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The Viability Of The Irish State

Abolishing Seanaid Éireann and meeting the deficit target in the upcoming budget have turned out to be important challenges to the current viability of the State.

The Government is proposing abolishing the Senate because of an anti-political promise it made during the 'people's revolution' of February 2011. In the anti-political atmosphere generated by Fintan O'Toole and others, the idea that the country would be better off without politicians gained widespread currency. In proposing abolition of the Senate, Enda Kenny's position is little more than that it would reduce the number of useless politicians and save 22 million euro. If that was the sum total of the matter, *Irish Political Review* would favour voting against the Government's proposition for its pure opportunism.

But the question has now been posed and has to be dealt with. That is, is the Senate good for anything?

The Senate is undemocratically composed and has no constitutional role of any import apart from delaying Government measures and giving a soapbox to 'important people' who would otherwise never secure election by the great unwashed. Sinn Féin has put the matter simply: the Senate is "*an affront to democracy*" and a bastion of elitism. The Labour slogan is "*One People, One Parliament, One Vote*". A Socialist Party poster, contrasting the Seanad electorate in a well-known middle class constituency (Dublin 4) with that in a working class area (Ballyfermot), states succinctly: "*Dublin 4: 3,491—Dublin 10: 126*".

Fianna Fáil and others opposing abolition say the Senate should be "*reformed*" instead. Unlike W.B. Yeats in 1927, they no longer dare to claim that the Senate is needed to defend intellectually superior minorities against the lurking masses. But the only possible outcome of "*reform*" would be to make a useless and elitist body even more powerful. A "*reformed*" Seanad can only be a strengthened one, and this must be at the cost of a weakened Government, and therefore a weakened State.

It can plausibly be argued that tampering with Dev's Constitution is something best avoided. But this is not the case made by Micheál Martin. De Valera was in fact no friend

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The Buck Stops . . . *where?*

When Britain decided to divide Ireland and hold part of it within the UK, it arranged that the remaining British quarter of Ireland should be undemocratically governed. It placed the Unionist/Protestant community in the North over the Nationalist community, in a form of government that consisted of little more than a system of Police and Militia control. The whole arrangement was excluded from the democratic political life of the state, though remaining entirely under its sovereignty.

After 50 years this system exploded under pressure of an absurdly moderate reform demand by the minority. The ruling Unionist body, both the formal police and the popular Loyalist movement associated with it, launched a wild assault on the Catholic minority. This provoked the Catholic community, which until then had on the whole been quiescent under oppression, into defending itself so vigorously that it found itself in a condition of insurrection. Insurrection then organised itself into war and ensured that the system imposed by Britain in 1921 could never

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Mother Russia

At the height of the Cold War Enoch Powell visited the Soviet Union and wrote a piece in the London *Times* on his trip. The smart arses at the paper no doubt expected the usual type of report that the paper carried about the country at the time. However, Powell reported that what he saw there was Mother Russia behaving as she always did, and would, and that Britain and the West had nothing to fear from her. After all, at crucial moments from Napoleon to Hitler Russia ensured

that Britain's enemies were defeated. Russia could always be relied on to help Britain keep the 'balance of power' in Europe, i.e., keep it divided and weak and prevent it being a serious competitor on the world stage. (The Vatican was also a useful ally in this grand, triangular, plan.)

In other words, Russia's role in the world did not depend on ideology despite the then all-consuming ideology that poured forth from Moscow. Russia has survived the collapse of that ideology and has quickly made the world a bi-polar entity again under Putin. Its diplomatic

victory over America on Syria has confirmed this for all to see.

It has done this in tandem with China but China could never do what Russia can do. China has no concept of leading the world. To the Chinese the world is China—their country is their world—and they see no need to be concerned for any other world, except as a means of helping China become more Chinese and keeping that other, barbaric, world at bay.

Russia has a world view and its secret weapon is now a sane approach to affairs

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of the Senate. In the 1930s he systematically removed the undemocratic elements of the Free State Constitution along with the elements that made the Treaty state subservient to Britain. He could have stopped with his reforms of the Free State Constitution but ran up against the problem that *in the final resort* Irish Law remained subject to British law through a right of appeal to the British Privy Court. The only way of removing this was to create a wholly new constitution. In 1933, in power less than a year and hamstrung by the obstinate Unionist rear-guard action of the Senate against his "*Constitution (Removal of Oath) Bill*", de Valera dissolved the Dáil and called an election. *The Irish Press* (15 January 1933) summarised the Fianna Fáil manifesto with the headline: "WE PROPOSE TO ABOLISH THE SENATE."

The 1937 Constitution was passed by a bare majority of those who voted. The most important aspects of the new Constitution were its establishment in law and in fact of Irish sovereignty and the creation of a robust parliamentary system. Despite TCD Professor David Fitzpatrick's claim

that much of the Constitution "*had been drafted by Jesuits and other clerical advisors*" (*The Two Irelands*, Oxford 1998, p. 230), de Valera in fact held out against the demands of powerful Church interests that had sought to have Catholicism enshrined as the official state religion and vocational institutions established to counter the role of the Dáil. The Church was deeply disappointed with de Valera's resistance to both demands and with the formulation he chose to accord Catholicism a meaningless "*special position*", alongside recognition of Protestantism and Judaism as religions of the State. But massive pressure was maintained for a "*vocationalist*" Seanad. The Constitutional Commission—which had split over extending even more powers to a second house—eventually advised some concessionary structure. De Valera reluctantly relented, and the narrowness of the vote in favour of his Constitution seems to justify his concession of a Seanad.

It is time now to abolish it.

Accompanying the Seanad debate is a

row over whether the October budget should aim for a deficit reduction of €3.1 bn or a formal target of reducing the deficit to 5.1%, which would be about half a billion less. The fact of the matter is that Ireland's foreign debt is 120% of GDP, the highest since the crisis of the mid-1980s. And it is growing by €1 bn per month. The key issue is not deficit spending per se, but whether Government should ensure the debt does not *increase* (whatever about remaining at its current level) or whether it should ignore this target and spend to boost domestic consumption to create employment instead.

The 1987 *Programme for National Recovery*—which delivered 20 years of unprecedented growth—was based on a formula of eliminating the current deficit while ensuring that absolute debt did not increase, with GDP growth gradually eroding the debt *ratio*. Over the period 1987-2005 the debt/GDP ratio declined from 120% to 55%, without actually changing in absolute value, as GDP grew over 100%. This GDP growth also allowed considerable expansion of real wage income and social expenditure from the early 1990s. Any similar approach now would mean for starters that the row about the deficit target be taken out of its current kindergarten setting and be decided instead on the principle of stemming the growth of a costly current deficit.

That kindergarten setting is the alignment of many self-styled 'Keynesian' economists and commentators on the side of expanding deficit spending to boost domestic consumption and hence domestic employment. As Colm McCarthy pointed out in a debate with Paul Sweeney and Shane Ross on RTE radio on 21st September, it is all very well to claim the blessing of a dead economist who can't answer back for such views (Keynes died in 1946), but he could not imagine him proposing a deepening of a current deficit where national debt already amounted to 120% of GDP. In addition, while boosting the small element of the Irish economy which relies on domestic consumption might marginally increase employment in car showrooms and shops, it would be at the expense of borrowing credibility and an expansion of imports, both of which would be costly to the State.

The social balance in public expenditure would be much better served by a bargain within the means available, which should include restricting further expansion of the deficit as far as possible. Maintaining control of the deficit is the greatest contribution this budget can make to sustaining the strength of the State in dealing with the outside world. ■

The Buck . . .

continued

be restored.

By any reasonable reckoning the responsibility for what happened in the North lies with the sovereign power which imposed the undemocratic system that could only function through sectarian conflict. But British Governments like to blame others for the foreseeable consequences of what they do, and they are pretty good at it.

Dublin Governments had no part whatever in the governing of Northern Ireland. But Whitehall was determined that they should be blamed for the way things turned out in the North. And of course the Ulster Unionists have always seen Roman influence operating through Dublin as the cause of all their troubles.

The Loyalists some time ago demanded an apology from the Southern Government for the war it inflicted on them. The Taoiseach, Fine Gaeler Enda Kenny, dismissed the demand. But his Coalition Foreign Minister and Tanaiste, Sticking Labour Party leader Eamonn Gilmore, has now said that the demand must be taken seriously and has promised an investigation into the charge that the Government of the Southern State did not do its duty to prevent the Provos from waging war in the sectarian British state in the North.

The power of the Provisional IRA was generated out of the way the Catholic two-fifths of the population was governed in the British system in the North. The Provos did not exist in August 1969. They existed a few months later as a consequence of August 1969.

There was natural sympathy between the majority of people in the South and their fellow-nationals in the North during the two generations when the Northern minority was quiescent under oppression. But it was not Southern influence that stirred the Northern minority to action. It was the pogrom launched by the agents of the British State in the North. When the Northern minority refused to lie down any longer, there was widespread admiration for them in the South. But the Provo movement was self-organised in the North, with the assistance of some Southern Republicans, but none from the Southern State.

The British Government, unable to stamp out the Republican upsurge which

it provoked, said that was because it was Southern-based. It demanded repressive action in the South. The Fianna Fail Government in 1972 brought in a repressive Bill. Fine Gael and Labour combined against it and its passage became doubtful. British/Loyalist bombs were set off near the Dail. A clear message was sent, as British diplomacy likes to put it when doing something diabolical. The opposition to the Bill collapsed.

Two years later a power-sharing devolved Government was in place in the North and the establishment of a Council of Ireland was in the offing. An SDLP MP said the Council would “trundle” the Unionists into a United Ireland. The Unionists were protesting but the Dublin Government (a Fine Gael/Labour Coalition) paid no heed. Three bombs were set off simultaneously in Central Dublin, and another in Monaghan town, in a British/Loyalist operation, causing casualties greater than any suffered in the North. Again a clear message was sent.

Dublin Governments then acted to the best of their ability to do what Britain demanded of them in the way of helping Britain to win the War which undemocratic British governing arrangements had brought about in the North.

A security report to the Dublin Government on the eve of the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings of 1974 rated the top danger to the state as coming from the Sticking Republicanism, from which the present Foreign Minister emerged. (See *The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, 1974, a military analysis*, by John Morgan, Lt. Col (Retd.).)

The Stickers of those times spun the yarn that they were a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organisation and had the Southern State in their sights, and that the capitalist rulers of the South had created the Provisionals as a diversionary bourgeois-nationalist tactic. That yarn continues to be told, for example, by Sticking historians like Lord Bew who are commissioned to write Oxford history under the patronage of the British State. How then can the Foreign Minister deny the Loyalist charge—as his Taoiseach does—without giving the lie to his own development?

(For the record: as far as we have been able to discover, it was the Stickers who received a large sum of money from the Dublin Government in that critical period of 1970.)

Gilmore’s concession to the British/Ulster Loyalist attempt to push responsibility for the War in the North from the sovereign authority in the North onto

Dublin Governments which played no part whatever in the governing of the North, was made at a meeting of the British/Irish Association at Cambridge in September. It does not appear to have been put on the Foreign Affairs website, but it has been given considerable publicity by the *Irish Times*, which, in an editorial comment on September 16th welcomed it as “*a useful gesture, as part of an unfolding process of reconciliation*”.

It is not explained who will be reconciled with whom if Dublin accepts responsibility for “*the IRA’s murderous activities*” (as it was put in a long *Irish Times* article by Sticking Professor, and political advisor to David Trimble as Unionist leader, Professor Henry Patterson, on 14th September). The feeding of Unionist delusions by scapegoating Dublin will certainly not reconcile the two communities in the North. The Catholic community knows, out of its own experience, what happened, and it won’t be influenced by middle-class Dublin media. And the Unionists do not want to be reconciled with Dublin. What they want is a false confession of guilt by Dublin to use as a debating point in the communal conflict in the North.

The “*moment of reconciliation*”, such as Sticking IRA historian Lord Bew once reflected about on RTE, is a profoundly undemocratic notion. In the functional party-political democracy of the British state, communal passions, whether conceived of a religious or ethnic, are fudged and eroded piecemeal by the opportunist temptations of the democratic process.

When the British State shaped a region of itself into Northern Ireland, it excluded it from the democracy of the state. About 80 years later a degree of stability was achieved by discarding the spurious subordinate democracy of the 1921 system and establishing in its place an apartheid system (authentic provision for “*separate development*”, unlike the South African system established when South Africa was the darling of the British Empire). The devolved powers of state are separated out into departments and are shared out between the two communities according to objective rules. Communal antagonism is the accepted reality on which this arrangement is based. And there is no cross-community dimension to its functioning which might supersede it by bringing about a transition to something else. At its best, the system stabilises communal antagonism by structuring it so that it can operate more or less peacefully.

The Catholic community has achieved a degree of political power with this system, where previously it had none. But the Protestant community, by being put on an equal footing with the Catholic community, has suffered a loss of power, because it was previously cock-of-the-walk. And it is discontented and dis-oriented.

When Britain was setting up the Partition system in 1920-21 the Ulster Unionists made "the supreme sacrifice" by agreeing to operate a strange form of subordinate government functioning outside the political system by which the state was governed, so Whitehall could manipulate Sinn Fein into the 'Treaty' arrangement in the South. That meant that, in order to remain under the British State, the Unionists agreed to be something other than British in its semi-detached political life. Whitehall benefited from the "sacrifice" by splitting Sinn Fein with the 'Treaty'—and forcing the Treatyites into 'Civil War'. But for Ulster Unionism the sacrifice was a kind of suicide.

The exclusion of the Six Counties from the political system of the state is not allowed to be mentioned in the *Irish Times*. The British State must be exonerated from basic responsibility for the way things went in this British region. And so there must be scapegoats.

Professor Paterson writes that a "sense that republicans have been more effective in rewriting the history of the Troubles... goes to the heart of much of recent unionist and loyalist disquiet over the peace process".

Official Republicans have been a major force in the history-rewriting business since the 1970s. In the process they somehow metamorphosed into political advisers to Ulster Unionism—Lord Bew, Professor Patterson, Eoghan Harris. It has been revealed that Lord Bew was in the Official IRA. Professor Patterson was at least a member of Official Sinn Fein. That fact should surely have been mentioned in the *Irish Times* cv to his article. But it wasn't. History is rewritten.

Return Of The Double Act

It seems that Professor Patterson and Professor Bew have resumed their double-act, an act that has gone through a number of makeovers through the years, from Official Republicanism through Althusserian Marxism, to Official Unionism.

It is an act that started in critiquing the Ideological State Apparatus and then became part of it, now helping to enhance its propaganda effectiveness.

Professor Patterson is, these days, holding up the Irish front whereas Professor Bew is encamped at Westminster, in the House of Lords, doing service for the Imperial State.

The double-act now consists of Patterson encouraging Dublin to feel guilty about what it did not do during the Republican War in Ireland and Bew encouraging the British State to get over any guilt complex it might have about what it did in the numerous wars it fought in putting down natives.

First, to the Irish front.

As has been noted in this publication Henry Patterson has recently authored *'Ireland's Violent Frontier: The Border and Anglo-Irish Relations during the Troubles'*. This extremely expensive book (about £70) is basically a catalogue of how Border Protestants suffered during the Republican War and how the Dublin Government stood idly by while they suffered.

In *The Irish Times* September 14th in an article headed 'Could Dublin have done more to defeat IRA campaign?' Patterson wrote:

"There was almost universal welcome from Unionist politicians and victims' groups for Eamon Gilmore's speech at the British Irish Association where he recognised the need to acknowledge those unionists who feel that the Irish State could have done more to prevent the IRA's murderous activities in Border areas. It was a welcome that was tinged with caution, reflecting the fact that in the speech the issue is defined as one of feeling and perception while for many victims of the IRA campaign along the Border theirs is the reality of past loss and the present reality of what they regard as a peace process tendency to focus on the transgressions of the British state and its security forces."

It seems to be an urge that lies deep within Unionism to humiliate Republicans and take retribution. They know that Republicans regard their War to have been a legitimate one; they know that Republicans concentrated their campaign on targets

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they defined as legitimate; they know that the Good Friday Agreement effectively conferred legitimacy on that War; and yet they somehow feel cheated of the humiliation that they were unable to bring upon Republicans by defeating them in war or forcing a surrender upon them in the transition to peace.

The following report at the time of the IRA ceasefire of 1994 sums it up well:

"To me," said Jack McKee, a Protestant pastor, "the IRA cease-fire is just a new form of suffering. Suddenly they say, 'We won't torture you or kill you anymore.' But we never got the chance to take our retribution." (Philadelphia Inquirer 4 September 1994)

Patterson: "*This sense that republicans have been more effective in rewriting the history of the Troubles, justified or not, goes to the heart of much of recent unionist and loyalist disquiet over the direction of the peace process*".

I have not noticed any Republican attempts at "*rewriting the history of the Troubles*". In fact, I have not seen any Republican historians at all in recent years. If there is a weakness in Republicanism, it is in this failing. Academia and the Universities are dominated by anti-Republicans and they have been responsible for travesties and perversions of political and historical fact. If history seems different than the script Patterson wants, it is because the out-workings of politics have made it so. And there is nothing unusual about that.

Patterson continues:

"Unionist complaints about the IRA's ability to exploit the Border and Irish territory to support their campaign in Northern Ireland were constantly aired throughout the Troubles. They were usually brusquely dismissed by Irish ministers and officials who claimed they were exaggerated and ignored the fact that the main sources of violence lay north of the Border... In researching my recent book on the Border during the Troubles and in the ongoing work of my research student, Paddy Mulroe, a picture emerges which, although not black and white, does not support attempts to minimise the significance of the Border and the Republic's territory for sustaining the IRA's campaign and the inadequacy of the Irish State's response to it... Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s the British sent regular detailed analyses of the IRA's use of the Republic to Dublin: from the planning and launching of attacks from Border towns such as Lifford, Clones and Dundalk, to the use of particular Border roads and tracks to escape after killings in the North. They also highlighted areas where the Irish security forces were seen as being ineffective or

turned a blind eye to IRA activities as long as they were directed North. In some cases members of the Garda were transferred away from the Border and there was also substantial increases in Garda and Army numbers in Border areas.

