore, available as a 'nil cost' Government contribution).
- b) the perceived need to have a signature legacy for the "peace process".

All four main parties, the DUP, the UUP, the SDLP, and Sinn Fein have agreed to the Long Kesh development. Sinn Fein's attitude was swayed principally by the decision to retain some of the "H" block structures and part of the prison hospital for commemorative and reconciliation purposes.

The support of Lisburn City Council, and the MP for Lagan Valley constituency (covering the Long Kesh site) for the current proposal should not be surprising.

To paraphrase the words of Mandy Rice Davies "*they would say that, wouldn't they!*"

A third factor, that any new 42,000 stadium could apply to host a UEFA final (or be built to accommodate some games in the 2012 British-hosted Olympic football tournament) is a red herring. It could apply, once in a generation!

NATIONAL STADIUM?

Some commentators, and not restricted to the media, have taken to referring to the new multi-sports proposal as one for a "*national*" stadium, a terminology divisive and unhelpful. Northern Ireland, whatever else it is, is definitively not a "*nation*". Politically it is a semi-detached outhouse of the United Kingdom state which has not been admitted to the normal democracy of that state. The conflict of the past thirty years had nationality and identity at its heart. Branding any shared stadium development as 'national' can only be seen as determinedly divisive.

KEY SHORTCOMINGS

The shortcomings of the current Long Kesh proposals are the real reason why the Business Plans, Economic Appraisals, and Environmental Impact Assessments have not been publicly released. The key shortcomings are:

- Public Transport to the site is currently non-existent. No trains will service the area. The stadium assumes more widespread car ownership than may be the case.
- Leisure amenities around the site are currently non-existent. Not a single hotel exists within the Lisburn City Council area and there is no population centre in the vicinity which could support bars, restaurants and amenities that would normally be proximate to any successful stadium and allow for significant "walk up" attendance.
- Building in the food, bar, and other amenities to the site would (given the absence of a proximate population) require a very high pricing strategy to maximise income from sporting events.
- The isolated location would tend to discourage travelling support from outside Northern Ireland.
- A 42,000 stadium is a gross overestimate of what Northern Irish international football could sustain, even with several rugby and Gaelic football games 'thrown in'.
- The planning considerations in providing for sports with widely differing pitch sizes are insurmountable, without losing 'atmosphere'.

GOVERNING BODIES

The willingness of the sporting governing bodies to 'go along' with Government plans is motivated by an unwillingness to 'pull the plug' on the others, as well as by a natural desire to remain 'sweet' with Government in relation to wider Government support to their respective sports.

The IFA's needs are for a new stadium. The Ulster Branch of the IRFU would settle for a modest development of the current Ravenhill ground, raising capacity to 12,000 to 15,000. The 'need' of the GAA is not clear, other than its desire to demonstrate solidarity with its fellow sporting governing bodies and its natural desire to not disadvantage itself in regard to wider Government funding support for local sport.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the above, the recently published Labour Party statement (www.labour.ie/northernireland) makes a range of practical recommendations, including that—

- Consideration be given to developing a stadium predominantly for Association Football, which could be also used for Rugby Football
- That this stadium will not be referred to as a "national" stadium
- That this stadium will be in Belfast, proximate to road and public transport, hotel and leisure infrastructure
- That the stadium will accommodate 20,000 to 25,000 supporters and be located in an accessible, "neutral" area.
- That support be also given to the GAA for provincial development of stadiums
- That Ulster Rugby be asked to provide a minimum number of key games (typically Heineken Cup games and some international games—probably non 6-nations games) to the new stadium, but that support be also given to the IRFU for modest development at Ravenhill to accommodate its "bread and butter" programme
- That the Stadium proposal be subject to an Equality Impact Assessment.

NEW PROPOSALS

Within the last month two private sector stadium proposals have emerged, one led by Durnien for the Ormeau Park site, the other closer to the city centre at Maysfield, adjacent to the Central Railway Station. Despite the protestations of New Labour Minister David Hanson that the decision has been made, both proposals have opened up the debate. It will be interesting to see where it goes.

