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The 30th Amendment And The Rule Of Law

Celia Larkin, who was formerly a political adviser of Bertie Ahern and is now a journalist, has written, in opposition to the proposed 30th Amendment to the Constitution to allow the Dail to set up Committees of Inquiry, that what is proposed: *"is a lethal concentration of power in the hands of untrained and, perhaps, in the future, partisan individuals. The potential for McCarthyism is enormous"*. And she says that, though the public is fed up with the Tribunals—

"at least the tribunal investigators were/are trained legal professionals, separate from the political system and shielded, career wise, from the impact of public opinion. They are, as the Constitution originally stipulated, independent of the political system. T.D.s and Senators are utterly dependent on that system and on public opinion... We've been screaming about the lack of relevant qualification of appointees to State boards, yet we're asked to believe that getting yourself elected to the Houses of the Oireachtas is qualification enough to investigate and pass judgment on the actions of any individual in the State?" (Sunday Independent, 23.10.11).

Who was responsible for the extravagant misconduct of the Tribunals that led to the Amendment proposal? Why, the legal professionals.

What is a legal professional? It is somebody who is trained in the trickery of the law—and law quickly becomes, of necessity, a tricky business, despite the best efforts to keep it clear—so that he can make a living at it. His expertise at this business is put up for hire. He is hired by a client to make out a case for him while another lawyer is hired by the client on the other side to make out a contrary case. And no client is ever so much in the wrong that legal expertise is not available to him for hire to make out a case that he is right.

The expertise of the lawyer is the expertise of the Sophists in Athens at the time of Socrates, who boasted naively that they could make out a good case for anything.

In a well-conducted Court action, the expertise on one side is effectively negated by expertise on the other side, so that the jury finds something relatively clear to decide on. Lawyers are indispensable to systems of adversarial law, but their function, their virtue, in that system is not to be prudent in dealing with the matter at issue, but to be biased in the service of the client that hired them. What they are capable of when left to their

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The Libyan Charade

The Libyan insurrection fought its way from one end of the country to the other in the course of six months, contesting State power with a powerfully-armed tyrannical regime. Gaddafi was the most evil tyrant since Hitler. He was immensely evil and therefore immensely powerful. Evil tyrants have demonic power—otherwise what would be the point in being evil? But the insurrection made its way systematically against this all-powerful tyranny, seizing the country from it mile

by mile, until it seized its capital and captured the tyrant.

And yet, after six months of determined revolutionary activity, in which it progressively took control of the country, it was as much a rabble at the end as it was at the beginning.

How did the revolution fail to organise itself either politically or militarily during its long, successful insurrection?

Because the three most powerful military forces in the world decided, apparently on the spur of the moment, to destroy the defences of the Libyan state

Fianna Fáil and the EU

Micheál Martin is making a hash of leading Fianna Fail. He cannot distinguish between 'spin' and substance. He made his name as one of the most loyal 'Europeans' in the land. He led the campaign for the Lisbon Treaty and used every threat, bluff, bribe and promise he could dream up to win the second Referendum.. The relationship with 'Europe' is now of crucial importance to the country so what does he now have to say?

"Martin attacks EU and blames euro for economic mess. The economic crisis can be traced back to the decision to join the euro currency, according to the Fianna Fáil leader, Micheál Martin, who criticised the lack of vision and conviction among European leaders.

"In a marked departure from the party's strongly pro-European stance, Mr Martin said Fianna Fáil would formulate proposals on the future of the European Union in the coming months." (Irish Examiner, September 13, 2011).

One would expect that any self-respecting party leader would make his case and 'formulate proposals' before announcing such a sweeping statement

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by use of massive air power, and to shepherd the casual insurrection in Benghazi across the country to Tripoli, recognising it as the legitimate Government of Libya on the way.

The internal military force of this externally-constituted Government captured the Tyrant, after the vehicle he was travelling in was hit by British and French air strikes. The Tyrant was made a prisoner-of-war, and then he was killed.

The term used in the first instance by the media was that he was killed *"extra-*

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

Forthcoming: The 1934 James Larkin Affidavit, Manus O'Riordan, Part 2
It's Not Sufficient To Be Sour, Desmond Fennell

own devices, freed from the constraints of the Courtroom where there is another set of lawyers hired to oppose them, is shown by their conduct of Tribunals.

A flock of former Attorney-Generals—8 of them—had a joint letter opposing the 30th Amendment in the *Irish Times* on 24th October. They also opposed the 29th Amendment, permitting Judges' pay to be cut, along with that of everyone else. Well, they would wouldn't they? But all the letter shows is that the trade is biased in favour of itself and that its practitioners do not tend to levitate above earthly concerns.

(The ex-Attorney Generals whose supreme concern is the rights of the ordinary citizen include Peter Sutherland who, having failed in his attempt to win a Dail seat, built a career first in Europe, then as head of the World Trade Organisation, followed by a lucrative post in the finance house, Goldman Sachs (currently under investigation for financial instruments it promoted). He has called for stringent

further public expenditure cuts in Ireland, whilst continuing to draw a Euro 50,000 pension in respect of his part in a Fine Gael-led Government. Dermot Gleeson, a very capable barrister, went on to serve as Chairman of Allied Irish Banks. Harold Whelehan was responsible for the X-Case scandal and subsequent referendums when, as President of the High Court, he prevented a suicidal teenager, who had become pregnant as a result of under-age sex, from going to England to get an abortion. Michael McDowell, of the erstwhile Progressive Democrats, did his best to scupper the Northern peace process by making statements about Sinn Fein leaders doing the Northern Bank Robbery, which he was entirely unable to substantiate. He went on to blacken the name of Martin O Muilleoir and his paper, *Daily Ireland*, on the Dept. of Justice website, and also pursued a vendetta against the Centre for Public Inquiry, which was chaired by a retired Judge, Fergus Flood, and which had Frank Connolly as an investigator. He forced the disbanding of the institution, just as it was about to

embark on an investigation of a prison McDowell was commissioning on a green-field site, outside Dublin. The other Attorneys General who signed were Patrick Connolly, David Byrne, Paul Gallagher, and Labour's John Rogers—who we are surprised to see in this company.)

These lawyers naturally say they are protecting "*the rights of individual citizens*" from encroachment by the Dail when they oppose the Amendment. Vincent Browne (IT Nov. 26) appears to be of the same opinion, but he supports it with the further argument that "*we do not have a functioning parliament*". And, in the *Sunday Business Post* (Nov.16), he warns that the parliament will become an instrument of gross abuse beyond the reach of the Courts. He puts us in mind of Lady Bracknell on "*the worst excesses of the French Revolution*".

It is true that the Dail has been weakened considerably in recent decades—in fact, since it was reduced to a mob by the panic of Jack Lynch and Liam Cosgrave in 1970. The Amendment to enable the Dail to conduct Committees of Inquiry is necessary because, when the Dail tried to investigate the conduct of the Guards in connection with the Abbeylara affair, the Guards brought a legal action asserting that the Dail did not have the Constitutional authority to do this and the Courts upheld the assertion. And of course the more power is taken from the Dail, the less the Dail will be able to function as a parliament.

The expectation that there will be better government if the Dail is weakened in the interest of separation of the powers of state and maintenance of 'the rule of law' is cockeyed.

One of the great scandals of recent years, the conduct of the Industrial Schools etc., was more the business of the law than of the Dail. But the law, though "*shielded from the impact of public opinion*", did not deal with it.

As to the danger of "*McCarthyism*", that is the cry of ignorant hysteria. The US gets as close as possible to a thorough separation of powers and a rule of law, but that is where McCarthyism happened. And McCarthyism had the serious business of clearing up the Capitalist/Communist ideological confusion that had come about in the catastrophic World War brought about by the British Empire.

The "*rule of law*" is a misleading figure of speech. It was literally intended in England in the 1620s, but it was found that

the law could not rule, even when it was supposed to be something unchangeable passed on from time immemorial. It was Parliament that ruled, or elected an Executive out of itself to rule. And then it began to invent new laws at an ever-increasing rate at the behest of the Executive.

If we had something like the Laws of the Medes and the Persians—unalterable—perhaps something like a literal rule of law would be possible. But what we have is a great tangle of new laws, produced by frenzied law-making by a Legislature whose Executive authority has been obstructed by the Judges under the doctrine of progressive legal activism which they adopted a generation ago.

Modern states cannot be governed within a closed system of responsibilities, in which each element is controlled by the other elements. Some power of arbitrary action, to deal with the emergencies thrown up by a world in flux, is necessary. This cannot lie with the Judges—who failed over the generations even to apply existing law to Industrial Schools etc. It can only lie with the Legislature/Executive. However poor that is, it is what we have got. And the purpose of the Amendment was to reduce the obstructive power of an undistinguished and greedy Judiciary—which put the country to the cost of another referendum by declaring that the reduction of their salaries as a contribution to sorting out the financial crisis was in breach of the Constitution.

It matters little who is President—unless advantage is taken of a weak Dail to launch Presidential Activism to accompany Judicial Activism. But it could matter a lot that the electorate has ratified the Judicial disempowerment of the Dail.

Referendum Results

Houses Of Oireachtas Inquiries

In a 55.94% poll, 53.34% voted against increasing the powers of the Oireachtas, while 46.66% voted in favour of doing so.

Judges Remuneration

In a 55.96% poll, 79.74% agreed that Judges' pay could be cut in line with that of other public servants, while 20.26% voted No.

The Presidency And Sinn Fein

I enjoyed the October issue of the *Irish Political Review* very much, but I would like to do a bit of carping, mainly about Jack Lane's article on the presidential election in the Republic. By the time this letter sees the light of day presumably we'll know who was first to cross the finish line, and I have a feeling it won't be Martin McGuinness.

My carping might be classed as coming from a "*liberal Unionist*" perspective, though I have yet to meet any of the people of that ilk listed by Brendan Clifford as among Jeffrey Dudgeon's backers; and I've met Jeff Dudgeon twice at most. However, if the distinguishing feature of the genus is a strange antipathy for the DUP and Sinn Fein, especially in coalition, then I guess I qualify.

Anyway, I first want to note in passing Jack's comment that "*equality of treatment in Northern Ireland took a quarter of century of war to achieve and it would not have happened otherwise*". Presumably the quarter century is the period 1969 to 1994. In my youth I was persuaded by the force of the Athol Street argument that all of us here were unequal, but it seems now that some were more unequal than others. This lack of equality isn't defined at all, and I would like to know more about this. I'm not at all sure that whatever advance was made was worth the 25 plus years of murder and mayhem, during which the IRA killed more Catholics than Protestants, not that the killing of Protestants was in some way all right. Martin recently singled out some IRA activities as "*atrocious*". He never did that before, but then he never had to because he was catapulted into power in Northern Ireland without having to win an election. So it was a famous victory by the Provos but they did a lot of atrocious things along the way, even according to their former Derry commander.

The undefined thing is then followed by the non-falsifiable statement that "*it would not have happened otherwise*".

It's remarkable to me how the astute analysts of *Irish Political Review*, who can spot humbug half a mile away, suddenly come over all dewy-eyed when they survey the Sinn Fein bosses. McGuinness is a clever political operator, just like Paisley was, and Tony Blair, and they all made up the truth as they went along. But since we're on the subject of McGuinness, let's just ask him: "*Mr. McGuinness, what did you do in the war?*"

Martin's frank answer is that he left the IRA in 1974—some kind of voluntary redundancy package maybe. No doubt he then spent his time building up his stamp collection, or going for bracing country walks, before emerging from the wilderness to lead his people. I suppose this is one of those polite constitutional fictions, beloved of Bagehot, without which life can't go on. I don't think anybody is expected to believe it. His name is McGuinness, not Macavity.

What other possibilities are there? Well, it may be reasonable to believe that Martin maintained his membership and his overriding influence, and that not a dog barked in Derry but he knew about it. In fact all the evidence points that way. If Martin chooses not to look into his past life that's his choice. But does he have to swoon and get out the smelling salts every time somebody asks him about it, most recently Miriam O'Callaghan, that well-known Unionist? If you're in politics you have to be able to take the flak as well as dish it out. In my experience those who are best at dishing it out are remarkably sensitive souls when the tables are turned on them. But those people shouldn't be in politics. Who gave Martin McGuinness and the Provos an exemption from moral scrutiny? I admire the *Irish Political Review* for the way it has followed up all the misinformation about events such as Coolacree and Kilmichael, even though they happened ninety years ago. It's important that the historical record be put right. And it's important that Martin shouldn't fool the electorate in the Republic with the idea that he was engaged in some kind of liberation struggle.

He keeps remarking that he's soon going to be blamed for the 1916 Rising, which is a very peculiar thing to say, given that this was the founding act of the state which he hopes to preside over. Surely he'd like to get the credit for that, not the blame. The 1916 rebels weren't engaged in gangsterism or sectarian murder.

But there's another possibility: it's possible that Martin continued his involvement at the highest (if that's the word) level in the IRA command structure, but as an agent of the British state. Plenty of old Republicans maintain this was so, and the suspicions have been fuelled by revelations about the murder of Frank Hegarty in 1986. Could it be that McGuinness and O'Callaghan are, as Le Carre would put it, horses from the same stable?

By the late 1980s the IRA had been permeated by British Intelligence. Behind a façade of decent incompetence the British State is ruthless and surprisingly competent in its military operations. Arguably war is the only thing the British do well. So, while the RUC and the UDR were the cannon fodder used to soak up the punishment, the IRA was being quietly turned and neutralized. The same thing happened with the Loyalist paramilitaries. The exposure of Denis Donaldson as a British agent showed how far the rot had gone, and it's probable that it went further.

None of us knew it at the time, but the 1994 ceasefire wasn't a magnanimous gesture at all but a desperate manoeuvre by a defeated organisation. The IRA lost the war, its representatives now sit in a "jobs for the boys" pork barrel partitionist assembly. No substantial Republican aim has been achieved. Was it for this that the volunteers risked their lives and that their victims paid with theirs?

Stephen Richards

FF And The EU

continued

that contradicts all his previous policies on such an important tissue. It clearly shows that he is typical of Irish EUophiles—unthinking, uncritical, mindless support for 'Europe' when the going is good and a similarly-based critique when the going gets rough. The only consistency remains the mindlessness.

His criticisms were wide ranging: *"We are deeply concerned about the lack of leadership at European Union level"*, he said at his party's annual think-in, taking place in Tallaght in Dublin.

He criticised the *"piecemeal approach"* to the economic crisis by European leaders and the *"lack of conviction from the centre of Europe"*.

Mr. Martin also launched a stinging attack on the European Central Bank (ECB) *"for enforcing interest-rate hikes when they did not need to, and he said the Government accepted its decisions without any debate"* (ibid.)

But despite all this we have to wait for him *"to formulate proposals"*! Another one of his famous Reports is probably commissioned. Except that he will have to write this one himself. His remarks are reminiscent of Kenny's rant to the gallery against the Vatican, a sudden new departure by the leader of the traditionally most pious Catholic party.

Mr. Martin is fond of making references to de Valera and the founding of Fianna Fail in 1926, suggesting that he has a similar task. But, in his book on the history of Fianna Fail in Cork, he explained that he never consulted de Valera's papers when writing his book on Fianna Fail! I wonder if he has done so since? That admission was a good indication of how seriously he should be taken as a historian.

De Valera did have a job to do in 1926 and before he presented his case to the public he developed policies and a clear overall theme. The main theme was that the country was not independent until the imposed, so-called 'Treaty' was removed. The main similarity with today is the country's relationship with the EU. We have a series of Treaties with it. But these were not imposed but adopted by popular referendum, and it is disgraceful that a potential Taoiseach takes up such a flippant demagogic attitude to such things with no alternative proposals in sight. Running with the hare and running with the hounds is not an inspiring spectacle.

It is clear that the EU has changed and is radically different from what we joined 40 years ago. Then, there was the concept of creating a new European polity that would eventually transcend national differences. The crucial mechanism was the European Commission, which treated all Member States as equally valid constituent elements that made Europe what it is and which all would have an equally valid moral contribution to make to the values of the new Europe. Economic size and success were not the criteria for that new Europe. The founders were not consumed by economic determinism—they had more fundamental things in mind. They knew what was primary. They assumed quite rightly that this new experiment needed protection and careful political cultivation.

This whole concept came under attack from Thatcherite Britain and the political leadership of Europe succumbed. The Commission was the main target and it got the *coup de grace* from Pat Cox and the European liberals about a decade ago. It is now there in form, but not in substance.

Ireland has to have a realistic relationship with European countries as a matter of course. The one we had for 40 years is redundant. There has to be one based on nation states working together as and when necessary. The most critical current issue is securing the Euro. Being an economic issue, this is naturally being determined by the strongest economic states. It is being made subject to inter-Governmental arrangements and the EU is a sideshow and provides some window dressing.

In one of his final appearances as ECB President, Jean-Claude Trichet stressed that the ECB would not be the lender of last resort for the Eurozone, saying, *"It is their {European governments'} responsibility, individually and collectively, to ensure financial stability...i fit is not done by governments it will not be credible."*

There was also a good description recently about how Europe actually works today:

"We saw the alliance in its finery again in July, the night before the euro zone summit at which the second Greek bailout was agreed. Sarkozy went to Berlin for dinner with the chancellor. At about 10pm, European Central Bank chief Jean-Claude Trichet arrived in from Frankfurt, just in time for dessert. At about midnight they phoned Van Rompuy back in Brussels with the compromise that broke months of deadlock. It fell to him to deliver the approval of all the other leaders, which he duly did. The arrangement fell flat, however, hence the push now for a new solution to the emergency" (Irish Times, 4 Oct.).

Note the missing element in all this—the Commission. It does not make an appearance and is therefore irrelevant and therefore the EU is irrelevant.

This is the reality that Martin and Fianna Fail must relate to and develop a programme to deal with. It is not rocket science, and not exactly a new idea, to work out how we can have a new inter-Governmental relationship with our European neighbours to deal with issues to our mutual benefit, such as securing the Euro.

The first requirement is that we recognise the corpse in our midst and give it decent burial with a nice headstone, EU (1956—2011), RIP.

The Irish dogs that are not barking—when needed

Now is the time for all true EUophiles to rally to the cause of the Euro. And to that end a number of Very Important People across the EU sent a letter on 11th October to all Governments, asking them to get a move on towards more integration to save the Euro. Amazingly there was no Irish signatory. No Sutherland, Cox, Halligan, Laffan or any other from the droves who got the Lisbon Treaty referendum passed by their superhuman efforts. Surely they think themselves important enough to be included and have done as much work for the Euro as the 19 UK signatories! At least they are in the currency. Could it be that the VIPs who signed did not bother to ask any of them? Did they not consider them worth the trouble of asking? Oh dear, oh dear!

To be fair, there is a sort of Irish signatory, Chris Haskins, or Baron Haskins, of Skidby, to give him full title. Lord Haskins has spent most of his adult life in Britain and was ennobled a decade ago by the Government of Tony Blair, to whom he was very close. (He reminds me of Niall Toibín explaining how he is something of a Kerryman being 'half-Kerry' but does not know which half.)

Maybe it is dawning on our EUophiles that they are flogging a dead EU horse—that another form of political alignment is emerging, a hard-headed inter-Governmental one. They have nothing to say about it because it will not be prone to illusions, hype, spoofing and chicanery and without those qualities our EUophiles are lost.