"However, the focus of this increased security force presence was on IRA challenges to the stability of the South and possible loyalist incursions. The response to British pleas for more effective forms of co-operation was limited and patchy. Irish governments did recognise the need for some degree of co-operation with the security forces in the North. This was in part because of the threat of loyalist attacks in the Republic. Intelligence on the loyalists could only come from the RUC. It was also the case that the British concern to improve cross-Border security co-operation gave the Irish State a leverage on British policy on the constitutional future of Northern Ireland."

There are suggestions in Patterson's book that the Loyalist bombings of Dublin and Monaghan and other attacks on the South were in response to the lack of security on the Border. The present writer would suggest that this was very much the *rationale* for British involvement in such enterprises, rather than the Loyalist motivation. Loyalists do not do sophistication of this kind. A word would have had to be been had in their ear for any such thoughts to emerge and there had to be something more fundamental in it—the mass killing of Taigs—to encourage them.

So what Patterson presents here is the likely thought-processes of elements within the British State seeking a beefing up of Southern security and repression of the Northern disease by blowing civilians to pieces in Dublin and Monaghan.

Patterson:

"The IRA was also a major threat to the Irish State. Although it prohibited attacks on members of the Irish security forces, its activities in the Republic, from bank robberies and kidnappings, to prison breaks and assassinations, demanded tough action from the State and led to a state of day-to-day antagonism between Garda and IRA members. Successive governments faced a dilemma. By co-operating with the RUC and British army against republicans, there was a risk of reigniting latent republican sentiment in a State with a nationalist ethos at its core. At the same time the IRA had the expressed aim of overthrowing the Irish State and its activities were an ongoing threat to the authority and legitimacy of Government and the Dáil."

The idea that the IRA was "*a major threat to the Irish State*" is merely a propagandist construct on Patterson's part. If he

believes it himself, he has moved away from the view held by Official Republicanism since the emergence of the Provos in the North. It was said (and is still being said by former Stickies) that the Southern State set up the Provos to prevent a socialist threat to the state. They were meant to confine the traditional business of nationalism to the North and be malleable by Dublin.

Certainly, the Provos had initially an Anti-Treatyite leadership from the South. But this was cast off as the War developed and those who were fighting it in the North took over. And they were not Anti-Treatyite—abandoning the Second Dail Republicanism of an alternative state nearly 30 years ago.

Patterson:

"The role of the Irish State during the Troubles is more than an *idée fixe* of unionists, it is a question of major historical importance with a central bearing on any process of dealing with the past. While the Saville Tribunal's inquiry into Bloody Sunday cannot act as a template for any broader mechanism for dealing with the past, it did demonstrate the immense value of a state making the vast majority of its records open for scrutiny. To build on Eamon Gilmore's speech, the Irish Government should consider opening the State archives on these contentious issues in as comprehensive a manner as Saville. This would not end the battle over history in Northern Ireland but it would at least cut down on the amount of permissible lies about the past."

The general thrust of this is that the Southern State had a duty to help the British repress the IRA; it should have diverted resources away from its own defence to do so; it should have ignored its own Constitution; it should have fought against "*terrorism*" as if it was an entirely abstract phenomenon, totally disconnected from the character of the North; it should have had no concern for what happened to the Northern Catholics; and it now should feel very guilty about failing to do what Britain required of it.

Despite the moral collapse of independent Ireland that has occurred in recent years as a result of the utilisation of "*the troubles*" against it, there are limits to all this. It is unreasonable to expect Ireland to act as if it were Britain, even though it has conceded a great deal of ground to the latter's view lately.

The Southern State did not recognise the legitimacy of 'Northern Ireland' and wanted its abolition no less than Republicans. And yet Patterson expected it to defend the Border even when Britain was not prepared to do so itself, but required

Ulstermen to do so.

Patterson's book is part of a recent trend in Irish history-writing to reverse the standard account of Ireland by blaming those who were victims of British policy for the sufferings that have been endured by those charged with carrying it out. It is part of the creation of a hierarchy of victims.

At the launch of Patterson's book Jim Cusack, the *Sunday Independent's* security correspondent, said:

"The 'ethnic cleansing' of Protestants living in Border areas over 20 years of the Troubles was a 'tool' to stop unionists coming to a political accommodation with the moderate nationalist party, the SDLP, a new book on the IRA's Border campaign asserts. It also points at Gerry Adams as the chief strategist of the Provisional IRA's 'long war', including the sectarian campaign against Protestants in rural Border areas as strategy to force Britain into doing a deal with Sinn Fein." (Sunday Independent 23.3.13)

Of course, Gerry Adams has to feature in it somewhere, even though he is far removed from the Border, because he was responsible for virtually everything done in 'the Troubles' in one way or another and knows everything that actually went on!

These are amazing assertions. The view that Provo 'ethnic cleansing' round the Border prevented a Unionist accommodation with the SDLP is a novel view of things—especially since Unionists ran their entity for 50 years in which any encouragement given to leave Border areas was entirely a product of their side and no accommodation was ever attempted with the minority.

The Southern State was fundamentally right to hold onto "*the fact that the main sources of violence lay north of the Border*". That is the crucial fact in all this. Simple repression of the IRA was not going to solve the problem in the North, however much the Unionists and British believed it would.

There is a simple way of illustrating this—by comparing the Six Year War of the IRA Border Campaign (1956-62) to the Twenty-Eight Year War (1969-98) of the new Republican Army.

The Border Campaign was an invasion of the North by the Southern IRA. There was some action by an unusual Republican grouping in Tyrone but by and large the Northern Catholics stood idly by. The Southern State concluded that the origin and thrust of the Republican campaign

was from itself, that it was largely disconnected from the experience of Northern Catholics, and so they repressed it effectively.

The Catholic Insurrection of 1969 and the new Republican Army it produced was entirely a product of the Six Counties. Its origins lay in the events of 1969; its momentum lay in the reaction to the Civil Rights campaign earlier; and its mass character was a product of the conditions of life that confronted the Catholic community trapped in the perverse entity known as 'Northern Ireland' that had been established in 1921.

There was no stopping it from the South, even though at least from 1972 the object of Dublin was to keep it at bay.

The result of the Republican War was the peace settlement of 1998. It is worth the thought that, if the IRA had been effectively repressed earlier, there would have been no Catholic transformation and no Good Friday Agreement.

So we can understand why Professor Patterson wants to promote a guilt complex in Dublin over its failure to maintain Unionist predominance in the North.

So what about the other part of the double-act—Lord Bew at Westminster? On 10th July he is reported by *Hansard* as having made the following intervention in a Lords debate:

"My Lords, I, too, thank the noble Lord, Lord Rodgers of Quarry Bank, for securing this debate and, indeed, for opening up this whole question with his debate five years ago. I must declare an interest, as secretary to the All-Party Group on Archives and History and, like my noble friend Lord Hennessy, as a working professor of history in Queen's University Belfast. One of the effects of the important debate introduced by the noble Lord, Lord Rodgers, five years ago was the production of the Pilling report. The noble Lord referred to it tonight. There is a striking sentence by Sir Joe Pilling at the heart of his report endorsing the project of official histories. He said that he had come to see the work of publishing official histories as, 'the gold standard of accountability to the country from those who have been privileged to hold senior office'.

"It is for that reason that Sir Joe Pilling advocates essentially an improvement and an increase in the production of official histories. I recall that five years ago I referred to the history of MI6—which my noble friend Lord Hennessy mentioned tonight—by my colleague Keith Jeffery. It was then basically something that existed on Keith's desk, but now it shows how these things can sell. One of the many points that are so import-

ant about that book is that it has sold hundreds of thousands of copies across the world. It may be because the Chinese copy actually has a gun smoking on the cover, but none the less it is an indication that no definite economic death follows the production of official histories. It is important to understand that the work of producing official histories is of great significance.

"However, there is a darker side to Sir Joe Pilling's report. If you read between the lines, he was aware as a member of the Dacre committee with Sir David Cannadine that it was likely that we would move from a 30-year rule. Actually, the Dacre committee recommended moving to 15 years, but in practice it is now a 20-year rule. Sir Joe is also clearly aware that this will become an argument for the state to say that it does not need these official histories any longer. He clearly tacitly acknowledges that that argument is just around the corner. It is the argument that is related to the hiatus that has been announced in the context of austerity. I can completely understand it, there is a forceful logic to it, but there is another hiatus, if I might put it like this. It would be forcefully true when the 20-year rule comes into effect and will be much truer in five, seven or eight years from now insofar as it has truth today. We still have a pressing need in public areas for a certain type of work in an official history programme.

"Let me explain what I mean and take the case of the history of the Northern Ireland Office. If you want to look at the volume of official publications on Northern Ireland on the shelf of our library, you will find a shelf of official publications including the report on Bloody Sunday and the Finucane report. There are hundreds of thousands of pages, mostly dealing with matters of that sort, occasions when the state has been seen to behave not very well. I have no objection to that; I was the historical adviser to the Bloody Sunday tribunal report. However, it is somewhat ridiculous that there is no account of the work of those officials on the British side who struggled to bring about a peace process. It is astonishing that we are silent on the more creative, positive, though no doubt deeply flawed aspects of the work of our state officials while we are so loud in announcing some of the rather bad things that went on. That seems an astonishing way to proceed.

"The same point can be made about how aspects of Foreign and Commonwealth Office history in the 1940s and 1950s have been dealt with in recent times. We now seem to think that the way to educate the public about what happened in the past is to apologise or to have a large and expensive inquiry about something very bad. That may well be necessary, but this is the case for a proper, official history programme. With the hiatus that still now exists, particularly in the Northern Ireland Office, the many

arguments there have been about legacy in Northern Ireland, the sense there that the past has not been properly dealt with and the small sums involved, there is a case for the Government to reconsider their approach of austerity."

It seems that all this stuff coming out of Ireland and Kenya etc. about administrative massacres, concentration camps, torture and executions should not go unanswered. There should be an official history to counter it as there was in the Boer War and with regard to the British Blockade of Germany (a report that was suppressed for half a century).

The British are apparently neglecting the writing of their history and because of spurious Imperial guilt complexes letting the wrong people put their stamp on it. How dangerous!

That is the sort of thing that should only be encouraged in Ireland. Over to you, Henry...

Pat Walsh

MOTHER RUSSIA

continued

between states. There is not a whiff of ideology or rhetoric in anything that Putin says, whereas American leaders can say nothing else. Worse still, they seem to believe most of what they say.

Russian sanity and American ideology is the basis of a new Cold War. And it may lead inevitably to a reassessment of the first Cold War—which can be now be more objectively judged, now that 'the West' has had a free hand in world affairs.

Jack Lane

In the current *Irish Foreign Affairs*.

Remember the vote in the London House of Commons on 29th August? Parliament refused to commit the state to war with Syria (*Editorial*).

The guilt clause of the Versailles Treaty has never been removed; in the media, Germany is still presented as the militaristic monster that started two world wars. *Pat Muldowney, Pat Walsh and Philip O'Connor* give alternative views.

Brendan Clifford reviews "The Fighting Irish: the Story of the Extraordinary Irish Soldier" by Tim Newark.

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A Bridge For Rosie Hackett

On 2nd September Dublin City Council voted to name the new bridge over the river Liffey, situated down Eden Quay from Liberty Hall, in honour of the Trade Unionist and 1916 Rising veteran, Rosie Hackett. It had been far from being a foregone conclusion. SIPTU had campaigned for it to be named after James Connolly and—from an original list of 85 names—Connolly had made it onto the first shortlist of 17. However, when Connolly failed to make it onto the final shortlist of 5, but Rosie Hackett did, SIPTU continued to campaign, without much hope, for Connolly's re-inclusion. The final shortlist—and the weighted preference points each would receive in the deciding September vote—consisted of Rosie Hackett (192), legendary Dublin camogie player Kay Mills (176), 'Alone' founder Willie Bermingham (167), 'Dracula' author Bram Stoker (92) and Legion of Mary founder Frank Duff (80).

SIPTU had made Liberty Hall available for a Rosie Hackett campaign meeting on 21st August, but withheld any official endorsement. There was the danger that the campaign would be seen as primarily a feminist issue and little else, much to the joy of those neo-Redmondites opposed to both Connolly and Hackett alike, because of their 1916 Rising involvement. The feminist case was a particularly strong one, since never before had any woman been honoured by a Liffey bridge. But Mills was at least as worthy a candidate on that score, and ran Rosie close.

See www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZBObXK9ztRA for the Hackett meeting recording. Dublin Lockout historian Pdraig Yeates made two interventions, in the 38th and 51st minutes. He was against naming bridges after 'heroes' and supported Hackett because she was so 'ordinary', no more remarkable than the many thousands other men and women who had survived the Lockout. In the 50th minute, a puzzled chairperson, comedian Tara Flynn, enquired how, if she had been as 'ordinary' as all that, Hackett's name had lived on? Yeates replied that it was because she had made a Witness Statement to the Bureau of Military History—see www.bureauofmilitaryhistory.ie/reels/bmh/BMH.WS0546.pdf—on her involvement in the 1916 Rising, as a member of the Irish Citizen Army's College of Surgeons garrison.

But Yeates went on to pronounce that

the powerful influence of the Rising on the country had been 'a total disaster'. I intervened in the 53rd minute to take issue with Yeates, to stress the importance of positively emphasising the centrality of the Rising for Hackett—making her an extraordinary woman—and to call on all supporters of Connolly to now rally behind her. I drew attention to Rosie's statement:

"On the occasion of the first anniversary of Connolly's death, the Transport people decided that he would be honoured. A big poster was put up on the Hall, with the words: '*James Connolly Murdered, May 12th 1916*'. It was no length of time up on the Hall, when it was taken down by the police... We were very vexed about it, as we thought it should have been defended... Miss (Helena) Molony printed another script. Getting up on the roof, she put it high up, across the top parapet. We were on top of the roof for the rest of the time it was there. We barricaded the windows (etc)... Police were mobilised from everywhere, and more than four hundred of them marched across... and made a square outside Liberty Hall. Thousands of people were watching from the Quay on the far side of the river. It took the police a good hour or more before they got in, and the script was there until six in the evening, before they got it down... Of course, if it took four hundred policemen to take four women, what would the newspapers say?"

Not just an 'ordinary' woman among 'many thousands', but one among an extraordinary four! By so rising—and Rising!—above the ordinary, Rosie had, indeed, earned her bridge.

Manus O'Riordan

HOPE

Britain has lost its role in the world says the warmongers when Parliament said no to violent regime change, Syria's woe. What status has Britain lost, its flag furled. The bully in the playground has been brought to heel, the export of death in this case has been stopped. Million-marches against the Iraq war rapped knuckles and helped Britannia to heal, so many years ago when hope was lost, then would-be billionaire Blair ignored us, *demos* died during that parliamentary frost. Now the warlike mood has been lanced of pus, the State killers, torturers, who has cost Britain pariah status have been sussed.

Wilson John Haire
30th August, 2013

Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

SINN FÉIN ON WEALTH TAX

Sinn Féin's decision not to include a Wealth Tax in its budget submission is sensible. The party is not abandoning the policy. It proposes to ring-fence the revenue from such a tax for job-creation. Therefore the revenues will not be included in the party's calculation of the budget deficit. The reason for this is that nobody knows how much revenue will be generated from such a tax. By stating a figure the party was inviting ridicule from such tax experts as Suzanne Kelly.

The Long Fellow never reads party policies. They are only meaningful in the cut and thrust of political debate. And it has to be said that Sinn Féin has been very unconvincing in its advocacy of this policy. The proposed Wealth Tax according to Pearse Doherty would exclude "*business assets*" and also *pension funds*. Sinn Féin has already declared itself against the Property Tax. There is not that much left apart from mobile assets such as cash which will quickly leave the country if there is any suggestion of such a policy being implemented.

EMIGRATION

The Central Statistics Office figures for population and migration for the year to April 2013 elicited predictable headlines from the media. The opening paragraph of the *Irish Independent* screamed 89,000 emigrated. With a commendable command of primary school maths the newspaper went on to explain that this was "240 a day" or "10 per hour" or even "one every six minutes".

While it is true that 89,000 emigrated, almost 56,000 immigrated. So net emigration amounted to 33,000. The CSO figures show that just over 35,000 of the emigrants were Irish nationals. In spite of the net emigration, the population of the Republic continues to increase and is now just under 4.6 million.

The CSO release also shows the figures for the last ten years. Even in the boom years we had emigration of about 25,000 a year, but this was far exceeded by the amount of immigration. Net immigration (more people coming into the country than leaving) was running at about 30,000 a year in 2003 and 2004 reaching a peak of 100,000 in 2007. The level of net immigrat-

ion dropped to 50,000 in 2008. And in 2009 the number of emigrants equalled the number of immigrants. We have had net emigration in the last four years, which seems to have stabilised at just over 30,000.

What does all this mean? It certainly is not a national catastrophe. There is no doubt that in the last four years the number of job opportunities has diminished, but perhaps the level of expectation has not. Why settle for a lower standard of living when there are opportunities in other English-speaking countries such as Australia? There is no doubt that the experience of emigration in recent years is very different from the 1950s and even the 1980s, but as Professor James Wickham of TCD has pointed out the rhetoric surrounding the subject has not changed at all (*The Irish Times*, 18.9.13).

UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT

The economy remains in a fragile state, but there have been encouraging signs of recovery. CSO statistics show that unemployment dropped by 6.9% or 22,000 to 300,700 in the year to June 2013. The number of long-term unemployed people—without a job for a year or more—has also fallen by a substantial 12.3pc (*Irish Independent*, 29.8.13). The Long Term unemployed account for 60% of the total unemployed.

The drop in unemployment cannot be explained by emigration since the number of people employed increased by 33,800 or 1.8%. There are now 1.87 million people employed in the State.

BALANCE SHEET RECESSION

The current economic crisis has been described as a balance sheet recession. Consumption and spending has contracted as households and businesses repair their balance sheets (i.e. reduce debt). The Central Bank notes that the total credit to Irish households on the balance sheet of resident credit institutions fell by 3.9% for the 12 months to the end of June this year.

The Long Fellow has the view that the process of repairing balance sheets has to be gone through, it cannot be avoided. Households and businesses will not spend or invest until debt levels are at sustainable levels.

There obviously has to be a balance between debt forgiveness and the interests of the banks (i.e. the tax payer in many cases). If the capital of the bank is undermined by write-offs, no lending is possible. The AIB Chief Executive David Duffy told the Oireachtas Finance Committee (3.9.13) that 20% of borrowers in arrears are strategic defaulters and one in

four of buy-to-let mortgages made no payments in the last six months. In other words, none of the rent from these properties was remitted to the bank.

Sinn Féin appears to be taking a populist line in favour of debt forgiveness. Remarkably, Pearse Doherty doesn't regard someone with a deposit credit balance amounting to a few thousand who is not repaying his loan as a strategic defaulter if the deposit balance is being set aside for "*college fees*".

THE IRISH TIMES

It can be quite amusing to read how *The Irish Times* reports on anything relating to itself. Here is how it reported on the latest *Audit Bureau of Circulations* figures:

"Sales of daily newspapers in Ireland declined by 6 per cent across the board in the first half of this year and by 7 per cent for Sundays when compared with the January to June period of 2012. This continues a trend dating from 2007. The *Irish Times* had an average daily circulation of 84,201 for the first six months of this year, according to figures published today by the Audit Bureau of Circulations. This was 4.7 per cent lower than the average circulation of 88,356 achieved in the July to December period in 2012 and 9 per cent below the 92,565 recorded for the first six months of last year" (*The Irish Times*, 23.8.13).

The Long Fellow had to read this paragraph a couple of times before he understood its significance. Let's just concentrate on the daily market. The market fell by 6% in the first six months of 2013 compared to the first six months of 2012. It then says that *The Irish Times'* circulation fell by 4.7% compared to the previous six months. But this figure is a smokescreen since the reader is not given a comparative figure for the market in this period. The really significant figure is the last part of the paragraph which says that the paper declined by 9% compared to the first six months of last year. So while the market declined by 6%, *The Irish Times'* circulation declined by 9%. In a declining market the newspaper lost market share. In particular, it lost out to its main rivals the *Irish Independent* down 3.9% and the *Irish Examiner*—with all its financial troubles—down 5.8%.

The Irish Times' circulation is now at 84,201. This is down from its peak of about 115,000 ten years ago. The last time its circulation was so low was during the recession of the mid 1980s when the population of the country was far lower than it is now.

If it ever was the "paper of reference", it has lost that status now. Last June it

found itself on the receiving end of a legal threat from the *Irish Independent* for putting the "Anglo tapes" on its website without acknowledging their source (*Phoenix*, 28.6.13).

But a much more serious undermining of its credibility occurred last August. It is very unusual for one newspaper to criticise another. The Irish media is the cosiest of cartels. As Matt Cooper admitted:

"...newspapers are reluctant to point out the shortcomings and failures of rivals. Dog does not eat dog; nor is a glass house a good vantage point from which to throw stones" (*The Sunday Times*, 1.9.13).

But *The Irish Times'* behaviour was so outrageous that Cooper could not keep quiet about it. The newspaper reported on its front page (23.8.13) that the National Maternity Hospital (Holles Street) had conducted a termination of pregnancy, which was the first one implemented under the new "*Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act*". The report gave intimate details of the woman's medical condition.

This was greeted with outrage by the

clinical director of Holles Street, Peter Boylan who on RTE's *Morning Ireland* (23.8.13) denounced the flagrant breach of doctor-patient confidentiality. It later emerged that day that although the "*Protection of Life During Pregnancy Act*" had been signed by the President it was not yet in force. Was the termination therefore illegal?!

On August 31st the paper published a two paragraph "*correction*" which it buried on page 7. The correction consisted of an admission that the case never happened!

When contacted by Matt Cooper for his radio programme the newspaper, which has an advertising campaign called the "*story of why*", could offer no explanation for its admission that the story was concocted.

The Long Fellow suspects that there is more to this than meets the eye, but he can only deal with the facts as they are presented to him. As he has often commented *The Irish Times* is a fervent advocate of openness and transparency... but only for others . . . never for itself!

until 1982, typing up the "*Irish Communist*" monthly, travelling to war-torn Belfast on the train to print the magazine, and returning to Dublin with a heavy suitcase to distribute each month's pearls of BICO wisdom to diehard republicans and the otherwise confused and ignorant leftie Southerners, confused behind the wall of Conor Cruise O'Brien's Section 31 of the 1960 Broadcasting Act. A formidable woman indeed!

JIM KEMMY & THE DSP

When Jim Kemmy was elected to the Dail in 1981 there was an attempt by those connected with him to set up a Democratic Socialist Party based on the WA platform initially. Annette was part of the interim steering Committee, alongside Jim Kemmy's Limerick people; some from the Socialist Party of Ireland and Labour Party members. She was a DSP executive member from its inception. Kemmy initially gave his support to the Fine Gael/Labour Party coalition at the time. Annette and others accompanied Kemmy on delegations to FitzGerald (1981) to lobby against Arts 2/3. FitzGerald agreed in private with their arguments but was unwilling to go public then with his private views. Annette was amongst Kemmy's advisors when his single vote made the difference in bringing down the Coalition Government in January 1982 on John Bruton's anti-workingclass budget. She campaigned for Kemmy's successful re-election to the Dail in Feb 1982 and chaired the public launch of the DSP in April 1982, her organisational skills to the fore.

IRELAND AND THE DSP; ABORTION: 1980s STYLE

In the meantime, Garret FitzGerald, promising a referendum for an absolute ban on abortion, had led the way for Haughey to follow. The DSP had adopted a policy for abortion legislation in Ireland in extremely limited circumstances i.e. the life and health of the mother, foetal abnormality, incest, rape. In Limerick, the Labour Party went for the political jugular, branding Kemmy as an abortionist in the November 1982 General Election and Kemmy lost his Dail seat on this issue to Frank "*against abortion under any circumstances*" Prendergast. That was abortion in Ireland as a political issue in the 1980s.

In the 2012-13 controversy in Ireland, however, Annette abhorred what had become the abortion industry culture in Britain and agreed with David Steel's re-assessment of how his own legislation in 1967 had facilitated unintended con-

Obituary for Annette O'Riordan

"Pulling Hard Against The Stream"

Earlier this year, one-time BICO member, Annette Macdonald died on May 4th. The death notice in the paper recorded:

"O'Riordan, Annette, (Macdonald, née Hennessy), Glasnevin, May 4th, 2013, peacefully at the Mater Hospital, surrounded by her loving family following her 60th birthday, after a courageous three year fight for life. Beloved daughter of the late Eileen Hennessy of Glensensaw, she is deeply mourned with love and pride by her husband Manus, her children Jess, Neil, and Luke, daughter-in-law Sara, son-in-law Sveinn, and her much loved grandchildren, Amaia, Rory and Caleb. Also mourned by her Hennessy family and a wide circle of friends.

"BUT ONE MAN LOVED THE PILGRIM SOUL IN YOU"

That man was her husband, Manus O'Riordan whom she first met in 1971 when Manus was already a member of the BICO. He was head of the newly-created ITGWU Research Department. Annette set up its library. They married in 1974. The BICO (British and Irish Communist Organisation) was two nationalist, having set up the Workers Association for the Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland (the WA) in 1972 to campaign against the Catholic Nationalist

territorial claim on the North in Articles 2/3 of De Valera's Constitution. The only other force in the society then fighting against the claim on the North was Jim Kemmy's Limerick Socialist Organisation, and it joined the WA campaign. Annette was from a republican background, yet, after a long reading of BICO magazines, she was convinced of the two nations case and also joined the WA in 1972.

"SAVE POWER SHARING: DROP ARTICLES 2/3"

In Dublin, Annette sold the WA paper, "*The Two Nations*", going from pub to pub, often in extremely hostile circumstances, and braving the hostile crowds at public meetings in O'Connell St. After the 1973 Sunningdale Agreement, when the Cosgrave, FitzGerald, O'Brien Government insisted on upholding the Articles 2/3 claim on the North in the Supreme Court, when challenged by Kevin Boland, Annette and the WA in Dublin plastered the city with posters saying "*Save Power Sharing: Drop Articles 2/3*".

This was to no avail, as Sunningdale fell in 1974. That's when Annette joined the BICO proper, throwing herself into its politics and organisation wholeheartedly. She remained a fully-committed member

sequences. Annette was also vehemently opposed to some current Labour TDs' efforts to slyly use the "suicide" provision to advance an agenda of a "Right to Choose" without time-limits. Whilst she died two months before the actual Dáil vote on the issue in 2013, Annette admired and supported the attempts of Roisín Shortall and Lucinda Creighton to have an honest debate on the time-limits issue.

When Jim Kemmy led his DSP followers into the Labour Party in 1990, Annette could not follow. She said it was right for him but not for her. She remained highly political thereafter but also very independent in her views. Rejecting the *Irish Times'* assumed right to topple a Taoiseach, she gave her number one vote to Bertie Ahern in the 2007 General Election. In 2011 she equally rejected the unaccountable media in Ireland, this time the *Sunday Independent's* right to veto a republican candidate for President. She gave her number one vote to Martin McGuinness in that year's presidential election.

Believing that the 2011 General Election was a golden opportunity for Labour to seize the leadership of the opposition in Ireland, she voted Labour no 1 this time and fiercely argued with her Labour Party friends who sought to defend the taking of ministerial seats instead of doing the right thing and going into strong opposition.

"THE FUNERAL OF AN ATHEIST

SHOULD ALSO HAVE ITS OWN LITURGY"

Annette's funeral in Glasnevin last May was a wonderfully raw celebration of her life as mother, wife, organiser, singer, friend, Atheist and fierce lover of life: hence the rawness of her early demise at the age of 60 under the ravages of breast cancer. But Annette wasn't one to tremble and whimper before the facts of existence. As Manus said at her funeral *"The funeral of an Atheist should also have its own liturgy"*. Together in her last few months of fierce living against the revolt of the cancer cells, they both orchestrated that Atheist's funeral liturgy. That sense of Annette living life to the full at all times was palpable in the bare details of her biography as Manus laid them out at the funeral. It was a very Irish story. Extracts from that are below.

"ANNETTE— A VERY IRISH STORY"

"Annette had been born to Eileen Hennessy of Glensensaw, Rosbercon, Co. Kilkenny, in the Roscrea, Co. Tipperary mother-and-baby home of Sean Ross Abbey on the 3rd May, 1953 and was christened Mary Hennessy by her mother. She was subsequently adopted by Ellen and Neil McDonald, initially living in Enniscorthy for a couple of years, before they moved to spend the rest of their lives in Dublin's north inner city. I first met Annette Macdonald, as she would always insist on spelling her surname, on her

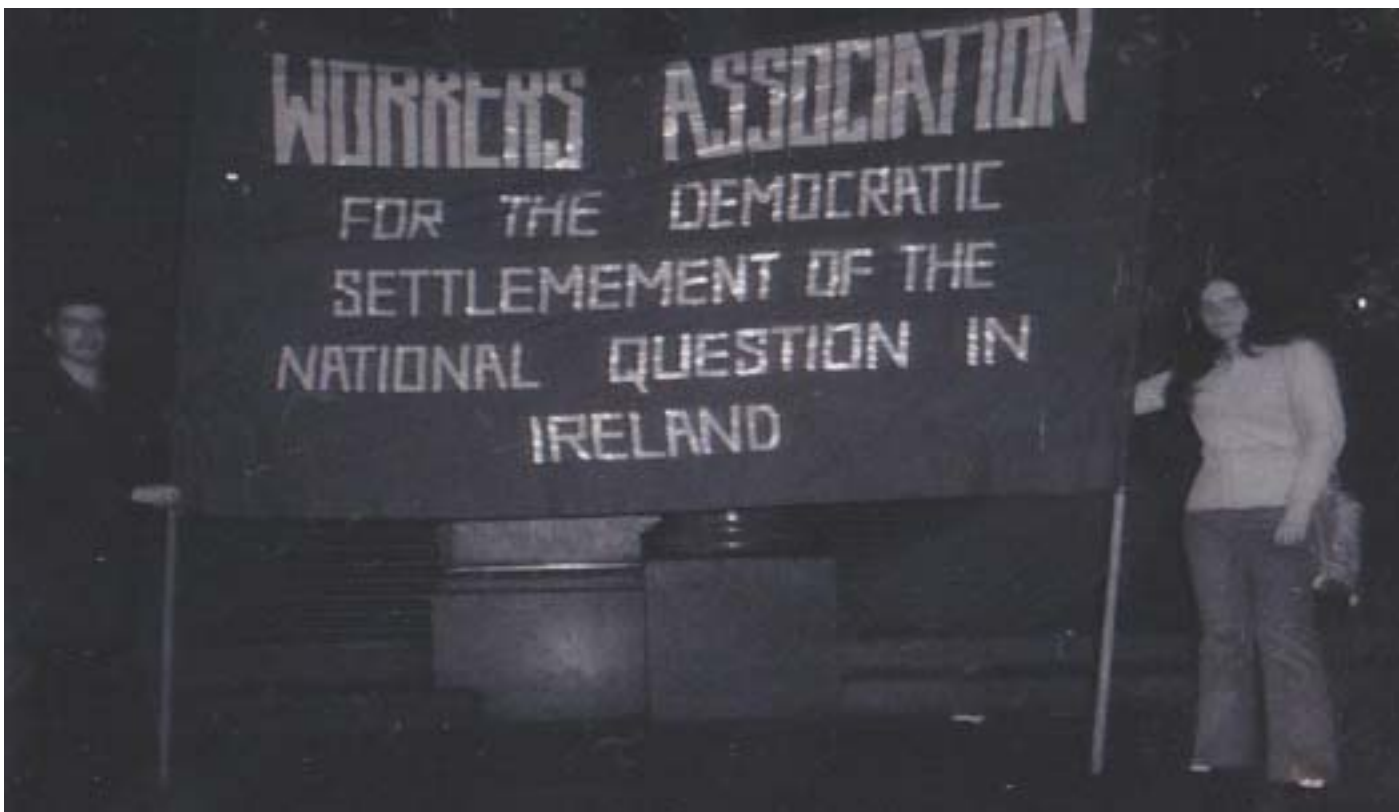
18th birthday, 3rd March 1971 when she came to work in Liberty Hall, setting up the library for the newly established ITGWU Communications Dept."

They married soon after that, had three wonderful children, Jess, Neil and Luke, and despite her final illness.

"Annette proved to be also a wonderful grandmother to our three grandchildren, Amaia, Rory and Caleb, whose arrival in this world highlighted for her—above all else during the final years of her life—the joy of living itself and so making her passing all the more painful for them and us.... Annette was the love of my life, not only for her beauty and intellect but also for her strength of character".

ANNETTE'S BOND WITH MICHAEL "RED" O'RIORDAN

Annette was a formidable organiser. As well as her hands-on role as mother and wife and BICO/DSP member, she was particularly committed to the work of the International Brigade Memorial Trust (IBMT), *"perpetuating the legacy of those anti Fascists who had volunteered to fight in defence of the 1930s Spanish Republic, among them my own father, Michael O'Riordan, with whom Annette forged such a close bond"*. Indeed there is an RTE 1971 "Report" film called *"Red O'Riordan"* (still worth a view!) made when Communism was taken somewhat seriously, even in RTE, at the end of which is an image of Red O'Riordan in a rowing boat



Manus and Annette at the Workers' Association's first public street meeting in Dublin, July 1972. The typos in the hastily-prepared banner were somewhat embarrassing for the diligent WA banner-maker, Ros Mitchell.

on a lake in West Cork, busting a gut trying to row his boat all alone against an obvious fierce west Cork current. It kind of sums up neatly the position of Communism in Ireland then, and Annette's favourite song to sing is called "*Pulling Hard Against the Stream*", as her life's motto.

The continuity with Michael O'Riordan cut deep in Annette's spirit—she of the pilgrim soul character and temperament, straight out of Ireland's deep urban/rural cultural roots. In each different generation they both bore strong witness to a common ideal, expressed differently; the public weal of the republican tradition, an argument not yet finalised or run its course. See link www.albavolunteer.org/2013/07/brigadista-michael-oriordan-featured-in-1971-tv-program/ to view recordings of both the "Red O'Riordan" film and Annette singing "*Pulling Hard Against The Stream*", which she also sang at the funeral services of both Michael O'Riordan (2006), and Pat Murphy of BICO and IPR (2009).

