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International Law

An Iranian defector has revealed what everybody who took an objective interest in the matter has known all along: that the bombing of the airliner that fell down over Lockerbie was an Iranian act of revenge for the Iranian airliner carrying pilgrims to Mecca that was shot down by an American warship in the Gulf. The international situation at that moment made it advantageous that the responsibility should be pinned on somebody else. It was pinned on Libya in a rigged trial held under Scottish law at a time before Scotland had a nationalist Government. The Libyan Government, under threat of sanctions, paid huge blood money to relatives of the victims but did not admit guilt for the bombings.

The Americans, the super-citizens of the globe, are not fussy about these things, but a group of British relatives organised by Dr. Jim Squires made it clear that they did not believe a word of it. So did a leading Scottish commentator on law. One of the two Libyan officials on whom the guilt was pinned had the verdict overturned on appeal but the appeal of the other was rejected, even though the evidence was the same against both. He was held in prison until the Scottish Government released him on the ground that he was terminally ill. He was returned to Libya to die. Because he did not die immediately on returning home, Westminster hounded him as a malingerer.

The elected Government in Egypt was overthrown by the military in response to demands of the small Western-oriented liberal elements of the Egyptian middle class, which complained that it only represented the majority. A military Government took its place, financed by Washington and Saudi Arabia, and supported by the liberal West as a transition towards *real* democracy, in which the ignorant, backward majority would not have the upper hand.

When their Government was overthrown, the ignorant majority held a protest meeting in which a policeman was killed. Five hundred and twenty-nine people have now been sentenced to death for that killing, in a single trial lasting a few hours in a transitional-to-democracy Court. The Liberals are content. They see that things are going their way.

continued on page 2

The 'Dirty Peace'

The bungled prosecution of John Downey that ignited the *On the Run* Comfort Letter controversy has got the SDLP fuming. Alasdair McDonnell, leader of the SDLP, says that "*his party did not work to end "a dirty war" to find themselves "na dirty peace"...*" (Irish Times, 1.3.14).

And during *Northern Ireland Questions* in the House of Commons, Mark Durkan was 'on message' when he asked Ms Villiers: "*Does the Secretary of State agree that a key reason why we must deal with*

the past is the need to assure people that we did not end the dirty war just to end up with a dirty peace?"

He continued:

"Is that not even more imperative after this week's revelations, which prove that some of us were right when we warned the former Northern Ireland Secretary of State Peter Hain and others that they were blighting the peace process with their penchant for side deals, pseudo-deals, sub-deals, shabby deals and secret deals, which are now doing fundamental damage to the Haass process and to the process more widely?"

The Financial Times goes to War:

1914 here we go again

Ireland today rarely looks to itself for information about the world or an understanding of it (or indeed even of itself). That habit, and the thought processes it required, began to be abandoned as unacceptably backward in the late 1960s, just as, and not disconnected from, the crisis into which the State descended over how to handle the straight-forward events that had begun to unfold in Northern Ireland.

As the State was taken in hand in the course of the Arms Conspiracy Trial and—despite an unfortunate but temporary relapse to independent action under Haughey in the 1980s—remnants of such old habits were squeezed out of the political system, the media and academia, and replaced by a new cosmopolitan, liberal internationalist 'world view'. It is a world view that dovetails neatly with whatever are the momentarily dominant intellectual fashions and political interests of the US. The transition is well reflected in the deterioration of Irish foreign policy

continued on page 4

You would not think it was what the SDLP call the "*dirty war*" that got them their heart's desire in 1998. The fact that the Garden of Eden of Good Friday continued to have snakes seems to have taken them completely by surprise. The fact that a "*dirty war*" might result in a "*dirty peace*" seems to have never crossed their minds. Oh they were too good for the world they were to flourish in and so they perished!

It has been said for years that there was a "*dirty war*" in 'Northern Ireland'. Is that to say the SDLP would have preferred a

continued on page 6

CONTENTS

	Page
International Law. Editorial	1
The <i>Financial Times</i> Goes To War. <i>1914 here we go again.</i> Philip O'Connor	1
The Dirty Peace. Pat Walsh	1
Readers' Letters: Great War: '37 Days'. Tim O'Sullivan. Donal Kennedy	3
Crimean Referendum Result. Pat Muldowney	3
Putin On The Blitz. Wilson John Haire (Poem)	5
Shorts from <i>the Long Fellow</i> (Banking Crisis Cost; Burn The Bondholders... Again!; Hypo Real Estate And Anglo; The Anglo 3 Trial; Apple Tax Rate; American Hegemony; Tom Gilmartin; Tony Benn)	8
Boston College Tapes: A Scheme Backfires. Brendan Clifford	10
In Memory Of A Great Friend And Comrade, Patrick Henry Murphy. Mick Murray	10
Es Ahora. Julianne Herlihy	14
Reviews. Brendan Clifford (Anthony McIntyre on Ruairi O Bradaigh; Barry Keane on Dunmanway)	16
Biteback: 'Assassination' Of Collins. Donal Kennedy	24
Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (Ukraine And Crimea; Syria)	25

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

Guilds In Europe

Mondragon, Part 28

doublespeak.

Moscow, not surprisingly, did not rush to recognise the anti-Russian Government established by *coup d'etat* as legitimate. The EU threatened sanctions against it, if it did not promptly recognise the new Government in Kiev, without waiting on elections. It is now apparently a principle of International Law of the democratic era that a *coup* which overthrows an elected Government must be recognised at once as legitimate—as *democratically* legitimate, of course, for what other kind of legitimacy can there be in this super-democratic era?

The *coup d'etat* by anti-Russian forces naturally disrupted the tenuous political consensus which had enabled the Ukraine to function as a state since it was conjured into existence, through no efforts of its own when the Soviet Union was being broken up by a fool and a knave—Gorbachev and Yeltsin. The naked anti-Russianism of the *coup* set off a process of disintegration. The EU says disintegration is not allowed—not in the Ukraine at any rate: even though the EU encouraged the disintegration of Yugoslavia (a European, as distinct from Soviet, Communist state, which remained standing after the Soviet system collapsed), by fostering extreme nationalist developments.

Encouraged by the EU, and by Germany in particular, various regions of Yugoslavia held referendums and declared themselves independent. When the Yugoslav Government tried to hold these developments within the provisions of the Constitution, which did provide for secession, it was condemned as a tyranny, and the Yugoslav Army was declared to be an Army of Occupation if it did not immediately vacate a region where a referendum on independence had been carried.

The fostering of nationalism stirred up the population of Bosnia into three mutually antagonistic parts—Serb, Croat and Muslim. The Croats and Muslims voted together in a referendum on secession from Yugoslavia. But the stirred-up Croats and Moslems did not want to live together with each other, any more than they wanted to live with the Serbs in the Yugoslav state, but the EU, which had encouraged the secession of Bosnia from Yugoslavia, then declared that there could be no separation from each other of the hostile populations in Bosnia. Bosnia was decreed to be a nation state in which the three populations, whose hatred of each other had been stirred up, must now live together as if they were a nation.

Last Autumn the democratically-elected Government of the Ukraine was negotiating an economic deal with the EU, preparatory to joining the EU and NATO. The EU went miserly and refused to put up a sum that would compensate the Ukraine for the loss of its industry, which would not be sustainable in the European market, and for the loss of Russian subsidies which joining the EU would entail. In short, the EU refused to put up the small sum for which the Ukraine was willing to sell itself.

Russia then made a better cash offer than the EU as part of a deal in which its existing subsidies would continue, and under which Ukrainian industry would remain viable in the Russian market. The Ukrainian Government accepted the Russian offer—on the instant it ceased to be a democratically-elected government and became a tyranny of despots who were plundering the people.

A protest demonstration in Kiev against the change of policy was taken in hand by Barak Obama and the EU. The central square in Kiev was built into a fortress and

the Government defied. At a certain point the EU brokered a deal under which the Maidan Insurrection would join the Government and form a Coalition. But Obama said "*Fuck the EU*", and he boosted the insurrection into a *coup d'etat*.

The Maidan Insurrection claimed that it represented the will of the Ukrainian people—but it could not wait to demonstrate this at the General Election a few months ahead because, as an American spokesman explained, Yanukovich would steal that election as he had stolen the last election. And the EU did not repudiate the authoritative American assertion that the Government it had been negotiating a deal with was an unelected despotism.

The *coup d'etat*, which was managed by Washington, was strongly anti-Russian in sentiment. It announced far-reaching anti-Russian measures—measures directed against the large body of Russians living in the Ukraine—before the American monitors intervened, delayed the implementation of those measures for the time being, and gave its puppets lessons in

In this way Yugoslavia was reduced to Serbia, and a part of Serbia, Kosovo, was incited to rebel against the Serbian Government. When the Serbian Government tried to police the rebellion, Serbia was bombed by NATO without United Nations authority, and independent Kosovo was established

It was impossible to see any general principle of law in the US/EU handling of Yugoslavia. It just seemed to be a case of the Balkan peoples being made to do what they were told by the US/EU.

When the Ukraine was destabilised by the anti-Russian *coup*, the Russian majority in the Crimean region organised a referendum for seceding from the Ukraine and transferring to the Russian Federation. EU spokesmen said the referendum was illegal because it was not conducted under the authority of the new anti-Russian Government in Kiev. We do not recall any such rule being applied in Yugoslavia.

The referendum was boycotted by Kiev loyalists, who declared that the 97% majority showed that it was rigged as well as illegal. The population balance in the Crimea is about 60% Russian, 40% non-Russian. If Kiev thought it could rely on the non-Russians to vote against secession, so that there would be a 60=40 result, the referendum would almost certainly have been contested.

The British Prime Minister said the Crimeans voted at the point of a Kalashnikov. British Prime Ministers should know something about elections held at the point of a gun. So should Irish Ministers. But it seems they have forgotten.

It does not seem that the outcome of the Crimean referendum is going to be challenged by force. This wards off the probability of the Russian naval base in the Crimea being surrounded by NATO forces. And that is, of course, ground for serious discontent in the expansionist EU.

The EU, which was dreaming of becoming a rival of the USA in global politics twenty years ago, has now been shown not to have a will of its own. And its Europe, which it envisaged as stretching to the Urals, and had imagined as already including the Ukraine, has been stopped in its tracks, and rolled back a little bit.

American had the world within its grasp in 1919. But it conducted its dominance in such a way that it has brought three major forces into being as obstacles: Islam, China and Russia. Islam is indestructible but diffuse. China organised but alien. But the revival of Russia is disturbing,

Great War

'37 Days'

A troubling aspect of the recently broadcast BBC2 historical drama *37 Days*, which purported to be an account of the international crisis leading up to the outbreak of World War One, is that it was available to most viewers in Ireland, without even the merest hint of accompanying critical comment.

It is from such media output that many/most learn about significant past world events.

The continental protagonists, German, Austrian, French and Russian, were unbalanced and dangerous cartoon characters, the peace loving and reasonable British Foreign Secretary, Edward Grey, was trying to mollify and keep under control. Acting, costumes, scenes and dramatic pace were impressive. It was the BBC in propaganda mode, at full throttle.

So, viewers were fed propaganda regarding events which, at the time of happening and after, met with a variety of responses, in nationalist Ireland.

And so, gradually, Ireland becomes more and more Anglo-Americanized.

In the 1940s-50s people were influenced by the press, (mostly Irish papers were purchased, and at the time these were nationalist orientated), by the clergy, by school, by books and films (mostly British and American) and by family and community.

A diversity existed.

Today people read less. The Catholic Church has lost its grip. History in schools is being downgraded. Educational standards are falling. Irish newspapers are losing out to cheaper British ones and those that are produced in Ireland display a general Anglo-American outlook. Communities have become fragmented. Passive media consumption displaces family conversation. People watch the BBC and the History Channel to learn about the past or read Wikipedia online.

30 years ago Desmond Fennell lamented that there was not any more an Irish *'world view'*. It is even truer today.

Tim O'Sullivan

When I saw in *'37 Days'* that Austria demanded that Serbia amend its school curriculum I thought of how the Irish curriculum had been changed these past four decades. For example, when Patrick Cooney was Education Minister he circulated a *Ukas* to all schools to teach their pupils that all violence in Ireland was the fault of the IRA.

Do Fine Gael and its coalition partners now consider themselves British Empire Loyalists? I think we should be told.

At a Commonwealth Conference in the 1920s the Duke of York remarked on the youth of the Irish Ministers to the Irish Minister for External Affairs, Desmond Fitzgerald, and was delighted when the latter replied that they were *"His Majesty's Senior Ministers"*. All other Commonwealth countries, including the UK, had new Governments following recent elections. Fitzgerald may have been using diplomatic *Plamas*, but then again he may have been spearheading Ireland's Crawl.

Donal Kennedy

because Europe has never been able to decide whether Russia is European or not. It is at any rate a different European strain from the strain that developed in the West. And, having in the course of the past century been Tsarist, and then Communist,

it has now remade itself as a capitalist democracy, while remaining Russian, i.e. Byzantine. And it seems intent on having a future, while the EU is disabled by the guilt-ridden German political blank spot at the centre of it, on which it depends. ●

Crimean Referendum Result

58% Russian, 42% non-Russian

83% turnout

97% vote to join Russian Federation

<http://www.paulcraigroberts.org/2014/03/16/95-7-crimeans-give-finger-white-house-tyrant-paul-craig-roberts/print/>

Assuming almost all of the Russians turned out and voted to join the Russian Federation, and assuming that the 17% who did not turn out are opposed to joining RF, that means that about 60% of the non-Russians in Crimea are in favour of joining RF.

(Pat Muldowney)

The FT goes to War

continued

from the days when Frank Aiken was regarded at the UN as the champion of Third World liberation movements to the current 'mighty mouse' Cold War posturing of Eamon Gilmore on the Kiev Putsch and the referendum decision by the Crimean population. It has been some transition for Gilmore himself, of course, from the days when he championed the suppression of the *Solidarnosc* movement in Poland.

The *Financial Times* is found everywhere in Ireland today. From company headquarters to research institutions, Dáil politicians' offices to Trade Union houses, it, uniquely, has become the 'quality' house newspaper of choice of the self-styled elites of modern Ireland. Its reporting is believed to have a special quality elevating it over other sources. When RTE wants someone to tell it what is happening in the outer world, it rarely reaches for home-grown interpretations from Dublin City University or University College, Dublin. Its sources of choice tend instead to be luminaries of Chattam House (the London "Royal Institute of International Affairs", founded by the Liberal Imperialists of the *Round Table* group after the Great War) or, more often than not, Peter Spiegel, the Europhobic *FT* man in Brussels. Irish Congress of Trade Unions policy statements on the financial crisis or Eurozone developments rarely get beyond a few paragraphs before quoting some wisdom from a columnist of the *Financial Times*.

The *FT* is a highly polished and impressive publication. Its defenders will say that for capitalism to function, a stream of reliable, objective information is required, and this role is fulfilled by the *FT*. Whatever its politics, its facts and figures can be 'trusted'. But it is rarely the "*facts and figures*" that are quoted. Rather, it is the commentaries from *FT* star- or guest-columnists like Martin Wolff, Wolfgang Munchau (the house German), or Paul Krugman (the anti-austerity warrior of the *New York Times*). Indeed, their columns are regularly reproduced in their entirety for local consumption in *The Irish Times*, when a derivative form by a native seems somehow inadequate to the seriousness of a situation. Irish foreign policy has been reduced to a regurgitation of these views of the City of London.

What is the *Financial Times*? It is a promoter of global capitalism from the particular perspective of the sacrosanct interests of the *City of London*, and hence

is the organ of the City. From this perspective it can be ruthlessly critical of British Governments, especially when they adopt what the *FT* regards as 'parochial' views that threaten these global interests. In this era of the atomised masses, the *FT* is concerned to provide a coherent narrative of world events that dovetails conveniently with these interests. The narrative can often have a plaintive 'left' feel, as is the style of the above-mentioned commentaries. But, whatever the heart-rending concerns of Krugman *et al*, the substance of the *FT* is better reflected in its gilt market reports, and the weekly supplement, "*How to Spend It*", which advises on good stashing places for those 'earned' millions, whether it is luxury yachts, Greek islands, Siberian diamonds or exclusive Asian holiday resorts.

America-Britain (USUK) has relaunched the Cold War, with European partners following in train with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Except Ireland, that is. Enda Kenny and Eamon Gilmore were patted on the head in Brussels for the exceptional ferocity of their *Skibbereen Eagle*, or more accurately, *Mighty Mouse*-like finger-wagging at Russia—"Ireland is understood to be among the stronger supporters of sanctions, though officials declined to confirm this", boasted *The Irish Times* (21 March).

In 1947 the 'West', led by the US, launched a cold war of containment and subversion of the Soviet Union, just two years after the defeat of Nazi Germany which had been accomplished largely by the Soviet Union. The issue which provided the *casus belli* for the break was the Soviet attempt to secure a four-power collaborative regime to arrange the affairs of post-War Europe and particularly Germany. In ruling circles in the West, the bigger prize was a Western Germany integrated into the capitalist sphere free of any Soviet role in its management. Historians have long accepted that neither then nor later was there any Soviet "*expansionist*" agenda (see the 2006 account by Harvard historian and political economist, Jeffrey Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*.)

Capitalism is not simply a matter of markets and their workings. The greatest myth of the late twentieth century is that of the "*invisible hand*" of the market. The 'hand' is indeed very visible, and market systems would not long survive without it. But Western Capitalism, as Lenin intuited, is intimately tied to the interests of Empire, in which the Imperial States,

rather than "*capitalism*", are the primary fact. The worldwide projection of the British State from the 16th century may have occurred in tandem with the expansion of capitalist markets, but the projection of the State was the primary event and the capitalist interests merely its willing collaborators.

The current "*neo-conservative*" Japanese premier, Shinzo Abe, is credited with being among the first to compare the "*threat*" to the world economic order represented by the rise of China to the "*threat*" represented by the rise of Germany in 1914. He asked whether we were again approaching a "*1914 moment*". I must confess here to an intellectual debt—the first time I heard this 1914 association in relation to China was four years ago—long before the blustering Abe—when John Minahane commented to me that he wondered when China's "*1914 moment*" would come, i.e., when the West would decide that the moment had come for its economic rise to be stopped by drastic means.

Outside the propaganda, there is a deep understanding in ruling circles in the West as to what Abe meant. After 1900, the Liberal Imperialist circle in Britain consciously decided that Germany had become a threat to Britain's economic domination of the world and had to be stopped, a task handed to the "Committee of Imperial Defence". In the propaganda at the time, part of the abomination that was Germany was its "*socialistic*" and alleged "*militaristic*" character. While there was substance to the former, there was little to the latter.