Mark Langhammer

Rabbitte On 1916:

Words, Words, Words

Despite his many protestations to the contrary Pat Rabbitte has entered into coalition with Fianna Fáil. It is a coalition to remake the history of Ireland, no less, and he announced it in the *Irish Times* (30 December 2005) If successful, this is potentially of much more importance than anything either could ever hope to achieve in government.

He says:

"Minister for Foreign Affairs Dermot Ahern argued that we must honour our dead of the Somme, just as we honour the insurgents of 1916" and elaborated: "Dermot Ahern connects both the Easter Rising and the Somme to the rise of nationalism across Europe, and connects the roles of both Connolly and Pearse in the Rising to a concern with the rights of small nations. This is undoubtedly true."

So Connolly was connected with Pearse and both were connected with those fighting at the Somme. As Seán O'Casey might put it, the word 'connected' here becomes "*a darlin' word, a darlin' word*". Was it the same sort of *connection* between all three? Was it some sort of daisy chain of all fighting for the same thing? If so, how come neither saw it that way at the time? The *connection* between those fighting in the Rising and the Somme was the type of *connection* that exists between a scaffold and a hanging man. If they came into actual *connection* with each other the result would be that which a veteran of the war in France, General Maxwell, put into effect after 1916. His firing squad connected them. And one thing is absolutely certain—neither side expected any other type of *connection* to exist between them!

And of course there were plenty other real 'connections' later on, when actual survivors of the Somme and elsewhere met the inheritors and participants of the 1916 Rising in get-togethers between themselves in places like Kilmichael, Crossbarry, Clonbanin, etc. There the real connections between them were again fully displayed, and again nobody expected anything else—if anyone suggested there could be some other type of connection, they would be considered to have taken leave of their

senses. How come then that Messrs. Rabbitte and Ahern convince themselves that there was some other, very benign, *connection* between them all? If there was such a connection, totally unknown to the people actually involved, then Irish history as we know it becomes a complete farce.

Can I suggest that Pat stops tail-ending Fianna Fáil in all this and strikes out on his own. He should take the lead and dare Fianna Fáil to follow him, for a change. While they are planning some grand pompous, airy-fairy commemorations of the Somme and 1916 in Belgium, why does he not organise joint commemorations at Kilmichael, Crossbarry, Clonbanin, etc. etc. and re-establish once again those old *connections* that were made there all those years ago?

Pat again quoted the Foreign Minister Dermot Ahern to support him with his notion that: "*we can no longer have two histories, separate and in conflict*". If so, then Tom Barry is the man to prove it. After all, the UVF are still around and know their history. Surely they could have no objection to commemorating Tom, as he fought vigorously for four long years alongside them in the hell of WWI? Then he fought with the IRA for a much shorter period. He should be the very model of a modern Irish soldier, *a lá* Pat and Dermot Ahern. He should be the perfect personification of our *one* history if such existed. And we should not be, well, one-sided, about this. In fact, there should be monuments and commemorations to him in Whitehall and Sandy Row to make the fact plain.

But again, the only problem is what the man himself actually was, i.e., what he experienced, thought, did, said, wrote and explained *ad nauseam* all his adult life to anyone who wanted to listen. In other words, the problem is that the man's very own being denies the 'one history' thesis. How can Pat and Dermot get round that? Reality is always the fly in the ointment in all this new-fangled history. It was accepted as a joke in the old Soviet Union that one never knew what might happen yesterday. It's no joke in Ireland today—it's a fact, with knobs on. And there is a very clear lesson to be learned from the Soviet Union in this regard: disorientation and collapse. Looking at Pat and his career path, is there not a portent for Fianna Fáil if they attract support from this quarter on such a fundamental issue?