EVERLASTING LIFE

In that sense of the public weal both Annette and Manus were committed to

life as politics and the politics of life in death. I've known both of them since the early seventies in that context, whether it was deciding on issues of Baptism, schooling for our respective children (*non serviam!*). That was then; this is now. As Manus said: "*Annette was an Atheist like myself, as are our children. But that does not make us any the less spiritual than religious believers or leave us with any less meaningful a concept of everlasting life*". Manus is a prodigious writer (and singer) of history through song. Their combined liturgy for Atheists at Annette's funeral is worth recording for its cultural richness in Irish terms alone. There isn't space to do all that here in the *Irish Political Review*. I refer readers to a future issue of our sister/brother tri-monthly cultural magazine "*Church and State*" for a record of an Atheist's Liturgy, as minted by Manus and Annette. Suffice to give one example here connected to both their conception of everlasting existence:

"There is a poem by the Irish language poet, Seán Ó Ríordáin (no relation), entitled "*Súile Donna*" (Brown Eyes) which speaks of the loss of love itself rather than the loss of a loved one, but whose opening and closing verses

embrace a concept of everlasting life to which I subscribe. Switching to "*Súile Gorma*" (Blue Eyes) I recited those verses here in Glasnevin on the occasion of the December 1991 funeral of my own mother, Kay Keohane O'Riordan, and set them to music for the scattering of her ashes the following April. In conclusion I now sing those verses in celebration of Annette, for Eileen Hennessy's life continued through Annette, as Annette's own life continues through Jess, Neil, Luke and—now also—Amaia, Rory and Caleb."

"Is léi na súile gorma so
A chím I bplaosc a mic,
Ba theangmháil le háilleacht é,
A súile a thuirlingt ort.
Ba theangmháil phribhléideach é,
Lena meabhair is lena corp,
Is míle bliain ba ghearr leat é,
Is iad ag féachaint ort.

Ní hí is túisce a bhreathnaigh leo,
Ach an oiread lena mac,
Ná ní hé an duine deireanach
A chaithfidh iad dar liom.
Ab shin a bhfuil de shíoraíocht ann,
Go maireann smut dár mblas,
Trí bhaineannú is fireannú,
Ón máthair go dtí an mac?"

(Translation: "Those blue eyes that I see in her



Workers' Association agm, Liberty Hall, Dublin, August 1973.
Left to right: Rita McNulty, Linda Jones, Annette Macdonald and Rosheen Callender.

son's face are her eyes. For her eyes to alight upon you was an encounter with beauty – a privileged encounter with both her mind and her body – and a thousand years would seem but a short while, as they looked upon you. She herself was not the very first person to have gazed with those eyes, no more than is her son.

Nor do I believe that he will be the very last to be adorned with those same eyes. Is that, then, what eternity, or everlasting life, amounts to: That something of our essence continues to live on—through being successively feminised and masculinised—from the mother to the son?")

Malachi Lawless

The German Election Result

The CDU/CSU under Angela Merkel has won a resounding victory in the Bundestag elections, just five seats short of an unprecedented overall majority. The obvious reasons for this triumph are the strength of the economy and the success of the Merkel position on the eurozone crisis.

But overall it can also be read as strengthening the German "*social market economy*" approach, endorsing consolidation of the eurozone and signalling the end of "*1968-ism*".

The economy is strong in both its growth aspect and its social constitution. RTE likes to label the CDU/CSU the German "*conservatives*". There is truth in this but not in the way RTE means. The RTE term is derivative of British commentary which seeks to confuse people by inferring that German Christian Democracy is in some way comparable to English Conservatism. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The party in the German system closest to Toryism is the "liberal" FDP which proudly presents itself as defending the capitalist interest against the encroachments of the social state. For the first time since the war, the FDP failed to surpass the threshold of 5% of the vote needed to enter the Bundestag.

The German social state is largely a creation of Christian Democracy. The CDU/CSU campaigned in this election on a programme which included maintaining a high-skill manufacturing base, consolidating the eurozone including all of its member states (despite the cost), increasing family and childcare allowances, exporting elements of the "*social market economy*" (e.g. its apprenticeship system) to other European countries, and promoting a system of sectoral-based minimum wages set through collective bargaining. The defence and deepening of the German "*social state*" is a type of conservatism. But none of those programme points could conceivably form part of an English Tory election manifesto.

The cacophony in the international Anglo press during 2009-12 forecasting

the doom of Europe and the end of the common currency has fallen silent. The Krugmans and the rest of them have gone on to other issues and given up their fight to induce a collapse of the European currency. During the German election, Finance Minister Schäuble intervened to tell voters that Greece would need another bailout, thus signalling that Germany would continue to pay to ensure the cohesion, solidity and future of the euro. Rather than lead to a surge in support for the eurosceptic AfD [Alternative for Germany]—a darling of British commentators—Schäuble's intervention led to a further growth in CDU support in the polls. With the election out of the way, we can now expect the eurozone banking union to be rapidly completed.

We wrote in July about "*Germany's conservative socialist consensus*". This election result reinforces this view of what Germany is today. The social democrats (SPD)—the German labour party—while way behind the CDU, also increased their vote, from 23% to 26%. A "*grand coalition*" is the most probable outcome, not least because SPD strength in the *Länder* gives it a controlling position in the Upper House (the *Bundesrat*) and a situation of stalemate between the two Houses would create an unworkable stagnation of political leadership and power, just when the opposite is required. In addition, throughout the euro crisis Merkel had ensured SPD support for each step before proceeding, including on the Fiscal Compact and the Greek bailouts.

The electorate like the idea of a "*grand coalition*" as good for people in lower paid employment, the growth in the number of whom is causing increasing unease in conservative socialist Germany. The SPD favours a statutory minimum wage, while Merkel supports the setting of statutorily applicable minimum wages on a sectoral basis by collective agreement between employers and unions, not unlike the Irish system of registered employment agreements. While 85% of German workers are covered by collective agreements, the casualised, low wage sector

produced by globalisation has been slipping through this "*social safety net*", producing a small but growing minority of workers living in poverty.

The Left Party and the Greens did poorly in the election, both losing several percentage points and falling below 9%, and the anti-political "Pirate" movement virtually disappeared. The result in neither case is surprising. East Germans largely no longer feel themselves 'victims' of re-unification (a major aspect of the electoral appeal of the Left Party in the past). The decline of the Greens is even more significant. The German Greens were never simple ecologists. They were much more a party expressing the alternative movements of the 1960s-70s, from ecologists to anti-industrialists, 1960s "lifestyle" individualists to "extra parliamentary" revolutionaries. Among the 1960s "experimental" lifestyle groups was a strand that promoted paedophilia as a "legitimate" sexual orientation. In the weeks before the election some leading figures of the Greens were revealed to have been close to this tendency (as was also Daniel "Red Danny" Cohn-Bendit, leader of the Greens in the European Parliament). Unsurprisingly, there has been little comment on this matter in the liberal press, as it undermines many of the 'ideals' of the 1960s. But it was a decisive factor in the shipwrecking of the Green vote. The entire Green leadership has resigned, with only the post-1960s element declaring their intention to seek re-election.

There is a myth continually peddled by the Irish national broadcaster that the SPD is "*more European*" than the CDU and that a strong SPD influence on government would somehow be better for Ireland. I cannot imagine how this misconception arises, except perhaps from a misplaced 'left-wing' wishful thinking. The Christian Democrats in Germany are *the* European party. The SPD has always been split between lukewarm support for European Union and an alternative 'eastern orientation' to Russia and the East. The latter tendency has its roots in the First World War, the Russian Revolution and the so-called 'national Bolshevik' tendency of the 1920s.

In addition, apart from the period 1979-82 when, due to an extraordinary meeting of minds between the Social Democratic Chancellor (and former Wehrmacht officer), Helmut Schmidt, and the Irish leader, Charles Haughey, the SPD has been traditionally hostile to Ireland. This is due to a profound SPD paranoia about

the "Catholic reaction" both in Germany and in Europe which goes back to the Marxist and anti-cleric Karl Kautsky (see his *Ireland*, 1922). From that perspective, Ireland is simply another element of the negative factor "Catholic Europe". Apart from the very important Schmidt interlude, Ireland has invariably got along much better with sympathetic CDU governments in Germany.

This election result confirms Germany's return to its conservative socialist consensus of a successful manufacturing base, a collectively negotiated and family-friendly social system, a wariness of the consequences of 1960s individualistic excesses, and a building of European strength. This is all good news for Ireland.

Philip O'Connor

Census and Nonsense

"Ministers are to risk a major row over immigration by scrapping the ten-yearly National Census after more than 200 years. An announcement axing the survey is expected this month, together with moves to find cheaper ways of counting the population"

(Daily Mail, 3 September 2013).

From this report and other reports it looks likely that the UK Government will abandon the Census before the next one is due in 2021. It has decided that it is an unreliable method of counting the population. Though not admitted, this became clear after the 1991 Census when the result was a farce because of people's fear of the data being used for Poll Tax peptises. There were demographic deserts in the UK as a result. The 2001 Census was also suspect and there is now suspicion that the Census cannot cope with immigration factors. It is a sobering thought that Governments in the 21st century are finding it difficult to count populations. There is always something that skews the figures. It should make one wonder and question how accurate they were in the past when modern techniques and resources were not available.

The present system began in 1841. Before that it was just head counting and totally unreliable. The Census of 1841 has a particular resonance here. Its results are forever quoted as reliable despite it being the first of its kind carried out and not by enumerators as elsewhere but by the police. A police force that was a paramilitary force at the cutting edge of an ongoing, undeclared war with the majority of the people it was counting. The count was

used quite blatantly as an intelligence-gathering exercise by the force. The Commissioners who oversaw it doubted the results and said so in their report and tried arbitrarily to 'correct' the figures. Yet our historians of all hues accept the figures as the gospel truth. They then go on to estimate the deaths of the Irish Holocaust as being these figures, less those of the 1851 Census—as if the Irish became chaste on the night of the 1841 Census and remained so for six years despite the undisputed aphrodisiacal properties of the noble potato that all were eating—and quite apart from other factors that had always ensured procreation and pleasure in this area of life.

The idea that the Irish Constabulary of all people—or indeed anyone—could adequately count the population might be garnered from a description of how people lived in Aubane as described by a German visitor in 1832. He travelled to the Lakes of Killarney from Cork via Macroom but took an unusual route from there via Moulnahourna and Mauma. What he described when he reached Aubane would be quite typical of many parts of the country:

"Only after several hours of journeying through these wilds did we reach a great valley that like our path ran along the foot of the mountain range we had just crossed and at the same time broadened out in rolling landscape towards the north as far as the eye could see. At this point the area is quite densely strewn with farmers' dwellings, which I would call cabins if this word did not conjure up the image of houses that, compared to these holes in the ground, would have to be styled palaces. The majority of them are literally hollowed out of the remaining walls or terraces of turf cuts and covered over from above with a roof of only grass or reeds. Only in very few cases did I notice a door or window, or even an aperture for smoke; in short, everything that I saw could be described at the very most as the first stage of a dwelling culture.

"In one of these boggy dugouts, whose interior was at the most ten feet long and about half as wide, there lived a family of no less than seven persons whose appearance, as can only be expected, corresponded in misery to that of their habituation. The earth roundabout is probably cultivable in part, but completely neglected, barren and wild.

"One would tend to call the area the Vale of Tears if the inhabitants were not so unconscious of, or indifferent to, their poverty, indeed blither and wittier than their fellow-countrymen in more prosperous districts.

"It is hard to imagine that only a few miles from this populated wasteland there lie the world-famous lakes whose beauty lures hundreds of travellers every year from far and near."*

It takes little imagination to realise how 'difficult' a Peeler of the time would find it to give an accurate account of this population. Any person in a suit would be highly suspect, never mind one in a police uniform, and would be avoided like the plague if he was looking for information about people.

And the head of the household, i.e. the head of the hole in the ground, would have to adhere, *inter alia*, to the following definition and instruction—assuming he/she was quite literate in English—and decide how it and other definitions applied to his/her particular residence and its inhabitants: "...the family was to be understood either one which being independently in a house or part of a house on his or her own means of support, or several individuals related to each other, with the addition of servants or visitors living together in the same house or part of a house upon one common means of support." Monty Python could not have created a more bizarre scenario.

Unreliable Census figures are as old as Censuses themselves and it is time that our historians adopted at least a minimum critical faculty and get real in regard to the most important census return in Irish history.

Jack Lane

* From "Sketches from Ireland" published in 1832, quoted in "Poor Green Erin: German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from before the 1798 Rising to after the Great Famine. Texts Edited, Translated and Annotated by Eoin Bourke" published by Peter Lang GmbH; 2nd Revised edition (29 Nov 2012).

WAKE UP!

I had a dream said Martin Luther King and produced the nightmare Barak Obama, arms and the Israel lobby his manna. Some accuse him of being a changeling, liberals thought his dark skin made him humane.

Presidents, Premiers, all have blood on their hands,

only the better ones have less to damn.

300 million, Kennedy maintained, he had saved from the mad-dog Duke-Nukems,

half-heartedly he backed the Bay of Pigs. Truman stopped MacArthur's China mayhem.

Now the world approaches the whirligig so who will stop Obama's *carpe diem* and save those millions from death's jig.

Wilson John Haire
28th August, 2013

Seamus Heaney *Requiescat in Pace*

REQUIEM FOR THE CROPPIES

"The pockets of our greatcoats full of barley –
No kitchens on the run, no striking camp –
We moved quick and sudden in our own country.
The priest lay behind ditches with the tramp.
A people, hardly marching—on the hike—
We found new tactics happening each day:
We'd cut through reins and rider with the pike
And stampede cattle into infantry,
Then retreat through hedges where cavalry must be thrown.
Until, on Vinegar Hill, the fatal conclave.
Terraced thousands died, shaking scythes at cannon.
The hillside blushed, soaked in our broken wave.
They buried us without shroud or coffin
And in August the barley grew out of the grave".

Door into the Dark,
Faber and Faber, London, 1969.

Seamus Heaney died on 30th August 2013 at the age of 74. There was a sense of shock in the country at the suddenness of the announcement and everywhere I went here in Cork there was also a sense of loss. The media—both broadcast and print were full of eulogies and this was right and proper in my opinion. Heaney was a good man, full of integrity and unlike so many national/international icons never overstepped any moral boundaries. He was faithful to all the things that mattered, his family, his people (or clan as that was his favoured word) and his country. His funeral beginning with a Solemn Requiem Mass was broadcast live on 2nd September 2013 on RTE 1 from Donnybrook, Dublin and that evening he was buried at his home village of Bellaghy in the same graveyard as his parents, young brother Christopher (who was killed in a road accident at four years of age) and other family members. Our Nobel laureate who had come to Dublin in 1972 had stipulated that he was to be buried back home in the North thus closing the circle that had begun with his birth in 1939 in Mossbawn in Co. Derry.

He was the eldest of 9 children and his family moved to Bellaghy in 1953 to a small farm of fifty acres just a few miles away from the place of his birth. Heaney was a gifted pupil and he won a scholarship to the famous Catholic boarding school St. Columb's College in Derry where Seamus Deane, John Hume, Monsignor Brendan Devlin (who was the chief celebrant at the funeral Mass) and other later luminaries were educated. In 1957, Heaney went to study English Language and Literature in QUB and graduated in 1961 with a First Class Honours and did teacher training in St. Joseph's Teacher Training in Belfast and went on a placement to St. Thomas' Secondary Intermediate School in West Belfast. The headmaster of this school was the writer Michael McLaverty from Co. Monaghan who introduced the young man to the work of Patrick Kavanaugh. McLaverty became Heaney's mentor and encouraged him to write poetry.

In 1963, Heaney became a lecturer in St. Joseph's and in 1963 after contributing various articles to local magazines; he came to the attention of Philip Hobsbaum, then a lecturer in Queen's University. Hobsbaum set up a Belfast Group of local young poets (to mirror the success of his London Group), which brought Heaney into contact with other Belfast poets like Derek Mahon and Michael Longley.

Heaney married another teacher Marie Devlin and became a lecturer in Modern English Literature in QUB. He had two sons (and later on a daughter Catherine Ann was born in Dublin) and spent a year in the University of California, Berkeley in 1971 and came back to Queen's only to leave the following year to go to Dublin where he secured a post as a teacher at Carysfort College—a teacher's training college.

As his published poetry drew more and more attention and praise, Heaney became a Professor at Harvard from 1985-1997 and the Ralph Waldo Emerson Poet in Residence at Harvard 1998-2006. Heaney was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1995. His poetry attracted award after award. In 1989, Heaney was elected Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford which he held for a five-year term to 1994. In 1996, Heaney was made a Commandeur de l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres in Paris and was elected a Member of the Royal Irish Academy and admitted in 1997. In the same year, he was elected Saoi of Aosdána—the highest honour in the arts in Ireland.

WHAT OF HEANEY AND THE
WAR IN NORTHERN IRELAND?

There are many questions about the way Heaney wrote or didn't write about the war in the North. In *The Irish Times*, from March to April 2002 there was an outbreak of hostilities between the Belfast-born Desmond Fennell and Mark Patrick Hederman about Fennell's pamphlet *'Whatever You Say, Say Nothing: Why Seamus Heaney is No.1'*. But, as Fennell noted, Hederman intentionally misrepresented him and what he wrote leaving Fennell to wonder "why this disgraceful persistence in untruths?" was allowed by the paper. Glancingly Fennell asked: "Even given a second chance, he (Hederman) has failed to quote something I have actually written about Heaney or about poetry, and to contest it with reasons given."

The opening poem that I quoted was a poem written by Heaney commemorating the Irish rebels of 1798 on the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising. About it—Heaney rather anxiously commented:

"To read 'Requiem for the Croppies' wasn't to say 'Up the IRA' or anything. It was silence-breaking rather than rabble rousing. You don't have to love it. You have to permit it."