That 1914 re-run 'Moment' seems now to have arrived. The *Financial Times* has set out the agenda very clearly. Russia must be 'contained' and China must be hemmed in. The crisis of national self-determination in Crimea is the event that has brought this to a head, and like the cynical use of the issue of Belgian "*neutrality*" in 1914, the hook on which much can be hung. Martin Wolff, a house propagandist at the *FT* on international affairs, in a key piece obligingly reproduced in *The Irish Times*, sets out the stall ("*West must prise Ukraine from Putin's claws*", 19 March).

It starts of course with the Nazi analogies—it is the Sudetenland and "*appeasement*" all over again. "*Putin's restored Russian autocracy is a revanchist power.*" And of course Europe must rid itself of Russian gas and other imports. This is all possible. Indeed UK premier Cameron has said that US "*shale gas*"

could fill the gap for Europe (despite costing 300% the extraction costs of natural gas from Russia). But in matters of Empire, mere economics have never been allowed get in the way.

Wolff finds time in his crafted piece to heap praise on Angela Merkel. This is necessary, for Germany is not only an unlikely ally in a serious war—even a new cold one—against Russia. It has also been the butt of much hostile *FT* propaganda throughout the "*Euro crisis*" (which of course was no such thing, but actually a crisis of international finance capitalism). Indeed, as recently as 16th March, another *FT* columnist, house-German Wolfgang Munchau, was still prosecuting with gusto the *FT* war on the Euro, arguing that the solution to achieving European banking union was for Germany to leave the Euro! ('*Europe must veto a flawed banking union*', *FT*, 16 March).

The *Financial Times* does not restrict itself to seeking a Western declaration of Cold War on Russia. It also has its sights on China.

In its issue of 20th February 2014, it carried a piece—not an editorial, but still the message is clear—entitled "*US v China: is this the new Cold War?*", to which, on reading, the answer can only be a resounding "*YES*". The author, Geoff Dyer, is described as someone who "*covers US foreign policy and is a former Beijing bureau chief for the FT*". From the house.

Despite China's involvement these days in the Miss World contest, Dyer warns us, we should not be fooled: Chinese capitalism isn't really capitalism at all (echoes of "*socialistic Germany*" 1914!). To boot, it has a "*deep-seated instinct to challenge America*" (Germany v Britain 1914 anyone?). Its navy and missile systems are a threat to world equilibrium (echoes of the invented 'threat' of German naval *Flottenpolitik* in 1914).

China's navy base in Hainan, according to the "*former Beijing bureau chief for the FT*":

"is one of the principal platforms for an old-fashioned form of projecting national power: a navy that can operate well beyond a country's coastal waters. For the past couple of decades, such power politics seemed to have been made irrelevant by the frictionless, flat world of global-isation."

That idyllic "*frictionless, flat world of global-isation*" (!), all sweetness and light, has been rudely ended. Hainan is no less than one of the "*launch pads for what will be a central geopolitical tussle of the 21st century: the new era of military competition in the Pacific Ocean between China and the US*". The former "*Beijing bureau*

chief" relates how the US dominated the Pacific since 1945 and

"used that power to implement an international system in its own image, a rules-based order of free trade, freedom of navigation and, when possible, democratic government."

But China has now scrapped the basis of the Nixon-Mao rapprochement: "*the US endorsed China's return to the family of nations and China implicitly accepted American military dominance in Asia*", he claims. The narrative continues:

"Hainan is one part of the strategy that China is starting to put in place to exert control over the Near Seas, pushing the US Navy ever farther out into the western Pacific. In the process, it is launching a profound challenge to the US-led order that has been the backbone of the Asian economic miracle ... China hopes gradually to undermine America's alliances with other Asian countries, notably South Korea, the Philippines and maybe even Japan. If US influence declines, China would be in a position to assume quietly a leadership position in Asia, giving it much greater sway over the rules and practices in the global economy." {emphasis added—PO'C}.

Dyer concedes that China has a point in contemplating its own destruction in the 19th century (its "*century of-humiliation*" at the hands of the west.) as a result of European gunboat diplomacy "*when Britain, France and other colonial powers used their naval supremacy to exercise control over Shanghai and a dozen other ports around the country.*" New Great Powers, he explains patronisingly, "*often fret that rivals could damage their economy with a blockade*". Now I wonder why they might think that?

China sees its seas—sometimes right up to its coastline—controlled and patrolled by the US. Dyer admits that there is no evidence of any Chinese expansionist Masterplan, but warns of the danger anyway of rogue military elements fomenting a confrontation with the US Navy. The basis of US domination of the Pacific—its fleet of aircraft carriers—is particularly vulnerable to "*China's vast new array of missiles*". The US, therefore, "*needs a Plan B*", and such a plan, called "*AirSea Battle*", has been taking shape "*in the bowels of the Pentagon*". Should "*war ever ... break out*" (in British narratives wars always "break out"), under the plan the US would—

"launch extensive bombing raids across mainland China. China's 'anti-navy' of missile bases and surveillance equipment is based at facilities spread across the country, including in many built-up areas.

The basic idea ...{is} that, in the early stages of a conflict with Beijing, the US should destroy dozens of military sites. It is the {US} navy's version of 'shock and awe' for 21st-century Asia."

Dyer warns, however, that this "*strategic concept*" could rapidly escalate a minor confrontation and is a recipe for a US-Chinese arms race. But, unlike the successful bankrupting of the Soviet Union, this time, "*it is not at all clear that Washington would be starting from a stronger financial footing*". Luckily, smart people at the Pentagon are aware of US vulnerabilities in this regard, and are actively examining cheaper and more effective containment "*solutions*":

"American naval historians Toshi Yoshihara and James Holmes suggest that the US partly focuses on what they call 'war limited by contingent'—smaller-scale operations which prevent dramatic escalation but make life difficult for the Chinese navy. They draw the analogy of Wellington's campaign in Spain and Portugal in 1807-14, which in military terms was a sideshow to the broader conflict with France but which Napoleon complained gave him 'an ulcer'. The - geography along the first island chain off the Chinese coast—PO'C provides

PUTIN ON THE BLITZ

Have you seen the well-to-do up and down the EU collecting for the Ukraine, Ukraine on the brain.

They ignore their Nazi insignia, their blooded world view, their Berlin allies who Unter Den Linden used to reign.

Now successful with a vicious murderous coup, a bludgeoning, snarling crew with a forged writ:

Putin on the blitz.

Their unelected premier meets Obama, wee man in the big coat that doesn't fit: Putin on the blitz.

Wearing balaclavas, stylish for this crime era, trying hard to pose like Hitler but more that rotund bloke who inflated the lira, they rule a drunken land as a licensed victualler. Oligarchs staying at the Ritz blame Putin on the blitz.

Did you hear them, they want the Crimea, the American Seventh Fleet as a freedom fix. It's that fat bloke again, mamma mia!, excited as the war-hungry Brits: Putin on the blitz.

Wilson John Haire
22 March 2014

many strategic locations which can be used to construct small-scale facilities with missile batteries that could create havoc for a rival navy. Submarines and mines would add to the deterrent effect against any land-grabs. "The ideas that China is pursuing about denying access can work both ways", Holmes told me. "There are many ways to give China an ulcer, which could be one of the best ways of deterring aggression before it ever happens"... {emphasis added—POC}.

So, the solution of the former "*Beijing FT Bureau Chief*" is to bottle up China, tie it down with a string of missile bases directly along its coast, and to do it now. The outcome will then be assured:

"The US ... can develop defensive arrangements that take advantage of the region's geography and which would make it almost impossible for China to seize contested areas—and to hold on to those islands if it were to try. By making clear the high penalties that would be involved in any attempt to snatch disputed islands, it can ensure that China cannot change the region's *status quo*. Such a goal would be both much cheaper to achieve and much less confrontational than planning for mainland air strikes."

As far as the *Financial Times* is concerned, the new Cold War against China, Russia and God knows who else, is already well and truly under way. And, like Orwell, Koestler and others of their ilk, the *FT*'s useful fools—Krugman, Munchau and Wolff—can be relied on to provide the necessary 'left wing' *Begleitsmusik* ('accompaniment music') for this.

Philip O'Connor

'Dirty Peace'

continued

clean glorious war? No, probably not. The SDLP would have preferred no war at all with the strength of their argument achieving what the Republican Army achieved for the Catholic community: A sort of omelette without the broken eggs.

But that is for the birds, indeed.

And what about the "*dirty peace*" — that nasty manoeuvring that sought to disorganise the Republicans in their ordered retreat from the battlefield that resulted, instead, in the scattering of the SDLP?

If the political movement that had achieved the thing won in 1998 had the same pretensions about war and peace as the SDLP, well, they would have gone the same way.

Peter Hain, hero of the English anti-Apartheid movement but muckraker in the "*dirty peace*" seems to have tried the clean, open approach to the *On the Runs* in conjunction with Sinn Fein. But he found that it was the SDLP which insisted on a more "*dirty peace*":

"I introduced legislation in the House of Commons in 2005 to establish a legal process to address the matter. I did so reluctantly, but out of necessity for the greater good of peace. It made provision for those suspected of an offence to go before a Special Judge, and then released on licence, subject to not reoffending. Clearly Sinn Fein were only interested in their people, but I wasn't having that. The legislation would also have to cover former soldiers who had stepped over the line in the execution of their duties—for instance, those involved in the 1972 Bloody Sunday shootings. Now, having asked for this legislation—and having been well aware of the contents of the Bill—Sinn Fein were then pressurised by the nationalist Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) to withdraw their support precisely because I insisted that any such legislation must apply equally to members of the security forces. They all hated that, but I was never going to agree to exempt terrorists and not our soldiers, so I withdrew the Bill. Frankly, I was glad to see the back of it" (*Telegraph* 2.3.14).

And so, having had an open settlement of the *On the Runs* shot down by the political posturing of the SDLP, dirty deeds had to be done behind the scenes, with nods and winks and the need for blind eyes to be turned.

Hain noted:

"Resolving the issue of the 'on the runs' was absolutely essential in order to make progress in Northern Ireland. Without that, I do not think we would have arrived at the situation when, on my watch on July 28 2005, the IRA declared a historic end to its war. Or the subsequent decommissioning of the IRA's arsenal. Or, crucially, Sinn Fein's agreement in 2007 to support policing and the rule of law, with the backing of IRA cadres, which opened the door to seven years of relatively stable shared government by bitter old enemies."

The new *On the Runs* controversy emerged when the PSNI bungled by sending John Downey a Letter of Comfort at the same time as the Metropolitan Police were very interested in him, in connection with the blowing up of Shergar and some of the Queen's soldiers in Hyde Park.

The letter stated:

"The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has been informed by the Attorney General that on the basis of the inform-

ation currently available, there is no outstanding direction for prosecution in Northern Ireland, there are no warrants in existence nor are you wanted in Northern Ireland for arrest, questioning or charge by the police. The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) are not aware of any interest in you from any other police force in the United Kingdom."

Northern Ireland Secretary Theresa Villiers announced, after her Government was found to have also been involved in dirty deeds in issuing the Letters of Comfort to republican "on-the-runs". However, she has insisted that no letters have been issued since December 2012. Presumably she had to check this information, because the British Government, in the backlash against the collapse of the John Downey trial, claimed to be appalled by the dirty deeds, whilst doing the secret dirty deeds, for a long time itself after entering Office.

For more than eighteen months after Ms Villiers' Government took Office, they were doing dirty deeds and engaging in the '*dirty peace*' in the same way as their predecessors. And it appears that the Coalition Government did not definitively stop, so much as decide to change the way it did them, referring the recent cases to the Devolved Government at Stormont.

However, neither the Minister of Justice from the Alliance Party nor the Unionists who serve on the Justice Committee at Stormont—whose job it is to hold the Ministry to account—seem to have been informed about the fact that responsibility for the dirty deeds had been handed over to them. David Ford "*stressed the on-the-runs scheme was devised and operated by the Northern Ireland Office and not his devolved department*" and said that "*As long as I am Minister, this tawdry deal will not be anything to do with the Department of Justice*".

And neither would one expect Alliance to be involved in anything so vile and dirty!

Yet the words "*blind eye*" keep springing to mind.

Back as far as June 2002 references were made to the *On the Runs* scheme by Brian Rowan, BBC Northern Ireland chief security correspondent, information that has been on the BBC website for nearly 12 years:

"Evelyn Glenholmes was on the run, and security sources believe the fluent Spanish speaker spent five years in Cuba. Now she is back living in Belfast. Two years ago, the Northern Ireland Office responded to a request for information. They checked with the prosecuting authorities and confirmed she was no

longer wanted. Some years earlier, the Crown Prosecution Service had reviewed her case and concluded there was no longer sufficient evidence to afford a realistic prospect of conviction. All of this emerging at this time, will undoubtedly cause difficulties for David Trimble and his party—and some fear that another crisis is not that far away... In response to a question from the BBC on Glenholmes, a spokesman at the Northern Ireland Office said: 'Decisions on the prosecution of individuals are a matter for the prosecuting authorities which are independent of government.'

The Gerry McGeough case also provided ample clues to the existence of dirty deeds. In 2000 McGeough was being considered as a Sinn Féin election candidate, and appeared to assume from a conversation with Gerry Kelly that he would not be arrested over a gun attack before the Ceasefire.

Sinn Féin's Gerry Kelly had put forward the names of those who believed they might be unable to return to the UK jurisdiction without fear of arrest. A PSNI unit then conducted a painstaking check on each one to see if there was any evidence to make an arrest and prosecution. The test applied by the Public Prosecution Service was not simply whether the evidential test was no longer met, but whether it could ever be met. The letters were finally signed by an official in the Northern Ireland Office, after a second check showed that all was in order.

But, seven years later, Mr McGeough was detained by police and sent for trial on a charge of attempted murder. He took a legal challenge to try and have the case against him stopped, claiming he had gotten an assurance that he would not be arrested. In the course of the court action, McGeough was shown a letter sent by the Northern Ireland Office to Gerry Kelly in 2003. It stated that having done the "necessary checks", were McGeough to return to 'Northern Ireland', he would be liable to arrest. McGeough told the court he had not been informed about the letter.

When asked why Gerry Kelly would not have told him about it, McGeough said that by 2003 he had left Sinn Féin due to "animosity" and he and Kelly were no longer on speaking terms.

This seems to suggest that the Letters of Comfort seem to have had another purpose from the British point of view.

We have it on good authority that DUP Ministers who exclaimed shock and horror in the Assembly were present in the courtroom to see Gerry McGeough go down. One would have to be as daft as a

brush not to have understood what was going on when so close to the action. And where were the questions asked about the 200 or so Republican 'on the runs' that had 'concerned' the Unionists for so long? Had they been forgotten about in the handover between UUP and DUP? Had the Unionists no friends or contacts in the security forces any longer to tell them what was going on?

Lady Justice Hallett has been appointed to chair an independent review of the OTR scheme. Her review will "examine in detail how the scheme operated, what its purpose was, and the legal implications as well as the impact on victims". Her Inquiry will be a private one

The Northern Ireland Committee at Westminster has also decided to conduct public hearings into the Comfort letters. Obviously some backbench MPs see Cameron's Inquiry as inadequate and mere window dressing.

Robinson accepted Cameron's limited Inquiry, despite having called for a full judicial inquiry and a rescinding of the Comfort Letters on the threat of resignation.

But Robinson, thrown a bone, went off happy with it.

Lady Justice Hallett will do a good job in smoothing things over and the Prime Minister will do the necessary in apologising for any hurt this has caused the victims and promise such a thing will never, ever, ever happen again. The First Minister of 'Northern Ireland' will be dug out of the hole he dug for himself by threatening resignation and the fall of the sky in 'Northern Ireland'. And, after either having turned a blind eye to the issue or having been too incompetent to keep a close eye on what was going on behind their backs, the Unionists will go on hollering about the "dirty peace" they have been made swallow, backed up by the SDLP.

But Jim Allister of the Traditional Unionist Voice will not be satisfied.

Richard Haass seems to be of the opinion that the people who "Got out of jail free" over the Letters of Comfort controversy were not the Republican suspects who received the letters but the Unionist parties who rejected his proposals.

Dr. Haass told a Congressional Committee in Washington:

"What worries me in that kind of an environment, particularly where politics are not shown to be making progress, alienation will continue to fester and

violence, I fear, could very well re-emerge as a characteristic of daily life. So it is premature to put Northern Ireland, as much as we would like to, into the 'outbox' of problems solved. I'd love for it to be there, but quite honestly it is not there yet".

It is a pity therefore that the long-standing ambition of the British Government, since 1920, has been to put its Frankenstein creation in the 'outbox'.

So the question appears: is Dr Haass' criticism one of London and Dublin as well as the Unionist residues in the Six Counties?

Dr. Haass also made the point that 'Northern Ireland' was not a "normal society" and might take a step backwards into violence. And he stated: "I do not want to see history repeat itself".

But history has a tendency to repeat in Northern Ireland because of what it is.

Dr. Haass also said:

"The passage of time will not by itself heal Northern Ireland's society or make it more normal or bring it together. To the contrary, absent political progress, the passage of time will only create an environment in which social division intensifies, violence increases, investment is scared off, alienation grows, and the best and brightest leave to make their futures elsewhere. Much of the world looks to Northern Ireland as a model of peace building, and many in Northern Ireland like to be so viewed. But all this is premature."

That is a pretty damning indictment of the Unionist parties who let him down. He seems to be saying that they will be responsible for all the shit that happens in this part of the world now!

Dr. Haass also insisted that the controversy over On the Run Republicans was not an excuse for the Unionists to block efforts to make progress. On the letters sent to IRA suspects, he said: "I see nothing in their content that would justify walking away from the process that all five parties have been involved in".

That can only be a shot across the bow of the media man at the helm of the Ulster Unionists, Mike Nesbitt, who took the opportunity of the Comfort Letters hysteria to withdraw from any future negotiations on the Haass proposals, accusing Sinn Féin of "bad faith".

But the problem for Dr Haass in progressing Northern Ireland is the lack of US muscle available to him. The US can flex muscle if it so wishes, as it has been doing in Russia's Ukrainian hinterland. But nothing will be achieved in 'Northern Ireland' without the power of state.

Pat Walsh

Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

BANKING CRISIS COST

Finance Minister Michael Noonan revealed the cost of the Banking Crisis in response to a parliamentary question from Michael McGrath (*Irish Times*, 15.2.14).