Jack Lane·

Libyan Charade

continued

judicially" by the Government recognised as legitimate by France, Britain and the US. Did this mean that he was murdered? Or can there be killing which is done neither as an incident in the confusion of war nor pursuant to a trial at law, and yet is not murder. "*Killing no murder*" was an anti-Catholic slogan of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland at one time. Roman casuistry was accused of establishing for its Irish adherents the moral position that it was possible to kill without the authority of law and yet not be guilty of murder.

This distinction between "*extra-judicial killing*" and murder was brought up during the Presidential election campaign by the Anti-Sinn Fein media—which is pretty well all of it. It was put to Martin Mc Guinness that he was a murderer. He distinguished between killing in war and murder. Of course the virtuous media could not recognise the distinction in this particular context, but virtue was a bit disconcerted when McGuinness pointed out that the Bloody Sunday killings in Derry were not described as murders, even after they were admitted to have been illegitimate and the Prime Minister went to Derry to make a kind of apology for them. (And about 15 years ago, while the War was still on, McGuinness gave Noel Thompson of Northern television a bad time by trying to get him to explain why he was describing certain killings by unknown persons in unknown circumstances as murder, while refusing to describe the Bloody Sunday killings by known people in known circumstances as murders.)

On the day Gaddafi was captured and killed, and the killing was assumed to have been done by the Government recognised by Britain, the British Foreign Secretary—who, along with the French, had played the main part in destroying the Libyan State—went on television to say that this killing of a prisoner-of-war was OK with him: "*We don't approve of extra-judicial killings. At the same time we're not going to mourn him*" (Channel 4 News, 20th Nov.).

However, there was moral squeamishness in other quarters, and a couple of days later the nominal commander of the Army of the make-believe Government was brought on the British media to say that in reality there was no effective command, only a mob, and that there was no way of knowing how the killing was done.

Then there was a day when the British media claimed that the Tyrant, the bully, came to a fitting end, whinging and pleading for mercy. But then it turned out that what had been presented as evidence of Gaddafi begging for mercy was actually evidence of him being tormented and sexually assaulted by a mob and ending his life with as much dignity as was possible in such circumstances.

The distinction between a disorderly mob acting in a mood of passion and a political force capable of conducting an orderly State was one that was carefully maintained by the rulers of European states in the course of their development. That distinction has now been cast aside, and a mob acting in the grip of passion has been made to appear to overthrow a State by these Western Powers who bombed the apparatus of the Libyan State to smithereens for it.

The mob was recognised as the legitimate democratic Government of Libya before it had shown any capacity for Government. And the Gaddafi Government was declared to be entirely unrepresentative of the people of Libya, maintained by torture and corruption, and supported only by a handful of people. And yet that Government defended itself against the regime being put in place by NATO for more than six months, despite intensive NATO bombing the whole time. And the 'democratic revolution' conducted by NATO culminated in scenes reminiscent of the Gordon Riots—the Anti-Catholic riots that erupted in London shortly before the French Revolution ushered in the democratic era, and which were used as a reason for being sceptical about the possibility of establishing orderly government on a democratic basis, particularly if the action of mobs has anything to do with it.

The *Irish Times* once shared that scepticism about the potential of an enthusiastic populace to conduct a Government, and therefore it supported British military action against the Irish electorate when it voted for independence. But now it supports mob action as an agency of democracy, and it regaled its superior readers with a coloured front-page photo of the Tyrant who had been done to death in inimitable ways by this rampant democracy of the mob. Killiney wanted to see it.

France and Britain backed the Benghazi insurrection on the spur of the moment, expecting it to run like wildfire through Libya. They had been on close terms with the Gaddafi regime up to that moment, but

they decided to back a winner against him. When the winner showed signs of being a damp squib, they decided to make the insurrection win despite itself. They made war on the Libyan State when it became evident that it would not collapse before an expression of the popular will—and that indeed there wasn't any popular will, only a series of fragmentary wills. Having backed the revolution, they had to make it happen in order to demonstrate their power.

When NATO declared war on the Gaddafi regime it was doomed. All that is remarkable about the NATO victory is not that it happened, but how long it took to happen.

It does not seem that the war was launched because of a pressing need for control of Libyan oil, but no doubt Libyan oil was a consideration in the spur-of-the-moment decision to make war.

Moreover, up to the present, oil has been generally priced in dollars, which continues to lose value and has an uncertain future. It is said that Gaddafi had been amassing gold, as backing for a gold-based currency which was to be launched as an alternative means of payment for oil. Paper money and finance are part of the West's bag of tricks for robbing the rest of the world. It will not easily brook interference with such invisible earnings.

NATO was set up 60 years ago as a defensive force. When it won the Cold War 20 years ago, it became an aggressive force. Having nothing left to defend against, it became expansionist. It was in the position of having to make war or wither. Good People will never be without reasons for making war. They make sure that they have ideals for the world that the world necessarily falls short of. War is certain. All that is in doubt is the timing of the action against each of the multitude of enemies that it raises against itself in its drive for world dominance. One of Prime Minister Blair's last messages to his people was to inform them that Britain was a war-fighting state. And the present Foreign Secretary has said that Britain must remain capable of Expeditionary Warfare. And yet it is being seriously proposed that Ireland (which becomes more squeamishly pacifist by the year in its own affairs, and now can hardly bear the thought that it actually defended itself in arms against Britain when Britain would not concede independence to a mere popular vote) should join the British Commonwealth and learn to see things in the British way.

Gaddafi was a Tyrant. The world is full of Tyrants. Why do people put up with Tyrants? Saint Fergal O'Keane of the

BBC says it is because of Corruption. He sniffs out Corruption everywhere and it explains everything to the satisfaction of his audience.

The world was thrown into flux by the Great War. In the midst of that War the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, said: "*The whole state of society is more or less a molten mass and you can stamp upon that molten mass almost anything as long as you do it with firmness and determination*".

But Ameranglia is never satisfied for long with the shapes it stamps on the world. They soon need to be changed so that Ameranglian dominance might be maintained and enhanced. Democracy has nothing to do with it. Democracies have been knocked down as well as Tyrannies. The important thing is that the world must be kept on the hop by Ameranglia. *Irish Times* columnist, John Waters, says that the world needs to have its ass kicked regularly. Is it any wonder that a world that gets kicked around by the Great Powers, and has to extemporise political forms for itself under conditions of extreme insecurity, has so many Tyrannies in it?

Amidst all the wild democratic rhetoric of NATO's war propaganda, the bedrock of fact in the indictment of Gaddafi is that he collaborated actively with the West in the war against 'Islamist' terrorism. This left him without friends in the Muslim world and secured regional Middle Eastern support for NATO in its war on him—except of course from Israel which, for all its 'democratic' ballyhoo, knows very well that life would become extremely difficult for it if the popular sentiment of the Muslim world determined its politics.

Support of the Arab League was presented as a crucial element legitimising the NATO war. If the UN was conducted in accordance with its original pretensions, the views of states in a region would certainly be a very important factor in deciding the legitimacy of military action in the region. But twenty years ago, when the Arab League wanted to mediate in the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait—which had led to war when the US Ambassador gave the green light to Saddam for direct action against Kuwait—the Arab voice was brushed aside. The USA, having brought about the invasion of Kuwait by its hegemonic nod and wink to Baghdad, then decided to use that invasion as a moral reason for destroying the regime that it had helped to put in place in Iraq, and had supported when it made war on Iran to stop the spread of the Islamic revolution.

The opinion of Middle Eastern states counts for everything or nothing, depending on what suit suits Ameranglian interests. (Essentially, of course, it counts for nothing as the Jewish State was imposed on the region by the UN in defiance of the strongly expressed opposition of every Government of the region.)

The only force which has shown itself able to resist manipulation by the West is Islamism, which is not only a cohesive social force but provides an ideology which enables societies to retain their bearings and pursue a degree of independent action. It can therefore be expected that, as the West continues to domineer and exploit traditional societies, they will be increasingly driven into embracing the means of maintaining a degree of control over their life.

Gaddafi's most diabolical act was that he committed torture for us. There was rendition of Islamists to Libya, as abandoned British Tripoli Embassy documents confirm. In all the media propaganda it was not seriously pretended that much of the torturing was not done for us.

The last Labour Foreign Minister in Britain, David Milliband, danced around the issue of torture. In one television interview he denied absolutely that Britain had anything to do with torture. All that it ever authorised was cruel and unusual punishment. It almost makes one want to praise the US for calling the spade a spade. But, whether one does so or not, it is the case that the US, the leading democracy, whose concern for the world makes it active in every part of it that it can reach, has in actual fact restored torture to the political resources of democracy.

In the television interview quoted above, the British Foreign Secretary was asked if the Anti-Tyrant rhetoric of the war on Libya meant that in future Britain would not be having close relations with Tyrants. He indicated that this would not be the case, because "*One Tyrant varies enormously from another one*".

That was almost honest. But the variability is not in the quality of the Tyranny, but in the shifting interests of the Western Great Powers in the flux of world affairs that they have brought about and are determined to continue.

The Syrian Government has now been declared to be no longer legitimate and has been told that it must bow to the rebellions that are going in parts of the country. If it did so, or if NATO attempts to do in Syria what it has done in Libya, the outcome would certainly be civil war.

When the Ottoman State (in which the various peoples in the Middle East co-existed without war) was destroyed by Britain and France in the Great War, half a dozen new states were set up by Imperial decree, and were declared to be nation-states, though they had no prior nationalism. Each consisted of several peoples who, if required to undergo nationalist development, would be hostile to each other.

The Imperial intention was that Britain and France would control these 'nation-states', whose lack of internal national cohesion would prevent them from achieving substantial independence. But these Empires then undermined themselves by launching the Second World War, and those states had to try to function as the nation-states that they were formally. This could not be done in the mode of representative government, because of the lack of national cohesion amongst the peoples. Those states could only be functional if their Governments acted arbitrarily to bring about a sense of nationality appropriate to the form of the state, relegating the traditional modes of communal existence to a secondary position, while drawing elements from those traditional communities into its operations.

It seems that the Iraqi tyranny had made considerable headway in this development, when US/UK decided to destroy it. The invading forces stirred up the traditional fault lines in Iraqi society and in a short while had a fearsome civil war raging there. But that was OK, because the Tyranny that gave national cohesion to Iraq had been brought down. And a Junior Minister in the former British Government, Labour's Hilary Benn, said straight out that the Iraqi people had been given their freedom and it was up to them what they did with it.

The object now is to dissolve the Syrian state into a condition of religious civil war. And, as in Iraq, the cause of the religious war will not be the Tyranny, but the spurious democracy of the Western Great Powers, whose high ideals are switched on and off as the expediency of the moment requires.

Two New Pamphlets

The Vindication Of Jack James Larkin Jones, Brigadista And Union Man, In Refutation Of The British Intelligence Campaign Of Character Assassination by Manus O'Riordan. 40pp (A4). €9, £6.

The Marriage Of Mary Ascension, A Millstreet Love Story by George Egerton. 32pp. €6, £5

The War That Made The Peace

"Most tellingly, the IRA greeted the birth of the 1974 power-sharing executive, the fore-runner of today's devolved Stormont government, with a vow to destroy it. Its assassins and bombers were effective, in conjunction with loyalist efforts, in bringing it down. Sinn Fein/IRA is now willing to settle for the power-sharing that was first conceded in 1974. Even in its own terms, therefore, every one of the war's victims after that date died in vain" (Dermot Meleady, letter to *Irish Independent*, October 16).

Meleady's letter was written in support of a "censure" by Eoghan Harris on "myth-makers" who have "peddled a narrative of that vicious and futile war as an honourable civil rights struggle". Those myth-makers, says Meleady, take advantage of "popular amnesia" and an age group too young to remember, in order to—

"airbrush out the real successes of the non-violent civil rights movement. Chronology is crucial here. The original civil rights demands had been won before the IRA campaign began".

I don't recall ever meeting Dermot Meleady. I believe he was a member of the Dublin Branch of BICO forty years ago and wrote something on the two nations. I was then living in West Belfast, in a street that was being blown apart by the War, and campaigning against the Republican resort to war as persuasively as I could. And I was being denounced for it by Eoghan Harris, who was then scheming for "Anti-Imperialist War", drawing some friends of mine into his mad scheme and wasting their lives.

When I first read Heidegger's *Being And Time*, I thought it was much ado about nothing. Philosophically I have always been a naive realist, however much I flirted with Kant and Spinoza and Hegel and Marx. To the naive realist it is obvious that Being is not timeless, but exists in real time in actual situations and conjunctures. However I came to realise that higher education often generates a transcendental mentality in which Time evaporates and the reality of situations as experienced by those who live in them—as distinct from peering out at them through the windows of University libraries—cannot be grasped.

The actuality of life in Catholic West Belfast today is utterly different from what

it was in 1974, not to mention 1970. The experience of life is different. There is now a very substantial sense of something achieved by strenuous effort—not something conferred by authority which authority might withdraw again.

The Sunningdale Power-Sharing Executive was an attempt to address the undemocratic nature of the governing institutions in Northern Ireland. It would not have been proposed by Britain, or reluctantly accepted by Unionists, but for the years of IRA warfare preceding it—which had already succeeded in demolishing devolved government in Northern Ireland.

The 1974 arrangement was the work of William Whitelaw, who was the last genuine remnant of the old British ruling class. By means of an extraordinarily skilful display of persistent obtuseness he brought hostile elements together in a facade of settlement that might possibly have worked under his close supervision, but that fell apart very quickly when the Tory Government fell early in 1974. The working of 'Sunningdale' then depended on the political horse sense of the parties to it—SDLP, Faulkner Unionists and the Dublin Coalition. And on the new Secretary of State, Merlyn Rees, a Labour United Irelander who encouraged SDLP fantasy, and hadn't a clue about the Northern Ireland situation. Dublin, the SDLP and Whitehall collaborated in wrecking it.

I supported Sunningdale in a weekly publication, and from the change of Westminster Government I tried to persuade the SDLP that, in the light of a Court pleading by the Dublin Government re-asserting the Sovereignty claim over the Six Counties (which the Unionists believed to have been abrogated in the Agreement) the Power-Sharing devolved Government could only be saved by deferring the establishment of the Council of Ireland. The SDLP, overcome by hubris, and encouraged by the Secretary of State and the Dublin Coalition, refused to negotiate on the issue of the Council.

When a Unionist strike was called, demanding that either the Council should be deferred or an election be held to determine whether the Agreement had Unionist support in the light of the Dublin Court pleading, the SDLP declared that it was a Fascist insurrection and demanded its suppression by force.

This made the position of the Faulkner Unionists impossible. Faulkner pulled out of the devolved Government. The SDLP said it would carry on the Government without the Unionists. And the Secretary of State, whose influence had been mischievous throughout, scrapped the whole thing.

I do not recall any Provo action as having had a particular influence on the life cycle of Sunningdale. During the Strike against the Council of Ireland the main terrorist event was the Dublin/Monaghan Bombing, but nobody took that for a Provo action, and there now seems to be a consensus that it was not merely a Protestant Loyalist action, but a British action.

Sunningdale came to grief within the narrow political sphere, through the actions of the "constitutional" politicians.

Of course the Provos did not call off their War just because Whitelaw got various people to sign a document in the hot-house atmosphere of Sunningdale. It would not, in the circumstances, have made much sense for them to have done so. The War was the only reason why there was a Sunningdale Agreement. Britain is a militarist State and is not morally disabled by shock in the presence of warfare. The fact that war had been sustained against it for three years was the reason for the Sunningdale arrangement. The SDLP was then taken to be a substitute for the IRA, and it was supposed that giving it a prominent part in devolved government in defiance of substantial Unionist opinion would communicate a sense to the Catholic community that there had been a fundamental change in its favour and that the war would wind down as a consequence.

There is no knowing whether something like that would have happened if Sunningdale had been made a go of. It was effectively derailed within two months by the change of Government at Westminster and the Dublin Court pleading.

I assume that Drs. O'Brien and FitzGerald hoped to fudge the Sovereignty issue when agreeing the Sunningdale document. But nothing relating to the North was fudgeable then. If Kevin Boland had not taken legal action against Sunningdale as being in breach of Articles 2 & 3 of the Constitution, the issue would have come out in some other way. And, if O'Brien and FitzGerald did not think they could have withdrawn the Sovereignty claim by referendum, then they should not have pressed for the establishment of the Council of Ireland.

Meleady's statement that "*Its [the IRA's] assassins and bombers were effective, in conjunction with loyalist efforts, in bringing it [Sunningdale] down*" is an expression of feeling, unconstrained by thought. He hates the fact that there was a War in the North, and that those who fought the War are now constitutional statesmen in the North, and it puts him in a passion, which darkens the understanding. Maybe it would be a poor outlook for the human race if in private life passion did not darken the understanding, but in public affairs a degree of dispassionate understanding is required.

I recall in mid-May 1974, when the British Government seemed determined at all costs to break a Strike which had been called on what seemed to me to be a sound democratic issue, and when the intensification of the Strike threatened to swamp central Belfast with sewage, that that event was looked forward to in the Catholic community with a kind of satisfaction. I suppose it could be called *Schadenfreude*: If the Protestants wanted to wreck their own city, let them—what has it do do with us? Such an attitude is unimaginable today. The Catholic community is now very much at home in Belfast. There is a Sinn Fein Mayor for the first time ever. It is a fact of experience that it was through the War that they made themselves at home there.

One might abstract from the course of actual events the notion that the present condition of things might have come about without that course of events—that the present arrangement of things has some cause beyond the course of events through which it seemed to come about: that it was transcendently determined. I am not in a position to refute that. It might be that the world is an illusion, but it is at least the illusion that we live in, and it has its consistency. and, in coping with it, I am earthbound and am unable to levitate beyond the opening sentence of Kant's *Critique*:

"In whatever mode, or by whatever means, our knowledge may relate to objects, it is at least quite clear, that the only manner in which it immediately relates to them, is by means of an intuition."

"*The original civil rights demands had been won before the IRA campaign began*", Meleady says. It is something I have often said myself. But where does that leave us?

It leaves us with a War without a sufficient cause.

Of course there *was* a War without a

sufficient cause—Eoghan Harris's War, launched on the ground of the most up-to-date Marxist-Leninist ideology, but without any practical relevance to the social reality of the North. The Harris War lasted a couple of years and its military actions amounted to a handful of atrocities—of physical force events conducted in a socio-political vacuum.

The other War, the one that Harris denounced, lasted for more than a quarter of a century. It was sustained despite all the power and talent that Britain could bring to bear against it. And it was brought to an end by a drastic constitutional reform under which the "*assassins and bombers*" became statesmen.

It seems to me that that could have happened only because the civil rights demands of 1968-9, which were met before the War was launched, were utterly inadequate to the requirements of the Northern situation.

This is not a view of hindsight. I took no part in the civil rights movement. I was asked to by one of its r-r-r-revolutionary leaders and refused—and a garbled version of my refusal found its way into the police files.

It was explained to me that the intense agitation for puny civil demands was a device to open the situation for revolution, which it would do by destroying the cohesion of the Unionist ruling class. Some Unionists would want to concede the demand as innocuous, others would refuse out of sheer bigotry, and others would see the Civil Rights' Association as the catspaw of a revolutionary movement and come down hard on it. And the world press, to which the revolutionaries had considerable access, would be shocked by the Unionist response to such a slight reform demand.