In *'Stepping Stones: Interviews with Seamus Heaney'* by Dennis O'Driscoll, Faber, 2008, which is generally accepted as the nearest thing to autobiography that Heaney got to—he told his fellow poet O'Driscoll that with such a poem as "Requiem... I'd gone delving straight away into the sectarian stream" but the poem "raised a battered-down spirit that wanted to walk taller." But, according to the *London Review of Books*, 11th June 2009, Stephen Burt, while reviewing the above, stated that "after Bloody Sunday, Heaney ceased to read that poem aloud: It hadn't been written as a recruiting song for the IRA. No way." Burt (a Harvard academic) said

"Heaney's early experience of Catholic identity foreshadowed a serious goal in his mature poems: they seek pride without aggression, a defiant confidence never designed to harm. It was a confidence Belfast could not sustain. In the most discussed of all his changes of place, Heaney moved in 1972 from Belfast to Glanmore, Co. Wicklow in the Republic of Ireland; his 'sensationally unalienated' life in a cottage there ... gave him not only some distance from the Troubles, but also a way to reclaim the emotions of Mossbawn, a pastoral—or an idyll, or a Doric mode—fit for his adult life."

Burt also makes clear that moving to Berkley in '70-71 affected Heaney. It also

had its own violence" (the draft card and the water cannon) but American poetry, American students, even American hippies and popular culture showed how an assertive response could be made: "*I was taller and freer in myself at the end of the year than at the beginning*" said Heaney. Daily life there "*added up to one long protest, with poets—Robert Duncan, Robert Bly, Gary Snyder—joining in: the engage styles that repelled other American writers*". This showed Heaney "*what it meant to be American. There was a trust that things could be changed.*" After such geographical and poetical roaming Heaney exultantly stated: "*I was freed up*".

Burt also sees the traditional Irish music that radiates so much of Heaney's poetry. "*In the pre-Troubles, upbeat folk scene Belfast of the mid-1960's*" Heaney met the singer and film-maker David Hammond who appears over and over in the poet's *oeuvre* and who was part of the Donegal Summer School during the 1970s, bringing together the Heaneys, the Hammonds, Deane, Brian Friel and John Hume. Others included Garech Browne of Claddagh Records and Paddy Maloney of the Chieftains.

Heaney also "*felt the full blast of the Clancy Brothers' breakthrough and listened a lot to their records*". Burt allows that one of the only studies of Heaney and traditional music is Séan Crosson's "*The Given Note*", which attacks Heaney "*for caring too much about lyric art, 'obscuring ... historical and communal realities' reflected in musical practice*".

Burt accepts that to look at any poems through the life of their writer is almost inevitably to look for "*what gets represented, for theme and idea*". And here Burt acknowledges that "*Digging*" has become Heaney's "*Lake Isle of Innisfree*". However Burt does understand that "*Punishment*", about Iron Age corpses found in Danish bogs, is "*a harrowing piece of self-accusation*", a look at the morals of art amid civil strife. And yet, as Heaney revealed, the "*difficulty in getting the poem finished was ... as much a matter of sound and syntax as a matter of self-examination*".

"I who have stood dumb
When your betraying sisters,
cauled in tar,
wept by the railings,

who would connive
in civilized outrage
yet understand the exact
and tribal, intimate revenge."

Heaney very rarely scabbled with other poets but, when Andrew Motion edited with Blake Morrison "*The Penguin Book*

of Contemporary British Poetry' and included Heaney because of his Northern Ireland roots, Heaney was quick to respond with his poem, '*An Open Letter*':

"Don't be surprised if I demur, for, be advised
My passport's green.
No glass of ours was ever raised
To toast The Queen".

Heaney refused for political reasons to become Britain's Poet Laureate and reputedly also refused a knighthood. Andrew Motion took over the post after Heaney's refusal and Ted Hughes's death, and got to become Sir Andrew Motion and got £5,000 per year and stipulated he'd take it only for ten years. Dom Mark Patrick Hederman, OSB, Abbot of Glenstal Abbey writing in the *Irish Catholic*, 5th September 2013, should reread '*Stepping Stones*' because he also tried in his own very sly way to move Heaney away from his firmly-stated nationality. According to the Abbot:

"Seamus Heaney wanted to move us all out of our tiny parochialism to the mid-Atlantic where culture can spawn." {?!} "Hughie O'Donoghue said recently in an interview: "I have always been focused on what I would see as cultural rather than national identity. Culture is about sharing; nationalism is about ownership".

And the heading over this bilge was "*Burying the hyphen*". The Lord Abbot likes to think of himself as a scholar but really he is a scuit. Elsewhere in the article he wrote:

"We can be given a totally wrong-headed version of what the world is like when we are young, which can skew our position, falsify our anthropological alignment. We have to follow with sensitivity and attention the orthodoxy of our own humanity "keeping an eye/on the eye in the level/Before the cement set".¹ And before the cement set on the world-view he received in his youth, Heaney set out to examine the world with his own compass, to take his own soundings and make assessments which were adequate to the truth he was registering on the sprockets of his own sensibility.

It was a courageous move. You have to stand up for yourself and your stance has to be "*versatile and sturdy*".

And just remember Heaney's sharp retort to an Englishman who *presumed* too much: "*My passport's green*".

A Dhia, dein trocaire ar a hanam dilis.

Julianne Herlihy ©

For another view of Seamus Heaney, see Wilson John Haire's tribute to Padraic Fiacc in *Church & State*, issue 114, Autumn 2013, Ed

Reply From A Vile Accuser

Remove the sound and fury from Philip O'Connor's "Reply To A Vile Accusation" and what remains? Simply the discrepancy to which my original letter referred: that there is no verifiable source for his account of Joan Burton's speech at the Social Inclusion Forum held at Croke Park on March 26th.

His explanation, that while he didn't hear those remarks himself some people he knows and trusts did hear them, does not remove the discrepancy. It only heightens the original incongruity and leaves the question hanging as to which source is to be believed, the official source which is known to everyone, and can be consulted by anyone, or the unnamed sources which are known to Philip alone.

If Philip's original account of Joan Burton's speech had made it clear that his source for that account was anecdotal there would have been no discrepancy, no letter and no "vile accusation".

Why did he not make it clear to readers the source of the account they were reading?

Philip says that he knew of the discrepancy between his anecdotal sources and the official account of Burton's speech "Well before I read Keenan's letter". This is knowledge he should have shared with the readers of the *Irish Political Review*, in which case again there would have been no discrepancy, no letter and no "vile accusation".

But if Philip had prefaced his account of Burton's speech with the information that his source for it was anecdotal and conflicted with the official account on the Labour Party website its value to his argument would have been nil. Accurate but useless.

What will be of political use is the full and authoritative version of the speech which Philip has been promised by the Labour Party. That will change the context within which his account of Burton's speech must be viewed and I will then have to reconsider the weight of Irish commitment to the German model of apprenticeship provision.

That is what will finally set aside the discrepancy between anecdotal and official accounts of Burton's speech and allow politics to be made of the substance of it.

Joe Keenan

Some Collinses And Somervilles, *And The Knight Of The Levant*

Part Three

"*Lawrence of Arabia—and Ireland*" was the title of an "*Irishman's Diary*" celebration by David Murphy in the *Irish Times* on 26th August last. He related:

"This month saw the 125th anniversary of the birth of Thomas Edward Lawrence. At the outbreak of the First World War, Lawrence was living a life of quiet scholarship and seemed destined to pursue a career as an historian and archaeologist. Like millions of young men of his generation, the war propelled him in other, more dangerous, directions. He initially held a minor staff position in Cairo but, by 1918, he had led Arab tribesmen in a successful campaign in the Middle East and was lauded as a hero. Public interest grew in the immediate post-war years and the myth of 'Lawrence of Arabia' was born... Lawrence was born in Tremadoc in Wales on August 16th, 1888... His father was Sir Thomas Chapman of South Hill, Delvin, Co Westmeath, the eldest son of the Chapman family of Killua Castle... Lawrence later became somewhat fascinated with Ireland. His surviving letters contain references expressing a desire to visit his father's homeland. In one letter Lawrence even remarked that he would like to buy a few acres in Westmeath... In a letter of 1928 he remarked to a friend '*We actually come from Killua in Meath (sic) but that side of the world is barred now*' ..."

So, readers were informed, this British imperialist hero and "*visionary*", who helped smash up the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, with all the chaos and carnage that has persisted to this very day, was half an Irishman, to whom, however, this Irish side of the world was now barred. Other demented "*visionaries*" have been determined to follow in his wake. This year marks the 50th anniversary of John le Carré's novel *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold*, and to mark the occasion, on 7th September, the *Financial Times Weekend Magazine* carried an interview with the author by Philippe Sands, in which one such other "*visionary*" was alluded to:

"Invariably, le Carré returns to British themes. The topics seamlessly trace his adult life—the overthrow of Iran's elected prime minister Mohammed Mossadeq in 1953, Suez in 1956, Iraq in 2003, Syria in 2013... '*Did you hear Blair's latest horror?*' le Carré asked me... The former prime minister had been on *Newsnight* as the situation in Syria ratcheted up. '*I had taken the view that we needed to remake the Middle East*', le Carré correctly

recalled him saying. Blair appals my neighbour in a meaty and full-blooded way."

But if we have all heard of Lawrence of Arabia, how well known are those British agents who would play a key role in the Middle East in the decades that followed? One of them, at least, was actually Irish-born and, in the next World War that followed, would also be dispatched from Cairo on a mission covering both Turkey itself, together with the former Ottoman Middle Eastern territories of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, once collectively known as Greater Syria. Furthermore, a decade after the conclusion of that Second World War, this knight of darkness would also be British Imperialism's chief spymaster in the Kingdom of Jordan. Lacking the photogenic impact of Lawrence, his memory does not appear to be any longer cherished, but let us at least highlight some of his exploits and dub him *Sir Patrick of the Levant*. (There is a photo, available online, of him arriving back home to Britain from Cyprus, following his 1956 expulsion from Jordan, with his secretary, his files, and his tail between his legs.) Having previously discussed the role played during the Irish Civil War by the British Naval Intelligence agent, Captain Hugh Somerville (later to be promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral, just like his brother Henry), and his conspiratorial liaison with Michael Collins through the latter's sister Mary Collins-Powell, let us now return to the wider, closely and doubly—and indeed, often trebly—inter-related Somerville-Coghill family of Castletownshend, West Cork.

In his "*Irishman's Diary*" in the *Irish Times* of 27th July 1989, Kevin Myers opined, with his hallmark British military perspective (while adopting a spelling affectation that had ignorantly misread 'E. (E. Somerville)', the habitual signature of Corfu-born Edith Anna (Enone):

"Oedith (sic) Somerville believed that the main reason why the IRA did not fall upon Castletownshend and turn it into a funeral pyre, with maybe a few of its residents dead in a ditch, was Great Uncle Kendall Coghill. Great Uncle Kendall was a Hero of the Indian Mutiny. Quite why he was a hero I cannot say: one dearly trusts it wasn't for blowing a few *sepoys* from cannon. Anyway, Oedith

got it into her head that Great Uncle's spiritual cordon was protecting the Church of Ireland community from the lunatic savagery which had engulfed much of Cork. And do you know, she might have been right. Because Castletownshend wasn't touched; great houses all over Cork went up in flames, yet there was not a taper lit in Castletownshend that did not have Great Uncle Kendall's approval. Throughout the country ex-servicemen were being murdered; yet Castletownshend, which had about as many ex-officers of the British Army living in it as just about all of Wiltshire, passed through the time of the troubles without a single eyebrow being singed by a patriotic bullet."

Sepoys was the term used to designate—and indeed denigrate—the native infantry soldiers of the British East India Company, whose 1857 revolt was called the Indian Mutiny in Britain, and whose final end was to be tied to British cannons and blown to pieces. Castletownshend and Cawnpore (restored to its original name of Kanpur by an independent India) were indeed such worlds apart that that the funeral pyres lit in the latter location never did, and do not now, trouble West British consciences too much. Hence the tone of hilarity and jocularity adopted by Myers towards such war crimes.

In his celebratory history, *Empire* (2003), Niall Ferguson did at least disclose some of that dark side. He quoted Castletownshend Lieutenant Kendall Coghill—that same Great Uncle of the brother spies Henry and Hugh—as writing to his own brother in the wake of suppressing what, in both India and Pakistan, is known as the first War of Independence: "*We burnt every village and hanged all the villagers who had treated our fugitives badly, until every tree was covered with scoundrels hanging from every branch.*" According to Ferguson, one huge tree—which still stands in Kanpur—"was festooned with 150 corpses". (p 152).

Yet, while geographically only five miles from Skibbereen, Castletownshend was also a world apart in mentality from the rest of West Cork. Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa of Rosscarbery was the reputed author of a Fenian ballad which tells of a West Cork farmer who loses his father to the Famine, suffers post-Famine eviction, is then forced with his mother to enter the Macroom Workhouse and, following her death a decade after the Famine, in sheer economic desperation, takes the Queen's shilling:

"*I joined the Redcoats then, mo léin! What*

*would my father say?
And I was sent in one short year on service
to Bombay.
I thought to be a pauper was the greatest
human curse.
But fighting in a robber's cause I felt it ten
times worse.
I helped to plunder and enslave those
tribes of India's sons.
And we spent many a sultry day blowing
sepoys from our guns."*

But fast forward to Castletownshend's later gentry heroes of the British Empire. In 2009 the novelist Joseph O'Neill received the PEN/Faulkner Award for Fiction in respect of his 2008 novel *Netherland*. His father hails from Cork and his mother from Turkey, of Syrian Greek Catholic parentage. His 2001 work *Blood-Dark Track—A Family History* had also been named a *New York Times* Notable Book for 2002 and as book of the year by both *The Economist* and the *Irish Times*. The blurb on that book's dust-jacket reads:

"At the heart of this history of two families are the stories of two flawed and charismatic men. It is a narrative of murder, paranoia, espionage and fear, with one of the most notorious killings in pre-war Ireland {by which is meant the 1936 assassination of Vice-Admiral Henry Boyle Somerville of Castletownshend—MO'R} playing a key role in its characters' lives. Joseph O'Neill's grandfathers—one Irish, one Turkish—were both imprisoned during the Second World War. The Irish grandfather, a handsome rogue from a family of small farmers, was an active member of the IRA, and was interned with hundreds of his comrades by de Valera's government. O'Neill's other grandfather, a debonair hotelier from the tiny and threatened Turkish Christian minority, was imprisoned by the British in Palestine, where he was travelling to buy lemons, on suspicion of being an Axis spy. Joseph O'Neill set out to investigate these imprisonments of Joseph Dakad and Jim O'Neill ..."

Now, I am sure there are experts on Turkey who will be able to point to errors in O'Neill's treatment of that country's history. Being relatively ill-informed myself, I found O'Neill's narrative quite enlightening about some of Britain's Intelligence's intrigues in Turkey. The author was inclined to accept his grandfather's protestations of wrongful arrest as genuine, and cited his claim that he had, in fact, been pro-Allied. O'Neill went on to profile the British agent central to that arrest:

"In February 1942, my grandfather applied to the British consulate (in the

Turkish metropolitan area of Adana-Mersin) for visas for Palestine... On 24 March 1942, Joseph Dakak departed for Palestine... On 27 March 1942, Dakak arrived in Jerusalem... The (British) consulate also housed agents of SIME (Security Intelligence Middle East) and MI6. These agents, and indeed practically all British military personnel working in Turkey, entered the country from Syria, on the Taurus Express... British counter-espionage was largely in the hands of SIME agents. One of these was C.T.C. Taylor, SIME's man in Adana...

"Taylor arrived in Turkey in January 1942. On the Taurus Express to Istanbul, he bumped into another SIME agent, an Irish aristocrat from West Cork, Sir Patrick Coghill, Bt. {Baronet—MO'R}. Coghill had arrived in Turkey on a control espionage job for Colonel R.J. Maunsell, the head of SIME, who was based in Cairo. In Istanbul, Coghill ... was given the job of vice-consul at the British consulate at Adana. Coghill's mission was to find out how the enemy got its people across the Turkish border into Syria, and to tip off the British forces in Syria as to where and when enemy agents might be picked up. He was greatly assisted by the Turkish authorities, whom he found much more inclined towards the Allies than the Axis. Specifically, Coghill enjoyed privileged contacts with the Turkish secret police ... (who) supplied the Allies with information they could not obtain for themselves, such as complete lists of passengers leaving the country by rail or by air...

"Sir Patrick Coghill's short spell in Adana led him to conclude that there were two classes of spies travelling to and from Syria: a riff-raff of smugglers, whose stories were unreliable; and high-up agents who, like Joseph Dakak, travelled with neutral passports on the Taurus Express. After three weeks in Jerusalem, Joseph Dakak obtained an export licence from the authorities in Palestine and concluded a contract with a local merchant for the supply to Mersin of two hundred tonnes of lemons. With his return visa in his pocket, he set off on the train home, to Turkey. He was arrested at Rasnakura, on the Palestine-Syria border. That same night he was taken to Haifa, and the next day, back to Jerusalem, where he was registered by the Palestine CID (Criminal Investigation Department). The commander of the detention centre was an English sergeant-major... On the seventeenth day of his detention in Jerusalem, Dakak was told he was being taken to the Turkish border. But the following day, 8 May 1942, he was driven instead to the military prison of the Free French in Beirut. Technically he remained in British custody... (A year later) Joseph Dakak was removed from (a Beirut) hospital and transferred to Palestine. On 5 May, 1943, they brought him to a monastery situated between Jerusalem and Ramleh, in a village call Emuas. The

monastery was surrounded by barbed wire and held thirty-three men... Joseph Dakak was alone in the (monastery) basement when (two years later) a guard told that the war was over ... (and) he read in the newspapers that the legislation authorizing internment without trial had been repealed and that internees had been freed. However, a month passed and still Dakak was not released... Finally, four months after the end of the European war, he wrote a letter of protest to Major Prendergast at the Defence Security Office in Jerusalem. Two nights later, the prison commander, Captain Sylvester, said to him, '*Get ready, you're off tomorrow.*' ... My grandfather's testimony ended as follows: '*I was a prisoner for exactly three and a half years.*' ..." (pp 97; 102; 107-111; 117; 120-1).