The cost in terms of money put in was 64.1 billion euros. The Revenue the State has received—or is likely to receive—is as follows in millions of euro with the banking institution in brackets:

Pref. Share warrants	491	(BoFI)
Pref. Share warrants	53	(AIB)
Equity Shares	1,050	(BoFI)
Loan notes	3,110	(BoFI)
Irish Life sale	1,340	(PTSB)
Bank Guarantee fees	4,200	
Value of investment	13,350	
Total Value	23,594	

A crude estimate of the net cost is therefore about 40.5 billion.

But, of course, this is a very narrow estimate of the cost. A few years ago the economist, Pat McArdle, calculated the overall cost at 135 billion (*Irish Independent*, 1.11.12). 42 billion was borne by shareholders in British banks and nearly 30 billion was borne by shareholders in Irish banks. He assumed (pessimistically, as he was aware) that the taxpayer would be stung for over 60 billion.

On the other hand, it could be argued that the cost to Irish society of the banking crisis has been far less than the above figures would suggest. Shareholder losses were largely distributional. For every shareholder who lost by buying at the top of the market, there were many shareholders who sold just before the bubble burst. The same is true of property investors. It is also the case that the State had massive windfall increases in Stamp Duty as a result of the inflated property market. (Incidentally, the current Government parties supported the 2007 *Sunday Independent* campaign to abolish these taxes). A calculation of the cost to the State should deduct these windfall taxes from the cost of the banking crisis.

The real cost to the economy was the misallocation of economic resources caused by the massive expansion of credit. This misallocation is reflected in the

ghost estates that scar the countryside. But it should be borne in mind that foreign investors bore a sizeable portion of the real economic cost.

BURN THE BONDHOLDERS... AGAIN!

Derek Scally (*Irish Times* Germany Correspondent) claims that Germany threw her weight behind Ireland's failed 2010 attempt to 'burn' bank bondholders at the outset of the crisis (24.1.14).

He quotes the President of the Bundesbank Jens Weidmann to the effect that it was "*important to make investors bear the risks of their investment decisions*".

The Long Fellow has four comments on this.

Firstly, the Germans have been remarkably quiet about their gallant defence of the Irish taxpayer against Jean Claude Trichet. The 'story' has only emerged after the die has been cast.

Secondly, they are not to the forefront in supporting Irish attempts to rectify the 'mistake' by supporting retrospective compensation for our financial crisis.

Thirdly, in Scally's long article, the quotations from Jens Weidmann are a little vague. Nobody, not even Jean Claude Trichet, would disagree with the statement that "*investors bear the risks of their investment decisions*". Investors in Irish banks did bear the risks of their investment decisions. Shareholders in Anglo-Irish Bank lost 100% of their investment. Junior Bondholders, in some cases, lost 90% of their investment. It was only Senior Debt (bondholders and deposit holders) that was protected. If Scally had extracted a quotation from Weidmann to the effect that Senior Bondholders should have been burned, or even partly burned, then we would have had a story. But no such quotation appears in the article.

Fourthly, is this a case of the Germans urging us to do as they say rather than what they do?

In another article Scally notes that Hypo Real Estate (HRE) and its Dublin subsidiary Depfa is costing the German taxpayers in "*loans and guarantees worth 124 billion euro and counting*" (*Irish Times*, 4.2.14).

HYPOTHE REAL ESTATE AND ANGLO

Most Irish people believe that the Germans are rigorous, disciplined, open and transparent. Perhaps there is truth in the perception. But the case of Hypo Real Estate gives pause for thought.

In Scally's opinion it is: "*Unlikely the German State will take legal action against former CEO Georg Funke*".

The problem that the German State has is that it is being sued by Hypo Real Estate shareholders for losses as a result of the actions of Funke. Not only will it not be taking legal action against the former Chief Executive, but it finds itself in the position of having to defend Funke in order to minimise the compensation to be paid out to litigious shareholders.

It can only be imagined the fulminations that would have emanated from certain newspaper columnists if the Irish State decided to defend the reputation of Sean FitzPatrick?!

THE ANGLO 3 TRIAL

The Irish State has decided to indict FitzPatrick along with two other former Executives of Anglo-Irish Bank. However, if the defendants are found guilty of making illegal loans to Sean Quinn to buy shares in the bank, the victory could be very costly to the State. The Long Fellow is not a legal expert. But, if a loan is held to be illegal, is the borrower liable for the losses incurred? It will not make it any easier for the State-owned IBRC to collect outstanding debts from the Quinn family.

The trial is giving a very interesting insight into our financial system before the crash. It would be unfair to say that Sean Quinn was responsible for the demise of Anglo-Irish Bank, but he certainly made a significant contribution to its financial woes.

Last month The Long Fellow noted that Contracts For Difference (CDIs) have been described as weapons of mass destruction because they are a means of incurring either massive losses or profits with a very small initial outlay. They also enable the acquisition of shares without the knowledge of either the market or the Financial Regulator. They are not permitted in the United States, but are allowed in most European countries, including such models of financial probity as Germany, Norway and Sweden.

A financial regulator cannot regulate transactions if he is unaware of them. Quinn's exposure to Anglo-Irish Bank only came to light after the fact had been presented as a *fait accompli*. It is normally the job of the regulator to enforce laws and regulations in order to prevent financial instability, but in 2008 the Regulator's Office was chasing a horse that had already bolted. And the cause of the instability was a recalcitrant gambler who retained the conviction that his horse would come home.

The threat to the stability of the financial system led to active involvement by the Central Bank and Department of Finance,

as well as the Financial Regulator's office, in unwinding the Quinn investment in Anglo. Officials from these organs of the State met at a committee known as the *Domestic Standing Group*. This committee was described in Court as a "*doomsday committee*" which was kept "*very busy*" in 2008.

It is interesting to note that, when Quinn's CDIs were unwound, the 25% refundable deposit that Quinn had to put up reverted to the Quinn Group rather than Anglo-Irish Bank. This was done with the agreement of Anglo (perhaps under pressure from the Regulator's Office). It seems that the scenario that was feared was a collapse of the Quinn Group, followed by Anglo and the other banks. The Quinn Group was considered the first line of defence.

Con Horan, a "*Prudential Director*" in the Financial Regulator's Office has denied that he was "*cheerleading*" the unwinding of the Quinn CDIs (Civil Servants don't do "*cheerleading*"), but he conceded "*they were positively disposed*" to the deal.

The civil servants may not have been aware of the extent that the bank facilitated the purchase of its own shares. But both the Department of Finance (per Kevin Cardiff) and the Financial Regulator's Office (per Con Horan) at the very least knew that the investors were receiving short-term funding from the bank. They knew that previous attempts to attract investors to buy Quinn's shares had failed and were remarkably uncurious as to why this attempt had succeeded.

"*Let Justice be done though the heavens fall*" is a maxim of the legal system. The jury in this case have to decide if the letter of the law should have been applied even at the risk of the collapse of the financial system.

APPLE TAX RATE

The Long Fellow agrees with Simon Coveney (Minister for Agriculture) that the front page story in *Irish Times* (7.3.14) on the amount Apple's Irish subsidiary pays in taxes is a non story.

The newspaper lists the profits "*made*" by Irish subsidiaries of Apple Corporation and then examines the taxes paid to Ireland. Not surprisingly it comes up with a very low effective tax rate. This allows it to indulge in the following populist nonsense in its editorial of 8th March:

"...figures obtained by *The Irish Times* show that between 2004 and 2008 the consumer electronics giant reduced its Irish tax bill by over 850 million dollars."

But the profits that were recorded by Apple's subsidiary were not made in

Ireland. So the so-called 850 million in reduced taxes to Ireland is a spurious figure.

The editorial continues with the following drivel:

"The latest embarrassing revelation of the huge size of the tax loophole—now closed—is likely to revive international debate on Ireland's corporation tax rate, and about the aggressive tax planning used by some multinational companies that operate here—not least Apple."

And:

"...the huge tax savings made by Apple, in exploiting for many years the loophole in Irish law, does raise some embarrassing questions for the Irish authorities."

But the Irish authorities are not embarrassed nor should they be! It's a very strange tax loophole that once-closed results in no increase in tax revenue to the "*embarrassed*" Irish authorities. Michael Noonan was not declared a national hero for bringing in hundreds of millions more in tax revenue (because he didn't). And Apple did not threaten dire consequence as a result of the loophole being closed.

No doubt Apple, will route its profits (which had nothing to do with Ireland) through another country, if this is even necessary. This issue has nothing to do with the Irish 12.5% tax rate. Ireland's corporate tax system, like that of most countries, is based on residency or where the profits are generated. US tax law, on the other hand, is based on where the registered office is located. It is not up to the Irish tax authorities to tell the US authorities to close this weakness in their system.

AMERICAN HEGEMONY

The influence that the United States has over the rest of the world is remarkable. Even more surprising is her influence over the minds of the Left in this country.

Fintan O'Toole thinks that President Obama's policies have succeeded, in contrast to the failure of those of the Euro zone (*Irish Times*, 4.3.14). His evidence is the reduction of the US current Budget Deficit from \$1.1 trillion to \$680 billion.

But, as Eamonn Fingleton pointed out in the *Irish Times*' Letters Page (7.3.14), this ignores the US trading position:

"The US current account deficit was \$361 billion last year. Meanwhile Germany, China, and Japan enjoyed surpluses of \$257 billion, \$176 billion, and \$57 billion respectively. Anyone with a credit card can throw a good party but the trick is to pay the bill."

It also ignores the fact that the US dollar is the world currency. Unlike the Eurozone, the US can print money to finance deficits with no risk of a collapse in the value of her currency.

Finally, US political and military might means that the normal power relation between the debtor and creditor can be overturned. This was seen in relation to the Ukraine, when that country's richest man, Rinat Akhmetov, was forced to withdraw his support for President Yanukovich after the US Assistant Secretary of State Victoria "*Fuck the EU*" Nuland threatened to freeze his assets in the United States and England.

TOM GILMARTIN

RTE has conceded that the truth does not matter, only what the official Tribunals say is the truth. Accordingly, on 24th February, *Morning Ireland* had to apologise for saying that the Mahon Tribunal had said that Tom Gilmartin had made a corrupt payment to Pdraig Flynn.

Tom Gilmartin wrote a cheque for 50,000 Irish pounds and gave it to Pdraig Flynn who was the Minister for the Environment. Gilmartin left the payee section of the cheque blank. He had no personal connection with Flynn. A few months before, *per* his own evidence, he formed the opinion that Fianna Fáil would make "*the mafia look like monks*". So he could not have wanted Fianna Fáil to be the beneficiary of his largesse. At the time Gilmartin was seeking Urban Renewal tax relief for his Quarryvale property. The Minister for the Environment had the power to grant this.

But the 50,000 payment given to Pdraig Flynn could not have been corrupt because the Mahon Tribunal did not say it was corrupt.

TONY BENN

It has been said that Tony Benn caused the decline of the British Labour Party from the late 1970s. But Benn was not important. At the very most it could be said that his antics when out of power were a symptom rather than a cause of the malaise. The significant social progress achieved under Harold Wilson and Barbara Castle was not derailed by Benn. At every step of the way from 1964 onwards it was opposed by James Callaghan, who was Foreign Secretary in 1974 at the time of the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings (having previously served as Home Secretary), before becoming Prime Minister in 1976.

Boston College Tapes: A Scheme Backfires

The campaign to destroy Gerry Adams politically by eliciting evidence against him by former colleagues, who turned against him because of the part he played in ending the War and Making Sinn Fein an effective political force, has now led to the arrest of Ivor Bell, who has been refused bail. It appears that the evidence on which Bell is being held is his own testimony against Adams.

The only rational political purpose of that campaign was to undermine the Good Friday Agreement. It was supported vociferously by the leader of Fianna Fail, who could not see beyond the fact that Sinn Fein had come out of the rubbish bin of history and become a serious rival to the debilitated Fianna Fail party, which was debilitated because it had discarded its own Sinn Fein heritage.

But Micheal Martin was only a voice in the chorus. The originators and conductors of the campaign were two sinister figures from the socialist revolutionary past—from the Peoples Democracy student movement of 1968-9: internationally-renowned journalist Ed Maloney, and Official IRA man Lord Bew, who was elevated to the peerage for services rendered as adviser to Lord Trimble when Trimble had accepted the Good Friday Agreement with the purpose of obstructing it from the inside.

Moloney's tactic was to praise and condemn Adams as the man of peace who, as mastermind of the Provisional IRA, had made the organisation effective in order to gain control of it and who had then betrayed it by manipulating it into a interim settlement in the North with Partition not abolished. He played on resentment of the peace within the IRA, focussed those resentments on Adams, and persuaded many of Adams' former colleagues to give evidence against him in taped interviews which would be held in absolute secrecy in a safe in Boston College until they were dead. Much of the interviewing seems to have been done by anti-Adams dissident, Anthony McIntyre, who had done a Degree Course in the Queen's University, mentored by Lord Bew.

Then Moloney broke the guarantee of secrecy which he had given to the dissident Provo interviewees. He wrote a book against Adams that made use of the taped evidence given against Adams by Brendan

Hughes' death. And then, when Hughes died, he published extracts from the interviews.

The police then demanded access to the secret tapes. In the modern world of absolute States, nothing that is relevant to the business of the State can be kept out of the reach of the State. The time has passed when, for example, the Church could give refuge against the State, and when the family was a privileged institution whose members were not obliged to inform the police against each other.

Moloney gave a guarantee on what it

was not in his power to deliver—and it would be astonishing if, as an internationally renowned journalist, he did not know that. Lord Bew is a political scientist, and it must be assumed he knows the nature of modern states.

As for the dissidents who bore witness under a guarantee of secrecy with regard to the State—well, intransigent revolutionaries though they were, it is evident that at bottom they were naive innocents, ripe for manipulation.

By contrast, the least that can be said of Adams and his colleagues is that they know how the world works—and with that knowledge they brought about a great change for the better in the conditions of life in the community that they have shown they represent.

**On the 5th anniversary of Pat Murphy's death,
we carry this appreciation by M.J. Murray,
which appeared in the April 2010 issue of Irish Political Review**

In memory of a great friend and comrade....

PATRICK HENRY MURPHY (1937-2009)

I have been asked to contribute some thoughts on and memories of my friendship with Pat, which spans over 40 years. I'm happy to do so, though I can think of others more fitting for the job. How I intend to approach it is to present some fragments of Pat's life when I was closest to him: from the early days as an emigrant in London to the last months spent in and out of the Raheny and Blackrock Hospices. There will be some mention of the years in between, in Dublin. In the commemorative booklet published by the *Howth Free Press*, key articles and statements by Pat, together with numerous assessments of his life's work are to be found. This contribution is more personal, less analytical. (But the personal is political, I can almost hear Pat prompt.) I want to write this for the benefit of his family especially, and also for former colleagues from the different spheres in which Pat operated, and who may not have known these other sides to his long and busy life.

I was a 20 year old serving member of the British forces when we first met, radicalised by an almost 6 year stint in the Navy which took me to the then hotspots of the Far East for two of those years: including the British North Borneo-Indonesian confrontation and to Vietnam. It exposed me also to the awful corruption

of the Far East in such places as Thailand and the Phillipines by the US as a corollary to the Vietnam war. The social and moral cesspits that were created there still anger me, having known what was there before. After my return to the UK and after a brief experience of the immigrant Irish political scene in London I was ready to "jump ship", as naval desertion is called. I could say Pat Murphy was mainly responsible for that. Amongst the disillusioned Republicans, in London since the collapse of the '50's militarist campaign, the anti-clerical "spoiled priests", the hard line individuals moving back and forth across the spectrum of left politics, Pat stood out as the one you could talk to, get to answer your questions—however uninformed and naive. And he was someone with whom you could discuss the intimate doubts and fears of your personal life. He was the human, accessible face of politics. He was a godsend to the likes of me, struggling like many others to get a handle on this new way of looking at things politically, and this new vocabulary. He was well grounded, widely read, endlessly patient in explaining things—and good company.

After my decision to desert, having been turned down for a discharge, we rented a flat together. Thus began a life-long friendship which ended last April.

Indeed Pat was to be my Best Man when I married Georgia Hutchinson in the late '60s. And, axiomatically, it ended on a high in that, by coincidence, I had also been diagnosed with the same aggressive cancer from which that Pat was dying. It brought us even closer together. We concluded that only two dialectical materialists like us could marvel at this life form with its highly evolved adaptivity, such as the amazing processes of angiogenesis and apoptosis, and whose very adaptivity keeps it, tantalisingly, always that bit ahead of medical science.

Appreciating dialectical materialism's importance in understanding cancer, was one of the topics we had great fun with. There's gallows humour and the black humour grown out of social conflict, as in the North; then there's hospital humour: Pat was a master of that after a lifetime spent in and out of hospital.

Going back to the London flat share: that didn't last too long. One morning the naval police came knocking in the early hours and I had to do a runner, one of three in that period. But that forced "separation" didn't happen before I drifted into the role of the one who did the shopping and the cooking. And, I'm sure, it was Murphy's fulsome praise for the fare offered that set me off on a lifetime interest in cooking. I returned to that role when Pat was in the Raheny hospice, with me bringing in ready cooked meals in response to the poor man's constantly changing dietary whims, often resulting from the effects on his taste buds of whatever medication he happened to be on. It continued in his house, where friends and relations joined in lively meals, which Pat had always enjoyed.

The response to the food on offer was not always polite acceptance: visitors were often shocked at the occasional negative "customer feedback" to my efforts. But that was nothing compared to the criticism Conor Lynch, (his good friend who minded him so selflessly in his last days) had to accept in return for his culinary offerings! On one level, Pat's pitting one "chef" competitively against another was taken as nothing more than a bit of *craic*. But there was more than that going on: this was *viatecum*; food for a journey, and we were the acolytes. I'm glad to have had the privilege of making a small contribution to easing his last days and showing my love and respect; of paying him back for a lifelong comradeship.

Another thing I'm happy to claim credit for is arranging his last birthday party which was held in the Round Room of the Mansion House and, which happened to

be on the 90th anniversary of the first meeting of Dail Eireann in the same premises. And what a joyous occasion it was! At the shortest of notice, many of his close friends and relations made a point of being there. (Can I say here that, though the idea was mine, and I made the arrangements, the invitations were made by the "military wing": readers of the *Irish Political Review* will know who to contact!)