And what then? I did not know a lot about Northern Ireland at the time, but I saw from the evidence of my own eyes that the Ulster Protestants had the characteristics of what I understood to be a national community, and it seemed obvious that what all that revolutionary cleverness would lead to was a conflict of nationalities, in which there was no socialist revolutionary potential. So I refused to play.

What I saw in the situation was what was in it. It required no great astuteness or insight to see what was glaringly obvious. But the enthusiasts of revolutionary ideology—of scientific socialism no less than any other—operated with solipistical epistemologies which told them that the reality was what they wished it to be, that what they believed was true, that what

seemed to be the obvious facts of a situation was not what was there, and that the actuality of the situation lay beyond the delusion of the obvious.

Whose business was it, of those who were active in the Civil Rights' agitation, and who are still with us, to see that the agitation resulted in a settlement when its demands were met? Why, Eoghan Harris—the Harris that Meleady writes in support of! But this present Harris did something very different from trying to settle the situation then. When Unionism as a governing system was in disarray, and the Civil Rights demands were met, he launched revolutionary war for a fantasy object.

I am not suggesting that a settlement might have been made on the basis of the concession of the trivial Civil Rights demands. I know very well that it couldn't.

The agitation did its work as a detonator to such effect that the governing structure went into flux. As it was going into flux, I published the Two Nations view as a factual observation. If it had been taken up by Jack Lynch, perhaps a different course of development would have followed. But it was rejected instantly by Lynch and by all political parties and figures in the South, and it was re-asserted that the Ulster Protestants were part of the Irish nation and were in principle subject to Irish sovereignty.

Rapprochement on the basis of recognition of difference—which was what I suggested—was off the agenda. The North was on its own after the 1970 Arms Trial. And saying there were two nations was stating a fact rather than a policy. The policy I proposed was the incorporation of the North into the political system of the state of which it was part and in which it was going to remain for a long time. Northern Ireland was not itself a State. Its exclusion from the democratic political life of the state was undemocratic—I have never seen that statement rebutted. And its inclusion in the democratic politics of the multi-national British state would at least raise the possibility of Six County communal conflict being eased through participation in the political life of the state.

I don't know if Meleady ever commented on the CLR/CEC agitation, which for a number of years exerted considerable pressure on the British parties on that matter. Harris rejected that approach—and Stickey gunmen liked to threaten its advocates with shooting.

If a settlement within British democracy was unacceptable, and if the War which arose naturally out of the realities of the Northern situation was an abomination,

what was it that should have been attempted?

Conor Cruise O'Brien's view in his later years, as far as I could grasp it, was that the Catholic community should be driven back into resentful obedience within an undemocratic system. But, after August 1969, that was fantasy.

It was quite common in Belfast, before the Provos made their settlement, to find people condemning both the Provo approach and the CLR approach. I did not see what else was possible in realistic terms, but there was a kind of convoluted nationalist realism that was genuinely horrified by the War, but saw Catholic participation in the democratic politics of the British state as lethal to the united Ireland ideal. The War worked out as the lesser evil, but one did not need to acknowledge it as such.

(The Unionists opposed integration into the democracy of the state because their British political sense had atrophied during their glorious half-century, and they were certain that in British politics the Papists would outwit them.)

Mealey's vehement condemnation of the Provos for having made war, so long after they have brought that war to a constitutional end in a settlement that is widely acceptable, at least for the time being, suggests that he must have advocated some course of action in the Northern situation. I do not know that he ever supported the attempt to bring the North within the democracy of the state, and I'm sure I would have heard if he did. It would be interesting to know what he did advocate.

There might well be some great flaw in the analysis that the North was excluded from the democracy of the state of which it was part. I would be very grateful if it was shown to me.

I did not focus on the exclusion from democracy as a moral issue. What I saw as significant was not democracy as a kind of moral entity, but democracy as a political mechanism of an all-absorbing kind, which sucks everything into the gravitational field of party conflict, and largely subverts other forms of social conflict. The British democratic system does this more effectively than any other I know of, and I took it that the structural cause of the persistence of communal conflict in the North generation after generation was exclusion from it.

The context of politics during the half century of peace was communal conflict. This led to war when the local ruling body went berserk. The War led to organisation

of the subordinate government into a form which effectively cancels out the minority status of the minority. The minority runs its own bits of the subordinate government without a by-your-leave to the majority, and that makes the system functional. Nothing like it was contemplated in 1974. And I do not think anything like it would have come about but for the War.

At least as important as the formal change is the fact that it was brought about through war. We are increasingly told that Southern society was changed for the worse by refusing to take part in the World War. I don't think it was, but that seems to be the view of top people in the South now.

The denigration of the War of Independence and the exalting of the 1st World War, while questions about what it was for are impatiently brushed aside, suggests that respectable people are now coming to

regard war as a good thing in itself—if it is big enough: "*For wrong is right when wrong is greatly wrought*".

And yet there is a refusal to see that the Northern Catholic community changed itself very much for the better by fighting its own war, which was a pretty big war, and fitted itself for a constructive peace—a thing which I know from direct experience that it was not fit for in 1974.

The fact that the War did not bring about a united Ireland is a miserable debating point. It was the experience of life in the perverse Northern Ireland variant of the British state that led to an Army forming itself in the Winter of 1969-70 in the North, and launching a war which it did not let up on until an acceptable variant of the state was brought about, and the pretence of Northern Ireland being a democracy was dropped.

Brendan Clifford

Sinn Féin and Fianna Fáil

In last month's editorial it was asked: "*Is Sinn Féin set to assume the leadership of Irish Republicanism?*"

On the evidence of the Presidential Election and Dublin West by election the answer to that question must be no. In terms of political achievement, Martin McGuinness stood well above all of the other candidates and yet he finished third with less than 14% of the vote. All he did was retain the Sinn Féin core vote as well as winning votes that would otherwise have gone to the United Left Alliance.

A statesman is someone who can rise above the routine political instincts of his supporters in order to lead them in an unexpected direction which advances their interests. By this demanding measure McGuinness's achievements in the North must qualify as statesmanship. But in the South he failed lamentably in the Presidential election.

McGuinness can legitimately claim that the South has not come to terms with what has happened in the North in the last 40 years. On the *Frontline* debate he tellingly made the point that in 1969 Jack Lynch's Government promised to aid the nationalist population and then stood idly by. As a consequence the nationalist population was left to its own devices and therefore the moral indignation of the *bien pensant* media intellectuals in the South is contemptible. For a brief period in the campaign Sean Gallagher showed that he was worthy of Presidential Office when he refused to "politicise grief". Unfortun-

ately, for him, he buckled under the ferocious media pressure of the final week.

The opportunities opened up by the entry of the Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland were squandered by McGuinness himself. The *Frontline* debate will not be remembered for McGuinness's reference to the Northern conflict but the squalid dispute between himself and Sean Gallagher in which neither man emerged with much credit. Gallagher lost the election, not because of his associations with Fianna Fáil, but because he denied a specific aspect (fundraising) of them. That is not much of a consolation for Sinn Féin.

Certainly, Martin McGuinness had a difficulty in this campaign. The British Government has not passed an Act of Oblivion in which the actions of the IRA would be immune from prosecution. That is understood instinctively by a Northern electorate, but not so in the South. The way McGuinness chose to handle this was to deny that he had killed anyone—directly or indirectly—and to claim that he had left the IRA in 1974. However, it would have been better if he had refused to discuss any details while not denying his general involvement in the armed struggle. That way he would have avoided trying to explain what he was doing since 1974 which was frankly embarrassing (a mere Sinn Féin activist when that party hardly existed as an electoral force).

Perhaps Sinn Féin will tell itself that the prospect of Martin McGuinness

becoming President was unrealistic because the South is incapable of engaging with the North. In explaining its modest vote it might say that the South could elect Mary McAleese fourteen years ago in 1997, but electing McGuinness in 2011 was a step too far notwithstanding the Peace Process. Perhaps Sinn Féin's calculation was correct, but the matter was never really put to the test.

There is no doubt that McGuinness's entry electrified the campaign, but as it drew towards its conclusion he was relegated to a poor third. It is one thing to ask the electorate of the 26 counties to engage with the Northern experience but it is quite another to demand that it recognise the failure of the State. McGuinness told us about the greed, corruption, brown envelope culture and economic failure of this benighted land. The electorate saw it as a caricature. "Down here" it was difficult to take the economic and moral lecture from someone "up there" who had not been involved in Southern politics. He claimed that he was the only "anti establishment" candidate and thereby demoted himself from being a statesman to a mere rebel.

FIANNA FÁIL

It is too early to say that Fianna Fáil will recover from its General Election meltdown. However, its prospects seem brighter than they were one month ago. Fine Gael failed to win the Presidential election and a candidate with a strong association with Fianna Fáil almost succeeded. The nightmare scenario (from Fianna Fáil's point of view) of a Sinn Féin Presidency did not materialise.

More encouragingly the Party finished joint second in the Dublin West by election with a 26 year old candidate. If it is accepted that Sinn Féin represents the most serious long term threat to Fianna Fáil's recovery, the poor showing of Sinn Féin is even more encouraging. Although Sinn Féin increased its share, the protest vote in Dublin West gravitated towards the Socialist Party candidate.

It should also be mentioned that the successful Labour candidate in Dublin West has given many hostages to fortune both during the election and, more foolishly, afterwards.

The Irish economy is still parlous, but it has stabilised. The current government is set to pay back about 750 million euro of unguaranteed senior debt in Anglo Irish Bank. If Labour and Fine Gael think even unguaranteed debt should be paid back it begs the question as to the fuss these parties, particularly Labour, generated about the State guarantee in the last election.

The financial retrenchment, which the Fianna Fáil led government embarked on does not seem misconceived when the alternative is looked at: Greece. Ireland's record of fiscal responsibility may prove an asset in obtaining concessions from Europe and emerging from dependence on IMF/EU funding.

Sinn Féin might still replace Fianna Fáil as the main opposition party, but the window of opportunity is gradually closing.

John Martin

Editor's Note

Two unpopular Sinn Fein actions should be taken account of, when assessing the Party's capacity for statesmanship: the initial support for the Bank Guarantee when Labour opposed it; and support for the failed Amendment referendum to empower the Dail.

Also, politics does not consist only of elections, especially in the North—where elections were, in a sense, detached from the proper business of politics, which is the governing of a state. The Provos had from the start a political as well as a military dimension. They did not neglect to feel out the political situation for possibilities, even when the general situation was such that military action was all that counted. We have no reason to doubt McGuinness when he says that he transferred from the military wing to the political. It was the long political preparation that made the Good Friday Agreement possible and inaugurated a kind of electoral politics.

If the SDLP had not lost its sense of the reality of things in the North, it might have dominated the electoral scene made possible by the GFA—but the GFA would still have been the achievement of Provo politics building on Provo war, and of John Hume, who had to act against his own party and put up with abuse from Southern media pundits like Eamon Dunphy in his realistic peace efforts.

Fine Gael was widely expected to win the Presidency, but suffered a disaster. It remortgaged its headquarters to mount the Presidential campaign and did not get enough votes to avail of the Euro 200,000 State subsidy for candidates achieving a 12.5% quota. Only three candidates out of the seven have qualified for the money. Sinn Fein came in over the quota, and will therefore get the grant.

The *Sunday Independent* led a strident anti-Sinn Fein media campaign. Even after the results were published, it could not restrain its *animus*: when reporting votes cast, it claimed that, in most constitu-

encies, the Sinn Féin vote was down on the General Election. However, it neglected to say that the overall number of votes that were cast was down on the Election. So, giving the percentage figures would have been more meaningful, but would not have suited the propaganda needs of the moment.

It was not a slight thing for Sinn Fein to hold its vote with the media hostility directed against it as never before, because of its presumption in contesting the Presidency with a Northern Provo as its candidate, giving Eoghan Harris his best opportunity to damage it with his selective emotionalist expertise.

Editorial Digest

Majority in North? There has for some time been speculation that the Catholic population in the North has overtaken the Protestant population. This was fuelled by the refusal of the British Government to release some of the details of the 2001 census. But now other figures have emerged. Two-thirds of students at Ulster Universities are Catholic. This was at first responded to by the claim that an awful lot of Protestants go to universities in Britain. Then it emerged that almost as many Catholics go there also. But it could still be put down to some extent to Protestant underachievement at school. (Irish News. 19th Oct.)

Then another figure emerged. Catholics comprise 51% of all school pupils! (Belfast Telegraph. 19th Oct.) It can be expected that democratic arguments will be set aside by Unionists, should a majority for a United Ireland emerge.

SDLP Leadership: the race to succeed Margaret 'Poppy' Ritchie is in full swing. Conall McDevitt is now in poll position with Patsy McGlone (who started the challenge). Interestingly, McDevitt's launch attracted 100 people, while that of Alisdair McDonnell, the most arrogant politician in the North, attracted a mere 20. The fourth candidate, Richie's favourite, Alex Attwood, seems to be coming nowhere. It's not quite up there with the Race for the Áras in the South, but good fun all the same. Attwood is an MLA in West Belfast. If he falls, it could mean Sinn Féin holding all 6 Stormont seats in that constituency.

Derry's new Chief Executive is Sharon O'Connor. She was appointed to take up her post on 17th October at a salary of 107,000 pounds a year (plus of course those famous expenses)—some wit said that's more than a pound a head for every man woman and child in Derry! Now it is

claimed that she is the best person for the job and you have to pay big money to attract the best, etc., etc. Not quite. Even before she started her job, it was discovered that she would have to be mentored for a whole year. This involved bringing a woman called Annie Ralph over from England to teach O'Connor the job. Ralph is being paid 500 pounds a day. Nice work if you can get it.

The City of Culture offices in Derry were bombed on 12th October. This is the second recent bombing of the building. Who did it or why are still mysteries. It should be pointed out that Derry's *City of Culture* status is a Mickey Mouse affair. It has not achieved the prestigious European status achieved by places like Glasgow, Liverpool or Cork, merely a new makey-uppy thing called the 'UK City of Culture'. Not something you'd think anyone would get too excited about.

The "victims industry" booms and develops in the North. Victims' Commissioner, Brendan McAllister, announced in late September at a conference that there were 500,000 victims in the Province. That's his job secure then. His figures were based on a report by an outfit calling itself the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Unit that a third of the people were affected by the "troubles". Does that mean that a million people did not notice anything going on?

Al Hutchinson is, formally, the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland. As we have pointed out here in the past, he is nothing of the kind. He is the tool of the State security apparatus. When the world and its mother knew that the bombing of McGurk's Bar was the work of Loyalists, to say the least, Hutchinson continued to give credence to the original British and RUC propaganda that it was an IRA 'own goal'. His masters told him to cop himself on and he changed his story saying that the IRA had nothing to do with it, but still refused to criticise the pre-conceptions with which the RUC conducted its 'investigation'. But he continues in his policy of cover-ups.

On October 19th 100 relatives and friends of the six Catholics killed in Loughlanisland in 1994 picketed his office calling for him to go. He refuses. The Chief Executive of the Agency, Sam Pollack, has resigned on the grounds that Hutchinson does nothing about anything. There is already a backlog of five years worth of cases to be investigated. John O'Dowd, Martin McGuinness's temporary replacement as Deputy First Minister, has called for his resignation. But the system at Stormont means that the Minister in each department is like a Prime Minister and doesn't have to take any notice of what other Ministers say. The relevant Minister here is the Leader of the Alliance Party, David Ford, who can be relied on to do whatever the British want him to do.

Hutchinson's predecessor was Nuala O'Loan and she made a fair fist of the job. Here's what she was reported as saying in the *Irish News* of 20th October: *"It did work, all the indicators were there and it was serving the whole community and what we have now must be devastating for the really good staff who are operating inside that office."*

Pat Finucane was a Belfast solicitor who represented many Republicans, including Bobby Sands and other Hunger Strikers. In February 1989 he was shot 14 times and killed in his home by members of the Ulster Defence Association, acting on behalf of the British and with the assistance of the RUC and the Force Research Unit—a kind of SAS which is back in the Province since early this year. His wife was wounded in the attack which was witnessed by his three children. All this is established fact—and is accepted even by the British, and was established by the Stevens Report and the Cory Report.

At the time, the British tried to claim that Pat Finucane was an IRA member, as if that excused what happened. The only 'support' for this claim was the statement by Ruth Dudley Edwards's favourite informer and murderer, Sean O'Callaghan, that he saw him at an IRA meeting. This, like all O'Callaghan's statements, was discounted by the British and Canadian

investigations. About a year ago the Finucane family were given to understand that there was to be a public inquiry with the power to call any witness it liked. The family was invited to Downing Street in mid-October to hear the details of this inquiry.

Only when they were with David Cameron were they told that there was to be no public inquiry. In the time it took for them to fly from Belfast to London, Cameron was informed by his spy agency that such an inquiry would expose the horrible details of Britain's dirty war and would implicate people all the way up to Government level. So he told them that he would have a Judge look into the matter! They walked out in disgust. Now Cameron and the Northern Ireland Secretary, Owen Paterson, know who and what was involved and are covering it up. Sinn Féin's Jim Gibney put that matter well in his column in the *Irish News*, 20th October: *"It was the absence of human decency at its most basic level... They know the truth already. It is keeping it from the Finucane family and the rest of the world that preoccupies them."*

James Connolly is to be commemorated in a ceremony in Belfast City Hall on the 100th anniversary of his arrival in Belfast to organise dockers and mill workers. The centrepiece of the occasion will be a portrait of Connolly by Frank Quigley, which will replace the portrait of the English Royal family in the office of the Mayor of Belfast, Sinn Féin's Niall O'Donoghue, a Councillor from the Short Strand. The event is being organised by the Services Industrial Professional and Technical Union (SIPTU)—formerly Connolly's Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. The event will be addressed by Sinn Féin Culture Minister, Caral Ní Chuilín and South Belfast UDA leader and SIPTU activist, Jackie McDonald.

Mr. McDonald told the Belfast Telegraph: *"For too long working-class loyalists have been demonised... This is a good opportunity to make our voices heard. I will be talking about the poor and disadvantaged and the need to get jobs for*

Election Results

Presidency

There were 1,771,762 valid votes cast in the election, a turn-out of 56.11%. The quota was 885,882. First Preference Votes were cast as follows (with the figure after final transfers in brackets):

Michael D. Higgins	39.6%	701,101 (1,007,104)
Sean Gallagher	28.5%	504,964 (628,114)
Martin McGuinness	13.7%	243,030 (265,196)
Gay Mitchell	6.4%	113,321 (136,309)

David Norris	6.2%	109,469 (116,526)
Dana Rosemary Scallon	2.9%	51,220
Mary Davis	2.7%	48,657

(The RTE website provides a full breakdown of transfers. It uses the word "quota", when giving the vote required for election but, as we understand it, there is not a "quota", in the strict sense of the word within proportional representation—where it is applicable to multi-member constituencies. The country formed a single constituency for this election, and so there was no "quota", merely transfers of votes until the winning candidate got his majority. The same consideration applies to the report below, as there was only one Dail seat to be filled.)

Dublin West By-Election

The death of former Fianna Fail Finance Minister Brian Lenihan caused a By-Election. Below are the results for the main contenders:

There was a 58.3% turnout, with 35,702 valid votes cast. The quota was 17,852. First Preference Votes were cast as follows (with the figure after final transfers in brackets):

Patrick Nulty (Lab)	24.3%	8,665 (17,636)
David McGuinness (FF)	21.7%	7,742 (11,590)
Ruth Coppinger (Soc. Party)	21.1%	7,542 (9,873)
Eithne Loftus (FG)	14.7%	5,263 (5,942)
Paul Donnelly (SF)	8.9%	3,173 (3,309)
Roderic O'Gorman (GP)	5.0%	1,787 (1,925)

our young people and about the need to give them ambition in life." Connolly would be proud!