O'Neill flew to Israel in Easter 1996:

"My main objective ... was to track down ... the monastery at 'Emuas' where my grandfather had been locked up for the best part of three years... I ran into an unexpected difficulty regarding the monastery: there was no sign, on the detailed maps I consulted, of a village called Emuas or Emwas on the road between Jerusalem and Ramle, and all that the young Jewish woman I spoke to at the Tourist Information Office could suggest was that I go to Damascus Gate. 'Ask the Arabs there', she said; 'they might be able to help you.' Although puzzled about why she would think that random Arabs might know more than a tourist information expert, I went to Damascus Gate, a crowded rowdy place where minibuses to Ramallah and other Palestinian destinations gathered... A man who had not previously spoken urgently approached me, '*Go to Latrun; Emuas* (he pronounced it *Amwas*) *is there*'; and having no better lead, I followed his advice... {Latrun forms part of the West Bank territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 war—MO'R}. I stopped in the car-park of the (Latrun) military base... I asked an official-looking middle-aged woman standing at the entrance with a walkie-talkie... 'There is somewhere called *Emmaus*, I think, over there, maybe'—she pointed back across the highway—but not *Emuas*. Emuas I don't know about' ... Then I noticed on the southern hill ... a (Trappist) monastery... I found a young man, a French speaker... So where was the village of Emuas, then?' 'On the other side of the highway', he said, confirming what the woman at Fort Latrun had said. He gave me a careful look. 'To be accurate, it's not a village any more. It is a park. I think that the Israelis destroyed the village in 1967.' 'Is there nothing left, nothing at all?' 'There's an ancient basilica there and, I think, a house.' ..." (pp 199-202).

"On 12 April 1996, I met Florent Arnaud ... at the offices of the Pilgrims' Commission in a building across the road

from Jerusalem's New Gate, next to the church of Notre Dame de France... (He said:) 'The Pères de Betharran, being near Lourdes, established themselves in Bethlehem as a consequence of the separation of church and state in France. In 1932 or 1933, they built the house at Emmaus as a holiday retreat... The cellars are now dangerous and have had to be closed... In 1940 the Pères de Betharran were deported to France or to Italy and the English requisitioned the building. They used it not as a prison camp but, to be exact, as a concentration camp; and it must have been the place where your grandfather was held. After the war ended the Pères did not return.'

"... Brother Guy walked me to the top of the hill... 'What about the house over there?' I asked, pointing to the hill of Emmaus. 'Do you remember any thing about that place during the war?' 'Well', Brother Guy answered, 'there used to be barbed wire around that house, too. I'm not really sure who was imprisoned in there... It was a mysterious place. I never went there. It was at Emmaus that Jesus manifested himself to the two disciples and took supper with them. There used to be an Arab village there', he added. 'They were good people, the people of Amwas. Some of them worked at the monastery. In three days, using nine bulldozers, the village was wiped off the face of the earth. The gardens, the olive trees, the apricot trees, all were churned up and destroyed. The chickens and vegetable plots were buried in rubble. I saw it happen, I saw it all.' Brother Guy agreed to accompany me to the house at Emmaus. I walked up the hill reflecting that I was the first in my family to have parted the thick folds of familial pain that had covered this place... If Arnaud was correct, the cellars in which my grandfather had spent the last months of his internment were now hazardous and out of bounds... There was no sign of its past as (Arnaud's term) a concentration camp. But it was certainly here that my grandfather lived for nearly three years. He had slept and woken in this building, walked these grounds and surveyed the valley below and the (British) encampments at Latrun, and hated it here" (pp 206, 208-212).

But back to our West Cork knight:

"On 3 February 1942, around the time my grandfather was making his fateful visa application to the British consulate in Mersin, Sir Patrick Coghill, the SIME agent based in Adana, visited Beirut. The baronet learned to his *'stupefaction and horror'*, that he had been appointed head of the British Security Mission in Syria. The BSM had been founded by Arthur Giles, the head of CID Palestine Police, and had accompanied the invasion force into Syria in the summer of 1941 with a view to assuming the counter-espionage activities of the Vichy *Sûreté* (secret police)... The administration of the

(internment) camps—indeed, practically all internal administrative power in Syria—was in Free French hands. Nonetheless, when Sir Patrick Coghill assumed command of the British Security Mission in the summer of 1942, he was from that time on responsible for the continued detention of Joseph Dakak. Not surprisingly, there was no mention of my grandfather in Coghill's autobiographical papers, which I read in an Oxford library. There was, however, another omission which did strike me as a little curious. Although he referred frequently to his life and home in Castletownshend, West Cork, and to his family, Sir Patrick Coghill made no reference to his uncle, who also lived in the village of Castletownshend, Admiral Somerville {brother of Sir Patrick's mother, Lady Hildegard Coghill—MOR}...

"After the war, Sir Patrick Coghill, a little lost, spent a few years at this (Castletownshend) property with his elderly mother and aunt (Edith). In 1952, he left to set up the Special Branch of the Police of Jordan, from where he was expelled in 1956. He returned to Castletownshend and, as he wrote in his autobiography, *'to futility, to a bogus 18th century civilisation which was quite moribund, if not mummified, and what was worse, to boredom'*. Furthermore, *'having spent most of my life in England or serving the Crown, I intensely disliked living under the Irish Republican flag and government'*. In the 'sixties, he finally decided to move across the water. Sir Patrick Somerville Coghill died in England in 1981, at the age of 84" (pp 123 and 284).

I can only concur with Coghill's description of Castletownshend. In early 1976 my late wife Annette and I holidayed there with our new-born daughter Jess, renting one of the village houses from Mrs Salter-Townshend of the Castle. It was like a blast from another era, much of it quite charming, such as the very old-fashioned wooden cradle for the baby that our landlady had kindly provided. And it was both geographically and culturally distinct from the rest of Ireland. Detouring off from the main Rosscarbery-Skibbereen road, one finally reached a sharp bend on that minor road, to then descend a steep hill into a village that was essentially English in character. We climbed up to its village-dominating Anglican Church of St Barrahanne and attended Sunday service, the congregation peopled by a number of titled personages and, most noteworthy of all, by retired British Army officers.

Mrs Salter-Townshend graciously introduced us to her distant cousin, Brigadier Desmond Somerville, who had inherited 'Drishane', the Big House of his

writer-aunt Edith. He was a most courteous gentleman who passed away shortly afterwards. The village had its own old-world enchantment but, if you had a car, you could, of course, climb back up the hill, turn the sharp bend, re-enter Ireland and explore the rest of West Cork. One could see how, after such an adventurous life in the Middle East, Brigadier Desmond's first cousin, Sir Patrick, would find that small village stultifyingly mummified, but one could also appreciate how, being so saturated in Empire loyalist pride, Castletownshend had nurtured a nest of British spies, such as himself.

The briefest of biographical notes attached to the catalogue of Coghill's papers in Oxford underscore his Middle Eastern involvement over a 38 year period: *"Served in France until the (1918) armistice and afterwards in Turkey and Iraq... Served in the Middle East 1941-1945. Col. Arab Legion, Jordan, 1952-1956."* In his 1986 Zionist history of Israel, Conor Cruise O'Brien gave some indication of the British character of that Legion:

"In February 1948, in London, Ernest Bevin received Prime Minister al-Huda of Transjordan, together with John Glubb, commander of Transjordan's Arab Legion. Huda notified Bevin of King Abdullah's intention to take over, after British withdrawal, in the areas allotted to the Arabs under the General Assembly resolution of November 1947. Bevin indicated his approval, but added (according to Glubb): 'Don't go and invade the area allotted to the Jews.' Coming from the British Foreign Minister, this advice carried weight. Transjordan had become formally independent in 1946, but it still remained, in substance, a British protectorate. The British Resident in Amman had become British Minister 'without', as he said himself, 'causing any drastic modifications in my activities'. As for the Arab Legion, it was British trained, British financed and led by British officers. Bevin's advice... freed the Arab Legion to take over *in the areas assigned to the (Palestinian) Arabs* {CCO'B's own italics} under the United Nations partition resolution" (*The Siege*, p 289).

But the Cruiser's account was incomplete. Transjordan annexed only the smaller part of the territory designated for a Palestinian Arab State. As a result of the 1948 war, the State of Israel kept, not only nearly all the area that had been assigned to it under the UN partition resolution, it also annexed almost 60 percent of the area designated for the proposed Palestinian Arab State, including some parts of the West Bank. Seven months after being sacked as Jordan's British spymaster, Sir

Patrick Coghill drew attention—in the London *Times* on 13th October 1956—to the fact that "*the Armistice line (leaves) 100 Jordanian [i.e. Palestinian—MOR] villages cut off from their lands.... a line so drawn could but invite illegal crossings*".

This is not to say that Coghill had loved his Arab charges. The BBC's John Simpson wrote a Foreword for the 2006 second edition of Richard Beeston's memoirs, *Looking for Trouble: The Life and Times of a Foreign Correspondent*. Beeston provided the following vignette:

"It was just after the (1956) Suez fiasco and I was back in London from Beirut when a friend from MI6 contacted me. I had spent the past four years working as a correspondent for an undercover Arabic broadcasting station based in Cyprus—the Near East Arab Broadcasting Station (NEABS). Unknown to most of its staff, it came under the authority of the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS, otherwise MI6), and brought me indirectly in touch with the shadowy world of British intelligence in the Middle East... Until the Nasser revolution (in Egypt), our regional radio station had had no real regional rivals... Soon, however, 'The Voice of the Arabs' was dominating the air waves of the region... Nowhere was it more successful in stirring up trouble than in that cosy little pocket of British influence in the Arab World, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, where half the population were bitter refugees from the former British Mandate in Palestine. In a vain attempt to counter this, NEABS decided to establish a bureau in the Jordanian capital Amman, and sent me there to set it up and to be its correspondent. NEABS's idea was to have a British staffer on what we quaintly called 'The Mainland'... The Kingdom Hussein inherited was almost totally dependent on British subsidies. The British residency was planted right inside the palace grounds... An RAF station was across the valley next to Amman airport and Glubb and his British officers were in charge of the Army and security...

"Having exhausted the delights of Amman, you could strike out into the desert and lunch with a Bedouin tribe whose elders could still recall the uprising against the Turks, and even Lawrence of Arabia. The Bedouins whom I met never thought a great deal of Lawrence or his role in the war. But they did remember him enviously as the British agent with bags and bags of gold. The Bedouins would provide a *mencef* of camel, sheep or goat served on a huge brass tray with rice. The host would hand you the least appealing piece of meat which you would squash up with some soggy rice and swallow as quickly as you could. I was once at a *mencef* provided by the Beni Sakhr tribe with Sir Patrick Coghill, the then head of security in Jordan. Coghill

marched up to the tray, made a pellet of a small quantity of rice, popped it in his mouth and then strode off to wash his hands. I asked him how he could get away with such a cavalier performance" (pp 1, 7, 13, 15).

But he did not get away with it for very much longer, no matter what his notions of himself as a *chevalier*. In March 1956 the arrogant Brits were expelled, and Britannia was outraged. Britain's Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Anthony Nutting, told the House of Commons on 7th March 1956:

"The summary dismissal by the Jordan Government of General Glubb and the other British officers, without consultation with Her Majesty's Government, can hardly be said to fulfil the spirit of Jordan's obligations to us... The Jordan Government did not see fit to consult us and summarily dismissed General Glubb from his post as Chief of the General Staff, together with Brigadier Hutton and Colonel Sir Patrick Coghill, respectively Chief of Staff and Director-General of Intelligence. In addition they relieved of their commands one British brigade commander and seven British unit commanders."

Echoing the neuroses of the time held by British Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden, which would lead him to justify joining with Israel and France in invading Egypt in October 1956, Cruise O'Brien presented the Arab Legion dismissals as a plot engineered by Nasser:

"The prestige of Gamal Abdel Nasser stood very high at the beginning of 1955. After the departure of the British from the Suez Canal Zone, Nasser stood out as the first genuinely independent ruler of modern Egypt: a status which automatically ensured his preeminence in the Arab world... (February 1955 saw) the signing of a defence treaty between (Britain's client state) Iraq and Turkey, the (anti-USSR) Baghdad Pact... Politically, the pact had been a disaster; not a single other Arab State was to follow Iraq's example. On the contrary, Britain's other client in the area deserted, under the Nasserite pressure. In March 1956, King Hussein dismissed the British commander of the Arab Legion, John Bagot Glubb, thus ending thirty-four years of British hegemony in Amman. But if the planners of the Baghdad Pact had miscalculated, so also had Nasser... Nasser had made Britain and France into potential allies of Israel, since he provided all three with a common interest: the political destruction of Nasser himself" (*op. cit.*, pp 382-3 and 385).

But that is just dreadful 'history'. In 1967 the British historian Hugh Thomas, a Tory who would later be given a peerage

by Margaret Thatcher, had made a point of separating anti-Nasser neuroses from the historical reality. He described how the dismissals had come as a surprise to Nasser himself:

"In March 1956 new British and French Foreign Ministers, Selwyn Lloyd and Christian Pineau, separately visited the Middle East and each of them called on Nasser. While Lloyd was dining with Nasser, the news came that King Hussein of Jordan had dismissed General Glubb, Lawrence's heir and commander of the Arab Legion, the British-trained force that made Jordan the strongest Arab country, militarily, after Egypt. He (Hussein) had seen, in the British magazine *Picture Post*, General Glubb described as the uncrowned King of Jordan. Hussein's action was the climax of a long-growing antipathy to Glubb, encouraged by Jordanian army officers. Glubb was the last symbol of the old British hegemony in the Middle East, based on friendship with that 'world of camels and childlike Bedouin with flowing cloaks' of which Nasser explicitly was so ashamed. Nasser heard this news on getting home, and thought it (he afterwards remarked) a clever move by Britain, and next morning congratulated Lloyd. Lloyd thought this a bad joke. The ensuing conversation was clearly misunderstood by the two parties to it" (*The Suez Affair*, pp 25-26).

Notwithstanding O'Brien's own Zionist fervour, neither do any serious Israeli historians support his contention of Egyptian interference in such a uniquely Jordanian affair, and they use the term '*Nasserist*' solely in the sense of indigenous Jordanian ideological imitation. For example, in his book *The Road To Jerusalem: Glubb Pasha, Palestine and the Jews* (2003), the militant Zionist Professor Benny Morris wrote ('British Legion officers' being Morris's own syntax):

"On 1 March 1956 Hussein acted, abruptly dismissing Glubb and ordering his immediate departure from the country. Along with Glubb, the King fired several senior British Legion officers (one of them was Col. Patrick Coghill, director of the Legion's intelligence arm) and a number of senior Arab officers, perhaps suspected of undue loyalty to Glubb. Prodded by young Legion officers, Hussein was gradually persuaded to be more attentive to nationalist demands; and many argued that the 'Arabization' of the Legion was necessary to secure the monarchy against republican and Nasserist criticism... Glubb in his autobiography surmised that Hussein had been considering dismissing him 'for at least a year'..." (p 231).

And in *King Hussein And The*

Challenge Of Arab Radicalism (1989),
Uriel Dann had previously written:

"With him were dismissed Glubb's closest assistants, Colonel W.M. Hutton, his chief of staff, and Colonel Sir Patrick Coghill, director of General Intelligence. (See P. Coghill, 'Before I Forget', Mimeo-graph, 1960, p 100: Coghill knew no Arabic, and when he accepted the job in 1951, he made it clear that he 'did not intend at (his) age to learn it'.) {And this, 33 years after his first military intervention in Iraq, not to mind his 1941-1945 intelligence/internment activities in Greater Syria!—MO'R.} Also, eight British commanding officers were suspended, apparently those who had been most active in suppressing the (Jordanian nationalist) riots in January (1956)... The dismissal came like a thunderbolt for Glubb, for British Ambassador Charles Duke, and for the British government. They should have been prepared. Reports from the British Embassy at Amman during 1954 and 1955 ... repeatedly mention the king's outbursts against his British mentor... The reports were regarded soberly enough at Whitehall, but it is clear that they were just not recognized as anything more than speculation. But when they did materialize, Eden, beside himself with rage, and Selwyn Lloyd, who had succeeded Macmillan as foreign secretary at the end of 1955, assumed that Abdel Nasser had instigated Glubb's ouster and that he had probably known in advance of the dismissal—even orchestrated the occasion to coincide with Lloyd's stay in Cairo, as an additional twist of the lion's tail. It is certain that Abdel Nasser did not persuade Hussein to dismiss Glubb, and he may have been as surprised as everybody else. But the dismissal delighted him and seemed to him as yet another proof of his ascending star" (pp 31-32 and 179).

So much for our tales of Sir Patrick Coghill of Castletownshend, that Knight of the Levant. But he had not licked it off the stones. What tales should we now tell of his uncle, Vice-Admiral Henry Somerville, with quite a different Collins whodunnit?

Manus O'Riordan

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Unpublished Letter to *Irish Times*

Partnership helped the unemployed

That Dan O'Brien opposes any idea of restoring social partnership (30th August) will not be a surprise to anybody acquainted with his economic opinions over the years. But this does not excuse him getting his facts wrong.

He claims that partnership ignored the long term unemployed and was nothing more than a conspiracy of system insiders. This outrageous comment cannot go unchallenged.

The trade union movement fought tirelessly in the early 1990s to get precisely this issue to the top of the partnership agenda. It was due to the work of the ICTU (and indeed the INOU) that it was finally tackled firstly through the setting up of the Local Partnerships in areas of extreme disadvantage, and then through the Local Employment Services (LES) which had also been championed by ICTU.