THE LONDON YEARS

Backtracking for a moment: London, where we met, was a mad place to be in the 1960s: Monty Python would have been hard put to capture the shifting panorama of leftist groups and parties, not excluding Irish socialists, socialist republicans, republican socialists, communists, trotskyists, revisionists, anti-revisionists. To misquote *Yeats: too much ideology maimed us at the start*; but it wasn't the whole story. In the old Cathecism style parody of the time: Ireland was a place "*where some souls suffered for a time before going to England*". And in England there was more room and more encouragement to be radical than in the Ireland of those days. Having decided to move there, Pat and a few other key players kept their heads in the madness and worked away at trying to make sense of things. He benefitted enormously from his sojourn there and, to the end, retained fond memories of his years in London.

Within the leftist Irish emigre scene, Pat's main contribution was in making sense of Irish economic history, and breaking it down small for people without formal training in it, though he didn't have any himself either—except for some classes in the Workingmen's College in Camden Town. Pat put flesh on the abstract concepts of economics and politics for many. He was good at it; his recorded contribution is noted elsewhere in this publication. It was mainly concerned with tracking the shift from protectionism to free trade and the politics of that. It led to his fascination with the rise of an Irish bourgeoisie, which he labelled "*The Greening of Ireland*", a comprehensive account of which he was working on before he took seriously ill.

He told me a lovely story in Raheny Hospice of having seen a very well known, and popular, Irish entrepreneur place a wreath on Charlie Haughey's grave. Only Pat would have read so much symbolism into that act—and not in an anti-Haughey muckraking way: quite the opposite. Pat was not one to work out ideas on paper through drafting and redrafting. He mostly

started with throwing out an idea in a thought provoking, often intellectually aggressive, way. Knowing that, you could always tell at what stage his thinking on a subject was; also, how to pitch your own response. He would generalise from observations, like the one in the graveyard, and thus go on to formulate his thoughts which, when fully gestated, had that sense of being well worked and well grounded.

Another area of Pat's intellectual pursuits was tenant rights. It always made him angry that a state primarily born out of the agitation for (land) tenant rights should have become so pro-property and pro-landlord. It led to his involvement in the *Dublin Housing Action Committee* which is, of course, in the public domain. What needs to be recorded here is the unselfish and unstinting support he gave to individuals I could name who fell foul of their landlords. I would also like to mention here the many other people he helped, unstintingly, with a variety of personal problems; how did he find the time, and muster the emotional energy, one could ask?

Pat had a huge interest in the role of the cooperative movement in modern Irish history, particularly its impact on rural Ireland. (In parenthesis, this may be said to have led directly to his specialist role in developing coops in the *Larkin Centre*.) And long, long before it was put into practice in a number of private sector and state companies as ESOPs and other profit sharing arrangements, Pat argued for worker ownership to underpin worker control, as exercised through self managed teams and other forms of Partnership.

Pat used his time in London to develop a perspective that was to serve him well in his later involvements in Ireland. But then London pre "New Labour" and "New New Labour" was a different country. There was a vigorous international anti-imperialist movement based there.

Locally, there was the Workingmen's College, already mentioned, and there was the Unity Theatre, George Bernard Shaw's bequest to socialist theatre, also in Camden Town. Pat and I had active connections with both of the latter. It has been described as tragic the fact that Pat missed out on so much of formal education, including university. I'm not so sure. Was he not the grounded, eclectic thinker that we respect, perhaps, most of all because he was a self-taught man? The London of those days fostered a high level of auto-dictactism and provided the highest level of supportive facilities from the aforementioned institutions to the British Museum Reading

Room, and lots more. I suggest the real tragedy in Pat's life, if that's not too strong a word, was the serious illness he contracted in childhood that resulted in him having a much diminished stamina and physical robustness for the rest of his life.

HIS RETURN TO DUBLIN

Back in Dublin we both got involved in the rank and file Trade Union-based organisation: *Sceim na gCeardchumann*, of which I was Secretary for a time. The *Sceim*, as it was known, attempted to fill the gap in the then almost non-existent education, training and research function of the official Trade Union movement. It involved such future labour and trade union activists leaders as the Geraghty brothers and Jack Gannon and many other individuals too numerous to mention. And, in the leftwing vacuum of the time, it had an agitational role in support of industrial disputes and other forms of social protest. Of course, as the name suggests, it was a strong champion of the Irish language.

Dublin had its share of factionalism too: was it not one of the Behans who said that the first item on left wing and republican agendas was the split? Add to that the Special Branch making work for itself sometimes inventing, then rooting out subversives and you have a sense of the time. One episode in Pat's experience illustrates this well. One night, making his way home northside after a *Sceim* meeting, he became aware he was being followed, and guessed correctly it must be a Branchman. So he stopped under a canal bank light, took out a book and waited to see what the Branchman would do. This went on for hours. Finally, the Branchman relented, came up to Pat and said "Could you not just feck off home and let me get to my bed?" Pat said: "I'm only halfway through this book, I may be some time." It was the Branchman who gave up and went home first. Typical Pat. And innocent times compared to what was to come in the late 60's.

PAT AND TRADE UNIONISM

Dublin, being smaller scale and less cosmopolitan than London, was also more focused. Soon Pat was heavily immersed in movements of national import such as the *Dublin Housing Action Committee* and the *Irish Transport and General Workers' Union*. Pat's DHAC and the ITGWU activity (including his High Court case) is discussed elsewhere; here I want to record Pat's last thoughts on Irish Trade Unionism. The first thing to be said is that Pat regretted leaving the old ITGWU (fore-runner of SIPTU). That was the Social Republican talking; the influence

of the Connollyite OBU (One big Union); it did not in any way constitute a criticism of people he worked with after his break with the IT, as he would have referred to it. I want to include here, in particular, Charlie Mooney of AGEMOU, whom I never met at a Shelbourne game without the inquiry: "How's me ould pal, Pat?"

Pat had told me years ago, and reiterated it in the Hospice, that he also regretted the hard time he gave ITGWU Full Time Officials in the course of the internal organisational conflicts that were endemic in the 60's and 70's. He came to see it as very negative, however justified it seemed to be at the time, and despite making lifelong, loyal, friends in the course of his leadership of various disputes.

He had always been strong on the recognition of the Trade Union movement's standing in Irish Civil society, and that some Partnership arrangement was the only way of expressing that. He would not have been surprised at Ray McSharry's recent chiding of his Fianna Fail colleagues in Government for walking roughshod over this central tenet in Irish life in their response to the current economic crisis. (MacSharry was one of the architects of the 80's recovery strategy that included Social—and workplace—Partnership.) Pat's main criticisms of Trade Unions—more accurately, perhaps, regrets—were the following.

He was always critical of the structural limitations of the movement; how it replicated the capitalist division of labour at the point of production, pitting general against craft workers—and both against clerical, professional and managerial resulting in a multiplicity of competing Unions. To Pat, management was always a function of the production process; it was not a class of person and not a "moral" issue. And, of course, he believed workers could and should aspire to exercising the managerial function.

Trade Unions' representation of their workers as "aggrieved wage slaves", rather than the positive image of producers of goods and services compounded the problem of sectionalism and keeps them fastened to the dying animal of capitalism.

In the Hospice we kicked around the old George Woodcock quote about the inherent structural weakness of British Trade Unions, which applies equally to ours for good historical reasons: "*structure is a function of purpose*". If the Union leadership had a clear vision of transforming society and replacing the capitalist system of production, distribution and exchange, then it would create an appropriate structure.

Those were some of Pat's last thoughts on the role of Trade Unions in Irish society. They derive, as everything else did, from Pat's view of the centrality of politics. His view of himself as a shop floor activist and not a Full Time Official, was, for him, a very important personal political statement, though he did not underestimate the importance of the officer cadre.

PAT AND THE HOSPICE MOVEMENT

Pat's big regret was that he was not going to be around long enough to enjoy the assisted living accommodation which he acquired just before the onset of the last stage of his illness. He made a sufficient comeback in Raheny to be moved to his Blackrock dwelling, every moment of which he enjoyed. Then he went downhill again and the second hospice sojourn was in Blackrock. Most people who visited him at this time did so in the Raheny or Blackrock hospices. It was an education in itself; how to live in such circumstances, and how to die.

An abiding memory was going into the Raheny Hospice to visit Pat one night to find the incoming night nursing team very upset because Pat had taken a bad turn earlier that day. Pat was so well loved and liked there.

Another, is seeing him in his hospice bed, already more bone and skin than skin and bone, leaning back with that thoughtful look on his face, one leg (the good one) tucked under the other, one hand behind his head, the other clutching a fragment of a newspaper. A quintessential Murphy posture, at any time of his life: an invite to debate or discussion. The article was by *Paul Gillespie* of the Irish Times. "Listen to this", he said: "the human being is, in the most literal sense, a political animal, not merely a gregarious animal but an animal which can individuate itself only in the midst of society." Paul had written this, quoting Marx's *Grundrisse*, in the context of commenting on the collapse of the neo-conservative economic model and, in particular, Alan Greenspan's admission that he had underestimated the downside of the working-out of individuated "economic self-interest" in an unregulated market. And Pat was savouring the words; and savouring the thought that his lifetime interest in Marx's political perspective was not misplaced..

As has been said: the un-lived life is not worth reflecting on; and the unreflected life not worth living. Pat was the embodiment of how to get that balance right. The hospice environment was conducive to it too, and I know Pat would want me to pay tribute to it here, because

he was full of praise for it, and those who worked in it.

A Hospice publication says: "choosing a hospice doesn't mean choosing death, it means choosing to live life to the fullest ... choosing a hospice is not giving up hope, it is in fact redefining it: mending and restoring relationships, spending time with loved ones, finding peace and comfort." Pat would endorse that wholeheartedly. He died grateful for the "extra-time" between his expected demise in November 2008 and his actual death in April 2009.

He used the opportunity to sort out his affairs, with the help of his good friend, Marie Tyrrell of the Larkin Centre, and others, and to say goodbye to his family, friends, present and past colleagues and those who cared for him in his last months. And I hope it is not seen as a breach of confidentiality when I disclose that Pat at one point in his illness did contemplate, literally, giving up the ghost, just letting go. It happened when the bodily functions began to pack up, leaving Pat frustrated and, even, angry a lot of the time. But his friends helped him through that difficult patch and Pat himself concluded that as long as he could follow what was going on in the world and hold a meaningful conversation life was worth living.

I should now mention another memory of Pat at the end, which puts those remarks in perspective. Living in Waterford we had an arrangement that the days when I couldn't visit him in Dublin I would ring him on his bedside phone; long conversations usually followed. At times the phone wasn't answered and I had to ring reception for news of him—to be told he had just walked by the reception desk on his zimmer frame! To the end the spirit was willing even as the flesh was pitifully weak.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

Pat's reflections on life were always inspiring; insightful; thought provoking; they were not always easy, and he maintained that intellectual involvement to the end. In the course of his long illness I heard much praise for Pat and his life's work, from family, friends and, significantly, from those who wouldn't necessarily align themselves with his political or Trade Union views :

- "A gentleman"
- "He oozed integrity and commitment"
- "Always constructive"
- "A patriot"

Most problematically:

- "A class warrior"

I say "problematic" because Pat was always capable of building working relationships with owners and managers: his role in the *Larkin Centre* required it. And it was Pat who chose to have the Tricolour over his coffin, and not the Red Flag. That he wanted his going to be as inclusive of "his people" as possible was typical of him. But there was another reason: he believed the very concept of the nation was under attack and needed to be defended.

His inclusiveness was also expressed in another way. Though not religious himself, for the religious amongst family and friends, he arranged the traditional "Month's Mind" to be conducted by a long time Jesuit friend of his in Gardiner Street. But who that ever had dealings with him in union, community or politics, doubted his class commitment? Likewise, Pat may have been an advocate of the "two nations" theory, but, who, then or now, had any doubt with which "nation" he identified? For that matter, who would question his internationalism?

Apart from politics, community and trade unionism Pat always had a lively interest in a range of activities from theatre to music and sport. Not many may know that he was for a number of years a manager in the factories soccer league (he was supposed to be the secretary, I learned at his funeral, from the actual manager and his life long friend, Gerry O'Brien; but, as has been noted, he was no great respecter of demarcation). He was also a member of the travelling Irish national team's supporters. From childhood he had been a Drumcondra supporter and later, of Shelbourne. When Pat Dolan launched his attempt to develop a community based football club in Inchicore, Pat moved allegiances southside in support. The Dolan effort was short-lived, but that's another story. Pat had a great sense of soccer in Dublin working class life. Another memory is going with him to the Abbey to see O'Casey's *"The Silver Tassie"*, a celebration of inner city soccer culture and, arguably, for that reason the most authentic of O'Casey's depictions of Dublin working class life. (The Silver Tassie of the play's title is a soccer trophy.)

He enthused constantly about the role of the GAA in Irish society and was a regular visitor to hurling and football at Croke Park, beside which he lived for many years. When market-driven neo-conservatism reared its ugly head, Pat saw the GAA as a bulwark against those ideas in Ireland with its central tenet of the parish and County identity as its foundation, not the chequebook. But he also delighted in the triumphs of Irish national and club rugby, though now a paid sport. On one Hospice visit I found him on fire with admiration for the Irish comeback in

the final 2009 Six Nations competition, going as far as to say that if Ireland could produce men of such flair and determination there was no fear of it not overcoming the often seemingly hopeless economic and political challenges facing us. Sport as a metaphor for life? For Pat sport was a vital part of the rich tapestry of human endeavour; and everything about that was, in turn, political: Man is a social and political animal.

Man is a social animal, hence we are diminished by any man's passing, especially one who has given so much to us, and, we know, had even more to give. Owing our grief, celebrating his life and work is a healthy and necessary thing. And then we move on. Of Dennis Dennehy, Pat's friend and comrade, it was said, by Brendan Clifford, I think, that he was intellectually a communist but by instinct an anarchist. Patrick Henry Murphy died an unrepentant Socialist Republican in the Connolly mode: *"Ireland without her people means nothing to me."* And he died full of optimism for this country's future, despite his acute awareness of the gravity of its current problems. He didn't die disillusioned or cynical. Just how his mind was working was typified by something he said to me quite late on in his illness. He recalled a statement of another Socialist Republican—*Peadar O'Donnell*—that emigration had always been the safety valve for Irish economic-political failures in the past; but now that that was not as attractive an option anymore and people would be confronted with the necessity of finding a better way to run our country.

He was particularly heartened by the emergence of a newer generation of thinkers and doers around *"The Irish Political Review"* and confident in their ability to make a difference. He was intrigued by the impact of the current crisis on the upcoming intelligentsia; their intellectual constructs and presumptions now in tatters as a result of the havoc wreaked by unfettered financial capitalism, summed up by one book title, *"Too big to Fail"*. He couldn't accept that out of this intellectual crisis and the raised expectations of two or three decades of social, economic and educational achievement would not come a radical departure in Irish politics.

To comrades and friends of Pat, and most of all his family, can I hope I've done some little justice to your feelings for him, and filled in some aspects of his life and thoughts of which you may not have been aware.

Irish Political Review (electronic or hard copy) can be ordered from www.atholbooks=sales.org

Mick Murray

es ahora *

"A regular provision for compulsory foreign service will never be adopted when the alternative of mercenary native armies remains. Let these "niggers" fight for the Empire in return for the services we render them by annexing and governing them and teaching them "the dignity of labour", will be the prevailing sentiment, and "imperialist" statesmen will be compelled to bow before it, diluting with British troops ever more thinly the native armies in Africa and Asia.

"This mode of militarism, while cheaper and easier in the first instance, implies less and less control from Great Britain. Though reducing the strain of militarism upon the population at home, it enhances the risks of wars, which become more frequent and more barbarous in proportion as they involve to a less degree the lives of Englishmen. The expansion of our Empire under the new Imperialism has been compassed by setting the "lower races" at one another's throats, fostering tribal animosities, and utilising for our supposed benefit the savage propensities of the peoples to whom we have a mission to carry Christianity and civilisation."

**George Bernard Shaw.
The Man of Destiny. 1896.**

While out on holiday in Spain over a week or so ago, I wandered down to the hotel lobby and went over to their press table where all the papers were laid out. Unfortunately the only English paper was *The Daily Mail* printed in Spain. As I flicked through it, I stopped and read the section regarding the Kiev protests and was amazed to find literal battle scenes drawn out, setting the scenario for a West v. Russian War. We had left home hearing of mobs of blackguards rioting in Kiev and now they were the new Government of Ukraine and being recognised as such by virtually the whole of the West. I was dumbfounded.

And here is the real kick, the *Mail* had drawings of the Black Sea fleet of Russia, counting with mounting excitement the numbers of war ships, subs., fighter jets—you name it—and they had the precise numbers: there was no escaping the thrill that the writers felt about the emerging scenario. President Putin was portrayed as the new Hitler/Stalin and the propaganda was so over the top that it was almost laughable. I have written previously about the new militarism abroad in the UK—evident even in celebrity magazines like *Hello*—particularly in the latter as it is

mostly about the Royal family in the UK, but covers also all the other European Royal Houses and those of Jordan and of Saudi Arabia too.

Prince William and Prince Harry are always seen in terms of the armed forces—not surprising considering both of them are former army officers from Sandhurst. But it seems that, in promoting militarism, they and their very experienced press handlers are hoping to catch a younger generation who are less motivated about actual soldiering to get in on the act—i.e. saving 'democracy' which today could stand in for the 'civilisation' of old.

At home watching RT (*Russia Today* Television) on Wednesday night (19th March 2014) last, I nearly fell off my seat to see "*European politicians*", as they were referred to by the news anchor, spreading dissent against Russia. And who was one of them but Éamon Gilmore, Labour TD, Tánaiste and our Foreign Affairs Minister, standing in front of a huge Irish flag—I ended up peering through my fingers. What a *scuit* and this from a former Worker's Party *apparatchik*, which it is widely rumoured apparently received money from the old Soviet Russia. Maybe the Russian President could look up their old files and denounce him for the hypocrite that he is.

It is one thing to have to do things under the American cosh, but quite another to leap in front of a camera and talk up sanctions against a country that has done everything to bring about a peaceful solution in Syria/Iran and then has to act to protect its own Russian people in Crimea—which was only given in 1954 to the Ukraine within the Soviet Union of Republics.