Colonel Gaddafi's public torture and execution was greeted with glee by the *Irish News* and the *Belfast Telegraph* on 21st of October, with the latter's headline being "Killed like a dog in a gutter, very few in Libya are grieving his end". Next day both papers pulled themselves back a bit, though one *Belfast Telegraph* writer, signing himself only BM!, talked about "a rat in a sewer". Hillary Clinton has been filmed laughing at the scenes from the public execution on television. The Clintons get a far too good a press in this part of the world, especially from Nationalists.

Only a few days before these horrible scenes Martin McGuinness was singing their praises. But the Clintons have form. Before Bill Clinton became President his challenger for the Democratic nomination was Michael Dukakis, A New Englander of Greek origin, and an opponent of capital punishment. The Clintons went for the support of the punishment enthusiasts in their Party. Arkansas held a prisoner on death row who was a vegetable having been shot in the head. But Governor Clinton had him executed anyway to show how macho he could be and with the full support of Hillary. That is what the 'nice' Clintons are made of. And now she has taken to enjoying snuff movies. Her comment at the time was—"We came, we saw, he died".

Martin McGuinness' run for the *Áras* has been peppered by questions from the media about how he could reconcile his oath of allegiance to the IRA and the one he would have to take as President and head of the National Army. Quite a number of people asking this question know very well that

the 'facts' implied in it are rubbish. Several of them have themselves in the past belonged to the Republican Movement and know the score. No one took an oath of allegiance to the IRA. When this writer joined, along with six or seven others, and not all that long before Mr. McGuinness joined, the procedure was simple. On a blank piece of paper you wrote "I.....wish to be a member of the Irish Republican Army" or words to that effect. This was handed to the local OC and you were in. The paper was destroyed. There was no ceremony of any kind—much less an oath of allegiance.

McGuinness promised to campaign in all of the Six Counties as well as the other 26, and has been doing so. Many people are in favour of giving the vote to the people of the North, as well as the wider diaspora, for Presidential Elections. If that were the case now, I have little doubt that McGuinness would be President, which probably means the the Southern establishment will never allow it to happen, and the McAleese family will shut up about it. I saw two films of McGuinness's Northern campaigning. The first saw thousands gathering around the Bogside to see him off from Derry. The second was a packed hall in Omagh, with hundreds unable to get in, and attended by two of the survivors of the Omagh Bombing!

The Ulster Unionist Party, what's left of it, is holding its Conference in Armagh as we go to print. The *Belfast Telegraph* carried out a poll of delegates. The most exercising issue was the wish of 90% to see the UUP leave the Power-Sharing Executive and set up a formal Opposition at Stormont—preferably jointly with the SDLP (official membership, 300). Leader, Tom Elliot, received an 82% approval rating—though it must be pointed out that the bulk of the UUP membership is now based in

his native Fermanagh. Secretary of State, Owen Paterson, author of the disastrous UUP/Conservative pact at the last election, spoke from the platform and received a standing ovation. Strange lot!

Some war statistics. The IRA killed just over 600 soldiers and 302 police. They themselves lost 140, including 25 killed by Loyalists. 10,000 police were injured and 75 committed suicide. The RUC killed 52 people. The total death toll was just under 3,400. (*Belfast Telegraph*, 24th October)

Council of the Isles. This is Scottish National Party leader, Alex Salmond's 'big idea'. He made much of it in a document released by the Scottish devolved government last St. Patrick's Day—referring throughout to the "*British Isles*". In effect he wants Ireland bound ever closer to England. "*I believe that what works today for independent Ireland will also work in the future for independent Scotland.*" But the SNP accepts that a future "*independent*" Scotland will have as its Head of State the Queen of England.

"The British-Irish Council of today—and a future Council of the Isles, modelled on the extremely effective partnership of the Nordic Council between the independent nations of Scandinavia—is an example of the sort of modern, 21st century relationship that should exist between Scotland and the rest of the UK."

No, Mr Salmond. The Nordic countries all have their own Heads of State.

"*Through a future Council of the Isles, and indeed through our membership of the EU, I can certainly see co-operation on security and climate change between Scotland, Ireland, England, Wales, Northern Ireland and the wider world.*" Security? That in English terms means going to war and nothing else. Methinks the SNP speaks with forked tongue!

Report

Irish Jewish Boys Assaulted On Poppy Day

Cork Jewish solicitor Gerald Y. Goldberg (1912-2003) added to his achievements in 1977 when he was elected Lord Mayor of his native city. By his own admission he "*grew up a rowdy*". So it was that, in order to "*put manners*" on both him and his brother, their parents decided to send them to a Jewish boarding school in Sussex, which he would later describe as "*a place full of upstarts*". They only lasted a few years there. As he further recalled:

"A German boy (also Jewish—MO'R) had asked to be excused from the Armistice Day events as he felt it would be unpatriotic of him to salute the British dead. The school authorities agreed and it made my brother and me think. We then went to see the Headmaster and also asked to be excused

on the grounds that the British had murdered (Cork Lord Mayor Terence) MacSwiney and assassinated our Lord Mayor, Thomas MacCurtain. Well, he went through the bloody roof, We got three lashes each with the cane for suggesting such a thing and as a result, my brother ran away."

The Goldberg boys were immediately ordered back to Cork by their parents and enrolled in Presentation Brothers' College, described by Gerald as "*like a holiday camp compared to the other place*". His two predecessor-, martyred, Lord Mayors were to remain Goldberg's heroes, and he was to commission portraits of both Mac Swiney and MacCurtain to hang in the Lord Mayor of Cork's office. At this time of year it is also worth noting how Goldberg's vignette reminds us of the British imperialist character of Poppy Day from the word go.

Manus O'Riordan

DRIVING MR. VENUS FLYTRAP

An editor rides his electric car.
Terribly nice Greenpeace chaps protect the whale,
drink caffè-latte in an Antarctic gale.
More resounding headlines from paper tsar:
Hit by friendly-fire but kept on smiling.
Taliban shoot one another, own goal.
Anti-vivisection bods find cop mole.
Nice man that editor, very beguiling
but who's that on the front page dripping blood?
(removed King Idris a British puppet)
Frenzied ghouls sink teeth, frenzied ink hubbub
as lib values spring from Western pulpits.
Nato the chauffeur drives him to the club.
where death dances and wines- dines the culprits.

Wilson John Haire
24th October, 2011

Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

IRELAND AND GREECE

It's a pity that commentators, unlike politicians, are not made accountable for what they say. A few years ago Nobel Prize winner Paul Krugman praised Greece for not cutting its costs and denounced Ireland for its austerity programme. He was reflecting the views of various economists in this country. Now Greece continues in its downward spiral while Ireland looks like it could emerge from the crisis.

The Long Fellow was amazed to hear Sinn Féin Dublin West candidate Paul Donnelly praising Greece on the Vincent Browne show and its ability to obtain concessions from the EU. Sinn Féin has developed a fetish for burning bondholders which, if Donnelly is anything to go by, includes Sovereign as well as Bank debt. According to this view, if wrecking the economy enables the bondholders to be burnt, well, so much the better.

GAMBLING DEBTS?

The advocates of burning senior bondholders give the impression that these people (mainly Pension and Investment funds) were speculators, betting on the turn of a roulette wheel and that they had 'invested' in the bank. Nothing could be further from the truth. The investors or shareholders in, for example, Anglo Irish Bank lost 100% of their investment. The Senior Bondholders lent money to the bank; they did not 'invest' in it. Legally they were no different from depositors.

No bank in the Euro zone has burnt its senior bondholders. A couple of very small banks in Denmark did burn their unguaranteed senior debt. However, as a consequence, even very strong banks such as Danske bank have had their borrowing costs increase.

Before the current crisis there was a view that the money of bank depositors and holders of senior debt was safe. The interest rate of debt across the Euro zone was almost identical. Since then, the calls for burning bond holders have had the effect of introducing speculation into this area where formerly there was none.

The core countries thought the new era of speculation was useful. They decided to use the new speculative market to punish Ireland and Greece with higher interest rates. But they now realise that once the Pandora's Box was opened it is not easy to close it again.

The demand to burn senior bondholders is a reactionary demand because it avoids thinking about what happened in the economy. It is no accident that it has been advocated by the right in this country (e.g. Shane Ross).

Of all the many articles and books that have been written about the economic crisis in this country, the best (apart from this magazine of course) was written by Michael Lewis in *Vanity Fair*. Lewis has the rare talent of summing up a complex event in a few pithy sentences. To paraphrase him: Iceland, through its banks, borrowed to buy the world; Ireland, by contrast, borrowed to buy Ireland.

If the banks borrowed to help speculators "*buy Ireland*", who sold Ireland? It could only be other Irish people. There was a massive transfer of wealth from one group of people (the buyers of land) to another group (the sellers of land). The State has a massive capacity to raise taxes from this latter group of people.

Admittedly some of the value disappeared in the form of investment in houses with no social need, but it is also the case that a large proportion of the costs were borne by foreign banks such as Royal Bank of Scotland (Ulster Bank), Bank of Scotland, Danske bank (National Irish Bank) and Rabo Bank (ACC).

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Karl Marx was as good a journalist as Michael Lewis! While the German had a tendency to be long-winded and a little turgid, he also had the same talent for explaining in a few sentences a complex process. The potential for economic crisis existed from the dawn of capitalism. The problem began when the act of sale and purchase were separated by time and space:

"When these two processes do not pass from one to the other in a continuous stream, but become independent of each other the crisis is there" (*Theories of Surplus Value*).

And:

"If they were only separate without being a unity, then no forcible restoration of their unity would be possible, no crisis. If they were only a unity without being separate, then no forcible separation would be possible, which again is crisis. It is the forcible restoration of unity between independent phases and the forcible separation from each other of processes which in essence are one."

Of course, the very instability of the system enabled its rapid development. Each separation of the component parts of the "*unity*" (or system) led to a massive increase in production; that is, until the present when the whole system threatens to implode.

In the aftermath of the Second World War there was an organic connection between investment and production. Investors deferred to senior managers of an enterprise and these managers tended to have spent all their lives in a specific industry. In many cases they were promoted from the shop-floor. Investors had a dependent relationship with the Chief Executives of large enterprises and were willing to accept periods of low returns on the understanding that in the long term satisfactory returns would be obtained.

But in the 1970s in Britain and America the shareholders began to assert themselves. James Goldsmith believed that, if shareholders were not obtaining a satisfactory return, the Chief Executives should be sacked and/or capital should withdraw from that industry. The organic ties between individual capitals and specific industries were loosened and, as Marx predicted, all capital became an unvariegated social lump. In the long term this led to dysfunctional investment decisions. Germany was not so affected by this since its industry tended to be financed by bank capital and the banks had a very intimate connection with local industry. But even in Germany these connections were loosened.

The separation of capital from production on a global scale could not be sustained. The international economic crisis consists in the "*forcible restoration of their unity*".

IRELAND AND THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

The impression given by some Irish commentators is that the International economic crisis has nothing to do with Ireland's domestic crisis. One of the most open economies in the world should have been impervious to international economic developments! The fact that the two crises are contemporaneous is just a coincidence!

According to this infantile analysis, an economic and political elite destroyed the country by their greed. However, the economic statistics do not bear out this analysis. The indefatigable blogger "*John the Optimist*" on *irishconomy.ie* gives some interesting statistics from the ESRI and Central Statistics Office, showing Ireland's level of inequality has actually decreased in the last couple of decades. In 1994, at the start of the last FG/Labour/Democratic Left Coalition, the proportion of the population living below the poverty line (60% of median income) was 15.5%. This increased in subsequent years until it reached a peak of 21.9% in 2001. From then on the percentages reduced every year. In 2009 the figure was 14.1%. This compares quite well with other countries. In 2008 the figures for Germany and Ireland were about the same.

The greater level of equality cannot be

explained by the "*destruction of the economy*" since the 60% of median income figure has also risen in real terms (i.e. after adjusting for inflation) by almost 94% since 1994.

DEFENDING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

Under capitalism production indirectly satisfies social needs. The primary purpose of production is to maximise the rate of return for the owner of capital. The problem is that no system has yet been devised to provide directly for social needs. The Long Fellow's instinct is to defend social institutions, even conservative ones such as the Catholic Church, that mitigate the effects of the market. However, this is a view that is not widely shared within the media and the political parties.

In the case of RTE it was forced to issue the following abject apology:

"On the evening of the 23rd May 2011, RTÉ broadcast a Prime Time Investigates programme entitled "A Mission to Prey". Before this broadcast Prime Time conducted an interview with Fr. Kevin Reynolds, the then parish priest at Ahascragh in Galway. This interview took place beside the parochial house after the annual First Holy Communion Mass. During this interview allegations were made against Fr. Reynolds. He immediately protested his innocence and denied all the allegations. Between the interview and the broadcast, Fr. Kevin Reynolds, through his Solicitors, repeated his protestations of innocence, asked RTÉ not to broadcast the interview and volunteered to undergo a paternity test. Prime Time duly broadcast the programme accusing Fr. Reynolds of raping a minor named Veneranda while he was a missionary in Kenya and fathering a child named Sheila as a result of this rape. He was also accused of secretly providing funds to Sheila.

"Both Veneranda and Sheila were interviewed in the programme to corroborate the allegations. As a result Fr. Kevin Reynolds was obliged to stand down from ministry and was removed as the parish priest of Ahascragh. He had to leave his home and his parish. He was compelled by the actions of RTÉ to institute High Court defamation proceedings to vindicate his good name and reputation.

"RTÉ acknowledges that the material in the programme concerning Fr. Reynolds ought never to have been broadcast. RTÉ now fully and unreservedly accepts that the allegations made by Prime Time against Fr. Kevin Reynolds are baseless, without any foundation whatever and untrue and that Fr. Reynolds is a priest of the utmost integrity who has had an unblemished 40 year career in the priesthood and who has made a valuable contribution to society in Kenya and Ireland both in education and in ministry.

"RTÉ acknowledges the defamation

has had a devastating effect on Fr. Kevin Reynolds, his family, his peers, his parishioners in Ahascragh, those in the diocese of Kakamega in Kenya who were aware of the allegations and all those who know him or of him.

"RTÉ fully and unreservedly apologises to Fr. Kevin Reynolds for this defamation and deeply regrets the serious consequences suffered by him. He was entirely innocent of the allegations broadcast about him."

On July 20th in the Dáil Enda Kenny the leader of Fine Gael, the traditional conservative party, accused the Catholic Church of frustrating "*an inquiry in a sovereign, democratic republic as little as three years ago, not three decades ago*".

But it turns out its criticism had no substance. According to Vincent Browne:

"A spokesman said that Kenny wasn't referring to any specific incident; it was, rather, a figure of speech" (*Sunday Business Post*, 11/9/11).

When Eamon Gilmore was asked about the statement he resorted to the following

piece of waffle:

"Let's be clear about the specifics', Gilmore replied. "Children were abused. Let's not be distracted now, let's not miss the point."

Continuing to miss (or evade) the point, he said:

"Children were abused, it was not handled appropriately by the Church.

"We brought that to the attention of the Vatican and asked for their response. We are not going to be dragged into a prolonged semantic debate about standing up this phrase or that phrase."

You always know that when a politician begins a statement with the words "*let's be clear*" he is going to be anything but. No evidence to support the grave allegation of the Vatican frustrating "*an inquiry in a sovereign, democratic republic*" was produced.

As Michael Stack has pointed out in this magazine the Irish Government decided to damage its relations with the Vatican for purely domestic political purposes.

Letter To Martin McGuinness About His Presidential Campaign

On 4th October, Philip O'Connor sent the following letter to Martin McGuinness:

Dear Martin, I watched you on Vincent Browne tonight (and indeed listened to you on Eamon Dunphy on Sunday). Well done, you are handling the campaign very well.

I—like many, many others—admire you as a man of substance. We are impressed that you were a leadership figure in the IRA when it mattered—up to 1974 or whenever. The South—to its eternal shame—washed its hands of the North in its moment of greatest need, in 1969, and denied even itself at the "Arms Trial" in 1970, and you Northerners had to create from nothing the means of your defence and of your advance. And you did it. And the majority even here takes its hat off to you for it. Stand proudly by that.

But those in the South who "turn off" your message, are doing so for a reason. This is partly because they do not engage with "the North" (unfortunately) and believe that for SF the South remains a foreign planet, and that what you have to say about it contrasts so starkly with your realism about the society and people of the North. I believe that you must embrace the southern State, in some real way, warts and all.

Let me explain, if you will bear with me.

Firstly: What the election campaign is driving home is that the "left-Right" divide in Ireland is a myth and a fantasy. The fundamental divide is what is called the "Civil War" divide—the conflict between those who side with the Republican perspective of 1916 and those who align themselves with the compromise of Free Statism and the Redmondism that lurked at its heart. In the recent General Election a mistake of electoral arithmetic created a situation where the traditional southern party of Republicanism was virtually wiped out. That vacuum will re-fill itself, for sure. But that arithmetic moment was a moment of opportunity for the verbal adherents of the "Left-Right" divide. But from the start they—i.e. the Labour Party—made it crystal clear that they didn't believe for a moment their own "left-right" demagoguery and that there could be no question that labour would seize this opportunity to create a genuine "Left-Right" divide of a FG-led Govt and a Labour-led opposition. When the chips were down, such a re-alignment made no sense at all to the Labour leadership. For them the issue remained FF vs the rest. "*Cronyism*" versus the "*Good People*" (as defined by Fintan O'Toole *et al*). Rabbitte let the cat out of

the bag after Brian Lenihan's death when he spoke of the respect that persisted for the man "across the great divide of Irish politics", by which he unmistakably meant FF vs FG-Lab. The same Civil War divide is fundamental in the essential conflict of this presidential election.

Secondly: I believe that it is a healthy thing that FG have had to revert to their blueshirt essence in this campaign. Mitchell on the Newstalk programme came out vintage blueshirt, all guns blazing, and not just in relation to NI ("anti-terrorism" and wretched "Sunningdalism"), but also even in his choice of saints ("Matt Talbot"), his Red-baiting (SF as Castroites) etc. It is a fantastic thing about this campaign—and thanks to SF—that southern society is finally having to discuss the Northern War.

You are doing very well impressing on southern consciousness the sheer scale of your northern achievements, in war and peace, and there is a perceptible groundswell towards you. But the chief weakness of your campaign—but really of Sinn Féin generally—is that you have little to say about the Republic. You need to start talking about the Republic—what it was, what it is and what it might become. You must start articulating a Republicanism that leaves the ground of a negative-lefty critique of the Republic (which in essence dovetails with the *Irish Times*'s Fintan O'Toole's story of a "failed state" and a "putrid reactionary state"—you don't even say such things about the Orange state any more, for God's sake!). Sinn Féin must embrace the Republic at its best, including its history (the 1930s achievements of Dev (which were supported by SF), the 1937 Constitution, neutrality in WW2, the Lemass industrial revolution, Social Partnership of 1987-2007 etc.), and yes, embrace the Republican state itself, and from that basis project your wonderful all-island vision for the future—or, as Niall Meehan recently put it so well on Indymedia—thus end "the reactionary separation of northern and southern politics".