The Partnerships and LES were tasked precisely with what O'Brien says was ignored: "counselling, advice and the fashioning of individual pathways back to education, training and the workforce". Remembering that many unemployed at the time had been out of work since the disastrous days of the mid-1980s, the results were slow to come to fruition, but did so eventually. In 1989 we had 18.5% unemployed. Half of these (9%) were long term unemployed. By 2004 this figure had been reduced to 1.5%. The group O'Brien is referring to are these 1.5% who remained unemployed through the boom. But as anyone acquainted with the situation knows, the reasons for this were of a complex nature not readily addressed by the classic tool of "activation" which had been championed by the trade union movement and which worked so well for so many.

Mr O'Brien, please check your facts before inverting the facts of history to suit your ideological predilections.

Philip O'Connor

30 August 2013

Unpublished letter to *Irish Times*

Cameron on World War Two

In the Guardian service report you carried (September 7) of what was described as David Cameron's "robust patriotic defence" in response to Russian criticisms, the UK Prime Minister was quoted as saying that "Britain is an island that has helped to clear the European continent of fascism". Even if this is what he had said, he might have added a word of thanks to the Russian people for holding the Nazi hordes at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad, recapturing Stalingrad and driving those hordes all the way back to Hitler's bunker in Berlin.

But this is not what Mr Cameron said, as the recordings of his St Petersburg press conference will confirm. He claimed a solo run, his precise words being that Britain was "a country that cleared a European continent of fascism". He thus betrayed a consummate ignorance of both history and geography, speaking in a city that had defied the 872 day Nazi siege of Leningrad, at a cost of 700,000 lives, or a third of its population.

Manus O'Riordan

8 September 2013

The Graves At Kilmorna is a novel of the Fenian Rising of 1867 and of the subsequent decline of principled political national life in Ireland under the influence of the Home Rule Party. The central figure of the novel, a Fenian veteran, is killed by a Parliamentary mob for raising Fenian principles at an election meeting.

The author, Patrick Augustine Sheehan (1852-1913) completed the novel shortly before his death. It was published the following year, 1914, when the Home Rule Bill was being formally enacted by Parliament but was set aside in fact, the Home Rule leaders were recruiting Irish cannonfodder for the British war on Germany and Turkey, and a new Rising was being planned.

Sheehan, the author of novels of high quality, was the Parish Priest of Doneraile in North Cork. He was actively involved in social and political affairs (land reform and the All-for-Ireland-League). His first posting as a priest was to Exeter in England where, as a prison chaplain at Dartmoor, he became familiar with the conditions in which Fenian prisoners were held.

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THE IRISH HOLOCAUST

A reader's enquiry concerning my previous statement in last month's *Irish Political Review* has caused me to think some more about the fishing, or lack of it, during the Holocaust of 1845 to 1852. I wrote: "*The truth is the fish were owned by the landlords and the mere Irish were prohibited from owning ships or boats*". I will deal with that statement in two parts.

"*The truth is the fish were owned by the landlords ...*" The English Common Law recognises rights called Riparian Rights which are separate and distinct from other rights attaching to land.

Other rights include farming rights, building rights, mineral and mining rights, rights of way, etc etc. Riparian Rights were, and still are, owned and sold and bought separately from lands adjoining rivers.

A Riparian Right is the right to fish in a specific section of a river. Any river can have any number of Riparian Rights owners, each having fishing rights over a certain part of the river. Even opposite banks of a river can have different Riparian Rights owners. The owner of Riparian Rights is entitled to enter onto the banks of a river or stretch of a river over which the owner of Riparian Rights is entitled to fish for salmon, trout etc. Any person who fishes in a river without a licence (a) from the State and (b) from the owner of the Riparian Rights can be apprehended and prosecuted in the Courts for the offence. Water-bailiffs are allowed to search a person and property e.g. a motor car for fishing equipment such as nets and rods and gaffs, and confiscate the equipment if the person searched has not got the necessary licence. And so the landlords did actually own the fishing and the fish. A fish merchant has to be able to give a legitimate source for every fish in his/her possession. If not confiscation and a Court proceeding will follow.

".... *the mere Irish were prohibited from owning ships or boats*". I made this statement based on folklore within my own family who were fishing people. My granduncles were both fishermen and they used to say that their father who was a fisherman and who was born in 1835 was

the first man to own his own boat in his area, which he paid for out of his wages from the British Navy when he retired. He married in 1864 and it may have been about then he bought his boat.

The majority of fishermen were share-fishermen and there were typically two men to a boat—one to row and one to throw and haul the net. The owner of the boat was not usually a fisherman—essentially he was a capitalist. The share-fishermen each got a small share of the value of the catch.

The mere Irish at the time of the Holocaust were too poor to own nets or boats. Any who did have nets or boats had to pawn them after the potato harvest failed in 1845. This is recorded in '*Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends During the Famine in Ireland 1846 and 1847*', which is by far the best record of fishing in Ireland at that time.

'*The Great Hunger*' by Cecil W. Smith mentions fishing but only in a dismissive way, such as "...there are cliffs, rocks and dangerous currents ...". And she says: "...*Fishing was a backward and neglected industry in Ireland.*" It is true that Ireland did not have the great fishing companies which trawled out of English ports such as Grimsby, Great Yarmouth, and Aberdeen, but the Irish port records show that Ireland had a substantial and valuable fishing industry which was actively controlled and operated specifically by Protestant interests from the Reformation up to and after the Irish Holocaust.

Catholics were not allowed to accumulate capital by the administration. See '*A Statement of the Penal Laws which aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland*' published by H. Fitzpatrick, Dublin, 1812. Every layer of administration was under the control of Protestants—Mayors, Sheriffs, councillors, water-bailiffs, judges, police officers to mention a few.

All of the fishing weirs on all of Ireland's rivers were owned by Protestant landlords. Dealing in salt, which was essential for preserving fish, was controlled by Protestants. Credit for the purchase of equipment and machinery was controlled by Protestants. And Cecil W. Smith's reference to the "*cliffs, rocks and dangerous currents*" is entirely fatuous. The cliffs, rocks and currents have always existed and still exist and are an occupational hazard for fishermen but they do not prevent fishing taking place.

The treatment of Ireland's fisheries is bad in '*The Great Famine*' but fishing is

absent altogether from the index of Thomas Keneally's '*The Great Shame*'. Professor William Smyth's great weighty tome '*Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*' has no index except an index of place-names (as if geography is all about places) and the detailed contents pages do not mention fishing, which is quite extraordinary because, when you look at any of the maps of Ireland in the book, a very extensive area of each map is the sea. Ireland, being an island, has one of the longest sea-coasts in Europe. The sea and the rivers were full of fish. Fish was on every wealthy house's menu. Fish features on the lists of exports from every port. So why is fishing not in the history books??? It does not stack up at all!

That the primary records are available is certain—port records, estate records of licensing, parliamentary records and Blue Books (London parliament). The only writer I can trace who made any appreciable use of the sources is Dr. Alice Effie Murray, whose doctoral thesis in London School of Economics was published as '*A History of the Commercial and Financial Relations Between England and Ireland from the period of the Reformation*', 1903: P.S. King & Son, London. And even in that book the treatment of fishing is superficial.

As well as fishing, another mysterious and seldom mentioned factor in the Irish Holocaust is the role of the pawnbrokers. After the severe failure of the potato crop in 1845, the rent and tithes had to be paid and food had to be bought and so farmers, labourers and fishermen had to pawn their equipment. Shovels, hoes, ploughs, nets and boats were pawned.

There must surely be records of these pawnbrokers. Who were they? Why were they so readily available? Who financed them? Where did all the pawned goods go to? Did pawnbrokers go broke in 1846 and 1847 when the equipment was not redeemed because the owners had either died or emigrated?

There has been enormous academic neglect of these areas which are so deserving of study.

That the ordinary people were eating fish is evidenced by a reference in a long and detailed letter from Reverend Thomas Tuckey of Drimoleague published in the '*Cork Constitution*' newspaper on 5th January 1847 detailing the hardships being suffered in his parish. He says: "*On another day a poor man called looking for work and asked if he might warm himself by the fire and when he saw a pot of water he*

asked if it was fish-water for the sake of getting something warm. A little bread was very welcome to him" (Quoted from 'Four Hundred Years of Drimoleague' by Richard S. Harrison.)

I have referred above to the seemingly purposeful academic neglect of the study of aspects of the everyday struggle for life during the years 1845-1852. Perhaps John Waters explains it very well in his contribution 'Troubled People' in 'Irish Hunger' ed. by Tom Hayden, published 1997.

On page 107 John Waters writes:

"One of the traps of the post-colonial mindset is the urge to give voice to the coloniser's version of history. This condition runs rife through the media, political arena and universities of the Republic, and consequently through the entire public conversation. The post-colonial condition creates a lot of diversion to prevent the colonised people from understanding the reality of their condition. A particular slant emerges, without self-awareness, from the more destructive feelings which result from a traumatised history— feelings of guilt and shame and self-hatred— and this requires a constant intelligent self-interrogation to prevent distortion. In the recent past, Irish historiography has not always had that self-interrogation. As a result, we experienced a period of historiographical tit-for-tat warfare. It was as if there was no truth except the truth of the victors."

Let us face the facts. Let us be blunt. The victors in the Irish Holocaust were the British. The Irish people were pounded into the ground by the Penal Laws which impoverished and kept impoverished the mere Irish. The system of land management in Ireland was designed and implemented by the British.

Facts. Grain, beef, pork and fish were extracted from Ireland in every year in increasing quantities in payment of rents to landlords for the most part living and spending in England. The mere Irish Catholics were paying tithes to support a huge and wealthy Protestant clergy. (The tithe business was not really sorted out until the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in 1869.)

The Irish were not lazy— they were recognised as great workers in Britain, digging canals, building railways and in Canada and USA where they were not blocked, the Irish people rose to the top in business. In France, Spain, USA and throughout South America, the Irish rose to the top positions of command in armies and navies. No! The Irish were certainly not lazy! The British Government em-

braced the occurrence of the failure of the potato crops as a long-awaited opportunity to get rid of the Irish from the land of Ireland. Facts. The Irish Holocaust was undoubtedly an act of genocide.

Michael Stack ©

TRADE UNION NOTES

continued

discontinued in future, but recommended that the full 2011 bonus should be honoured.

Members of the Unite trade union voted in favour of strike action if the issue was not settled.

LUMP SUMS

"Primary and secondary teachers retiring last year received €172 million in lump sums, with one secondary teacher receiving a tax-free payment of more than €170,000.

"According to figures released by the Department of Education, the highest lump sum gross payment received by a teacher amounted to €177,260.

"The department confirmed in response to a Freedom of Information request that €172.09 million was paid out in gross lump sums to 1,848 primary and secondary teachers who received their retirement payments in 2012.

"This follows the Department of Education paying out €181.99 million to 1,868 primary and secondary school teachers who retired in 2011.

"The figures show that on average, the 1,039 primary teachers who retired last year received a payment of €93,965, with the 809 secondary school teachers receiving an average lump sum of €92,373.

"The figures relating to primary teachers who retired last year show that one teacher received a lump sum of €161,060. Five other primary school teachers received in excess of €150,000 each." (Irish Times 19.9.2013).

1913 LOCKOUT

Friday, August 23, 2013

"The man who triggered the Dublin Lockout should be judged on all of his achievements and not just on his role in Ireland's greatest industrial conflict, his descendants have said.

"Gerald Dunne, a great grandson of William Martin Murphy, was speaking after a plaque was unveiled at his ancestor's birthplace in West Cork.

"Murphy, whose family came from Bere Island, was born in Derrymihin West, Castletownbere, on Dec 31, 1844.

"Widely regarded as Ireland's first press baron, he founded the *Irish Independent* and *Sunday Independent* newspapers, was a journalist, businessman, transport

pioneer, and politician representing Dublin as an MP from 1885 to 1892.

"But he became a figure of hate when he sacked and replaced more than 300 Dublin tram staff suspected of being members of James Larkin's Irish Transport and General Workers' Union" (Irish Examiner 23.8.2013).

The lockouts and strikes which followed would eventually involve more than 20,000 workers—the largest industrial conflict the country has ever seen.

Murphy's role in the lockout earned him the nickname "*William Murder Murphy*".

"Speaking after the unveiling of the plaque by one of Murphy's great grand-daughters, Ann Young, Mr Dunne said his ancestor has suffered from a lot of bad press over the years, and that the lockout should be seen in the context of other social upheaval across Europe at the time.

"I think it is important to remember the achievements of this self-made man. He achieved great things in business, politics and Irish life in general... I think it is unfair to judge him solely in the context of what happened in 1913. He certainly wasn't responsible for the appalling conditions that were prevalent for Dublin workers at the time". (ibid.)

The plaque ceremony was organised by Beara Historical Society as part of its range of events for Heritage Week.

Russia Today

This is a TV channel that has some worthwhile reporting of world affairs, including news and analysis about financial misconduct by Wall Street and the City of London. In Britain it is available on **Freeview**, as well as elsewhere. In Ireland it is available through Satellite. The locations where it is available are listed below. There is also a website:

<http://rt.com/news/>

IRELAND

Satellite
EUTELSAT HOT BIRD 13B (HD)
Astra 1L (HD)
EUTELSAT 28A (HD)
EUTELSAT HOT BIRD 13C (SD)
Astra 1M (SD)
EUTELSAT 28A (SD)
Hispasat 1C (SD)
IPTV
Magnet

GREAT BRITAIN

Satellite
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EUTELSAT 28A (HD)
EUTELSAT HOT BIRD 13C (SD)
Astra 1M (SD). EUTELSAT 28A (SD)
Hispasat 1C (SD). IPTV. Zattoo
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GUILDS continued

its practice years before, for the by-laws which had upheld their right of search had been declared obsolete in 1711. Elsewhere, men who would 'no serche haue' refused to have it, and there was no power at hand to impose it upon them. Borough authorities of that epoch evidently considered it no part of their office to held guilds 'shutt in unfree shops', or to disenfranchise handicraftsmen who refused to submit to gild espionage, or compel them to pay gild tribute for breaches of gild law" (ibid. p.174-5).

"In 1614 the chief justice of England condemned the charter given the cooks of London the ground that in allowing the men of the craft unlimited power to search, seize food stuffs and dispose of them as they pleased, they could profit at the expense of competition. *Index to Remembrancia*, p.97" (ibid. p.175).

"The wonder is that the guilds contrived to enforce their power of search after the courts had decided that the power to seize defective material under the authority derived from a crown charter was contrary to law. That decision was rendered in 1600 against the London dyers seizing poorly-dyed cloth. *Case of Waltham v. Austin. Parliamentary Papers*, 1884, pt. ii, p. 14" (ibid. p.175).

"In publishing in 1768 in one of their city papers, an advertisement, offering a reward for the discovery of frauds in their trade (the frauds referring, it is supposed, to smuggled imports of Irish soap and candles), the chandlers and soap boilers of Bristol seem to have given public evidence of their waning power to supervise and control the conditions under which the commodities under their jurisdiction were being marketed." Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the 17th Century*, p. 384. (ibid. p.174-5).

CONCLUSION

"The search no longer ranked as the laudable custom of earlier, and for old-fashioned guildsmen, apparently happier days. These were the days of new-fashioned guildsmen concerned in keeping from competitors the secrets of the machinery they had installed in their work-rooms, and of independent manufacturers who wanted no officials in their factories prepared to destroy articles not up to the mark, or to delay their export until these bore the stamp of their approval. The survival of a past method of control, gild supervision had no place in the system under which modern products were being manufactured. That system was concerned with removing the obstacles in the way of free trade not in placing them there" (*The English Craft Guilds, Studies in their Progress and Decline*, Stella Kramer, p.174-75).

To be continued

TRADE UNION NOTES

ESB Pensions

"Householders face the prospect of power cuts from November if ESB workers take strike action over a €1.6 billion hole in the company's pension fund.

"Some 7,000 workers will be balloted for industrial action over the coming weeks, after which a decision will be taken on mounting an all-out strike which will affect power supply." (*Irish Independent*, 23.9.2013)

The row centres on a €1.6 billion deficit in the pension scheme which has been substantially restructured in recent years.

Some 200 shop stewards from the group of unions, which includes SIPTU and Unite, unanimously passed a motion to conduct a ballot for industrial action, up to and including strike action.

They claim the dispute centres on a decision by management to change the staff defined-benefit scheme to a defined-contribution scheme, and that the company has said it has no liability for current or future pension deficits.

DOLE

Dozens of people who failed to show any interest in getting work have had their entire €188-per-week dole payments cut off as part of a new crackdown.

The power to suspend payments for two months was introduced by Social Protection Minister Joan Burton, Labour Party, to tackle people who repeatedly refused to turn up to interviews with social welfare staff or take up offers of jobs or training.

According to new figures from her department, 67 people have had their €188-per-week dole payments suspended for nine weeks since the power was introduced on July 15.

Social welfare officers already had the power to cut dole payments by up to €44 per week. But this is the first time the payment has been withdrawn entirely. After the nine-week period the situation is reviewed.

Those who have their dole payments cut off will still be able to get rent supplement as well as cash payments for children. And they will be able to get their dole back if they show a willingness to take up an offer of work or training.

So far this year, around 1,500 people have suffered the lesser sanction of having their dole payments cut by €44 per week. That is up on last year, when a total of 1,435 people had their benefit reduced

and four times the rate in 2011 when just 372 people took a cut.

TEACHER STRIKES

"Hundreds of secondary schools could be closed by strikes in a matter of weeks after one of the country's largest teaching unions voted in favour of industrial action over cuts under government legislation.

"However, the prospect of a united front among teaching staff ended after the second key union voted to support the Haddington Road Agreement.

"The results of both votes were announced yesterday with the Association of Secondary Teachers Ireland (ASTI) rejecting the deal.

"Meanwhile, the Teachers Union of Ireland (TUI), with 15,000 members, decided to support it by a margin of 54% to 46%.