It was good to see the Russian Ambassador to Ireland, Maxim Peshkov, in the *Irish Daily Mail*, 20th March 2014, warning Ireland that we will suffer serious economic sanctions if we support further European Union sanctions against Russia. Ireland currently exports €637 million worth of goods and services to Russia every year, with farmers exporting €90 million worth of meat products; and all these are rising. The UK Prime Minister David Cameron is pushing the EU, as is the American President Barak Obama for further sanctions and restrictions, even though America will not suffer like the EU.

Britain's Defence Secretary Peter Hammond revealed this week that the UK had offered RAF Typhoon fighter jets to support NATO police skies over Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The MOD also are talking about holding military manoeuvres

near Lviv—close to the Polish border in western Ukraine with the USA and one other western military Powers.

Meanwhile President Obama has kicked out all Syrian diplomats ratcheting it up with President Assad while the Russians seem otherwise pre-occupied. On RT, 20th March 2014, Malcolm Fraser, former Prime Minister of Australia, begged the EU and the US to stop their sabre rattling and use diplomacy instead. Henry Kissinger also wrote to the same effect in the *Washington Post* and even a right-winger like Peter Hitchens in *The Daily Mail* also asked the Western Powers to cease and desist. In the *Irish Examiner* (21.3.14) that eejit Jim Power—who gives a bad name to economists—wrote a poisonous article calling President Putin the kind of names that would shame anyone with any kind of intellect. But we are so used to this kind of *rámeis* in our media that it passes almost without a shrug.

RT, 21st March 2014, carried a piece on the EU meeting of leaders with the UK Prime Minister being once more more war-like than the rest put-together. UK deputies are now also calling for a restoration of the Trident nuclear-powered submarines as they were about to be mothballed. The Prime Minister also called for a bigger "*British footprint*" in Mali and other African countries, which of course means more soldiers on the ground—but the question is: where is all this money coming from in an economy still in recession—no matter the talk up by Chancellor George Osborne and co.

The British are in full-on-mode of celebrating their glorious wars 1 and 2 and, indeed, credit where credit is due—they really know how to propagandise in a way few others do. One is left with the impression that they won them hands down when in fact they were the cause of their terminal Imperial decline. I sometimes wonder how they can credit Churchill with being the greatest Briton ever when he did more than anyone else to hasten their decline. Like a parasite he then hitched a ride with the new rising Imperial power of the USA and of course the EU have since resurrected British ambition because of Germany's dismal failure to see what they are really about—which is breaking down the Euro Zone and being allowed to do so while remaining outside monetary union and being in effect a competitor.

The leaders of Germany and France after WW2 would never have allowed it but of course that is then and this is now. I look at some of the British history books

It Is Time

coming out now in 2014 and really they are so—well—*slick*. There is an advertisement in the *TLS* December 20th & 27th 2013 for a book called: *'Discourse and Defiance Under Nazi Occupation. Guernsey, Channel Islands, 1940-1945.* by Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp (Michigan State University Press). The blurb reads thus:

"This book captures the sense of human emotion and struggle people faced with such life-altering changes brought on by the Nazi occupation. In the process, the author makes a convincing case that one doesn't need to be marching in the streets or participating in guerrilla theatre to be engaged in acts of political resistance."

Isn't that interesting and how beautifully it is couched? But the fact remains that the people of the Channel Islands offered little or no resistance to the occupation and isn't it extraordinary how Britain barely mentions it? Well of course it is an awkward fact, given the bellicosity of Churchill's declaration of fighting them on the beaches etc but it would be interesting to know how one can engage in resistance that is not public?

IAN FLEMING

The recent 4 part series on the creator of James Bond was actually very good, despite the critics' mauling. A.A. Gill in the *Sunday Times* was lepping and actually asked his readers not to watch it. I can see why he might have found it to his distaste, because Ian Fleming was quite a distasteful man—in fact a right *scuit* all round. Dominic Cooper played Fleming and Lara Pulver played Lady Ann O'Neill who went on to marry after her husband's death in WW2—first Lord Rothermere of the *Daily Mail* family and then Ian Fleming when she was having the latter's child.

Throughout her other two marriages she was having an affair with Fleming who used to beat her because he was a sadist and because she was obviously a masochist and which the film didn't flinch from showing. Seeing her body beaten black and blue (great make-up) and showing how much Ann Fleming enjoyed this type of sexual activity left one with a great distaste for the both of them—not so much for the graphic unappealing sex but for the cruel way they behaved towards each other and indeed almost everybody else. It is no wonder that their only child Caspar was a monster of sorts who loved guns and drugs and tried to commit suicide before getting electric shock therapy but eventually in 1975 he killed himself with a drugs overdose at the age of 23, leaving a pathetic note to his mother that read: "if

it is not this time it will be the next". His father Ian had died in 1964 on Casper's twelfth birthday.

All his privileged life Ian Fleming had a thing about money—namely that he could never have enough. So, when he was making the Bond books into films, he made a deal with Eon Productions that for tax reasons the money earned abroad was funnelled into a bank in Dublin where he kept an account—the bank—well it was Ansbacher Bank.

Where the film was strongest was during the Second World War. Ian, who had tried banking, journalism—anything to please his mother who held the purse strings—he almost by accident (!) fell into Naval Intelligence where, in the famous Room 39, he had a meeting with Admiral John Henry Godfrey, Director of Naval Intelligence. A meeting which was so successful he was immediately given his own desk and became a lieutenant before very quickly becoming Commander Fleming. What the film didn't show was that Ian's brother, Peter, was already in Military Intelligence and Ian had plenty of people who were able to effect his entrance into this whole *milieu*.

Godfrey found that Fleming had an audaciousness that worked very well in secret Intelligence schemes and of course his contacts in America were to prove very fruitful for the British in pushing the former into the war—and really they didn't need that much pushing at all.

There was one scene in the film which showed Fleming in Spain with Godfrey and meeting two German officers in a casino. Fleming bummed a cigarette off one of the Germans and then blew smoke into the face of the officers of the Third Reich who looked thick and lumpen and who seemed incapable of disciplining the dashing Englishman. But it seems the English eat and drink that kind of propaganda instead of realising how utterly stupid it looks—I found myself laughing at such *râmeis*. As this was about Fleming, and war or no war he seemed to be in and out of bed with a variety of women, including the ever present Ann. Of course—the broad stroke of a brush is needed in this kind of televisual biography.

But there is one aspect that was not touched on but which much exercised the men of Room 39 and that was a small country whose ports were coveted. The First Lord of the Admiralty, later of course becoming the Prime Minister Winston Churchill, was often exercised by the neutrality of Eire and there is some evidence that, while Admiral Godfrey definitely came to Eire to see things for

himself, some speculate that he was accompanied by Commander Fleming.

After the series finished, Fleming went on to write a book and wondered with his brother Peter what name he would give his hero—they both tried out some names of old Etonians that they went to school with and came up with James Bond.

I looked up one of the better biographies of Ian Fleming by Andrew Lycett and saw how very well connected Ian Fleming was with the top people of war-time Britain, which was still very much aristocratic. The JIC (Joint Intelligence Committee), established in 1936, played an important role in coordinating the work of the various service Intelligence organisations with that of the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Economic Warfare (which organised the economic sanctions against us). But its chief, who was a close friend of Ian Fleming, was a name that should be familiar to us all—one Victor (known as Bill) Cavendish-Bentinck later the Duke of Portland, who actually was one of the people to sign off on Elizabeth Bowen's war reports. So, none other than the Chief of JIC read Bowen's espionage reports—which show how very important they were during a World War. And yet in today's Ireland, every academic I have met have rubbished the idea of Bowen being a spy who was right at the top of Britain's war-time establishment. And they ridicule the local historical society Aubane with a viciousness that is as relentless as it is ludicrous because they have published the extant reports. What is *their* problem? Their denial in the face of the facts that are now out there is astounding and the mere mention of Jack Lane's name drives them to apoplexy and again and again I hear them call him "a nutter". It just doesn't stack up.

In the splendid book *'Room 39'* there is a very interesting quotation from Admiral Godfrey himself stating:

"...a clever and knowledgeable woman will do every bit as well as a clever and knowledgeable man and will probably be more discreet and security-conscious..."

as a spy. And in one of Bowen's own reports she acknowledges that already the British have someone doing the ports here in Eire but she surprisingly says that she herself will also look into the situation for London. And, as for Fleming—he got an awful lot of Bowen's friends (who were of course also his) good desk jobs in Intelligence so that they too like Bowen at the end of the war could say they had a "good war".

Julianne Herlihy ©

Reviews:

1. O Bradaigh by McIntyre

Anthony McIntyre, a former Provo who turned venomously against Adams because of the Peace Process, posted a kind of obituary notice on Ruairi O Bradaigh on his website, which is printed in the October 2013 issue of *Saoirse*. He writes that O Bradaigh "*was not at all comfortable with today's Stormontistas, accurately summed up as a reformist clique during one of the orations delivered at his funeral*".

He visited O Bradaigh in the 1990s, "*interviewing him as part of research for some work at Queen's*". On the train to Roscommon he read M.L.R. Smith's *Fighting For Ireland*:

"Smith usefully brought to the fore some of the bamboozling tactics that Cathal Goulding, the Official IRA Chief-of-Staff, had employed as a means to move Republicanism away from armed struggle. Many leaders seemingly can only move if they do so crookedly. It struck one... that the similarities between what Gerry Adams was doing through the peace process and what Goulding had earlier done were remarkably similar. A desire to avoid armed conflict was not the problem, the new politics were. The writing was on the wall for all to see and it spelt *RIP Republicanism*..."

What are the long-term fruits of Goulding's new departure of the 1960s? Seats in the Cabinet within the established political system of the South for Eamon Gilmore and Pat Rabbitte and a seat in the British Legislature for Lord Bew—McIntyre's mentor at Queen's. And what has resulted from "*the deviousness of the caudillo and his satraps who eventually came to usurp the Roscommon Fenian*"?—i.e. what has Adams achieved as a result of parting company with O Bradaigh? A restructuring of the Northern system to give nationalists actual parity with Unionists.

The Fascist Leader and his henchmen—that is what "*the caudillo and his satraps*" means—made peace when McIntyre wanted to make war to the bitter end. But they did it "*crookedly*" and "*deviously*". (Did Official IRA man Lord Bew neglect to acquaint his discontented Provo protegee with Kant's famous maxim: "*Out of the crooked wood of humanity nothing straight can be made*"?)

Is it the peace or the deviousness (the political means) by which it was achieved that disturbs him? It seems that he can't

make up his mind. He doesn't want to be regarded as a warmonger to the bitter end:

"I had a lot of time for Ruairi Ó Brádaigh although I could no longer abide his commitment to the physical force tradition. Even at its best the tradition is host to a defective gene which leads to Republican energy and commitment being channelled into the pockets and careers of powerful figures who have ridden to success on the backs of the tradition. It is a vehicle, hijacked and used not to reach any Republican destination but, fuelled by career ambition, is remorselessly driven along the twin tracks of partition and British rule..."

So "*the Republican tradition*"—Fenianism—is remorselessly driven towards Partition and British rule! It's a novel thought. But there is something to be said for it. After all, when John Redmond was splitting the Home Rule Party and inculcating a personality cult of Parnell, he flirted with "*the hillside men*" (if only rhetorically), and then went on in 1913 to drive the situation towards Partition and in 1914 he made nationalist Ireland a recruiting ground for the British Army. And Michael Collins, who gave priority to the IRB over the Dail, made a gullible Partition deal in December 1921, and shelled the Four Courts with Crown artillery in June 1922.

But it is a strange thought to give prominence to when praising O Bradaigh for being an intransigent Fenian who would have no truck with Adams' transformation of physical force energy into constitutional political energy.

Even greater incoherence follows:

"Moreover, Republicanism has to be rights-driven rather than power-fixated. The suggestion by Cillian McGrattan that peace is a right not a privilege is a hard one to evade in any sense that could be described as authentic. The physical force tradition, despite the nefarious and brutal nature of what it traditionally opposes, by its very existence and methodological application, denies people any right to decide whether they want war waged in their name. The notion that the Irish people have that right against Republicanism is regrettably something that insufficient reflection has been given to..."

If Republicanism must be only "*rights-driven*", then it must be only a protest

movement. If it is debarred from making war in the name of the people, unless it has polled the people on the issue beforehand, then the rights it asserts will only have a contemplative existence. And if peace is a right not a privilege, then it is the attribute of another world than this one.

In this world peace may sometimes follow a successful war effort for a limited period, or it may be achieved for a period by resigned submission to defeat. There was a long peace in Ireland after the Williamite conquest. It was policed by the Penal Law system. But England was at peace only for an instant following its subjugation of the Irish.. States which make war through the exuberance of power do not usually rest on their laurels when they win a war. They are rarely at a loss for a good reason to make another war.

Pascal, the Jansenist theologian, said that if people stayed quietly at home there would be much less trouble in the world. Granted. But this is not a world—at least the part shaped by the British Empire isn't—in which it is possible for people to stay quietly at home for very long. The conditions of existence engineered for humanity by Imperialist Britain and its American offspring do not allow for self-sufficient families staying quietly at home. It has been made all but impossible economically and spiritually.

There was a notion current in pre-Republican Sinn Fein (founded by Arthur Griffiths) that what it conceived to be national rights might be achieved without physical force, despite the "*nefarious and brutal nature*" of the British regime. It could be done by elected representatives staying at home and the bulk of the people supporting them by passive resistance to the British State.

This idea had a kind of counterpart in English politics. The Socialist Party of Great Britain argued that, when 51% of the electorate voted for Socialism, they would have a right to it and therefore they would get it. The task of socialists therefore was to preach the ideal of Socialism until 51% were converted to it. Until then Capitalism should be let be.

The SPGB made little impression on the course of events. The notion that Socialism as an ideal could be comprehensively elaborated within capitalist society, and gain converts until it had 51%, and could then be implemented because it had a right to be implemented, proved to be—well, idealistic. The SPGB remained a minuscule minority.

In Ireland, however, it actually happened that an ideal did gain majority support for

an ideal in defiance of the power of the regime, and it was attempted to realise it peacefully.

O'Connell spent years rousing the masses to enthusiasm for the national ideal. And he arranged for the national movement to take on a governing structure at a mass meeting at Clontarf in 1843. He had a *Council of 100* organised to take over orderly control of the country by popular acclaim.

He had gone to the brink with Catholic Emancipation fourteen years earlier. He demonstrated that he had the masses behind him and the Government conceded the point. He hoped to do this again with Repeal of the Union. But Repeal was incompatible with the existence of the Empire, while Catholic Emancipation had only been an affront to English religious bigotry, so Wellington let it be known that he would dragoon the masses as they tried to assemble at Clontarf. And O'Connell surrendered in the interest of peace. (He thereby saved some lives. But the lives he saved were few, compared to the lives lost in the Famine/Holocaust a few years later. An Irish Government would certainly not have let the people starve to death in their millions.)

Seventy-five years later a successor to the *Council of 100* assembled. This time it was chosen by a formal election policed by Britain. It declared itself a Parliament and appointed a Government. When the British Government declared it an illegal assembly, it did not disband. There were therefore two bodies in the country claiming to be its authoritative Government. How was the issue to be decided between them?

Britain had just fought, and won, a Great War for the declared purpose of establishing democracy and the rights of small nations, and ensuring that Might would never again over-rule Right. So the solution was simple. The reasonable thing to do, under the principles for which Britain said it fought the Great War, was for Britain to dismantle its apparatus of government in Ireland and recognise the national sovereignty of the Irish Parliament.

Instead of applying such commonplace reasoning to the problem, the British Prime Minister, whose party had not won a single Parliamentary seat in Ireland, resorted instead to "*the reason of Kings*"—war.

What were the Irish to do when their rights were overruled by force? Protest their rights? That seems to be what Lord Bew thinks. He has said that the electorate which in 1918 gave a democratic mandate for the establishment of independent government had not given a mandate for

the use of military force to achieve it when British military force was deployed against it.

How might Sinn Fein have got a mandate for the use of military force? The Election which mandated independence was won under British military occupation—the wartime regulations applied in Ireland were not lifted with the Armistice. The Sinn Fein election campaign had to be conducted under censorship and general harassment by the British authorities, yet Sinn Fein, if it was to have the right to engage in military defence of the independent government which it was mandated to establish, should in its election programme, have sought a separate mandate for war. By neglecting to do so, did it "*deny the Irish people the right to decide whether they wanted war waged in their name*"?

The notion that a separate mandate for a defensive war was needed implies that the electorate consisted of simpletons who never suspected that the independence they voted for involved a substantial risk of war with the Imperial Power. They should, under British military occupation with pro-active policing, have been presented with a war manifesto to vote on. But the British authorities, who had absolute control of the apparatus of election, would not have allowed a war manifesto against themselves to be put to the electorate. So: Catch 22!

(On the other hand, Lord Bew is satisfied that some rhetorical turn of phrase in a speech by Redmond in the 1910 Election had given the Home Rule Party an electoral mandate for war on Germany and Turkey and any other state the Empire decided to destroy.)

The latest book on Ireland by Professor Charles Townshend has been greatly admired. Professor Ferriter of the supposedly National University, has chosen it as his book of the year in the *Irish Times*, as has award-winning novelist John Banville (30.11.13). And so of course has Eoghan Harris.

The book is called *The Republic*. It begins with the Sinn Fein election victory of 1918, and it ridicules the state of mind prevalent in Sinn Fein after the election. It tells us that Sinn Fein was lost in a vacuous idealism and believed that Right would prevail because it was right. They had won the election handsomely and therefore they had the right to set up an independent government. And, because they had the right to set it up, they knew it would stand, because "*peace is a right not a privilege*"!

Sinn Fein, according to Townshend, in

1919 lived in a pacifist delusion of the supremacy of Right! It is a novel view. But it comes highly recommended so we must think about it. The notion that Right would prevail against Imperial Might just because it was right is ridiculed in a way that suggested that it is not only delusory but immoral. And it carries the converse implication that it is Might that is Right—for which, indeed, there is a lot to be said if one looks at any substantial piece of history in the round. And it is good to have it confirmed from the horse's mouth that this is the British view.

Of course Sinn Fein was not actually lost in pacifist illusion in 1919. But I agree with our authoritative Britisher of the moment that, if it had been, it would have been deluded. And I will remember him the next time I hear British humbug on the theme of Might and Right.

In the British sphere of things little was known of Rights until very recently. Rights were fancy Continental notions.

Magna Charta asserted the power of the nobility under the Crown. If it had been taken in earnest as a system of rights, England would probably have become an aristocratic anarchy, like the Kingdom of Poland was for centuries. But in England the Crown retained the actual power of government.