I am an occasional writer in *Irish Political Review*, a small circulation but not insignificant journal.

Yours, very sincerely, Philip O'Connor

Response To Stephen Richards Letter

This letter shows the ineradicable antipathy of feeling that was bred over two generations between the two communities in the 6 County region of the British state under the condition of exclusion from the political structures of the democracy of the state. In our experience, scarcely anybody in the Unionist community was capable of envisaging life as it was experienced in the Nationalist community under those conditions. This letter should have been directed against the *Irish Political Review* and Athol St., instead of at Martin McGuinness, as it assumes that the analysis of Northern Ireland, on which the comment of this publication has been based for decades, was much ado about nothing. A refutation of that analysis would be more to the point in this magazine than the by-play of sarcasm about McGuinness, who was a victim who hit back and won the support of the majority of the community who shared his experience of British Northern Ireland in doing so, and felt very much that they were engaged in "some kind of liberation struggle".

Jeffrey Dudgeon's backers described him as a liberal Unionist and we commented on him as such. If there is a schism within liberal Unionism and a tendency disowns Dudgeon, we know nothing about it.

If, between the mid-1970s and the late-1990s, something like the 1998 arrangement was on offer, we never saw a sign of it.

The idea that the IRA had lost in 1994, but was saved by the British Government, strikes us as being of a kind with the idea that the IRA had lost in June 1921, but was saved by Britain—and to have the same inspiration.

But elites in decline cannot be reasoned with. We spent much time and effort attempting to reason the liberals in the Unionist community into seeking stability through the political normality of the state. It refused. And it ended up blackguarding us. And now we can only say that its decline is all its own work. It was unable to handle the effects of the dreadful system it agreed to operate

Extract from Jinger Dixon's *Occupy Wall Street: My One Demand* (Information Clearing House, 18.10.11)

Occupy Wall Street: What Demand?

"I was recently asked what I thought the "one demand" should be for the OWS protest...

Take a map and draw a circle, then say, everyone outside the circle is to have their labor and resources exploited for the benefit of those inside the circle. If you live outside the circle you say, "this system is completely fucked up". If you live inside the circle you say, "this is capitalism and it's the best system on earth you should try it it's awesome. Sure, people outside are suffering, but who gives a fuck about them?" Now as the circle shrinks, as it is designed to do, concentrating accumulated wealth, people begin finding themselves suddenly outside of the circle. They jump up and down and cry foul, but the ones still in the circle say, "tough shit, you were too slow, shoulda run faster to stay inside the circle". But then, they soon realize that they too are too slow to keep up with the rapidly shrinking circle, and quickly they find themselves left out, so they cry foul. "The system is broken!!!" they decry! But is it? Isn't this the way the system has always functioned? Why is it now broken just because they, we, no longer reside within the bounds of its benefits? We stand outside the ever shrinking circle, yelling fixes, throwing band-aids, making demands that the ever shrinking circle expand! at least big enough to include us so that we can go back to not giving a fuck about the people outside, but alas, it will not. The circle does not expand, it does not know how. It only knows how to contract, concentrate, condense, like a dark star collapsing in on itself. There is no "demand" that will drag the borders of the circle back around us. And even if you could, would you? Would you go back to fucking the rest of the world to have your cable TV and your steel belted radials? I hope not. I hope the world is ready to say no more. No more. Therefore, since it is my sincere belief that the circle is/was and always will be fucked up, I say, surround them and demand that they collapse in on themselves and disappear into their own black hole."

Jinger Dixon, global trends analyst and contributor at Trends Research Reloaded - <http://guymcpherson.com>

Two Launches And Public Meeting

Teachers' Club, 36 Parnell Square, Dublin

FRIDAY, 25th November, 7.30 pm

Manus O'Riordan:

The Vindication Of Brigadista & Union Man,

Jack James Larkin Jones,

In Refutation Of The British Intelligence Campaign Of Character Assassination

FRIDAY, 25th November, 8.15 pm

Brendan Clifford:

Northern Ireland: What Is It?

Professor Mansergh Changes His Mind

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FALL OF PRESIDENT MUAMMAR GADDAFI

Even as the press in the West fell on the corpse of President Gaddafi like hyenas and put pictures of him on their front pages, I felt we had finally crossed the Rubicon of all decency and common humanity. When watching TV news bulletins, the newsreader always gives a warning to the effect that upcoming news footage contained images of violence or death-images of war or starvation thus allowing the viewer to filter out such images. But the newspapers went for our viscera and in walking into my newsagents I hadn't time to stop and therefore was ambushed by images that are now burned forever onto my retina. I immediately walked out and refused to buy any of those newspapers as I wanted no part of their evil doings.

I watch France 24 TV News and again before they warned of the upcoming images. I was appalled to see a live and bloodied Gaddafi being tossed into a vehicle and being beaten by what appeared to be Libyan thugs. They spoke good English, wore face-covering clothing and their fingers were covered in huge rings of gold and precious stones. Not your average street Arab rebel then. My guess is that they were USUK Special Forces, almost certainly mercenaries. The so-called uprising in Libya was neither an uprising nor popular but, with NATO bombings and special squad assassinations, it was always going to have but one ending no matter how long it took. And finally the President and his Government were brought down and now surprise, surprise, Libya is going to be run under Shariah Law with the Islamists and God knows who else running the place.

France's oil company Total went from owning 2.5% of Libyan oil to 35.5% in the space of one week. We have yet to know how the other oil companies are to share the spoils of a very nasty *coup*. And it all began so very differently with that special kind of élan that only British imperial stretch can muster. It might come as a great surprise to many of the readers of our Anglo-centric media but the whole Gaddafi regime started in that most military of British institutions: *Sandhurst*. Back in 1968, a young 27-year-old Gaddafi, a handsome young Captain with dark Adonis curls had "been trained to become an officer at Britain's Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. So, when in September 1969 Muammar al-Gaddafi became the leader of a junta of young Libyan officers who abolished the mon-

archy in the name of 'freedom, socialism and Pan-Arab unity', the whole thing was a bloodless *coup* (the British having arranged that the elderly pro-British King Idris was away in Turkey for medical treatment). This was so unlike Iran, where the American-backed Shah was creating the whole people's enmity by savage repression, that the British were congratulating themselves on a '*very British coup*'. But Gaddafi became his own man and not only survived despite the hatred of the 'Free West' but flourished because he was a gifted geo-political strategist and was a main player of the African Union. He created a secular society in Libya with an eventual 80% literacy rate, free medical care, and third level educational support with women being given equal rights.

Then in 1986 President Ronald Reagan, who was running death squads all over South America, started bombing Gaddafi—especially in his own compound in Tripoli. With Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's blessing, British-based American F-111 bombers, flying in support of raids from US Navy carriers, wrecked the home compound of Gaddafi and—though he and his wife escaped—their 15-month old adopted baby girl was among the dead—all of whom were civilian casualties. In February 1987, two months later, the entrepreneur Tony Rowland, who had business dealings with Gaddafi and who owned *The Observer* newspaper after the Astors sold it—got in touch with President Gaddafi and scored a journalistic *coup* by getting him to agree to an interview with *Observer* Editor Donald Treford, along with photographer Sue Alder and Colin Smith who wrote this account up in *Warships* in April 2011. All three travelled to Libya in a Lear jet and met with Gaddafi in his tent somewhere in the Libyan Desert. What surprised Smith was the 'take' on the bombings by the Libyan leader. "*His predominant emotion appeared to be indignation not rage. Like Wellington at Waterloo he seemed to think that generals had better things to do than to try and kill each other*", Gaddafi reflected:

"I expected an attack but I thought it would be military targets. I didn't think it would concentrate on my family house".

Forty-two years later, the British—with their French and American counterparts—were back to undo that enterprise by bombing Libya to bits. The USS Coral Sea was cruising off Libya as shown in *Warships International Fleet Review*, April 2011, where there is a photo of "*bombs being prepared for a strike by jets to attack Gaddafi regime targets in the same punitive action*" (Photos: USN). The UN only declared Libya to be "a flight free zone", so what the West did was completely illegal. And from liberal Ireland not even a peep but that's hardly surprising considering the kind of ideology

that is now dominant here in our media and academia.

POPE BENEDICT XVI AND THE VATICAN

The Pope has been calling for peace and dialogue since the whole Arab Spring revolutions began. Archbishop Louis Sako of Kirkuk, Iraq has denounced the killing of Christians by Islamists which began there after the fall of Saddam Hussein. While Saddam Hussein was in power, Iraq was very much a secular State that allowed a toleration of Christianity. In 1987, a census in Iraq revealed that there were 1.4 million Christians still in the country. Now estimates put the figure at between 500,000 and 800,000 today, but even that is regarded as a very optimistic figure. The Syrian Catholic Patriarch Ignace Joseph III said that the most ferocious assault yet by Muslim radicals on the Christian community was an attack on Catholics attending Sunday Mass at Our Lady of Salvation Church in Baghdad, which left three young priests dead as well as many of their congregations including young children, women and men. Shortly before this incident, Iraqi bishops at a synod in Rome told of the "*terrorism and violence Christians and other minorities face: kidnappings, bombings of churches, schools and other properties and threats to Christian businesses as well as to their lives*". The Islamists threaten that "*the doors of destruction and rivers of blood*" will be opened on the Christians. A few days after what Pope Benedict called "*a savage act*", eleven car bombs aimed at Christian shops and homes in Baghdad exploded, killing another 5 members of the minority. Iraqi Christians say they are now in far greater danger than at any time in their long history. They have been living in terror since the bombing of their places of worship began in 2004. Archbishop Sako now fears that Tunisia, Egypt and Libya will go the way of radical Islam which could have terrible consequences for all the ancient Christian minorities in these countries. The Archbishop says that "*Europe and North America are blind to the possibility of such an islamisation of the Middle East. The western mentality does not allow it to fully comprehend this risk*", he said. In western nations "*a tremendous void*" separates politics and religion, but in the Middle East they are interwoven. Two extremisms, he believed, are the result. The Middle Eastern mentality is dominated by Islam, "*religion pervades all*". On the other hand, a general privatisation of Christianity by a secularism that denies its Christian roots and excludes Christian values from public life reigns in the West. And both are "*against democracy*". Where all this will lead us in the end is hard to predict but as Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany has acknowledged "*multiculturalism has failed*", so where to now?

It Is Time

THE HSE AND CHILDREN

There has been a remarkable lack of media interest in the fate of four missing young teenagers in Cork. The girls who went missing within five days of each other should by now have a national profile but instead there is only local interest. The Gardai have issued a warning to the citizens of Cork to be aware of them, but according to the free *Cork Independent*, the Gardai have said they do not think the cases are linked. But three of the girls were *in the care* of the HSE who seem not to be unduly worried. They have not been held accountable by the media or those columnists who have made so much about the deeds of old by the much-loathed Catholic Church.

Where is Taoiseach Enda Kenny when he is needed? Actually he was getting the brush off publicly by the German Chancellor in Brussels as shown in 26th October 2011, RTE News at 6. Has Fergus Finlay objected to this hands-off approach to troubled young girls by the HSE? Indeed why the silence by all those other jumped-up advocates of a new and caring society with Children Rights at its core as stated by Emily Logan the Ombudsman for Children? On the 19th October 2011, the *Irish Examiner* ran the girl's pictures—there was just the three back then—and headed their story: "Three 16-year old girls vanish in Cork". The paper that day also acquainted us with the news under a small bottom page aside titled 'Care deaths' that "there have been 35 deaths and 16 serious incidents involving children in state care since March". Is it not indeed an awful fact that this merited not one cry of protest from those who most howled about those in care in the past—none of those actually died, did they?

We were told *after* the appalling case of 18-year old Tracy Fey, who died from an overdose of heroin in a disused inner-city coal bunker in Dublin, that the HSE would never allow this to happen again. Tracy who while in care bore two children, was pimped and sexually exploited and was alone even in death. After her case became known, due to The Irish Daily Mail, there was such an uproar that a special taskforce was set up to investigate the deaths of more than 200 other children—

"The taskforce's findings were due to become known in February 2011 but has been delayed due to the many cases still being investigated and *delays by the HSE in providing the required information.*"

And so it goes on and one of the truly creepy things is that half-page ads, or very prominently placed ads, are still ongoing from solicitors soliciting business from those who were in the old Catholic institutions advising them that they can still successfully sue for any ill-treatment (covering a wide spectrum) that they

suffered whilst in care of the Catholic Church.

GENERAL TOM BARRY ANNUAL COMMEMORATION

On 15th October 2011, in Fitzgerald's ark at 2.30 p.m., there was a good crowd of about 200 who celebrated the life of one of Ireland's greatest heroes—Tom Barry. The event—now a yearly one—is organised by an All-Ireland Committee which sees to it that it is a formal recognition of a man whose life benefited his people by obtaining our freedom. There was a march by the Committee from the main gate, lead by a lone piper and a flag bearer. Then after two bunches of lilies were laid at the base of the monument, Sean O'Ceileachair sang the rousing anthem of the 3rd West Cork Brigade. This was followed by the recitation of a decade of the Rosary in Irish by Monsignor Kevin O'Callaghan for the happy repose of General Tom Barry, his wife Leslie and deceased members of the 3rd West Cork Brigade and Cumann na mBan.

The oration was by Peadar O'Riada from the Gaeltacht Mhuscraí. I have heard many fine speeches over the years but Peadar in his quiet way managed to truly gauge a time in our national lives when things are on the move. He asked us all to reflect on who we really are and what we want to become because historic change is at hand and it is of such importance that if we don't get it right—we could end up with nothing of substance. The days of the Celtic Tiger brought us wealth, opportunity, individualism but we ended up chasing a chimera that brought us to our knees with such unimaginable debt hanging around our necks like an albatross. And

we are a broken society with a cancer leeching through our political system that has systematically become more and more corrupt. Our media and academia are likewise. So we have to face the question, *Who are we? What is to be our culture? What are our values now to be?* Peadar recalled a time when each household bought either *The Press* or *The Independent*, knowing our particular set of values and seeing them reflected in our papers. But now the media talk to each other and we—the ordinary Irish—are left out of the equation. We are not represented anywhere. To those in Dublin we have become a joke, a people that are shaming the new modernist State. We stay loyal to our Catholic Church, to our History and to our Language and to our ancestors. We now have the new Irish but what have we to offer them? We have had swathes of people coming to these shores over the last few thousand years, the Norse, the Normans, the old English and they all became more Irish than the Irish themselves. We had such a strong culture and sense of who we were that the new arrivals assimilated into our culture. But is that going to happen now if we don't know our own history, our own unique story? Peadar ended by warning us of the deep faultlines that are already evident in our society with our young people falling prey to suicide, our families breaking down, and our criminality, murder, depression, and isolation of our elders eroding the old values we took for granted. All will be lost or gained by our response—and that response has to be considered and thought through if we are to get it right.

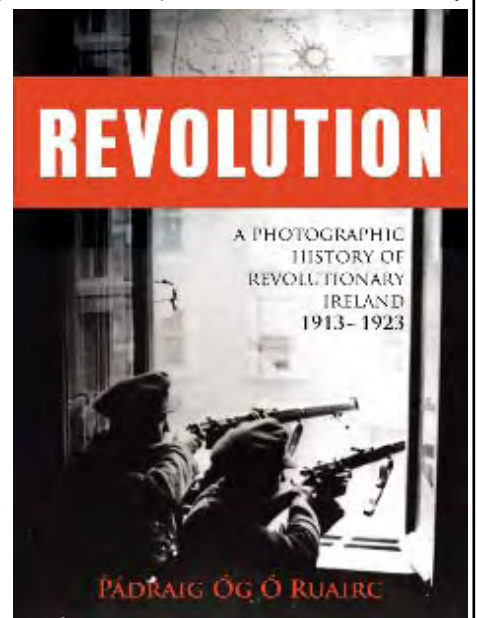
Julianne Herlihy ©

Vote For Revolution!!!

A new book containing a collection of photographs of the Irish Struggle for Independence has just been published.

Revolution—A photographic History of Revolutionary Ireland 1913—1923 by Pádraig Óg Ó Ruairc contains almost 400 images from the 1916 Rising, War of Independence and Civil War. O' Ruairc is a young historian originally from Clare but now based in Cork—he has written two previous books and challenged the findings of a number of revisionist historians. *Revolution* has just been nominated for the 'Best Irish Published Book category' in the Irish Book Awards. It is the only Irish history book to be nominated, and the only book short-listed that deals with the question of Irish independence. The author has contacted the *Irish Political Review*, hoping its readers will vote for the book to win the award. Readers can vote for the book online at: <http://www.irishbookawards.ie/PublicVote.aspx>

Voting closes at midnight on
November 13th



ITEMS FROM 'THE IRISH BULLETIN' - 4

The "Irish Bulletin" (7th July 1919 – 11th Dec.1921) was the official organ of Dáil Eireann during the 1919 – 1921 period. Lawrence Ginnell, then Director of Publicity for the Dáil, first started it in mid 1919 as a "summary of acts of aggression" committed by the forces of the Crown. This newsheet came out fortnightly, later, weekly. We reprint below the summaries published for October 1919.

October	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	Total.
Raids:-	-	3	2	3	13	-	21.
Arrests:-	2	-	2	7	1	1	13.
Courtmartials:-	3	-	-	3	1	-	7.
Sentences:-	3	1	10	6	-	-	20.
Armed Assaults:-	1	63	20	-	1	-	85.
Proclamations & Suppressions:-	3	-	1	4	-	3	11.
Suppressions of Newspapers :-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2.
TOTALS:-	12	67	35	25	16	4	159.

Date:- October.	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th	18th	Total.
Arrests:-	1	3	-	1	-	1	6
Suppressions:-	6	4	2	3	1	-	16
Courtmartials:-	1	1	1	-	1	1	5
Sentences:-	1	1	3	4	3	2	14
Militarism:-	2	-	2	1	-	-	5
Raids:-	1	-	2	9	1	-	13
Proclamations:-	1	1	-	5	-	-	7
Armed Assaults:-	2	-	2	1	-	2	7
TOTALS:-	15	10	12	24	6	6	73

Date:- October.	20th	21st	22nd	23rd	24th	25th	Total
Raids:-	-	25	7	2	-	1	35.
Arrests:-	27	14	-	2	-	-	43.
Sentences:-	-	1	1	-	2	2	6.
Proclamations & Suppressions :-	1	3	4	-	-	1	9.
Armed Assaults:-	1	-	1	1	1	-	4.
Courtmartials:-	1	1	1	-	1	-	4.
Daily Totals:-	30	44	14	5	4	4	101.

Reply To Jeffrey Dudgeon On Peter Hart

Jeffrey Dudgeon supports the late Peter Hart's analysis of the West Cork IRA during and after the War of Independence. Dudgeon made three specific observations in two *Irish Political Review* editions (Oct. 2010, Sept. 2011) in response to Jack Lane and to Brendan Clifford.

In *The IRA And Its Enemies* (1998) Hart alleged that sectarian motives accompanied the abduction and disappearance of three people in Ballygroman (north of Bandon near Ovens) and the shooting dead of ten more west of the Cork town of Bandon between 26th to 29th April 1922. Dudgeon supports Hart's reporting of these pre-Civil War killings and also Hart's reconstruction of the 28th November 1920 Kilmichael Ambush. Hart called Ambush commander, Tom Barry, a lying serial killer. Hart controversially concluded that the IRA fought a war of sectarian ethnic supremacy.