Reflecting on the War itself Pat says:

"Equally, while acknowledging the sacrifices made at the Somme, one also has to question how the world could have brought itself to contemplate such appalling loss of human life, and how the social structures of European society perpetuated the bloody conflict."

Here we have another "*darlin' word*"—'contemplate'. The clear intention is to get across the idea that the world as a whole decided to go to war in 1914-18 and the social structures of Europe made it in some way inevitable. Pat is at pains to mention Connolly as often as possible in his article, but surely he must know if he had actually read a word of him, that Connolly had no such notion about the cause of the war. In case Pat needs reminding, Connolly was quite clear that the war was caused by Britain's clear aim—"war upon the German nation"—and not just the German state, as events were to prove. Connolly's analysis is borne out by the facts. Can Pat deny it? Ignoring it will not do, as this is what made Connolly what he is in Irish history.

Pat's analysis reminded me of my grandmother, Minnie, whose considered analysis of all the world's problems, often repeated, was to the effect that '*the world went mad in 1914, and has never been right since*'. Effectively, Pat says the same thing about the cause of the War—it's essentially incomprehensible—but at least Minnie could be excused, as she never had an opportunity to read Connolly (or Casement.) But what excuse has Pat? Donal Nevin has conveniently provided all the necessary information in his new biography of Connolly.

But hark, light may be shed on all this and I may have to eat my words because Pat announces that:

"Next year [that is, 2006], the Labour Party, will seek to redress the balance, at least in the Irish case, through an initiative called the Liberty Project which will focus on the role of the labour movement, of James Connolly, and of the Citizen Army, in the events of 1916."

We will wait with bated breath. Will it all be clarified and elaborated at this year's Labour Party Conference on 1st April? I bet it will be a most appropriate time to do so if Pat is to do the honours.

Jack Lane



LABOUR

Comment

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European United Left Fighting For Cause Of Social Justice

A day-long conference was held in the European Parliament building in Brussels earlier this month called For Social Justice in Europe: *No to the Services Directive, No to Bolkestein.*

The Conference, organised by the European United Left, brought together the Left groups of the European Parliament, along with Trade Unions and social groups from all EU states. Strategy was discussed which would aim to vote down the Bolkestein Services Directive, or at a minimum to have this nasty piece of legislation substantially diluted.

The Directive is designed to see services privatised and sent out to tender to any company within the 25 states of the EU, who were prepared to provide a service in a particular area. An example here would be that the water provided to each household in the city of Cork, which has been provided to us by the Cork City Council for over 100 years, would become the subject of competition.

The successful tender would provide a water service and invariably, the people of Cork would pay.

The same principle would apply to all areas of public service. The

Conference heard how representatives of Finnish Teachers' Unions were particularly concerned at removing education services from the public arena, while the Italian providers of facilities to those with special needs were concerned that privatisation would lead to the end of sheltered workshops.

Of the 250 delegates present, the most worrying aspect of the Bolkestein Directive was the 'Country of Origin' principle. This means that if a Latvian company won a contract to provide a service in Ireland, that the Labour Laws of Latvia could apply to its workers in Ireland. This would mean that a legal mechanism would now exist in order

to reduce wages and conditions of employment. A case of the Irish Ferries issue coming ashore.

The European United left will have the Bolkestein Directive discussed before the European Parliament in Strasbourg on February 14th. A vote on the provisions of the Directive will take place on February 15 or 16.

We will try to defeat this very right-wing measure, which if carried will have very detrimental effects on the lives of ordinary citizens of the Union.

It is important that European citizens are made aware of this stealth legislation.

National Governments, opposition parties and right-wing MEPs must be made aware that we want a European Union of Social Justice, not a Europe based on capitalist greed.

Noel Murphy

Noel Murphy attended the Brussels conference as National Secretary of the Independent Workers' Union. His invitation was received from the office of Sinn Fein MEP Mary-Lou McDonald. Sinn Fein is the only Irish Affiliate of the GUE/NGL.

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