For many centuries there was an uncertain relationship between the governing monarchy and the powerful aristocracy—until, in a development following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, an aristocratic ruling class took over the conduct of the state, retaining a subordinate monarch as an expedient figurehead, and conducting their joint affairs through an exclusive Parliament.

But the 1688 Revolution/*Coup d'Etat* did issue a Bill of Rights. What it established was the Right of Protestant Supremacy and the suppression of Catholicism. All else was privilege gained by a capacity for force—superficially dressed up in the language of Right after the event, but never achieved on the ground of Right. So it was with the Irish vote for independence in 1918. And so it was with the perverse system of British government in the Six Counties set up in 1921.

McIntyre commemorates O Bradaigh, "*whose entire life was immersed in the politics of Irish Republicanism and its associated physical force tradition*", by condemning any use of physical force not specifically mandated by the electorate. He has entered Utopia.

O Bradaigh occupied the ground of

1922 anti-Treatyism. From that vantage point, on the verge of mainstream politics, he could, at least, perform a service to historical memory, while those who were absorbed into the practice of Treatyite politics were committed to amnesia. (Fianna Fail half-remembered its own vision until the era of Bertie Ahern and Martin Mansergh, but has now purified itself into a zombie condition.)

The Treaty State in the South was damaged goods from the start. It gave itself a kind of electoral mandate under duress in 1922-3—the duress of a British ultimatum on one side and widespread Irish resentment of it on the other. The British Treatyite concoction in the North—a concoction devised in 1920 for use against Sinn Fein in the South, rather than for good government in the North, was essentially unstable throughout its existence and exerted a baneful influence on Southern political life.

Fianna Fail established itself as a "slightly constitutional" party, in accordance with the conditions under which it had to function. In 1970 it collapsed into half-baked Constitutionalism under pressure from Britain, doing so in a way that fuelled the war that was developing in the North. It routinely condemned violence while at the same time declaring that Partition was the cause of the violence and that peace was conditional on the ending of Partition. It accepted responsibility for the trouble in the North because of the Sovereignty claim—exonerating Britain—and yet it preserved the Sovereignty claim until 1998. Its contribution to peace in the North was banning traditional national culture on RTE—thereby making the Republican movement its guardian—and de-historicising itself in a lunatic attempt to escape from history. It has embraced Joyce: *history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake*". But where do you go when you opt out of history? We can't all go to Trieste.

Amidst all of this floundering the voice of Ruairi O Bradaigh was always pleasant to hear.

*

The quality of M.L.R. Smith's analysis, which impressed Anthony McIntyre so strongly on his journey to meet Ruairi O Bradaigh, can be judged from the opening paragraph of his book:

"The Provisional IRA's motto, *tiocfaidh ár la* (Our day will come), would seem to demonstrate the sense of inevitability that many Irish republicans feel towards the eventual achievement of their goal; an end to British rule in Northern Ireland

and the political unification of Ireland. Yet the past 25 years of PIRA activity reveal that republican faith in the historical task is not certain. Not certain enough for republicans to believe that they simply need do nothing and that one day the future will fall to the irresistible idea of Irish unity" (*Fighting For Ireland*, Routledge, 1995, p1).

Smith sets up an Aunt Sally so that he can have something that he is able to knock down.

This Aunt Sally comes second-hand from Carroll Professor Foster and others, who attribute to Irish Republicans a false understanding of the nature of human activity in the world—a teleological understanding in which the end is predetermined supernaturally and will inevitably come about.

Teleology of that kind is meaningful only in the context of a theological conception of the world. And that is a feature of Protestantism rather than Catholicism. Reading the future from the *Book Of Revelation* was for centuries a Protestant preoccupation. Isaac Newton did it. The Presbyterian bourgeoisie of Belfast, in their United Irish phase, did it. I never came across Catholics who did it. Catholicism shapes understanding by means of the paradoxical idea of free-will. I have known Protestants who in their understanding of themselves were puppets in the service of the pre-determined end. The paradox of Catholicism is that, though it has a God who omniscient and omnipotent, it does not have predestination. It dooms the individual to free-will. And, in the world of free-will, one has purposes to be achieved, not predestined ends to be served.

Of course purpose does set an end to be achieved. But the end which purposeful activity sets itself to achieve is utterly different in kind from the theological conception of an end set for the world and everything in it at the moment of its creation, which cannot fail to be realised.

Carroll Prof. Foster etc. confuse purpose and cosmic teleology, either maliciously as propagandists or through honest ignorance.

Republican certainty that the day will come arises from strength of purpose in a world of free will.

Why the inhabitants of Ireland, outside the areas of colonial implantation, set themselves the purpose of becoming independent of England is another question. The history of English rule in Ireland from the moment it declared itself

a Protestant Imperial State makes it obvious why.

Smith says "*How the republican movement came to see the practice of military force as an effective instrument of policy is the subject of this study*". But he never found the answer. It was too simple and too obvious. Britain made it clear that it would not relinquish Ireland to the Irish in response to anything but force.

When the Irish majority voted for independence, they still had to fight to get it.

Then, when Britain, in response to defensive physical force which it could not crush, conceded separate government for the greater part of Ireland, it retained the Six Counties in the British state in response to the demand of two-thirds of the population in them, but it chose to exclude the region from the democracy of the state and to subject the nationalist third of the population to local communal rule by the two-thirds, whose public life revolved round the Orange Order. But Smith cannot see that that had anything to do with what happened there.

POSTSCRIPT ON LORD BEW

In the account I have given, in recent issues of *Irish Political Review*, of my dealings with McIntyre's University mentor, Professor the Lord Bew, there is one brief incident I forgot to mention.

A little over twenty years ago, I was invited to take part in a Conference on Northern Ireland held, I think, under religious auspices, at Queen's University. Care was usually taken that I should not be admitted to such events, but I was somehow invited to this one. I was at the time rather preoccupied with a frivolous libel action brought against me by Mary McAleese, in which I had to conduct my own defence. McAleese had been appointed to a position at the Institute for Professional Legal Studies. The appointment was made in breach of the rules of Fair Employment that were being imposed on ordinary employers just then. And her qualifications did not meet the advertised qualifications for the job. She had not appointed herself, therefore the criticism of the appointment that I published was not of her but of her employers. Yet she chose to bring this frivolous libel action against me.

Her employers were the legal institutions of the state. It was no news to me that the law itself was effectively above the law. But, in the democracy of the state (i.e. in Britain), politics and law are closely interwoven and keep each other in a kind of harmony. But Northern Ireland had

always been outside the democracy of the state, and the *ersatz* local democracy had ceased to operate in 1972. Institutional authority was therefore dominant in law and politics, under Northern Ireland Office government, which had no electoral connection with the Six Counties. And that NIO Government had a Department which must have been unique in the democratic world—a Department of Political Development. (Imagine the outcry there would be if any Government in London or Dublin tried to set up a Government Department to control politics.)

I spoke on these lines at that Conference, trying to get an understanding that exclusion from the party-political system of the democracy of the state had far-reaching consequences.

I had a brief, hostile encounter with a famous anti-Republican nun, whose name I forgot. But what I said seemed to get to

2. Barry Keane On Dunmanway

In *Massacre in West Cork* (Mercier) Barry Keane gathers together all that was known about the victims of the Ballygorman/Dunmanway killings on 26th to 28th of April 1922, and he adds substantial discoveries of his own. He describes localities and gives distances. In an Appendix he lists 36 people who were attacked in the general area during those days.

He does not name perpetrators. In the case of all but one of the 14 people killed they remain unknown. And, curiously, the one person whose killer is known does not appear on the list of victims of attack.

Michael O'Neill, Acting Commandant of the IRA in the area during the brief absence of Tom Hales, went to Ballygorman House with three colleagues early in the morning of April 27th. When they were not admitted in response to knocking, O'Neill climbed in through a window and was shot from within by a British military Captain, Herbert Woods, who was a relative of the owners of the House, the Hornibrooks. O'Neill's colleagues withdrew, returned later with reinforcements, put the house under siege, captured it, and arrested Capt. Woods along with two Hornibrook men. These three were never seen again. Barry Keane relates local rumours about how Capt. Woods was handled after capture.

About 24 hours after the shooting of O'Neill, three people were shot on their doorsteps in Dunmanway town: Francis Fitzmaurice, a solicitor; David Gray, a chemist; and James Buttimer, a retired

Bew. About fifteen years earlier, when he addressed the Campaign for Labour Representation about his first book, he had been utterly dismissive of the suggestion that exclusion from the actual institutions which operated the democracy of the state could have any bearing on the condition of public life in Northern Ireland. But at this Conference he agreed with me, in principle, that institutional arrangements did affect public life.

After the Conference I met him in passing and commended what he had said. If he had followed through on it, I would have expected to take up with him where we left off about 1972. But it was soon obvious that it was only a flash in the pan. Perhaps his Army Council had a word with him. Anyhow, a well-known Stickey gunman around that time offered to shoot people who were advocating inclusion of the Six Counties in the democracy of the state.

draper, ex-Navy man, and 'a member of the pro-Home Rule All For Ireland League' (p155: this is a rather misleading description of the AFIL, which opposed John Redmond's Home Rule tactics as tending towards Partition, and advocated a lesser measure of devolution in the interest of unity.)

David Gray's wife told the Coroner's Inquest that his killer, when shooting him, said: "*Take that you Free Stater*". Keane mentions this but does not dwell on it.

Six people were killed the following day: John Buttimer, farmer; James Greenfield, his servant (or John Greenwood, as he is called on p204); John Chinnery; Robert House; Alexander Gerald McKinley; and Robert Nagle. No information is given about the occupations of the last four.

The final victim was John Bradfield, at 11 pm on April 29th. He was shot in place of his brother, William (p146). And he was an ex-military man and an alleged informer (p205).

The longest section of the book is that which deals with Ballygorman House (pp99 to 143), possibly because it is what most information could be got about. It seems that the Hornibrook/Woods family were definitely gentry with connections into the "*merchant princes*" in Cork City, while the other victims were local middle class plus a servant. I found this section interesting because, with my experience from Slieve Luacra (where scarcely a trace

of the colony remained), and Belfast (where the colony had gone through a phase of being a self-sufficient society), I had only the haziest notion of the residues of colonial life in Bandon and Cork City.

Keane distinguishes between the Ballygorman killings and the others:

"Because they occurred in the same week, the O'Neill shooting, the disappearance of Woods and the Hornibrooks, and the subsequent killings of the men in the Dunmanway area, are now seen as one event. However, it may be wiser to separate them" (p100).

But his basis of separation is legal/moral, which is capable of bearing little weight in a politically unsettled situation, and Keane proceeds to treat them causatively, in practice, as a single event.

He says there was a "*cascade*", set off by the killing of Michael O'Neill, and this happened in the situation of relaxed Republican discipline resulting from the Treaty split, because the Commandant Tom Hales was away in Dublin for a few days for discussions about the resolution of the Treaty split. The killing of O'Neill at once removed the restraining influence of Hales' deputy and acted as an incitement to undisciplined acts of revenge.

It is suggested that six of O'Neill's colleagues, brooding over his death and freed from his influence, were overcome by the urge to revenge it in some way. So they killed three Protestants in Dunmanway town on the first night. And the six killings on the second night, over a wider area, might have been done by a group of six dividing itself into two groups of three.

Meda Ryan (author of *Tom Barry*) says that she saw documents in which those who were killed were listed as informers. But those documents have disappeared. Keane says, rightly, that they should be left out of account until they are re-discovered. (However, the conspicuous lack of interest shown in them by the Trinity College operatives might be seen as evidence that they do exist.)

The widespread area over which the killings were done, and the apparent singling out of individuals, go against the notion of an Anti-Treatyite attempt to set off an anti-Protestant pogrom. The right way to set off a pogrom—assuming, as John Borgonovo appears to assume, that the potential for a pogrom was lurking in the populace—would surely have been the indiscriminate killing of the Protestants nearest to hand.

Keane makes this point, more or less, allowing that the matter-of-fact bluntness

one tends to acquire in Belfast is alien to him.

Some principle of selection seems to have been applied. And it seems to me that, in the absence of the documents Meda Ryan saw, he tried to find other evidence that those who were killed singled themselves out in some way as being pro-British, either through coming under suspicion in 1919-21, or by refusing to contribute to an Anti-Treaty levy in March 1922, but didn't manage to convince himself.

He dismisses the speculation of Owen Sheridan (author of *Propaganda As Anti-History*) that the killings were a final act of the British secret service, saying "*there is no evidence trail*" leading to it. So there isn't. That theory is speculation in the absence of evidence. It would account for the fact that there is no evidence, not even the evidence of strong local rumour. But, having set it out as a speculation, Sheridan sensibly let it rest there. Without something tangible to confirm or refute it, speculation can never get beyond itself.

A century ago a British sociologist toyed with the notion of a science of hypotheticals. Nothing came of it. I don't see how anything could come of it. Except perhaps in mathematics, about which I know nothing. Hypothesis needs to be earthed.

Proceeding by deduction—or is it induction?—from certain circumstances, Keane concludes that the Anti-Treatyites did it. But he concedes that:

"Whether Con Crowley was involved in the spate of killings after O'Neill was killed is a matter of conjecture" (p172).

But so is his general idea that an undisciplined group of the anti-Treaty IRA did that oddly-dispersed and discriminatory group of killings in an emotional spasm of revenge.

Keane writes as a Treatyite, and it seems to me that he gets in the way of himself by injecting defence of the Treaty at various points throughout the book. A Fine Gael book about the Treaty, and its working out in the 1920s, would be a useful thing to have at this juncture. Forty years ago Time Pat Coogan launched an unreasoned defence of it in the form of a Collins hagiography, influenced by the fact that he had achieved his public position as the Treatyite Editor of the Anti-Treaty daily newspaper, and was a Catholic/Hibernian advocate of anti-Protestant war in the North.

Keane implies, but comes nowhere near

demonstrating, that rejection of the Treaty by most of the West Cork IRA was central to the Dunmanway killings. There is therefore either too much or too little about the Treaty in the book. And his presentation of the Dunmanway killings as an Anti-Treaty equivalent of the Treatyite atrocity at Ballyseedy doesn't pass muster, even assuming that they were anti-Treatyite.

Keane's concluding speculation—on the definite side of tentative—is that "*there was an unauthorised and illegal attempt... to punish and drive out mostly Protestant unionists... by some members of the IRA for the murder of Michael O'Neill. Overall, however, nationalists and Roman Catholics did not 'close ranks against' local Protestants and divide up the spoils, as Peter Hart claimed. While people may try to downplay or to exaggerate these killings, they are equivalent to events such as the Ballyseedy*", where the Treatyite Army tied Republican prisoners-of-war around a mine and exploded the mine. And in defiance of probability one of the victims lived to be a witness. Stephen Fuller was blown clear, unknown to the Free State soldiers, while the others were blown to pieces, and he escaped. But in Dunmanway, where on Keane's hypothesis, many local people must have been involved, there is only speculative deduction, or induction, from circumstances, with every speculation generating problems of commonsense.

The closest thing to evidence that he has found is a paragraph in Michael O'Donoghue's 370-page Witness Statement in the Bureau of Military History. It is an account of his activities in the IRA from 1917 to 1922. O'Donoghue joined the Volunteers in Waterford, but transferred to West Cork at Tom Barry's request in June 1921, shortly before the Truce. After the 'Treaty' he was posted to Donegal. He was not in West Cork at the time of the Dunmanway affair. He returned soon after the incident but, in June 1922 he went back to Donegal, along with Dinny Galvin, Jack Fitzgerald and Jim Cotter. They went by way of Dublin, where they called on the Anti-Treaty garrison in the Four Courts. Tom Hales, the Commandant, suggested that Con Crowley should go with them as he was a good soldier and was feeling restless.

O'Donoghue describes how O'Neill helped, at a Republican courtmartial, to save the life of a Black and Tan, who was discovered in the area and pleaded that he was there only because he was courting a local girl. Then—

"Poor Mick O'Neill. A grand chivalrous warrior of the IRA. Less than two months later, he called at the house of a British loyalist, named Hornibrook, to get help for a broken-down motor. As he knocked on the door, he was treacherously shot dead without the slightest warning from inside the house. The IRA in Bandon were alerted. The house was surrounded. Under threat of bombing and burning, the inmates surrendered. Three men, Old Hornibrook, his son and son-in-law, a Captain Woods. The latter, a British Secret Service agent, confessed to firing the fatal shot. Why? God alone knows. None of the three knew O'Neill, or he them. Probably Woods got scared at seeing the strange young man in IRA attire knocking, thought he was cornered and fired at him in a panic. The sequel was tragic. //Several prominent loyalists—all active members of the anti-Sinn Fein Society in West Cork, and blacklisted as such in IRA Intelligence Records—in Bandon, Clonakilty, Ballineen and Dunmanway, were seized at night by armed men, taken out and killed. Some were hung, most were shot. All were Protestants. This gave the slaughter a sectarian appearance. Religious animosity had nothing to do with it. These people were done to death as a savage, wholesale, murderous reprisal for the murder of Mick O'Neill.// They were doomed to die because they were listed as soldiers and abettors of the British Secret Service, one of whom, Captain Woods, had confessed to shooting dead treacherously and in cold blood Vice-Commandant Michael O'Neill that day near Crookstown in May 1922. Fifteen or sixteen loyalists in all went to gory graves in brutal reprisal for O'Neill's murder" (p227 of Witness Statement).

Barry Keane quotes part of this passage. He says it is—

"the only known comment from inside the anti-Treaty IRA. While he was not in Bandon at the time of the killings, he found out what happened from the people who had carried out the killings" (p132).

Nevertheless, Keane doesn't trust O'Donoghue's account. He asks:

"Is Michael O'Donoghue's version of events any more credible than any other? He gets some of the details wrong, which is unsurprising as he was not there, but this is the only evidence we have from the side of the killers. The second part of his comments, linking the Ballygroman and Dunmanway killings, is far more important as it provides a motive for the Dunmanway shootings" (p133).

The "*second part*" means the second part of Keane's division of O'Donoghue's paragraph on the whole affair, which I have given above. Keane gives extracts from O'Donoghue's paragraph. The part I have marked /.../ is in Chapter 6, *The*

Shooting On The Stoaris (p132-3). The part indicated //...// is in Chapter 7, *The Dunmanway Killings* (p162).