I will respond to Dudgeon's Kilmichael Ambush remarks before looking at those on April 1922. I also comment on Dudgeon's defence of a book inspired by Hart's research, Gerard Murphy's, *The Year of Disappearances* (2010).

KILMICHAEL

Using mainly anonymous evidence, Hart challenged Barry's claim that there was a British 'false surrender' at the Kilmichael Ambush, a trick which led to IRA casualties. Barry justified wiping out the Auxiliary force because of this.

Hart partly based his Ambush reconstruction on two anonymous interviews.

Dudgeon noted in 2010 that one of Hart's interviewees was "*a scout and not an armed fighting participant*". Dudgeon was implying that all the Kilmichael scouts lived longer than Kilmichael Ambush 'riflemen'. If that was so, perhaps Hart could (as he claimed) have interviewed an Ambush veteran on 19th November 1989, after the last Kilmichael rifleman, Ned Young, died on 13th November 1989. However, the last scout died in 1967 and the last dispatch scout in 1971. I establish below how I know this.

Peculiarly, the 19th November veteran was not described as an unarmed scout in Hart's 1992 PhD thesis. He became one in Hart's 1998 book. This unaccountable change introduced more confusion than clarity, since he was cited as being involved in shooting in both thesis and book. He

was also cited as bringing Hart on a tour of the Ambush site in the thesis, information Hart withdrew from the book.

That brings us to Dudgeon's more recent observation about Ned Young, "*who had supposedly died*" on 13th November 1989. Dudgeon's 'supposedly' is introduced on the basis that a subsequent, December 1989, *Southern Star* 'Centenary Supplement' captioned a photograph of Young with, "*one of the few surviving veterans*" (p.46).

There is an explanation for this anomaly. The extensive 128-page supplement was written and laid out before Young's death on 13th November 1989. When the newspaper text was written, Young was "*one of the few surviving veterans*". When it was printed, he was not.

Hart also cited the *Southern Stars* supplement. Was this the source of a mistaken assumption, similar to Dudgeon's, that Ned Young was alive in December 1989? Hart may also have misinterpreted the caption under Young's photograph as a reference to the Kilmichael Ambush, rather than War of Independence, survivors. Hence also a possible further mistaken deduction that 19th November 1989 was a safe option for interview date notation.

SOUTHERN STAR REPORTS

Kilmichael veteran deaths during the 1980s are easily established.

The 3rd December 1983 *Southern Star* report of that year's Kilmichael Ambush Commemoration noted three surviving veterans, Tim O'Connell, Jack O'Sullivan and Ned Young. The event was widely reported because a two-person picket led by Aine Ni Chonaill (who gained later further notoriety as a reactionary anti-immigration campaigner) protested at Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams reading the oration.

The following 24th December 1983 *Southern Star* reported, "*one of the three surviving members of the famous Kilmichael Ambush has died. He was Lieutenant Timothy O'Connell*". The newspaper referred, as did the 7th December 1985 *Southern Star*, to "*two survivors, Ned Young and Jack O'Sullivan*". One year later, the 20th December 1986 edition reported the death of "*one of the last two survivors of the Kilmichael Ambush*", Jack O'Sullivan. The 26th November 1988 *Southern Star* subsequently referred to

"*The sole survivor of the volunteers who performed so well under the leadership of general Tom Barry, namely Ned Young*".

Finally, as reproduced on the front cover of *Troubled History*, a 10th anniversary critique of Peter Hart's *The IRA and its Enemies* (June 2008, see also *Irish Political Review* March 2008), the 18th November 1989 *Southern Star* reported a final death, that of "*Ned Young—Last of the Boys of Kilmichael*", who had died on November 13th.

If these reports of Kilmichael veteran mortality are accurate, how is it that, one day later, Peter Hart 'interviewed' an anonymous Kilmichael veteran who was reportedly armed in Hart's 1992 PhD thesis, an unarmed scout in his 1998 book, touring Hart around the ambush site in 1992 but not reported doing so in 1998?

Was the *Southern Star*, alongside its knowledgeable readership, not aware of an additional elderly, *compos mentis*, Ambush veteran? That seems unlikely. Whoever, if anyone, Hart 'interviewed' on 19th November 1989, he was probably not a Kilmichael veteran. In Jerry O'Callaghan's 2011 TG4 television documentary, *Sceal Tom Barry*, Hart conceded that he may have been victim to some kind of hoax and that the individual might have been a 'fantasist'.

VOICE TO VOICELESS

Why did Hart change his 19th November 1989 'interviewee' from armed rifleman to unarmed scout?

In 1995, midway between 1992 thesis and 1998 book publication, the Ballineen Enniskeane Heritage Society published *The Wild Heather Glen, the Kilmichael Ambush of Grief and Glory*. The exhaustively-researched volume contained, noted Hart, "*a profile of every man at the ambush, with many valuable biographical details*". This included the dates when all 46 participants (36 riflemen and 10 scouts) died. They were only partially differentiated as scouts and riflemen in *Wild Heather Glen*. The paperback edition of Meda Ryan's *Tom Barry IRA Freedom Fighter* (2005) separately listed the scouts and riflemen, hence my certainty (above).

Hart may have attempted to salvage his defective narrative after 1995. His 19th November 1989 interviewee became a 'scout'. A possible constraining factor was that the thesis external examiner, Charles Townshend, was also an academic referee for Hart's Oxford University Press book (that the 1992 thesis became). For this and for other understandable reasons, the text could bear only so much transformation.

In *Distorting Irish History* {One} I

suggest that Hart's 19th November 1989 phantom was most likely based on Ambush participant Jack Hennessy's Bureau of Military History Witness Statement. Hart cited Hennessy and Ned Young's statements in *The IRA And Its Enemies*, but not on Kilmichael. Hart preferred instead to report that these Kilmichael veterans spoke to him anonymously in 1988-89. That is, a 97-year old man (Young)—reported by his son to have suffered a stroke rendering him almost speechless up to three years before death, and a man dead since 1970 (Hennessy). Hart then amalgamated their 'testimony' with 1969 audio recordings of unidentified veterans reminiscing about various engagements. These 'Chisholm interviews' were for Liam Deasy's memoir, *Toward Ireland Free* (1973, see Hart, p.33, n.56, 330). Hart also claimed to have had access to a Kilmichael veteran interview on an audiotape held by the heritage group cited above (ibid). But they say they gave him none because there was none.

MISHANDLED EVIDENCE

Hart reported (p.33, n.56) that three Chisholm interviewees he cited were Kilmichael veterans. Documentary filmmaker Jerry O'Callaghan listened to eight Chisholm tapes (that Chisholm gave to the Deasy family) in 2009, while taking verbatim notes. Just one Kilmichael veteran, Jack O'Sullivan, was interviewed on these eight tapes. He was in No.3 Section of the Ambush party, which was not involved in close-up encounters or in the 'false surrender' incident at No. 2 section.

Two reported citations from these taped interviews, of five Hart reported in total (p.34, n.59) in the middle of page 34 of Hart's book, are from O'Sullivan.

Two further Chisholm interview citations before and after these are from Ned Young, also in No.3 section, who gave a similar 1970 interview to RTE (partly re-broadcast on 28th November 2008). These are in a ninth tape not heard by O'Callaghan, because Fr. Chisholm did not give it to the Deasy family. He did however make it available to Hart supporter Eve Morrison of Trinity College Dublin (revealed at a TCD seminar, 26th October 2011). In her presentation, one that caricatured critics of Peter Hart, Morrison conceded something evident for some time, that Hart mishandled his evidence. She failed to address the 19th November 1989 rifleman-scout problem, though.

These Chisholm citations do not refer to a 'false surrender'. Curiously, Hart relegated that subject to a footnote (p.34, n. 58): "*All of the men interviewed [all six?, NM] agree*" that two IRA casualties,

Michael McCarthy and Jim O'Sullivan, did not die during a false surrender. Hart continued, "*two [which two?, NM] of these veterans*" considered Barry to have insulted McCarthy and Sullivan's soldierly qualities, for alleging that they stood, exposed their position, and were killed during the false surrender.

Even if Hart cited these veterans accurately, they were wrong about Barry's views. Barry did not report that McCarthy was killed during a false surrender. He also reported that one volunteer who exposed his position was crouching, not upright. Hart was himself wrong in reporting Barry as stating that the three IRA casualties were false surrender victims (p.23). In fact, Barry reported it as the "*kill[ing] two of them*", Sullivan and Pat Deasy. Remarkably, Hart's book cited but ignored Barry to this numerical effect in a long citation (pp. 22-23). He also misreported Meda Ryan in her earlier *The Tom Barry Story* (1982) as stating that Deasy died before the false surrender episode (p. 35, n. 61). One could go on, but perhaps the point is established (as now conceded by Eve Morrison), Hart mishandled in equal measure published and archival information.

From his mishandled references and including other dubious evidence, Hart came to an agenda-driven conclusion that: a) Auxiliaries at Kilmichael had not engaged in a 'false surrender'; and that b) Tom Barry, a liar and serial killer, invented the story many years later. That unhistorical conclusion caused a long-running, fractious, dispute. As I wrote previously, the issue is not Tom Barry's version of a false surrender amidst the fog and friction of war, but the attempt to deny any belief that one took place despite evidence to the contrary from 1921 onwards, and Hart's conclusion that Tom Barry's version is a lie.

INCOMPETENT

Either Hart was an incompetent researcher who mishandled evidence or he was disingenuous (or perhaps the former was a function of the latter). Unfortunately, Hart's examiners, David Fitzpatrick and Charles Townshend, and (later) his publishers, permitted unverifiable anonymous evidence. Perhaps his examiners were not aware (perhaps did not insist on being made aware) of difficulties in Hart's notation. Fitzpatrick informed me in November 2008 that clarifying his state of knowledge as an examiner of anonymous evidence would breach his duty of academic confidentiality. Be that as it may, Hart's original PhD could not have been awarded, had his

examiners become aware of its textual irregularities. Oxford University Press could not have published it had they become aware of these, and of other irregularities introduced subsequently.

The problem with Hart is that he arrived at definitive conclusions with weak and mishandled evidence, that he manipulated evidence to support his conclusions, and that the academy attempted to marginalise legitimate criticism of this approach.

APRIL KILLINGS

Now to the April 1922 killings.

Dudgeon stated, "*I was trying to track down the mysterious and oft quoted Black and Tan list of informers that Meda Ryan and Niall Meehan repeatedly use to justify the Dunmanway killings*".

I do not justify the killing of the 13 Protestant civilians, a number of whom may previously have been loyalist activists, and Meda Ryan does not either, though we both question Peter Hart's view that their deaths occurred during a spontaneous sectarian episode. In his text Dudgeon appears to confuse a "*Black & Tan diary*" (published in the *Southern Star*, 23, 30 October, 6, 13, 20, 27 November 1971) with a British list of "*helpful citizens*" whose verbatim contents are unpublished. The 1971 *Southern Star* text referred to documents plural besides the published diary (whose provenance Hart accepted).

Having researched the 'helpful citizens' list prior to publication of Hart's research in 1998, Meda Ryan was ethically-bound, in the context of Hart creating his sectarianism narrative, to report her findings in her 2003 biography, *Tom Barry, IRA Freedom Fighter*. We have no reason to doubt her testimony in this regard. However, since the list is not in the public domain, those who question Hart's account, other than Meda Ryan, may not rely on it. In my critique of Hart in *Distorting Irish History, One and Two* (2010, 2011), I did not cite it. Like Dudgeon, I would like whoever may be in possession of the document to release it publicly. There is as much point, however, in Dudgeon's 'challenge' to me to produce it, as there would be were I to challenge him to produce the identities of Hart's anonymous informants. I wish him luck in his tracking. However, I suspect that his mentor's reputation might prove a handicap.

SUPPRESSING EVIDENCE

In the course of his April killings account, Hart again engaged in systematic misrepresentation. He cited a British Intelligence source implying that loyalist Protestants in the Bandon Valley did not inform. In a following sentence Hart chose

to ignore, the source stated that they did. Brian Murphy pointed out this misrepresentation in 1998. Dudgeon might care to comment.

In addition, Hart asserted that applications for compensation from individuals claiming to have survived April killings attacks contained no admission of informing. My *Distorting Irish History Two* (2011) analysis shows that is also inaccurate.

Furthermore, Hart's 1998 book withdrew 1992 thesis comments implicating an IRA officer who had a Protestant father who declared himself an atheist. Hart withdrew the same Frank Busted's claim that at that time he was involved in killing "loyalists, Protestant farmers". Hart also submerged within his text and (yet again) misreported the significant capture of three senior British Intelligence officers and their driver in Macroom, some hours before the April killings began (see on this *Troubled History*, plus *Irish Political Review* March 2008). According to Paul McMahon's *British Spies And Irish Rebels* (2008), the officers were actively engaged in reviving their Intelligence system, in breach of the terms of the Truce. In another book, one which Hart claimed was largely accurate (Sean O'Callaghan's *Execution*, 1974), Busted stated he was directly involved in their capture and killing. That also broke the terms of Truce, as did the possibly associated killings following. In recent talks in University College Cork, TCD and in Maynooth, John Regan of Dundee University has deepened our understanding of the significance of Hart's suppression of the Busted and executed officers' evidence. His analysis, including significant new information, will be published in the academic Journal, *History*, in 2012.

SECTARIAN HISTORY

Hart misrepresented a British Intelligence source that appears to have been a comment on the April killings, and omitted Busted's claim that he was involved. Hart presented his sectarianism narrative in spite of available evidence suggesting that April killings victims were targeted on the basis of alleged activity, not identity. That is another reason for suggesting that Hart's methodology was flawed and that he wrote propaganda, not history. Not an analysis of sectarianism, but a sectarian analysis.

In my *Distorting Irish History* essays I detailed elisions, mistakes and misrepresentations in Hart's analysis, together with unusual changes between 1992 thesis and 1998 book. Hart's documented failings support his conclusions. It is not a question

of inadvertent errors or sloppy notes, but of 'selection bias' driving evidence presentation. Hart's conclusions determined the presentation of evidence. His was a 'faith based' history supported within the academy and promoted externally, built on the false notion that anti-Protestant 'Catholic nationalism' drove Irish separatism. It is a useful construct for Northern Ireland-based unionism, with its proven record of anti-Catholic sectarianism. It partially justifies and rationalises unionist attitudes and actions.

GERARD MURPHY

Finally, Jeff Dudgeon attempted to salvage something from the wreckage of Gerard Murphy's *Year Of Disappearances* (2010) that brought Peter Hart's approach to new depths. In his review, Hart's TCD thesis-supervisor attempted to extract his former pupil from Murphy's embrace. Dudgeon cited a charitable section from the same David Fitzpatrick review. He may also use a similar comment from mine (*An 'Amazing coincidence' that 'Could Mean Anything'*), I suggest that Murphy's was a fat book from which a better thin one might have emerged. I say 'was' since the first edition has been 'temporarily unavailable' on the publisher's

website since February (it 'disappeared'). I say 'first edition' because a second is out (after ten months, is this a record?). The 'revised' edition responds, according to the author to 'some' 'criticism' and corrects some 'errors'. Perhaps the publisher, Gill & Macmillan, hopes this version will prove less of an embarrassment (unlikely, see mine and Pádraig O'Ruairc's joint letter in *History Ireland*, November-December 2011). The book's influential supporters hope it will not further undermine arguments pioneered in *The IRA And Its Enemies*. Whether or not it does, many of those arguments should be regarded as historically valueless. The academic, media and political culture which sustained them should be analysed further.

Niall Meehan

In *'Distorting Irish History [One], the stubborn facts of Kilmichael: Peter Hart and Irish Historiography'* and *'Distorting Irish History Two, the Road from Dunmanway'*, on the April 1922 killings, I deal in more detail with some issues summarised here. *Distorting Irish History [One] and Two, Troubled History*, etc, are available at <http://gcd.academia.edu/NiallMeehan>

Book Review: Elizabeth Bowen's Selected Irish Writings by Eibhear Walshe The Bowen Syndrome: an infantile disorder

In a review of the book *Uncle Silas* by Sheridan Le Fanu, Bowen said that she regarded it as an Irish novel because of, among other things, "it showed a subliminal infantilism".

It is a description that perfectly describes her Irish admirers today. One of them, Mary Leland, launched this book at Fota House on 1st October and gave a perfect example of this syndrome. She asked the audience to marvel at the fact that Bowen had deigned to write about, and praise, the Oyster Tavern in Patrick Street, that she described hurling and Gaelic football for us, and of course told us about Bowenscourt and its famous visitors, etc. etc. The rest of the launch was a love-in by the English Department of University College Cork.

In the book itself this infantilism is displayed particularly when Walshe deals with her espionage reports during WWII. Her biographer, Heather Bryant Jordan, reckons Bowen wrote them at the rate of about one a fortnight and that there were therefore about 100 altogether. Over 90% were destroyed and a few survived through some bureaucratic oversight.

According to Walshe all this work "was well-intentioned but ultimately a naïve undertaking that clouded her reputation

in Ireland" (p5). "War brought out a new aspect of Bowen's relationship with Ireland which was to damage her reputation" (p12).

So this most capable of women suddenly becomes a bit of a fool, wasting her time during the War. In whose eyes was she damaged? Certainly not in the eyes of the people she wrote the Reports for, Churchill and the War Cabinet—who appreciated them, said so and paid her. There was nobody else and nobody more important by whom she would have herself judged. As nobody in Ireland knew what she was doing, she could not possibly have been damaged.

Her reputation only suffered among these 'infantiles' who consider her Irish and they thereby make her a traitor to her country. In fact, of course, she was true to her country and was a good and faithful servant of her state. She enhanced her reputation to anyone not blinded by the creation of an 'Irish' Bowen. Her Irish admirers today are inadvertently her great detractors!

And, as she also did the Irish state some service, by helping to prevent Churchill give way to his heart's desire to invade, both states owe her one.

The "infantilism" in the book gets worse.

Walshe says:

"But Bowen's reports do have their flaws, as when she completely misinterprets the political opinions of the main opposition leader, James Dillon, the Fine Gael politician by declaring him a fascist sympathizer when he was precisely the opposite" (p12).

This is incredible. She got Dillon spot on. Her assessment of him is a highlight of her extant reports. He was a founder and leader of the Irish fascists, the Blueshirts, and he was a lifelong leader of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Catholic equivalent of the Orange Order. He was proud of his part in both 'til the day he died. The dogs in the political streets know this. Even Dermot Keogh to whom the book is dedicated would surely confirm this.

Walshe describes how Robert Fisk first brought the report on Dillon to his attention in 1979 and that he "*read it carefully*" and expressed no disagreement with her description of him! He was only upset at how his hospitality and confidence had been betrayed (p13).

Then Walshe tells us that "*Her reports show Bowen at her critical best*" (p13), but the best example of her critical best was a flaw! This is Irish literary criticism today.

Walshe has swallowed, hook line and sinker, the Churchillian myth that WWII was about his fight against fascism rather than a war to put down Germany—again. Bowen's attitude to Dillon is a perfect example of the reality. She had no problem with Dillon being a fascist because he was for war with Germany. Fascism was not the issue for her, no more than it was for Churchill. Germany was the issue. Hitler and Dillon were different kinds of Catholics and they were also different kinds of fascists, that's all, but fascists nonetheless.

DON'T MENTION AUBANE!