"The ASTI had balloted its 17,000 members on acceptance or rejection of the Haddington agreement on public service cutbacks" (*Irish Examiner* 21.9.2013).

The ASTI, the TUI, and the Irish Federation of University Teachers had been the only public service unions which had not accepted the terms of the agreement.

ASTI members voted by 63% to 37% to reject the deal, with the effect that they will now be subject to the full rigours of the Government's financial emergency measures in the public interest legislation.

"ASTI members are paying a big price for their principles—now facing annual salary losses of €2,000-€6,000 a year for the rest of their working lives, when compared with what all other teachers, who have signed up to Haddington Road, will receive" (*Irish Independent* 21.9.2013)

BONUS WON

"A threatened strike at Educational Building Society [EBS] has been called off after the state-owned bank bowed to a trade union demand to pay so-called '13th month' bonuses dating back to 2011" (*Irish Independent* 18.9.2013).

Individual payouts will be at least €789 for the lowest paid staff and the payment is now expected to be made along with salaries in October. The total cost to AIB will be around €200,000.

The disputed payment is part of a bonus that has been paid annually to EBS staff until it was bailed out and merged with AIB.

That argument looked to have been resolved in April this year when the Labour Court ruled that the payment could be

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GUILDS continued

power to take into their ranks from time to time 'by way of composition' and redemption such 'as to them shall seeme meet and convenient'. It is no wonder that by 1587 the company's membership included free persons 'of what trade, faculty or mystery they be'.

"In the ordinances drawn up by the drapers in the middle of the 16th century, the masters and wardens were authorised to admit all 'Redempcyoners' without assent or 'avise' of any other person and either 'gratis' or for such sums as they should decide. The charter incorporating the wheelwrights in 1670, empowered company officials to admit from time to time 'such person and persons as they shall thinke fitt and as shall desire to become members of the said Societie'. There seems thus scarcely a doubt that almost from their start London organisations were admitting to membership persons who had no connection with the particular trade or industry they were supposed to represent" (Stella Kramer, op. cit. p.171/72).

HETEROGENEITY

"Aside from the admission of members by redemption, the heterogeneity of gild membership was due also, in part, to the custom which permitted a son to inherit his father's membership in a gild. It may be that at first sons followed their fathers' calling much as a matter of course, although later admission by patrimony brought into a gild, members with no particular concern in the trade or industry with which the gild was identified. As the London leathersellers phrased it in the first quarter of the 17th century, in deploring the conditions prevalent in their ranks by that time, 'as the manner of London is, the son being free by the father's copy of the company is, long since changed by those that know not leather.' In 1738 the butchers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne tried to limit their officers to trading 'brothers', for the practice of appointing to office brothers who did not follow the trade of a butcher had been found detrimental to the company's interests.

"Furthermore, the custom still in vogue in the later 17th century of compelling a man to belong to a gild if he wished to ply his calling undisturbed in an urban community, probably added little to the effectiveness of gild supervision. A case in point is that of the confectioner who, in 1685, applied to the officials of Newcastle-upon-Tyne for permission to join one of the city companies and take apprentices to help him ply his calling within the liberties. The confectioner in question was accorded liberty to choose the fellowship he deemed 'most meet' and he elected membership 'as a goldsmith' in an organisation which included goldsmiths, plumbers, pewterers, glaziers and painters. Upon entering he gave

bond that 'neither he nor any of his servants shall exercise any of the trades of this Company', but that they would confine themselves to 'the trade or art of a confectioner only'..." (ibid. p.172-3).

"However, the fact that a confessed confectioner could gain admittance to a corporation holding together handicrafts with so little in common, proves, doubtless, that the question of supervision played little or no real part in gild polity of that period" (ibid. p.173).

AMALGAMATIONS

"Moreover, the practice of merging into one gild unrelated groups of craftsmen tended probably to nullify the effectiveness of supervision and to bring the different mysteries to a point where insistence upon the uniformity to a common standard seemed neither possible or profitable. It is true that, upon amalgamating, various groups provided for the regulation of the separate interests involved, by appointing separate officials to supervise the work of the separate groups; but whether the results justified the effort expended cannot now be estimated. It is known, however, that 15th century officials of Coventry discouraged the amalgamation of allied interests in the iron industry because of the difficulty under such conditions of placing responsibility for defectively made goods. Of course the more heterogeneous a company, the more difficult the task became of controlling the different elements involved; this proved to be the cause of the lack of effort later expended in that direction" (ibid. p.173).

"Consequently, no matter how they were recruited, the heterogeneity of gild membership was a fact, apparently of such long standing and so intertwined with borough and gild custom, that 17th century organisation could do little to make their membership more representative of the particular trade or industry with which they were identified, or to keep their officials loyal to the gild they were elected to serve. Long accustomed to a divided allegiance, goldsmen seem to have lost much of their early 'esprit de corps', often indeed they refused to accept office in one organisation because they belonged to another. In 1732 certain goldsmiths of London had themselves discharged from serving as wardens of the gold and silver wyre-drawers on the ground that they were free of the goldsmiths and therefore exempt from holding office in the other company" (ibid. p.173).

PATRIMONY

"Gild records mention the custom as an established fact in the 16th century. Thus, by the middle of that century the eldest son born to a free butcher of Northampton seems to have succeeded his father by right of patrimony. By the sixth year of the reign of King Edward VI, [1547-53] 'byrthe' seems to have been

one way of gaining admission into the merchant gild of Dublin. *Egerton MS.*, 1765, f. 16. By 1560 a man obtained his freedom in the London goldsmiths company by patrimony. *Prideaux, Memorials of the Goldsmiths' Company*, vol. 1, p. 62. In the 18th century among the butchers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, a freeman might enroll his son in the company's books as soon as the child was born, although he could not take up his freedom until he was twenty-one. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, vol. 14, p. 22. Sometimes a son gained admission into a municipality and a gild simultaneously by patrimony. In 1586 the son of a deceased freeman was sworn free of the borough of St. Albans 'Of the Company of Mercers by his father's copy.' *St. Alban's Charters*, p. 14. By 1635, in accordance with 'ancient custom' in Kingston-upon-Thames, the eldest son of every freeman living at the time of his father's death was, at the age of twenty-one, admitted a freeman by his father's copy, 'to be of the same company as his father was of'. *Gough MSS., Bodleian Library, Records Relating to Kingston-upon-Thames*, f. 15." (ibid. p.173).

GILD RIGHT OF SEARCH

"Despite the drawbacks to successful pursuit, 17th century charters confirmed gild right of search and many appear to have enforced their right, often to some purpose. In 1716 felt designated as 'not merchantable and deceitful' was seized on the premises of a feltmaker in Dublin and the offender 'summoned to show cause' for the deception. In 1726 wardens of the merchants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne seized goods 'foreyn bought and fforreyn sold', apparently regardless of consequences, and the company unanimously agreed to pay the expense of 'any action or Suit att law commenced or thereafter to be commenced' against its wardens because of the seizures" (ibid. p.173-4).

"In 1773 the tin-plate workers in the city of London maintained their search with considerable diligence, while the first quarter of the 19th century found city companies like the saddlers, the goldsmiths and the apothecaries still appropriating as worthless of defective, wares condemned by their respective searchers; but this zealous exercise of the prerogative seems to have been exceptional even among the metropolitan organisation. The clothworkers of the city dubious in 1708 of their right under 'their charter and otherwise concerning the seizing of cloths which are bad wrought', by 1749 had become convinced that if they exercised their 'right of search', it would no longer tend either to the better skill or the art or mystery or to the profit of the company, and it was consequently abandoned" (ibid. p.173-4).

"This particular company openly repudiated the search, but others of their city, notably the grocers had discontinued

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GUILDS continued

naturally grew less zealous in its prosecution. For instance, in 1607, the London goldsmiths called a Mr. Andrew Jones to account for accusing the company of 'remissness in the searches'. Scarcely twenty-five years after they were incorporated, city clockmakers had become lax in the execution of their search. There were years when, for reasons beyond their control, guilds had perforce to omit the practice" (ibid. p.165).

GILD AND BOROUGH

"It is interesting to note that as early as 1363, the London saddlers authorised their supervisors to take a serjeant of the chamber with them to any place where 'any prove rebellious against them' and 'refuse to allow them to search his house or shop in accordance with the rules of the company'." (Sherwell, *History of the Saddlers*, p.34).

"In 1633 the 'foulness of the weather' interfered with the goldsmiths carrying on their search in the fair of St. Bartholomew's Day, whereas in 1670, it seems to have been omitted 'in regard to the great charge that doth attend the same'. Evidently too, the search failed to materialise because of carelessness or indifference on the part of the guild officers charged with its execution. By 1623 the wardens of the Norwich mercers had 'omitted to make due search' apparently against the rules of the company which sought to arrest further omissions by imposing a penalty of twenty shillings for dereliction of duty in that direction. Nine years later in London, artisan girdlers complained to the court of their company that of recent years the master and wardens fail to take along any of their number on their searches" (ibid. p.166).

"In 1648 different members of the Newcastle merchant company appointed 'for to seaze on all goods foraigne bought and foraigne sould' confessed that 'some which are joyned in commission' with them 'are very backward to discharge the trust imposed upon them'..." (ibid. p.166).

"The artisans asked the court for leave to search 'of their own authority', but were reminded that some of their number had constantly been called upon to accompany the officers on their rounds, and on occasion would be called, but, 'as to giving them libertie... to search by themselves' they were told that 'the Court neither holds it fitt or convenient'..." (Smythe, *History of the Girdlers' Company*, p.89, ibid. p.166).

"Only, whereas sickness, or unfavourable weather, or the lack of funds necessary to finance the search, or the failure of officials to carry on the work, or the discovery by the rank and file of the time set apart for its conduct may serve to explain why the search failed occasion-

ally, to materialise on a specific occasion, they scarcely suffice to account for the breakdown of the system as a whole" (ibid. p.167).

ONE CRAFT; ONE GUILD!

"But then gildsmen of the period had no need to search for a way of escape, gild economy had provided one for those in the best standing. Indeed, as early as 1571 various metropolitan handicraft groups frankly admitted their powerlessness longer to see that gild products were well made as had been the case in the days when gild officials had the 'search and punishment of all persons occupying thee art'. As one way of recovering their earlier control, the dozen and more groups which made the admission urged the adoption of a plan whereby persons free of other companies should henceforth be compelled to observe the ordinances of the handicraft 'touching their wares and works made'. This proposal for reform furnished the clue to what appears by that time to have become a serious obstacle in the way of gild supervision in the metropolis. Obviously by the last quarter of the 16th century, by no means all London gildsmen who followed a calling belonged to the organisation in control, and for that reason could escape the consequences of wrong-doing. As a goldsmith in Lombard Street put it nearly a century later, in refusing to let the wardens of the goldsmiths make trial of his wares, that, since he was not a member of their company he was 'not liable to their search'" (ibid. p.167).

"It was not only the men in the ranks who evaded the liability. Gild officials used other callings than those sponsored by the company they were chosen to serve, and consequently had become negligent in enforcing their office" (ibid. p.167).

REFORM

"Conscious of the necessity of suppressing the abuses which had crept into their system, various guilds sought to eliminate them by having handicraftsmen join the organisation in control of the art they practised. In 1605, at the urging of the cooks a city ordinance was passed bidding all cooks in the metropolis to be translated to the cooks' company. A little later the glaziers, among other groups, had a similar edict passed in their behalf" (ibid. p.167-8).

"However, certain companies refused to part with their members on any terms. Indeed, in 1657 the ironmongers would not allow a pinmaker by trade but an ironmonger 'by company' to join the newly organised company of pinmakers" (ibid. p.168).

"From an entry dated 1616 in the records of the glaziers' company, we learn that the committee appointed to inquire into the complaints of the glaziers of that period reported that 'ancient brotherhood'

was 'much decayed lately by reason that divers persons of other Companies do pursue their trade and take as many apprentices as they please whereas if they were free of the Glaziers they could not take more than one apprentice'. Wherefore the committee recommended 'that all Freeman of other companies using the trade of a Glazier shall submit to the search and that apprentices taken by them shall be presented to the Master and Wardens of the Glaziers' Company'..." (Ashdown, *History of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers*, p.28)

DUAL MEMBERSHIP

"Whereas certain gildsmen allowed themselves the luxury of changing their gild membership, others with reasons probably just as particular kept their membership in two companies. From the start none of the 'misterie' of the London clothworkers was 'of his own mocion or frowardnes or by the pcuryng of any other psone... to go oute of the said Feloushippe to any other misterie.' Yet in answering the charges preferred against them by city drapers in 1634, the clothworkers published the fact, that certain clothworkers were free of the merchant adventurers and for that reason were entitled to buy and sell cloth by wholesale and retail. Simultaneous membership in more than one gild had evidently not been eliminated from the gild system" (ibid. p.169).

"Again in 1725, it appears that the goldsmiths had failed to keep goldsmiths 'free of other companies from binding many apprentices', while as late as 1778, the leathersellers blamed the fraudulent selling of leather goods within city limits to the fact that the persons who practised the trade were free of other companies and consequently made apprentices free of other companies also. In this way, they said, control of the trade had passed out of the hands of the leathersellers' company" (ibid. p.170).

To all intents and purposes, the policy of admitting to membership men who followed diverse calling had been following too long in the metropolis for a radical reform to be effected at this late date. It seems that the London gild of grocers opened its membership to men who practised other trades, as early as 1376, by 'common assent and the payment of a certain fee'. By 1403 tradesmen other than mercers gained admittance to city mercers by consent of the whole gild. A charter conceded in 1448 to the haberdashers frankly provided for the admission of persons other than haberdashers. Likewise, by the terms of the charter bestowed upon the Merchant Taylors in 1502, the master and wardens could admit to the fraternity whatsoever persons they saw fit" (ibid. p.171).

"To the court of the newly incorporated company of clothworkers was given the

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Loss of Guild Power!

Once the two great tenets of Guild power—regulation of apprentices and the power of search—declined, the Guild system was in serious trouble. The loser in this development was the Craft Guilds.

The effectiveness of the searches depended upon enforcement of the apprenticeship system. The failure to enforce that substantially contributed to a breakdown in the Guild power to search.

"Along with the loss of gild power to enforce the laws governing apprenticeship went gild supervision of trade and industry in other directions. This was inevitable since a considerable part of gild supervision had to do with enforcing the service. Thus, in making their rounds to see that gild masters made their goods to accord with gild standards, that the 'werkhouse' of a candidate for admission was 'goode and able or no', that masters used fair weights and true measures, and that they purchase their stocks with due regard to gild requirements, gild supervisors or searchers as they were usually designated, sometimes seized the goods or shut down the shops of men who had not served full time to their trade. They passed upon the fitness of apprentices to be taken into service, say 'whatt appren-tyces' masters 'kepe', so that only the stipulated numbers were taken at any one time, that they were properly enrolled in gild records and that none were taken merely to be turned over to other masters. The searchers had likewise to testify to borough officials as to the fitness of an apprentice who had served the required term, to set up as a master" (*The English Craft Gilds, Studies in their Progress and Decline*, Stella Kramer, Columbia University Press, 1927, p.162/63).

Several other factors contributed to the breakdown of the system, including the lack of Guild power of control over all who used a calling, i.e. a plumber could be committed to a Guild of Watchmakers; a confectioner to to the Goldsmiths. "The ironmongers would not allow a pinmakers

by trade but an ironmonger 'by company' to join the newly organised company of pinmakers." Men could have membership of two separate Guilds, enabling them to renege the responsibilities of one or other Guild.

Any reform of Guild rules proved almost impossible because of ancient Guild policies on Redemption; Patrimony; Amalgamation; Simultaneous membership of Guilds.

In the following extracts, the readers will see a greater role by the State in the dilution of Guild laws. Also machinery and the factory system contributes to the erosion of the principle of Guild search.

'EFFECTIVE' SUPERVISION

"It is evident that gild supervision proved effective in so far as it enforced apprenticeship, and failure to enforce it, led to the breakdown of the gild system as a whole. Of course the Norwich 'taillour' who, in 1524, refused to 'suffre' the wardens of his craft 'to search in his shoppe in causes concerning the occupation of taillours' was not alone in defying gild authority. But the records tell of the many 17th century craftsmen

who denied the right of gild officials not only in Norwich but in other places to search their premises for defective goods.

"During the first quarter of the 17th century, obstructions of one sort or another were frequently put in the way of the wardens of London goldsmiths as they made their accustomed rounds in search of defective wares. In 1676, at Bristol, the feltmakers' official supervisors were prevented from inspecting certain parcels of felt stored in a member's shop. In 1700 any number of Pontefract merchants either refused outright to permit gild officers to search their shops or interrupted them in the discharge of that office. A year later, a certain member of the London saddlers 'did deny the search' threatening to strike the searchers with a hammer, besides 'giving very abusive words' (Ibid, p.163/64).

"Seemingly gilds of the period suffered no offender to be a law unto himself. In 1701 by order of the court of the London gold and silver wyre-drawers' company, members who resisted the search were to be prosecuted. It was one thing to issue an order of the sort, but another to enforce it, for a few months later this company was consulting the attorney-general to learn whether it could legally prosecute members for transgressing the by-laws under which their search had been conducted" (ibid. p.164).

"However, neither the source from which they derived their power of supervision, the extent of the territory over which they might operate, nor the weight of the authority supposedly inhering in the officials authorised to enforce the office materially strengthened gild control over trade or industry" (ibid. p.165).

"However faithful the execution of office, or whatever the immediate result to the company, it is a matter of record that by the early 18th century the cloth-workers were appointing a committee to consider 'what power the company hath by their charter or otherwise concerning the seizing of cloths which are are bad-wrought' (ibid. p.165).

"Seventeenth-century gilds losing faith in their power to prosecute the search,

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