Then Keane comments:

"Writing in 1952, long before there was any controversy about the motive for the Dunmanway killings, O'Donoghue's analysis is blunt, unemotional and unapologetic... He said that the killings were "murderous" and that some of the men "were hung", which agrees with Alice Holder, who claimed the Hornibrooks were hanged. Writing at a time when there was no controversy, did he have any reason to lie? To put it bluntly, why did he admit that the anti-Treaty IRA committed these murders if they did not? Why say the men were members of an anti-Sinn Fein Society if they were not? This is the simplest explanation for the killings, and in the face of O'Donoghue's statement there is no need to build complex theories about what might have happened. Crucially, the leadership of the Cork IRA were out of the county on 27 April 1922 at a final meeting in Dublin to try to avert civil war. If they had been in West Cork, they would have exerted some discipline on the men under their command. The fact that they stopped the killings when they returned proves this...

"If we accept O'Donoghue's evidence, then the killings were carried out as a direct, targeted, 'murderous reprisal' for Michael O'Neill's death. During the Civil War, the 4th Brigade in North Cork borrowed the concept of disproportionate reprisals from the Black and Tans when it threatened to kill Ten Free Staters for every one of its men who was executed. O'Donoghue's statement is critical in understanding what happened. This was a wildly disproportionate IRA reprisal for Michael O'Neill. Members of the IRA believed that the men they shot were members of the Anti-Sinn Fein Society..." (pp162-164. The reference for the last statement is Peter Hat, and for the 10 to 1 reprisal ratio in North Cork is Michael Harrington, *The Munster Republic*).

This is one of the areas where 'Civil War' apologetics get in the way of blunt unemotional analysis.

Reprisals, as I understand it, are disproportionate by nature. Killing one for one would be more in the nature of a war of attrition. And applying the legal term, "murder", to events in a war situation is applying it where it does not belong. War supersedes law and the application of legal terms to it is war propaganda. If there is a clear victor, his propaganda passes muster as law in the system he establishes.

While there was a definite military victor in our 'Civil War', he failed to establish a persuasive political system on the basis of the military victory. And he did not achieve a surrender of the defeated

enemy. Dev's *Address To The Legion Of The Rearguard* (which I recall from early childhood and have not read since) was not a bit like Lee's surrender at the Appomatox Courthouse. Arms were dumped by the defeated party, which went into politics for the time being, rivalled the victorious party in the electoral contest within four years, and took over the Government in less than ten years.

The Free State was disabled in victory by the fact that the 'Civil War' it fought was spurious. It did not stand for a distinct ideal of state which its enemy rejected, but only for submission to a British ultimatum. Its ideal of State, as far as it retained one in the circumstances of the war it fought, was the ideal which its enemy retained in more vigorous form. Elements in the victorious Free State tried to forge a new ideal, more appropriate to the war it had fought, an ideal of Empire in place of Republic, but it didn't take root.

Collins is reported to have said that, if he could have dictatorial authority, he would get the Republic in four years, but the establishment of Free State power by killing Republicans locked his successors into a feuding attitude against the Republican political survivors of the war, and in this state of mind they destroyed themselves politically.

In its military victory, the Free State suffered morale collapse. It could not make its propaganda stick. Nor could it bring itself to try to effect a political reconciliation with its defeated enemies.

I once heard Garret FitzGerald, on BBC World Radio, saying the victorious Treatyites did their best to ease the path of the Anti-Treatyites into the political process. This was not a brazen lie only because FitzGerald was incapable of telling a brazen lie. He just knew no better. He had a strange, fragmented, understanding, which was sincere and coherent in each of its segments, but these didn't function together as an integral whole. If Cumann na nGaedheal *had* eased the path of the Anti-Treatyites into political life in the mid-1920s, it would not itself have gone into oblivion in the 1930s.

Because of the way things worked out, the great atrocities of the 'Civil War' event are Free State atrocities: the 77, the massacre of prisoners on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Ballyseedy etc.

The Free Staters failed to consolidate their position morally by making the Crown an active principle in the life of the nation. They had made war on Republican-

ism, but it was Republicanism that prevailed. Collins told his followers that he was making war on the Republic as a step to the Republic, but the anti-Republican elements in society flocked around him, and it was on these that his successors based themselves. The idea that the Treaty was a great Irish achievement was propagated by the able propagandists of the Free State, but the populace knew that it was not an achievement but a submission. And the populace brought the Anti-Treatyites to power as British Imperial power fell into confusion in the face of Turkish defiance of another imposed Treaty.

Atrocities are acts of a certain kind committed by the loser. The Treatyites won a military victory which they could not consolidate morally, or culturally—the two things being closely related in actual life.

I remember how, in the 1940s, people who wouldn't dream of joining Sinn Fein waited expectantly for the arrival of Brian O'Higgins' Christmas Cards in the shops. If there was a Treatyite equivalent I never heard of it, even though the constituency usually returned a Fine Gael TD—along with a Fianna Fail and a Labour one.

Barry Keane separates the Ballygroman killings from the Dunmanway killings on legal grounds. The Dunmanway killings were murders, but "*Herbert Woods had clearly broken the law when he killed Michael O'Neill, and the Hornibrooks apparently helped him resist arrest*" (p202).

Which law—which jurisdiction—was Woods accountable to in April 1922? As a British loyalist he had never recognised the legitimacy of the Republican system of law established by the Irish democracy And Britain, when dictating the 'Treaty' at the point of a gun, did not make an agreement with another jurisdiction whose legitimacy it recognised—it was making a deal with an amenable bunch of 'rebels' and setting them up as a State under Crown authority. And the Treatyites, by committing themselves to setting up a State on British authority according to the terms of the 'Treaty', also committed themselves to setting aside the Republican system of law.

It might be argued that it was the Dail which decided to do this, but the effective power in the doing of it was the British Government. The Dail of itself could not have raised the Army which Collins raised with active British support in 1922. Its role was to agree, by a small majority, to facts accomplished by Collins and the

British Government. It felt powerless to do otherwise and therefore it did agree. And if it is said that matters had never been put squarely to it, and that it did not realise what it was agreeing to, that explanation does not erase the fact that it agreed *de facto* to the delegitimising of the system of law that it established in 1919-21

Free State law was not Republican law under a new name. There was no continuity of jurisdiction from the Republic to the Free State. A book was published about twenty years ago about the abolition of the Republican law system, and I didn't notice any denials that it was abolished by the Free State. (I forget the author's name.)

In the transition from the Republic to the Free State by way of the Provisional Government, the Treatyite leaders tried to camouflage what they were doing. I imagine that some of them hid it from themselves. As far as possible, it had to be made to appear that the Dail was doing things of its own volition, without looking too closely at what those things were.

The 'Treaty' signified an acceptance by its supporters of the legitimacy of British authority in 1919-21. Law was therefore a very uncertain thing under the Provisional Government.

I think one should be very sparing with reference to law in unsettled situations.

And likewise with the word "*sectarian*" when a difference of religion is discovered in an incident.

Religious difference and conflict was not something that arose within Irish society. It was brought about by state-sponsored colonisation. For hundreds of years Protestants and Catholics were different peoples. From the mid-16th century to the early 19th the State in Ireland was Protestant. For much of that period it aimed to free Ireland of Catholics or Catholicism. That is what I would understand as sectarian.

If in Irish the same word was used for Protestant and foreigner, that expressed a fact of life as actually encountered. Protestantism was an English State intrusion into Irish life which aimed to displace the native population by means of English/Welsh/Scottish Protestant colonial agencies of the sectarian British State.

The Irish had to survive as Catholics because it was as Catholics that they were marked down for destruction by a sectarian State whose capacity for genocide was demonstrated in other parts of the world. The sign under which they were to be

destroyed was the sign under which they had to survive.

Romanist doctrinal Catholicism was not strongly developed amongst the Irish until the English Reformation set about destroying them as Catholics. It was because Roman discipline had little grip on them that the Pope authorised Catholic Norman England—a secular arm of the Papacy—to take them in hand. But, on the whole, the Normans in Ireland went Irish instead of fastening Rome on Ireland. It was only when the English State, when declaring itself an Empire, made up a new religion for itself as an instrument of State, placed colonies in Ireland imbued with the fanaticism of the new religion, and set about destroying the Irish as Roman Catholics, that the wayward Irish Catholics began to be RC in earnest.

Gaelic culture did not have the internal resources necessary for survival against the Protestant Empire. So the Gaels turned to the Catholic component of their culture, under whose sign the Empire was destroying them. And, by absorbing Rome, they enabled themselves to defy Whitehall.

The Irish/Catholics got the vote in the 1790s. Britain was allied with Rome against France, and Whitehall compelled the Protestant Parliament in Dublin to allow the Irish to vote in Parliamentary elections. But the Anti-Catholic Oath remained a condition of entering Parliament until 1829. So no Catholic could be elected. The English State Church in Ireland was dis-Established only in 1869. The secular colonial foundation established under the Penal Laws, Protestant landownership, remained in place until 1903. It was only then that the main economic ground of disagreement began to be removed.

But the effects of such a long regime of sectarian oppression did not vanish overnight. William O'Brien and Canon Sheehan's *All For Ireland League* appealed to the Protestant community, now that it was relieved of its white man's burden in Ireland, to join their new departure in national politics. But the Protestant community stayed aloof for the most part. Then the Irish voted to set up their own independent Government in 1918, and they defended this Government against British military rule, and judging by the *Church of Ireland Gazette*, there was widespread Protestant expectation that Britain would find a way of putting down the Irish yet again.

What is the meaningful use of the word "*sectarian*" in all of this, as applied to

people on the ground in Cork? It is obvious that the Catholics were not only Catholic and the Protestants were not only Protestant.

Michael O'Donoghue's paragraph on Dunmanway says to me that he took little interest in that incident. His mind was on the working out of the 'Treaty', and the Treatyite/Anti-Treatyite campaign against Northern Ireland in Donegal. He has much about the Hales brothers, who took different sides on the 'Treaty' but showed no signs of going to war against each other. Sean, the Treatyite, was TD for the area, and he continued as Battalion Commander in the IRA right up to the 'Civil War'.

Keane sometimes refers to "*the anti-Treaty IRA*" and sometimes to "*the IRA*". But it doesn't appear that there were two IRAs in West Cork in the Spring of 1922. There was just the IRA, which was overwhelmingly anti-Treatyite in sentiment, but included Treatyites in prominent positions.

In West Cork there was the political business of holding things together, despite the Treaty. In Donegal there was a war to be fought. When O'Donoghue was called back North, Tom Hales (Brigade leader and Anti-Treaty) asked him to take Con Crowley with him as Crowley, "*a tough little gunman*" was feeling restive. He did so. And it appears that Crowley behaved well in the North when there were others who didn't.

During a night raid into Derry, a cyclist strayed across their path and had to be stopped and questioned. A Derry city Volunteer—

"thrust the muzzle of a revolver into the stranger's face and asked him threateningly: 'What religion are you?' I was shocked and disgusted. It was my first experience of sectarian animosity in Ulster and to see an armed IRA man acting like a truculent and venomous religious bigot angered me" (p236).

When two bodies of people are at war, and a military operation is being conducted in doubtful territory, it is necessary to identify a chance encounter as friend or enemy. And the efficient way to do that is by using the language of the conflict, rather than by use of evasive circumlocutions.

Partition had been enacted by this time and Northern Ireland had been set up as an enclave of Protestant devolved government in the British state, isolated from British political life. So, *Catholic or Protestant?* was the question whose answer would tell you with 99.9% accuracy what you needed to know.

In West Cork things were different. The Protestant colony had not developed as a rounded society, as in the North. It had never been more than a ruling stratum over natives. Its privileged position had been seriously eroded during the previous half-century. Many were returning home as their State gave way to the natives. Some had gone native. And those who remained in an attitude of aloofness were not drawn up in battle array, as Protestant Ulster was.

In Cork there were some actual Protestant Republicans and, with the hope of a comprehensive British restoration undermined by the Truce, the ground was prepared for the emergence of the kind of 'patriotic' Treatyism expressed by the *Church of Ireland Gazette*. Protestantism as a social body was in decline independently of the politics of the moment, because of the shrinking presence of the British State on which it depended. It was a necessary adaptation, but was nonetheless painful for that, as is evidenced by the *Gazette*. And, no matter how tactfully the national movement handled the situation, further decline was in prospect. The loss, and abandonment, of one's heart's desire is not invigorating. But a tactful approach by Republicans, even to the extent of pretending that the difference had never been over anything more than Transubstantiation, made good political sense.

But things worked in reverse in the North. Ulster Protestants would tend to be aggravated, rather than conciliated, by a kindly attitude intended to ease their adaptation to their destiny in the inevitable order of things. (In my experience of more recent times, it was John Hume

much more than any blunt Republican, who caused the hairs at the back of Protestant necks to bristle. They could not bear "*Humespeak*" about reconciliation.)

Barry Keane suggests that the "*Civil War*" started happening long before the shelling of the Four Courts. I suppose that is a way of warding off the idea that it was ordered by Whitehall. But O'Donoghue does not describe a situation of incipient civil war in West Cork in the Spring of 1922. Sean Hales, before the Dail meeting on whether to submit to the 'Treaty', had given an undertaking that, whatever others did, he would vote against, but under influence in Dublin he voted for. Yet, when a Treatyite meeting was held in Bandon in March 1922:

"The verbal exchanges... between Sean Hales and the IRA hecklers were in a friendly strain, jocular and witty rather than critical, and Sean, a very jovial man, revelled in the repartee..."

And Tom Hales, "*a very serious, solemn man, who had survived barbaric torture in the hands of the Essex Regiment... and who abhorred compromise and expediency*", proposed a peace formula:

"We (the IRA) do not accept the Treaty (Articles of Agreement), but we do accept the position brought about by the Treaty" (p245 of Witness Statement).

And in Donegal the sense of impending civil war was even less in the early Summer of 1922.

Anti-Treatyites drawn from West Cork joined forces with Treatyites to implement the policy of the Provisional Government to abort Northern Ireland by making war on it, i.e. by making war on Britain, which was the creator of the Provisional Government—because Northern Ireland was never more than a region of the British state.

Was this a kind of lunacy through which Collins concealed from himself the consequence of his hustling of his colleagues into signing the 'Treaty' without the authority of their Government? It seems to be of a kind with the mad escapade in which he got himself killed. Or was it a tactic to draw away some of the soldiers from West Cork and have them there in Donegal, under the wing of the Provisional Government, ready for rounding up when the moment came?

Joe Keenan, in a series of articles in *Irish Political Review* some years ago, described the catastrophic consequences for Belfast Republicans of Collins's actions in May-June 1922. And Michael O'

Donoghue describes how the 'Civil War' caught him completely by surprise in Donegal.

Whitehall allowed Collins to play at war against the militia of the "*Northern Ireland state*"—as Cork University now insists on describing it—but, when Treatyite/Republican force became too strong for the Specials, the Northern Ireland facade was instantly discarded. In the Belleek/Pettigo affair,

"The British reacted swiftly and ferociously. A whole brigade of troops moved up from Enniskillen to attack... The Free State forces were in occupation of Pettigo on the Donegal-Fermanagh border; their Republican allies held Belleek Fort in Co. Fermanagh. Fifteen Free State soldiers were killed, dozens wounded, and the rest forced to surrender..." (p279, Witness Statement).

The Republicans in Donegal expected a British offensive against them, but what happened was that "*Michael Collins was called to London to explain the warlike activities of the Free State Army in Ulster. He went*" (p281).

Southern Republicans were given a spell of home leave, and brought others with them on their return. The British approached them under a flag of truce and gave them an ultimatum to clear their forces out of Tyrone and Derry. They replied that they didn't recognise the Border:

"We expected a heavy British onslaught after this defiant reply, but the British forces never moved against us. They contented themselves with holding the line of the River Foyle. Less than a fortnight later, Free State troops were to attack us suddenly and unexpectedly, while British Crown forces sat tight watching the new developments with amazement, amusement, and not a little relief" (p295).

Having taken their Republican allies by surprise by springing war on them, the Treatyites leaders in the area asked for a meeting with Charlie Daly, who was in command of the Republican forces. Free State General Joe Sweeney and Col. Glennon were taken to meet Daly under guarantee of safe conduct. Daly was agreeable to a military truce with Free State forces but not to recognition of Free State authority demanded by Sweeney. There was a feeling among Northern Republicans that Sweeney and Glennon should be ambushed on the way back to their own lines, but Daly ensured their safe return:

"Did Joe Sweeney ever know that he owed his safe return and probably his life

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Note: a reasonable account of the 2013 Conference on the Civil War is available on www.theirishstory.ie

that fateful day to Charlie Daly? He hardly did. For, seven months later, he ordered the shooting of Daly by a Free State firing squad in Drumboe Castle after having kept him four months a prisoner of war" (310).

Daly, *"the soul of honour himself... could hardly believe that any republican soldier could stoop to such treachery"* as to dishonour the pledge of safe conduct.

On a properly modern view of these things—as expressed, for example, by Professor Garvin of University College, Dublin—honour is an antiquated, *"pre-political"* sentiment indulged in by Munster Republicans. Assuming that Sweeney had the outlook proper to a constructor of states in the progressive authoritarian manner praised by Garvin, knowing that Daly had saved his life would have made no difference to his treatment of Daly.

The sentiment of honour certainly played no discernible part in the constructing of the Free State, or in the construction of Northern Ireland, or in Collins' policy on the North, or in the abandoning of Collins's Northern policy by his Treatyite successors.

Joe Keenan has described the catastrophic consequences for Belfast Catholics of Collins's Northern Treatyite policy. Barry Keane now suggests that Anti-Treatyism was responsible for the killing of Protestants in Dunmanway. The case he argues is entirely circumstantial. But the actual Treaty situation is barely present in it. And his Collins is the hero-figure painted by American journalist Hayden Talbot—whose other book is about *"Hunland"*—based his book on conversations with Collins in 1922. It was rejected by Collins's colleagues when it was published after his death.

If rejection of the Treaty is to be held responsible for a murderous massacre in Dunmanway, a more comprehensive view of the Treaty situation is required than Barry Keane gives.

And, while from a busy revisionist/propagandist viewpoint it may be seen to be trivial quibbling to question the use of the word *"massacre"* about the Dunmanway killings, surely historians should use words as closely as possible to their essential meanings. I found it advantageous to do so even in current politics during the recent war in the North, but it should be obligatory on historians to use emotive words carefully. Eoghan Harris and Peter Hart said *"massacre"*. Harris

'Assassination' Of Collins

Part of this letter appeared in the *Irish Times*, 24.3.14

I'm sure Brendan Behan would have had something to say on your editorial reference to the *"assassination"* of Michael Collins, who died fighting, armed and in uniform amongst comrades similarly employed, armed and dressed.