Walshe's book is a selection of Bowen's writings about Ireland and he provides a bibliography of sources for the items omitted. However, he gives no published source for the espionage Reports not included, even though they are all available from the Aubane Historical Society for some time and, as Walshe has long since written about the Society, it cannot be that he is ignorant of their existence.

This follows a pattern these days. A biography of Sean Moylan by Aideen Carroll was published recently but no mention was made of his published autobiography, again published by Aubane. You would think that an essential part of a biography would be to refer to the subject's own autobiography. Apparently not: when the book is published by Aubane!

Similarly, John Borgonovo has just written an account of aspects of the 'civil war' in Cork city, but omits to mention the only biography of the most important military figure in the City at the time, the O/C of the IRA there, Sean O'Hegarty,

again published by Aubane. Kevin Girvin's book on O'Hegarty is a vital source on this theme—but on no account must it be mentioned! It an hardly be that Mr. Borgonovo was not aware of its existence?!

These authors are hardly demonstrating good scholarship with this bowdlerism and certainly are not being fair to their readers.

Jack Lane

Part 15

Naval Warfare

We have seen the way in which England reorientated itself from its traditional maritime to a Continental strategy from 1906 in order to fight a war against Germany as part of a new grand alliance. But what was the reason behind the demotion of the Royal Navy from being the senior service to subsidiary of the British Army?

The reason is evident from dozens of articles and books written in the aftermath of the Boer War. The one below, *Imperial Defence and National Policy*, by the Liberal Unionist, Leo Amery, written in 1905, is typical. Amery, a member of the Coefficients dining club (with Richard Haldane, Edward Grey, and Halford MacKinder and others, including some Fabians) had friends in very high places and expressed the views typical of Liberal Imperialism. In it Amery argued that England had to adapt to what he took to be new circumstances in the world and end its reliance on the tried and trusted methods through which it had achieved and maintained its global power:

"The intimate interaction of naval and military warfare in England's wars is often obscured from us by the fact that most of the work on land was done by our allies. Skilful foreign policy helped by liberal subventions, enabled us to get the heavy and comparatively unprofitable work of continental fighting done for us. Our own little army was kept, as a rule, for the amphibious work of acquiring our Colonial Empire...

"Our navy is our very existence. We can allow no State, or pair of States, however seemingly well disposed, to out-build us at sea. At the same time, a supreme navy alone will not survive. In the first place, a purely naval war cannot crush a continental enemy. It may be prolonged indefinitely, and cost enormous sums, which will cripple the whole power of the nation, and thus in the long run endanger naval supremacy itself, for naval supremacy, must be based on national wealth. Moreover, even to purely naval success, military success is sometimes an essential factor.

"Without the army which captured Port Arthur, the Japanese would have found it more difficult to establish their naval supremacy in the Far East... Again, the navy, to make sure of success, must be absolutely unhampered in the pursuit of its strategical objective—the enemy's fighting fleets. It must not be tied down to local defence. The object of our fleets is

not to prevent an invasion of England, but to destroy hostile fleets...

"The South African War brought out the defects of our military system in the most striking fashion... Our military failure in South Africa was not merely that of antiquated tactical methods, and insufficient bookwork or defective maps, though all these features played a part in it; it was also a failure in the military spirit. The attitude of the army was as unwarlike in its essence as the attitude of the nation...

"The study of military problems ought to form an essential part of the citizens' education in his political duties. Military history ought to be included in the curriculum of our Public Schools and Universities. It is a national disgrace that there is no Chair of Military History or of Strategy at either Oxford or Cambridge... In a democratic nation like ours, that study must be spread through all the more intelligent sections of the community. At the same time it is no less essential the army itself should be educated in the broader meaning of Imperial Defence, and in the fuller understanding of its own profession... Some form of military education which will make the ordinary man realise something of the general meaning of Imperial Defence, and acquire something of the spirit which is essential to the effective conduct of war, must be brought to bear upon the whole body of citizens. Some form of national service is essential to national military efficiency... Given a nation in which every citizen possesses and asserts proficiency in the use of arms, and is accustomed to the idea that it is his duty, if need be, to sacrifice even his life for the public good, and it will be possible to raise an economical and efficient voluntary army in peace, and to furnish a boundless reserve in time of war" (*The Nation And The Empire*, pp178-95).

During the Boer War Amery had been a correspondent for *The Times*. His articles in the paper on the reform of the Army had criticised British General Sir Redvers Buller and contributed to his dismissal after some early reverses at the hands of the Boer.

It was widely felt by those who thought about such matters in England that the Boer War had exposed deficiencies in the Army and its organisation which the Unionist Government had never got round to addressing. Haldane, the new Liberal Imperialist War Minister, found himself in 1906 with fundamentally the same mili-

tary forces that had fought the South African War. The Army in its existing state was viewed to be not up to the fighting of wars against 'first class' powers, in which a large number of men might be needed in a hurry. And it was felt that the Boer War had been a very close-run thing and any Power stronger than the Boers would have found the Army wanting.

When the idea began to form in the Imperial mind about cutting Germany down to size in a continental war the problem of the Army loomed large.

With this objective in mind Haldane introduced a principle which had never existed before in the British War Office—the organisation of the British Army on a specific war plan for a particular situation, so that there was no necessity to change its organisation on the occasion of war. This was the principle, which the Prussian Field Marshal Moltke had laid down half a century previously for the particular requirements of the German defensive position on the Continent.

It was, however, a contingency which had never previously been required by Britain, an island nation, secure behind its navy and used to fighting colonial wars in different areas of the world with a great deal of improvisation. But now England had a specific enemy, a specific battleground and a specific plan to engage when the circumstances were right.

The great departure that the Liberal Imperialists made was to make the main strategic objective of British Imperial Policy the crushing of a European commercial rival. Britain's military machine was always designed as a fighting force required for use in conjunction with its interests across the globe, and not for the European Theatre. It was always its spare capacity which took on any Europe intervention that might be required. Now it directed its effort towards creating a British war machine to fulfil a Continental objective. And it began the popular militarization of English society with Territorial Armies, Rifle Clubs and Boy Scouts so that a rapid expansion of the armed forces could be made when the time had come to deal with Germany.

When Amery wrote: "*Our navy is our very existence... a purely naval war cannot crush a continental enemy*", he was saying that the Royal Navy was not, by itself, up to the job-in-hand which England had begun to set itself. However, when Amery was writing, Britain had not, as yet, procured allies "*to get the heavy and comparatively unprofitable work of continental fighting done for us*".

But over the next three years it did

indeed procure those allies in the shape of France (1904) and then Russia (1907).

The Boer War had made Imperial Britain feel vulnerable at the thought of a Continental alliance being formed to take an opportunity at the moment of England's difficulty. No such alliance had been formed against England but it was probably imagined what Britain would have done if one of its rivals had become entangled in a difficult war that alarmed the Empire. And so the decision was made to prevent alliance against itself at all cost.

So Britain formed as big an alliance as possible, engaging with its former enemies, so that the rival which it saw as the greatest threat to it could be prevented from forming an alliance itself.

But alliances are not gotten for nothing and, in the light of England's historical behaviour toward erstwhile allies, its new allies demanded commitment from England in a form that she had never given before—a commitment to, not just maritime-based operations, but also to Continental warfare, waged in conjunction with its ally.

For England to have paid such a momentous price, ignoring all the precedents of her history, is good proof that she was the driving force behind the Great War and wanted it more than anyone else.

And that is why the historically most powerful weapon of British warfare came to play second fiddle to a new creation and England entered into unknown territory with unknown outcomes.

Pat Walsh

To be continued

Propaganda From The FT

"Valuable as it is on the mechanics of the collapse, Carswell's book lacks a dash of colour. There is little in the book about Ireland's real power network, between financiers and politicians. There is little evidence in the book the two groups were in cahoots..." (9.10.11)

No, that is not some wild left-winger talking, it is the *Financial Times* reviewing Simon Carswell's book, *Anglo Republic*, a book about the banking crisis in Ireland, which the *FT* inaccurately describes as a "*collapse*". The review, by Vincent Boland, is in keeping with earlier *FT* prognostications about Ireland and must be seen in the light of misinformation about the nature of capitalism. If the connections between politicians and business are more visible in Ireland, that does not mean there are more of them, merely that the society is smaller, and more open. It is certainly much less than in Britain. In fact, we doubt very much there is much communication between businessmen—and particularly bankers—in Ireland and politicians. However, a nexus between politicians and business exists everywhere that capitalism exists, and any attempt to suggest otherwise is an attempt to disable the competition.

Report by Jack Lane

Famine/Holocaust: Some Letters

There was an interesting exchange of letters in the *Irish Times* recently on the nature of the Famine/Holocaust and how it could be best described. As is not unusual with the 'journal of record' it was truncated at the point at which it got really interesting.

Dr. Deborah Lipstadt was the keynote speaker at a three-day Seminar in Trinity College on 17th August on teaching the Holocaust. It was for teachers and organised by the Herzog Centre in TCD and the Holocaust Education Trust Ireland. A report in the *Irish Times* said:

"She said people who describe the treatment of the Palestinians, black people under apartheid or the deaths of one million Irish people in the Famine as a holocaust trivialised the Famine or misunderstood the nature of what had happened in the gas chambers. "Not speaking as a Jew but as a historian, many of these things that happened are dreadful, but it is a sloppy use of the word", she said" (18 August).

I think nobody can be accused today of misunderstanding what happened in the Gas Chambers. But her views begged some questions that needed clarification. If masses of people are deliberately sacrificed for a specific purpose, what/who determines how it is best described? What circumstances and context makes it genocide, a holocaust, a 'horrendous tragedy', a criminal act, a crime of passion, or whatever. I can't for the life of me see how describing the Irish Famine as a Holocaust trivialises it, or any other Holocaust. It was a description used at the time and later and long before the WWII Holocaust. Did the people who did so not know what they were talking about? The word and the concept of a Holocaust have been around for quite a while and were understood.

It seems that some issues like that were posed for Dr. Lipstadt, as she felt obliged to write a letter to the *Irish Times* clarifying her remarks and the following ensued:

23 August 2011

"Genocide And The Famine

I may not have expressed myself as precisely as I meant to in my interview with Ronan Mc Greevy (Home News, August 18th). Regarding the death of one million Irish people in the Famine, I am not an expert in this field and simply do not know enough of the precise history to determine whether this was indeed a genocide. What it was, without any doubt, was a horrendous tragedy, one that could have been prevented had there been the will to aid the victims. Of that there is no doubt.

However, genocide as defined by the United Nations has a precise meaning and not all mass murders—horrendous though they may be—qualify as such.

I urge caution in the use of the term.
Deborah E Lipstadt, PhD "

7 September 2011

"I find it difficult to understand Dr. Deborah Lipstadt's doubts about the victims of the Famine not being classifiable as victims of genocide by the UN definition (letters, 23 August). The latter says, inter alia, that:

“genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;” As she accepts that the famine *“could have been prevented had there been the will to aid the victims”* I cannot see her difficulty.

The Lord Lieutenant at the time, Clarendon, wrote to the Prime Minister, Russell: *“I do not think there is another legislature in Europe that would disregard such suffering as now exists in the west of Ireland, or coldly persist in a policy of extermination.”* (April 26, 1849). I think he would have no difficulty in describing it as genocide if that was the language of the time and there is no reason to believe he had any particular axe to grind on behalf of the native population.

Dr. Lipstadt gives a precise figure of one million victims but they were never counted at the time. However, *The Times* reported on 15 March 1847: *“The workhouses are full and only hold 100,000 while 4,000,000 are starving.”* In view of the fact that the blight returned for two more years and that the new Liberal government later that year abandoned food and relief works, as a matter of principle, I cannot imagine how the vast majority of those starving at that time could have survived. **Jack Lane**.

14 September 2011

Jack Lane (September 7th) is, as always, cogent and to the point in his discussion of culpability in the Great Famine. He is right to say that state policy contributed to the million deaths. Whether this amounts to genocide, including the “intent” specified by the UN definition he quotes, I am less sure than he is.

There is one aspect of his letter which is worth clarifying, however. His evidence of intent is a letter by the lord lieutenant of the time saying that the government was “coldly persisting in a policy of extermination”.

The word “extermination”, as it was used during the 1840s in Ireland, meant removal from the land, usually multiple evictions, rather than murder.

In 1849, Edmund Roche, MP for Cork, told the House of Commons that a proposed change in the law meant that “the extermination in Ireland would be trebled, until the whole of the pauper population would be got rid of and transported beyond the seas”.

Deborah Lipstadt’s letter (August 23rd), to which Jack Lane was responding, urged caution in the use of the term “genocide” relative to the Famine, and she was of course right to do so.

Your original report (August 18th), however, quoted her as saying that the famine was not “a holocaust”, which is different. The word “genocide” was coined in the 20th century and has a precise legal and literal meaning; the word “holocaust”, meaning “wholly burnt offering”, has existed for centuries, is used mostly figuratively, and took on its current dominant meaning — “the Holocaust” rather than “a holocaust” — only since about 1970. Before the second World War, it carried much less of a charge. It could be used to mean a sacrifice, as when Parnell in 1879 said that Irishmen who joined the British army became “the holocaust of Imperialism”; or it could simply mean

destruction by fire, which is its literal meaning. The historian DB Quinn in 1933 could even refer to the burning of the Dublin state archive a decade earlier as “the holocaust of the Public Record Office”, a usage which would be unthinkable now.

At least one contemporary referred to the famine of the 1840s as a “holocaust”. This was a city councillor in Cork who told a meeting in January 1848 that “a million and a half of Irish people perished, were smitten and offered up as a holocaust”.

This was a more serious usage than those of Parnell or Quinn, but does not imply an equivalence to the Nazi Holocaust.

Precision in language is as necessary with the word “holocaust” as it is with “genocide”, and indeed with “extermination”. **Niall Ó Ciosáin**, School of Humanities, NUI, Galway”.

The following letters were submitted but not published:

14 September

“Genocide and the Famine.

Niall Ó Ciosáin (Letters, September 14) is no doubt correct in saying that the normal meaning of “extermination” in the mid-19th century was “getting rid of”, mainly “expelling” rather than specifically killing. It might be interesting to study whether the extermination in Ireland in the 1840s had anything to do with a change in the word’s connotations.

When the Lord Lieutenant Clarendon criticised his government in 1849 for “coldly persisting in such a policy of extermination”, he was clearly not unaware that this policy of human removal had involved large-scale death.

Regarding the question of genocide, we must think of the clearly foreseeable and foreseen results of actions. It seems that the number of British policy-makers and influential thinkers who advocated or expressed approval of large-scale death in Ireland, in those precise terms, was relatively small. But there were many who expressed approval of the “extermination”, which was the policy resolutely pursued and which involved avoidable large-scale death. Clarendon was correct to say that such a policy would not have been pursued by any other government in Europe. (Russian government responses in famine times offer a striking contrast.)

Article II, section (c) of the 1948 UN Convention on Genocide states:

“In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such: ...

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.”

Was this not done in Ireland in the 1840s? **John Minahane**”.

16 September

“Niall Ó Ciosáin is right to emphasise the virtue of precise use of language, especially in the use of words that have changed their meaning, (Letters, 14 Sept.). Context is therefore all important. His references to the changed meanings of holocaust are very much to the point and the Irish Famine is a good illustration of this.

It was described at the time as a “*Holocaust offered at the shrine of political economy*”

(Cork Examiner, 22/1/1847), as a “*holocaust of humanity*” by Michael Davitt in ‘The Fall of Feudalism’ (1904) and as a “*demographic holocaust*” by Roy Foster in ‘Modern Ireland’ (1988).

Niall’s point of contention on the Famine as genocide issue is his doubt about the element of intent by the British Government.

No politician or government ever did — or ever will — openly declare their intention to implement mass starvation or genocide! However, the fact is that after the new Whig/Liberal government came to power in mid 1846 starvation in Ireland increased due to the recurring blight (for five seasons) and that government systematically decreased state assistance to zero. They could have decided otherwise. They were the most powerful government in the world and were beholden to nobody. They could have used the food resources of the country to do the very opposite. They decided as they did because they were, very consciously, the harbingers of Progress and being logical and consistent they accepted that that necessitated the implementation of the Malthusian solution to ‘surplus population’. Progress needs famines.

Malthus had long since spelt out clearly and unambiguously why that was so. At least he had the great virtue of not being a humbug. In view of the clarity with which he had done so the government could not have willed the means without knowing and willing the ends. Therefore, in view of what they actually did, I can’t see how there can be doubt about that government’s intentions. They knew what they were doing and I find it impossible to believe otherwise. **Jack Lane**”.

September 19th.

“A main difference between officialdom of 1847 and now is the earlier precision of language due to their classical (Latin, Greek) education. Thus this response to Niall O Ciosain’s claim (Irish Times, Sept. 14, 2011) that when the Lord Lieutenant of the time accused the government of “...coldly persisting in a policy of extermination” of the Irish that he really meant to say “evictions” rather than murder.

Correspondence of that time is rife with references to “ejectments” and “extirpations”, both of which are Latin-based as is “extermination” all with clear definitions. “Stirpe” (root), thus extirpation is “uprooting of the people”, and “ejectments” were evictions. “Extermination” was then, and still is, extermination.

O Ciosain’s claim is all the more dubious due to the sixty-nine British regiments (of its total empire army of 137 regiments) that removed, at gunpoint, Ireland’s food to its ports for export while the people starved, and Lord Clarendon letter of the time: “But for the onerous duty of escorting provisions (edibles) the army in Ireland would have little to do.”

“Thus, it was indisputably genocide (a word that didn’t exist then, being coined during WW2 by Rafael Lempkin), so the Cork Examiner referred to the mass murder underway in 1847 as “Holocaust”, as did others including Michael Davitt in his “The Fall of Feudalism...” in 1904. **Chris Fogarty**, Chicago, IL 60611”.

Does
It
Up

Stack
?

Dean of Saint Patrick's Cathedral

On October 25th 2011, *The Irish Times* reported in a very positive way that the Dean Robert MacCarthy had sent all the 7 Presidential candidates what amounted to as Patsy McGarry reported an "Ecumenical Initiative". Not surprisingly, the initiative would benefit not only the Dean but also Saint Patrick's Cathedral in these financially-straitened times. I have been unfortunate enough to meet the Dean on a few occasions and can report that he is one of the rudest men I have ever met. And the idea of him behind an ecumenical initiative makes me laugh, as I have seen him treat the Catholic Canon Twomey at the Farrow Church Commemoration of the writer Elizabeth Bowen with barely concealed disdain. I was so outraged this year that I personally thanked the Canon for his presence and shook his hand, and I could tell he was very surprised. While the Dean was out glad-handling the people he knows, and they are the Protestants—one knows them by their braying voices—he neglects his duties as host and leaves the poor Canon the whole time in a side-room waiting until he calls him for the service. Ecumenicism my foot!

And while I am on that particular subject I can say without fear of contradiction that, while the baskets are handed around after the Farrow Service, it is the Catholics I know that give paper money, with coins being dropped in by well-fed, prosperous-looking, Protestants. But, being the kind of man he is, he now sees what he claims to

"be an opportunity to make St. Patrick's into a *national cathedral* not merely for the Church of Ireland but for all Irish Christians".

He goes on to baselessly claim that "*we are now in a situation where the majority of Christians in Dublin and possibly the State attend no place of worship. We all know some of the reasons why this is so and I for one regret it*". Do you see what he does in that last sentence there—alluding no doubt to the many claims against the Catholic Church and then by way of help—kicking it while it is still on its knees when there is the opportunity of a nice little earner for himself and his Church. Even the most oppositional voices to the Catholic Church, like *The Irish Times* accept in survey after survey there is still something like 70% of the people attending Sunday Mass with Dublin being the lowest obviously—the Pale is still the

Pale and indeed becoming more so daily. But it is still a long way off to suggest that the *national cathedral* should be solely the purview of the Protestant Church. While the Dean accepts "*the idea of having a Roman Catholic Mass celebrated regularly in the cathedral has not been acceptable*" on the "*part of the leadership of the churches*" he still touts for business. In his letter to the Presidential candidates he opines:

"My sense now is that an effort to reposition St Patrick's into a role consistent with both its history and the changes now taking place in Ireland require a transcending initiative from non-church sources."

It was "*an area where the leadership of the president of Ireland could be crucial and appropriate*" he said.

The Dean seems to have a very unusual sense of what the Constitutional role of the Presidency is all about. In the past we have had Presidents who were Protestant and who were Catholic and there was never a bother about it. When Eamon deValera wrote the 1937 Constitution, he envisioned the holder of the top office in the State as being non-sectarian. Dean MacCarthy is *very wrong* to try and involve any future holder of the office in affairs of religion when it is to affairs of State that he/she has the only constitutional obligation in that role. Perhaps the Anglican Dean is thinking of the UK, where the head of State is also the head of the national religion of the State, which is Protestantism. If the Dean is really serious about the history of St Patrick's Cathedral and ecumenism, he should consider handing it back to the Catholic people of Dublin from whom the Protestant Church of Ireland stole it in the 17th century. The Church of Ireland has two Cathedrals in Dublin and it could return one of them to the Catholics who have none. The Catholic Church uses their Pro-Cathedral—"Pro" in this case means "*instead of*" new Cathedral which was intended to be built on the land on Merrion Square, which Archbishop John Charles McQuaid generously donated to the people of Dublin as a public park.

BRIAN O'HIGGINS

The following song was published in 1931 by Brian O'Higgins. It seems quite appropriate to the Ireland of 2011.

"A Nation Ne'er again.

(Air—"A Nation Once Again".)

When freedom's fire was in our blood
We sang of Irish freemen,
For Ireland's cause who always stood—
Three thousand men or three men;
But, ah! our blood has cooled since then
And all our dreams are slain;
To-day we sing "God Save the King,"
And "A Nation Ne'er Again".

Chorus:

"A Nation Ne'er Again",
But in England's noble train
We'll play the clown and guard the
Crown—
"A Nation Ne'er Again!"

The Deeds and words we did and said
Are buried now for ever,
To kill the Memory of the Dead
Shall be our first endeavour;
For dead men sometimes tell a tale
That fires the rebel brain,
And the Empire's call must reach us all
In "A Nation Ne'er Again!"

Chorus.

To talk of Ireland's Freedom now
Is only rank sedition,
All stepping stones and dead men's bones
We've pitched them to perdition;
No man may talk of days gone by—Of
Republic or Sinn Fein—Shout "Up
the Gael", and you'll rot in jail
In "A Nation Ne'er Again!"

Chorus.

RTE BIAS

When Ireland woke up on Tuesday, 25th October 2011, two days before the voting for the next President—it was the news on Radio of severe flooding in Dublin that took precedence. That the whole thing has happened again a third time in the same area because the drains have not been cleaned and an underground river was built over with no proper attention to the fact that, when enough rain fell it would back up and flood the nearby houses, just shows the carelessness of the City Council. The City Manager came on to say that it was a once-in-a-hundred-year event and that begged belief.

The people complained and said someone would have to do the clean-up and be responsible for the money it would take. That these houses are no longer able to access flood insurance should suggest to anyone with half a brain that the planners should be held responsible. In China recently, when there was a train derailment, the bureaucracy in charge were taken out and shot. Now I am not advocating the death penalty, but there comes a time when people who are responsible for this kind of fiasco should be held accountable. And perhaps the days of building in flood plains will stop and the considerable money for the clear-up will go instead to seeing that proper planning procedures are adhered to in future.

But it was interesting to see how the whole *Dublin* flooding story—yawn—was used to put pressure on the time that Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness was given. That evening's RTE News had a picture of a 70s black and white funeral and this tactic was used again and again against

McGuinness to the effect that he was personally responsible for all the funerals of Northern Ireland. When Sean Gallagher was outed as a financial wheeler and dealer, it was an open secret in Fianna Fail that there were considerable stories about how he became so rich so quickly. But the media liked Sean the more he denounced Fianna Fail, so they were very supportive of him with headlines claiming he had "*been ambushed*" by Martin McGuinness. (Nice tie-in with that word—no?) Now RTE is paid by the tax-payer i.e. you and me and I would have liked a little more objectivity. The print media—that is, all the papers—were also unanimously against Martin McGuinness and, if one thing has been achieved by this election, it is that the Northern Ireland saga of the Troubles is now *passé*, as even the most righteous Fine Gaeler said to me yesterday that that particular story of our past is over now and we have to move on. I was slack-jawed with the surprise of it but there you go—sometimes things can come back and bite the media in their bum—you just never see it!

THE DEPRESSION

In the present Depression, as in the Great Depression after the 1929 Wall Street Crash, the rich are getting much richer and almost everyone else is getting much poorer. The money hasn't gone away, it has just migrated into the wealthy people's offshore bank accounts from where it will be used to buy assets the price of which has fallen due to the Depression. Among the interesting side effects is that the super-rich are buying ever larger and more exotic residences for themselves, with the result that residences in the price range of over 10 million euros are actually increasing in price due to the competition among the super-rich. According to a recent Merrill-Lynch Report, the number of millionaires around the world has grown by over 8% in 2010 and the combined wealth of these individuals has grown from 40,700 billion dollars in 2007 to 42,700 billion dollars in 2010. That is an increase of 2,000 billion dollars. Where did it come from? Certainly not from themselves as a class. It came from us, the others of the human race who are not millionaires. We, the others, are much better off and live more comfortable lives than people, say, 500 years ago, when most of the wealth then consisted of land, and ownership was concentrated then in the hands of the super-rich who were also the ruling class. Bankers and administrative servants were few 500 years ago and were very firmly under the control of the rulers/capitalists.

Economists are inclined to trace the rise of modern capitalism to the Industrial Revolution but is it not perhaps traceable to the accumulation of wealth from about 1500 AD onwards in the hands of bankers

and the new class of public servants who ventured as entrepreneurs into the shipping and colonising associated with the 'discovery' of foreign trade. The Industrial Revolution was a necessary by-product of foreign trade. Huge quantities of materials were needed which in turn stimulated men to supply the demand. Vast quantities of copper for ship's bottoms, for example, and iron for cart-wheels, horseshoes, and ship-building were needed. Once the demand was created by foreign trade, it stimulated the need for invention and improvement of production methods and not the other way around as economists tend to show it.

As wealth increased and became more widespread, the former ruling classes were parted from the levers of political power and over the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries political power was exercised more and more by politicians who were for the most part—but behind the scenes—servants of the super-rich. For example, Lloyd George was given a house by one of his patrons. It is no coincidence that most successful politicians retire into a wealthy lifestyle out of all proportion to their official earnings. But still, not super-rich. The real super-rich are those who own great farms of land throughout the world, they own vast factories, steel works, shipping lines, enormous ports and sizeable portions of the world's wealthiest cities. And they supply money. It is those bankers who call themselves Private Banks who control and allocate huge funds to commercial Banks and to Mortgage Providers and to Investment Banks. The bondholders who are being asked to forgive one-half of the debt owed by Greece and by Greek banks are for the most part the Private Banks which manage the surplus money for their super-rich clients. These people do not like losses, even though they can afford it. This is the reason why the Greek situation is taking so long to sort out and, even after it is politically sorted out by the EU leaders; it is still possible that not all of the bankers acting for the super-rich will agree to 50% discount for Greece. Or may agree only after Greece has sold national assets to companies which most likely will be ultimately owned by the super-rich people or by their nominees. Thus they will recover some or the entire discount by getting cheap assets which would not otherwise be sold by Greece at all.

The real role of the IMF in all of this is, not only to force feed loans to Greece, Ireland, and the UK etc., but to put the frighteners on the target countries by laying down really tough conditions over a long period of years so that huge interest on the loans can be earned for the super-rich masters. The money has to be extracted from the plebs through taxation, water charges, and property taxes and paid through the economic system via Governments. Governments' budgets for social

MONDRAGON continued

for its workers, paid for partly out of direct worker contributions but also from the profits of the co-operatives themselves. The MCC used also to provide health care for all its workers until the late 1980s, when the Basque Regional Government took over that particular responsibility.

IRELAND AND BRITAIN

In 1967, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions adopted a resolution supporting "*the principle and practice of industrial democracy, providing for workers' participation in management*". In 1968, they called on the Government to introduce industrial democracy in the State sector.

In 1973, the British Trade Union Congress passed the first statement on Workers' Control by the Trade Union movement since 1949.

The seeds of modern day Mondragon were planted in 1953, light years ahead of anything in the English-speaking world and developed in a highly co-ordinated and organised way.

It is doubtful if such an achievement could have been carried out by workers in either Ireland or Britain, mainly because of the political and ideological outlook of the Left in these island.

(To be continued next issue)

welfare, education and public health have to be cut so as to enable the Governments to pay the enormous amounts of interest to the providers of money i.e. ultimately the super-rich. It makes a lot of sense doesn't it for the super-rich? But, for the other ninety-nine % of the world's population it just does not stack up!

Michael Stack ©

BRAVE SIRTE

Sirte, Libya, the new Guernica, Nato bombards indiscriminately, the ragtags shell it dispassionately. Libya isolated from Africa. EU, US, Russia, condemn Gaddafi though UK liberals act dictator using the world as prestidigitators. (not so much human rights as geography) Once there was Picasso who depicted the scream of a horse, a trampled free press, broken bodies, naked light bulb. It sticks in the memory, a fearful abscess. But will you remember Sirte convicted of being Arab socialist to excess.

Wilson John Haire

24th, 7th October, 2011

MONDRAGON continued

organisation methods he proposed have come into vogue in the intervening years." (Pat Murphy, *Social Republican, A Tribute to his Life and Work-1937-2009*, Edited by Philip O'Connor, 2010, 60pp.)

Even in his latter years as a volunteer worker at the Larkin Centre for the Unemployed, in Dublin's North Strand, Pat Murphy maintained communication with the Mondragon workers.

HOW DOES IT WORK?

A worker, in order to become a member of a Mondragon Co-Operative, must invest €13,400 in share capital. The sum accumulates interest over time and is repaid to the worker upon retirement. So, from day one, he or she has a financial stake in the success or failure of the enterprise.

Every worker has an equal vote. Joel A. Barker of the Drucker Foundation says: "The workers elect the board of directors and the board of directors hires the managers. This has a positive effect on the workers, because the people they elect are the people who hire their supervisors."

The Co-Ops are not cast adrift on the market without map or compass. Ready and eager to help them with their business plans is the Mondragon's own special-purpose community bank, the Caja Laboral. It produces up-to-date marketing forecasts for co-ops, provides low-interest finance to enable new co-ops to be launched, and makes available experienced staff from long-established co-ops to be mentors for newer ones.

In the corporate world, it is a fact that most new small business fail. In Mondragon, by contrast, most new enterprises succeed. Barker observes:

"The Mondragon bank... always has the welcome mat out for anyone who wishes to create more jobs. Because of this attitude and the great skills Mondragon has developed in nurturing start-ups, its entrepreneurial success rate has been 80 per cent! That is the failure rate for the rest of the world!"

CAJA LABORAL—COMMUNITY BANK

The Caja Laboral—which, like the Mondragon co-ops, started from humble origins—has grown to become one of Spain's major financial institutions. It has branches across the country, 1.2 million clients, a staff of 2,000, 21 billion Euros worth of assets and 1.5 billion Euros in equity.

UNIVERSITY

Mondragon has its own university, made up of an engineering school, a technical school and what is now considered to be one of the best business studies programs in the Europe Union. It also owns, and invests heavily in, a number of research and development facilities.

JOBS, JOBS, JOBS

Writing for the *Harvard International Review* (April 4, 2009), Greg MacLeod describes the secret of Mondragon's success in achieving its annual job-creation targets and ensuring job security for all its members. He writes:

"Most large global corporations ... develop strategies to increase earnings through job reduction. Conventional corporate managers argue that a 'job creation' strategy necessarily leads to inefficiency and losses. But empirical testing suggests otherwise."

Individual co-operatives in Mondragon, observes MacLeod, are under "*no legal obligation to retain workers, but jobs are effectively guaranteed*". He says: "*If there is a redundancy in one enterprise, the redundant workers have the right to available work in the other associated enterprises.*"

So, instead of workers being left to rot on the dole, they are speedily transferred to productive employment in other co-ops and assisted with retraining to enhance their value to the new enterprise.

PRODUCTIVITY

This emphasis on constantly improving labour productivity also enhances the overall competitiveness of Mondragon's enterprises in the global marketplace. Mondragon's Global Director, Mr. Josu Ugarte Arregui, says: "*We can't offshore, so we have to keep climbing the technology ladder and improve core engineering here.*"

In order to ensure that workers should have a true sense of ownership of the enterprises in which they are employed, Mondragon's Caja Laboral bank prefers, wherever possible, to limit the size of individual Co-Ops. Once a Co-Op's membership approaches 500 worker-owners, the bank prefers to launch new co-ops rather than allow established ones to get any bigger. This is quite a contrast from the relentless process, seen in the rest of the corporate world, of economic mergers, acquisitions and take-overs.

According to Australia's Dr. Race Mathews' classic work, *Jobs of Our Own: Building a Stake-Holder Society* (1999,

republished in 2009), studies have consistently shown that workers in Mondragon feel a loyalty to their firms and are "*prepared to make significant sacrifices where necessary in order for their co-operatives to remain in business*".

Greater worker contentment on the factory floor means less need for supervision. An American political commentator, Carl Davidson, once observed that self-supervision was a competitive advantage for Mondragon. He wrote: "*Not having a lot of supervisors to pay meant lower prices.*"

PAY DIFFERENTIALS

The relatively narrow pay differentials in Mondragon are a contrast to the vast pay differentials in many large Western corporations, where CEOs can pocket up to 400 times the pay of the lowest worker.

In Mondragon, top management seldom earns more than six times the income of the lowest-paid worker. "*In reality*", as Mondragon's global director Mr Ugarte points out, "*it is just three times after tax*".

In effect, if the top earner wants a raise, everyone in the Co-Op gets a raise.

It is true that some of Mondragon's high-flyers are enticed to work for outside corporations by the prospects of much higher salaries. However, an American writer Sergio Lub, who toured Mondragon two years ago, observed:

"Sometimes a Mondragon manager leaves for a few years to work in a higher paid job; they often return. When I asked a senior executive why he stayed, he answered: 'It was an easy choice. Outside I may earn more money, but I would lose my community.'"

RETIREMENT

Ambrose Evans-Pritchard, International Business Editor of Britain's conservative *Daily Telegraph*, in a recent article in which he praised the Mondragon model, discussed the link between increasing economic inequality and the recent global slump. He said:

"The solidarity ethos has its allure given mounting research by the IMF and other bodies that the extreme gap between rich and poor was a key cause of the global asset bubble and financial crisis, as well as being highly corrosive for democracies. The GINI index of income inequality has reached levels not seen since the 1920s across the West" (*Daily Telegraph*, London, February 16, 2011).

The Mondragon Co-operative Corporation (MCC) provides a comprehensive self-funded retirement income package

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LABOUR

Comment

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"No mode of production disappears until its economic potential has been exhausted"—Karl Marx

"Don't mention Mondragon!"

Would you believe it? A Workers' Co-Operative movement which produces an array of goods, including foodstuffs, computers, household appliances, refrigerators, ovens, vehicle parts and the celebrated Orbea bikes which won gold at the 2008 Beijing Olympics : and, 60% of their output exported.

Whilst Europe and the United States suffer levels of economic stagnation and joblessness not seen since the 1930s. The small town of Mondragón in the mountainous Basque region of northern Spain continues to successfully weather the global economic downturn.

Mondragón Co-operative Corporation is a network of co-operative firms, based in the Basque Region of Northern Spain, entirely owned and managed by the workers employed in them. It is commercially highly successful, exports quality manufactured goods around the world and boasts zero unemployment.

It has been operating successfully for 57 years, its workforce having grown from its original five founding members to its present labour force of 85,000 worker-owners employed in more than 120 co-operative enterprises.

You have never heard tell of it! The present writer was getting a key cut the other day, along a quayside in Cork, when the locksmith pulled down a box of pre-set keys and a large label on the box announced, "Manufactured by Mondragon Co-Operative Corporation, Espana". He had nothing but praise for the product.

Unlike the post-GFC [Great Financial Crash] zombie banks of Ireland, which have been put on Government life-support to the tune of tens of billions of taxpayer' Euros, Mondragón stands on its own feet and sponges off nobody.

In the midst of record economic

stagnation and joblessness, coupled with the massive disempowerment and erosion of worker influence : you would imagine "Mondragon" would be a war-cry on every radical and left-wing banner and publication, but alas! You barely hear it mentioned.

Indeed, you are more likely to find it discussed in the Peter F. Druker Foundation, the *Harvard International Review*, even in Britain's Tory *Daily Telegraph*. Capitalism takes every threat seriously.

Could it be that these Mondragon workers take their task too seriously? Imagine workers believing that they could actually organise themselves to compete in the cut and thrust of the open market.

Workers are born for martyrdom—not success (that would only spoil the fun of the infantile left).

Of course, if Mandragon failed, Ah, then, you would get a huge sympathetic response from the left : "a bit too utopian"; "that's what happens when you go back to the likes of Owen, Fourier or Thompson".

There another prejudicial aspect to it as

well. The Mondragon project arose out of Catholic social teaching. Now you would have to be suspicious, wouldn't you?

The original brains behind Mondragon was a Jesuit priest, Father Don Jose Arizmendiarieta (1915-1976). He was a farmer's son, whose studies for the priesthood were interrupted by the 1936 Spanish Civil War.

However, his credentials become a little more complicated for his left-wing detractors—Arizmendiarieta edited a Republican Trade Union paper *Eguna*, was imprisoned by Franco's Nationalists in 1937, and was fortunate not to be executed.

PAT MURPHY

The late Pat Murphy (1937-2009), a socialist from Dublin was the foremost advocate of the Mondragon project in the Irish labour movement.

In the early 1980s, following a bitter 14-week unofficial dispute at the telecommunications company, Technicon (Ireland) Limited, Murphy and other workers began to realise that Trade Union action in itself was inadequate and that workers must have a shareholding in the workplace.

"Pat then began a long campaign, with input from Mick Murray, to achieve a worker shareholding in the Company, [Technicon-Edit.] where he saw the possibilities of trading new working methods, of self-organised work groups, for a stake in the company. Pat based his vision of workers' democracy on a study of the Mondragon co-operatives in the Basque country, where self-organised work groups were the basis for one of the largest and most successful industrial co-operatives in the world. The attempt to introduce worker shareholding and a level of shop floor democracy in the company ultimately failed, mainly because Pat was way ahead of his time in putting these proposals forward. Both the worker shareholding concept and the work

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