The commemorative edition of *An Saorstát*, dated 29th August 1922, carried pieces by Piaras Beaslai, Pádraig Ó Conaire and others of the General's articulate supporters, none of whom referred to assassination or assassins. Bernard Shaw, who penned a tribute to Collins did not use those terms.

However the vain, venal, corrupt and stupid British Colonial Secretary, Jimmy Thomas described the death of Collins as *"murder"* to Sean T O Ceallaigh, on a visit to Dublin in the 1930s, and was surprised when the genial Sean T challenged that categorisation.

I'm sure Brendan Behan would have advised Thomas to have a Mass said for himself.

Donal Kennedy

denounced me forty years ago because I made a case for the Northern Protestants. He would now denounce me for not rubbishing the Catholic side, but cannot name me because of the Right of Reply. His mind flip-flops in response to the fashion of the moment. It is essentially anti-historical.

Hart would probably have been a good historian if he had not been under orders from Professor Fitzpatrick. (He was trying to regain integrity when he died.) And the scenario he set out under orders probably merit the term *"massacre"*—a bout of indiscriminate killing of Protestants. But Barry Keane argues that there was considerable discrimination in the killings. The victims were selected individually because they had acted for the Occupying Power against the elected Government, the stimulus for this being the killing of Michael O'Neill by a servicing British

officer. I don't think he proves his case. But that is his hypothesis. And the word *massacre* doesn't fit that bill.

Ten or fifteen years ago a charge of massacre was brought against Israel for a spate of indiscriminate killings of Palestinians—indiscriminate of anything but that they were Palestinians in a particular place. Some United Nations body considered the matter and concluded, as far as I recall, that it was not a massacre because only fifty had been killed. In Dunmanway only ten were killed—I can see no reason to include the Hornibrooks and Woods, or the four British secret service men discovered in Macroom a day or two earlier—and they were singled out over a wide area and dealt with individually in spaced out actions.

Massacre: indiscriminate slaughter.
Chambers Dictionary

Brendan Clifford

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Does
It
Up

Stack
?

UKRAINE AND CRIMEA

The Crimea is not part of the Ukraine state—it came to be governed from the Ukraine from a time from when Khrushchev handed it over to the Ukrainian Socialist Republic in 1954 to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty in 1654 under which Russia took over sovereignty of Ukraine and Crimea, which were up to then a colony of Poland. Poland limped along after the 1654 Treaty until, in the Partitions of 1773 and 1793, the Commonwealth finally collapsed in 1795—the western half going to Prussia and Austria and the eastern half to Russia. The Poles remained as a nation but without a state.

Fighting and squabbling continued between Ukrainians and Poles, not least because the old Polish gentry in the Ukraine carried on, much as the colonial Anglo-Irish did in Ireland, to pretend that they were still the rulers. These genteel families in the Ukraine were nearly more Polish than the Poles. For example, Joseph Conrad, who was born Jozef Teodor Konrad Korzeniowsky in the village of Terehovye which is about 140 kilometres south of Kiev, i.e. in deepest Ukraine, always described himself as Polish. Josef's father was put in gaol for anti-Russian activities. His house in the village is still there today used as a school. He and his family always thought of themselves as Polish Catholics. Josef joined the French Navy. At the height of his writing career, he referred to himself as Captain Conrad and gave his history as a British sea captain and a former seaman of the British navy. He is known to have gone home to Terehovye once only.

Many of the 'Ukrainian Poles' fought with Napoleon against Russia. Most of the population of Ukraine were Pro-Russia and they did not get on with the gentry who sided with France or with anyone except Russia. The Crimean changed hands four times between 1918 and 1920. The gentry tended to be better placed to get Government jobs and, by the First World War, when the Ukraine and Polish Partisans were fighting each other over Galicia after the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed, the Ukrainian nationalists carried out an assassination campaign against Polish Government officers in Ukraine. Similar fighting and killing went

on during and after the Second World War, after which there was a considerable population movement which to some extent quietened things down between the Poles and Ukrainians in Ukraine.

The Crimeans think of themselves as Russian and in 1991 when Gorbachev, the Russian President, held a referendum on keeping the Union together, 88% of Crimeans voted in favour. However in true modern democratic style, after an intense propaganda campaign, there was another vote nine months later and in a low turnout of voters, Crimea voted in favour of Ukraine independence by a margin of 4%. But the Crimean Regional Parliament has remained pro-Russian and has passed "*independence*" motions and held a referendum in 1994 which voted in favour of a dual Russian-Ukrainian citizenship. Yuri Mekhhkov, before he was voted out, managed to get through a decision under which Crimea is now using Moscow time.

In my opinion, the Ukraine Government in Kiev would be well advised to let Crimea go to Russia and maintain a positive neighbourliness towards Russia and Crimea. This would be the pragmatic way to deal with the situation and to ensure peace in the area. Interference in the area by the USA and by USA proxies in Europe has caused a lot of distress and damage in Ukraine and Ukraine should refuse to be manipulated into a war.

The extent of manipulation of international opinion by USA is very obvious and almost laughable if it was not so serious. The USA is now, and has been for a number of years, the greatest terrorist state on Earth. It is no longer a democracy due to the lobbying strength of its corporate sector, representing commercial interests rather than the people's interests. The commercial/corporate interests are for short-term profits and not for long-term survival. Look where it brought the UK to.

Because Germany was overtaking and surpassing the UK in commercial ability and technical expertise at the start of the twentieth century, the UK plotted and planned a war against Germany for twelve years and it came about in 1914. *Sleepwalking into war*, as it was called by one recent UK author. But it was no sleepwalking. The war did not just "*break out*"—it was carefully planned and UK declared war on Germany, And although Germany wanted to stop the war, the UK would have none of that and the war was prosecuted until not only Germany but also the Austro-Hungarian Habsburg Empire and the Turkish Empire were all destroyed, at considerable damage to

Russia and of course a colossal loss of life. The USA at that time waited on the sidelines to leave the UK and the British Commonwealth to be irreparably damaged and it was not until 1917 that the USA joined in the war to pick up the booty, which it proceeded to do after 1918.

In 1939 again the UK declared war on Germany on 3rd September 1939, against the wishes of its citizens—the British people were tired of war. But the war propaganda was ramped up and up until the war was represented as necessary to a people frightened of being invaded. There was little danger of invasion. Hitler was not Julius Caesar nor was he William of Normandy. But the British people were frightened into submission to the will of the hidden elite who wanted a war for profit. And who profited? It was corporate business and the top politicians who profited. Mr. Churchill ended up a millionaire as a direct result of war.

The war was won at enormous cost by Russia and its Red Army. Again in the Second World War the USA held back to leave the UK suffer maximum damage which it did. The British Commonwealth was impoverished. The Germans were forced to make enormous payments as "*reparations*" to supposedly replace the damaged buildings among other excuses. But it did not stack up because, although I and thousands of other Irish people worked on the London building sites in the 1950s, the new buildings were owned by US corporations and I remember being in Southampton and Portsmouth in 1969 and 1970 and both cities were still then like bombed-out sites, the roads and streets defined only by broken foot-paths. Where did all the reparations go to? To whom were they paid? To where were they funnelled?

But I digress. War is a bad business and it is those furthest from the war who profit most. In today's case it looks very like the USA will stand to profit and the countries which may suffer will be made to pay. The EU countries should not be pawns for the USA as they have been for years past. The US idea of sanctions against Russia is a derisory idea—the EU countries have more to lose by sanctions than has Russia.

Ireland has a lot to lose because, if Ireland continues to blindly support USA, then Russia would be very foolish not to retaliate. We get much of our energy from Russian coal, oil and gas and it will cost us dearly if Russia perceives us as an enemy. Russia is far more important to Ireland than the USA is. In the *Irish Examiner*, 21st March 2014, the economist Jim Power

wrote an anti-Russian propaganda piece with a personal attack on President Putin who he described as: "*a power hungry ego-maniac who appears hell bent on re-asserting Russia's influence in the region*". There is no evidence produced for this *ad-hominem* attack and certainly there is factually no need for Russia to be 're-asserting' its influence. Russia has always had great influence in the region and it does not need to assert itself. It is there. The USA is there also but it should not be there and it should get out if it wants peace. But, by reneging on a deal with Gorbachev, where NATO promised it would not extend itself eastwards and then did exactly that, what message was that giving Russia? If the USA wants peace then it has got to act like it wants it instead of these war-games manoeuvres it is intent on starting according to the latest news.

SYRIA

Does the USA want peace in Syria? All the evidence is that it does not. Russia forced the USA to back down on its attempts to invade Syria and the face-saving (for USA) deal brokered by President Putin was that Syria would hand over its "chemical weapons". Did Syria have chemical weapons? All the NATO members have chemical weapons and so maybe Syria had also. But that is not the point. The point is to make an international show of taking "weapons" from Syria. However, in the March 2014 edition of *Sea Breezes*, an Isle of Man magazine, there is an article on the "*Syrian Crisis*" entitled "*Chemical Materials to be shipped to Ellesmere Port*". Ellesmere Port is in the UK and there a French waste disposal company called 'Veolia Environment' is to dispose of "*B-Precursors*" chemicals shipped with great ceremony from Syria. These "*B-Precursors*" are designated by the "*organising authorities as Priority Two chemicals*". (We are being given an apparent wealth of corroborative detail so as to give a degree of verisimilitude to an otherwise pale and unconvincing tale!)

Syria is being made to pay and sharing the loot will be at least seven countries—the USA, Russia, China, Denmark, Norway, UK and Italy—all of which are involved providing shipping, warships for protection, and chemical, biological radiological, nuclear and other technical expertise. The Italian Transport Minister Maurizio Lupi is reported to have said on 16th January 2014 that "*60 containers of material will be transferred ship-to-ship in the port of Gioia Tauro in Calabria in Southern Italy and none would be taken ashore*". Just picture that: ships rolling over and back in the swell, as ships do, and

60 containers of weapons-grade chemicals being craned from ship-to-ship!

Apparently just for show, because the normal procedure is for cargo to be loaded in the port of origin and be delivered to port of destination.

Just how dangerous are these chemical weapons? Well, by the time they arrive at Ellesmere Port apparently, the chemicals are not so dangerous because when the local people at Ellesmere Port objected to their home town being used to process such dangerous chemicals, the Veolia company said:

"B-Precursors are chemicals used routinely in the pharmaceutical industry in the UK and are similar in nature to standard industrial materials safely processed on a regular basis at Ellesmere Port. These are industrial grade chemicals as opposed to chemical weapons."

GUILDS continued

For foreign craftsmen there were special national brotherhoods. At Rome, for instance, there were special associations for German cordwainers and German bakers, and there was a German confraternity for all Germans.

The decline of the Italian craft Guilds began in the 16th century. In Rome they were abolished in 1807 by Pope Pius VII, and by the middle of the 19th century they had disappeared in all Italian cities.

SPAIN

Next to Italy, Spain was perhaps most influenced by Roman civilisation; and of all the barbarians who invaded Europe, the Visigoths who came to Spain were most inclined to retain Roman institutions. After that, the Arabs came and for 700 years development took a different path. Even so, the guilds in Spain were protected by the municipalities and by the State, and hence they became an influential social element in urban life. From the end of the unsettled period consequent on the Arab invasion—i.e., from the 14th century—the Kings made general laws to regulate not only the inner life of the guilds, but also wages, working-hours, and technical conditions of production in each craft.

SCOTLAND

The Guild history of Scotland is very different from that of England in spite of the nearness of the countries to each other. Indeed, nothing like Guilds seems to have arisen in Scotland till the 15th century; and at that time each craft was not self-

It sure does not stack up! It's like a 3-card trick or a Thimble-rigger. Weapons chemicals are loaded at Latakia in Syria and industrial chemicals are carried up the Manchester Ship Canal and unloaded at Ellesmere Port in the UK!

The Veolia plant in Ellesmere Port is a "*High Temperature Incineration facility*". I would not like to be downwind on the night of the action.

And then, there are the A-Precursors. Well, these are "*to be disposed of in International Waters separately*". Does this mean dumped at sea? The mind boggles at the enormous complexity of it all! What about the poor fishes and the dolphins? And what exactly is being caught in the nets of fishermen to be brought home and consumed by us all? It just doesn't bear thinking about really and it sure does not stack up.

Michael Stack ©

regulated, but regulated by an official (called a deacon) who was appointed by the town, the town itself being ruled by a mercantile aristocracy. The earliest reference to an effort by the crafts to secure from the merchants of Edinburgh due participation in the government of the city seems to be dated 1508. They wanted to be regarded as qualified to serve in the town offices and to be represented on the city council, but the reply they received was that the Council would make no such change except on the advice of the King and the Parliament.

The struggle between the crafts and the mercantile aristocracy continued until the 19th century, and did not end in victory as did a similar struggle on the Continent.

In Scotch boroughs the exclusive privilege of trading was abolished in 1846 by Act of Parliament. "*It shall be lawful*", it states, "*for any person to carry on or deal in merchandise, and to carry on or exercise any trade or handicraft, in any burgh and elsewhere in Scotland, without being a burghess of such burgh, or a guild brother, or a member of any guild, craft, or incorporation*" (Gross).

To be continued.

References: CLUNE, Rev. George—*The Medieval Gild System*-Dublin-1943; GROSS, Charles—*The Gild Merchant*-Oxford-1890; THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA, New York-1913; BRENTANO, Lujo, *The History and Development of Gilds and the Origin of Trade Unions*-London-1870; Cambridge Medieval History-1911; TAWNEY, R. H.—*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*-London-1938.

GUILDS continued

abolished the gilds; but such an outcry was raised that he was dismissed and the gilds were resurrected. But not for long!

"In March, 1791, the following Article was passed: "From April 1 next, inclusive, every citizen will be free to carry on whatever profession or trade seems good to him, after having procured and paid for a licence". This was the end of the gild monopoly. In June 1791, a further Article was passed which made all forms of private or semi-private organisation illegal.

"Citizens of the same condition or profession, middlemen, those who keep open shops, workmen and *compagnons* of whatever art, may not, when they find themselves together, nominate president, secretary, syndic, keep registers, pass resolutions, make regulations for what they claim to be their common interests, or bind themselves by agreements leading to the concerted refusal or to the granting only at a certain price of the help of their industry and labours".

Thus every employer and every worker was isolated compulsorily when making a wage-contract, and this isolation was enforced in the name of freedom.

In Holland, where they were never strong, the Guilds counted for little after 1766; and in Tuscany it was decided in 1770 that in order to ply a trade it was sufficient to be inscribed once and for all in a general register, and that one might follow a second calling or open more than one shop on paying a fee of £2.

GERMANY

In German towns in the 11th century there were privileged merchants who carried on foreign trade. They were few, but they held a position of supremacy in their towns, and in the 13th century they proceeded to use their influence and their authority oppressively.

From this merchant Guild—and also from full citizenship—the poor were excluded through want of a property qualification; and when, later, the poor and the craftsmen became identical, ordinances were passed—in German, Flemish, and Danish Guilds—that no one "with dirty hands", or "with blue nails", or "who hawked his wares in the streets", should be accepted as a member, and that craftsmen who desired to be admitted should have forsworn their craft for a year and a day. Indeed, the craftsman was not merely excluded from the German Guild Merchant; he was governed, even governed oppressively, by it. (*Brentano*).

In Germany the craft Guilds, in which

we are more interested, became numerous and of importance in the 13th century. In Ulm, for instance, there were towards the end of the 15th century so many weavers there in one year 200,000 pieces of linen were produced; and in 1466 there were in Augsburg 743 master linen-weavers.

As in other countries, there was a very close connection between religion and the daily life of the German Guildsman. Labour was regarded as the complement of prayer, as the foundation of a well-regulated life. In *A Christian Admonition* we read:

"Let the societies and brotherhoods so regulate their lives according to Christian love in all things that their work may be blessed. Let us work according to God's law, and not for reward, else shall our labour be without blessing and bring evil on our souls". (*The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1913)

German Craft-Guilds were sometimes federated, these federations extending over much of the country. Thus, Brentano tells us that in the middle of the 14th century the Cutlers' Guilds were organised in four great fraternities, and that all the big differences and disputes which could not be settled by the separate gilds were legally decided by these federations.

GUILD ABUSES

As in England and France, abuses appeared in Germany. The sons of masters were not bound to the usual apprenticeship, to the normal period of "travelling", to the production of a masterpiece, or to the entrance-fee. As a rule, journeymen were forbidden to marry, whereas it was required that the masters be married. Sometimes the aspirant to mastership was required to point out an "honourable and virtuous" maiden as his future wife; and when he had done so, her ancestry was subject to the same close scrutiny as his own—unless she happened to be the daughter or widow of a master.

The German Guilds sought to exclude whole classes on the ground of infamy of birth, and the State was compelled to intervene to prevent such exclusion from being made operative.

Towards the end of the 16th century the Guild system was working badly because of its narrow exclusiveness and because it was becoming a mere benefit society and a closed preserve for a small number of masters' families. When things reached this pass, it was time that the institution be suppressed. "It is significant", writes Tawney, "that the most striking of the projects of political and social reconstruction produced in Germany in the century

before the Reformation proposed the complete abolition of gilds, as intolerably corrupt and tyrannical".

Guild abuses were brought to the notice of the Government in the 16th and 17th centuries, but only in the 19th century were the Guilds abolished piecemeal in the different German states.

GUILD SPIRIT SURVIVES

Even so, a great number of them survived as voluntary associations. In 1872, freedom of industry became the law of the land for all Germany; but in 1884 a semi-official status was conferred on the industrial associations which survived, and the right to employ apprentices was confined to gild members. This had the effect of making Guild membership compulsory in the handicrafts, where apprentice labour was indispensable. In 1897 local authorities were given power to sanction compulsory Guilds. By 1904 about 3,000 such bodies were set up, and by 1914 their membership was 500,000 (one-third of the handworkers in Germany). They were encouraged by the government as a means of protection for the handworker and as agencies for the technical training of young craftsmen.

After World War I, this system of organisation was developed further. In 1931 there were 11,525 compulsory Guilds with a membership of 783,651, and at the same time there were 6,143 voluntary gild with 193,967 members.

ITALY

The Guild system in Italy was substantially the same as that elsewhere in Europe. Its purposes—economic, industrial, social, and religious—were the same, and its organisation was the same, except that the officers were usually elected for a period not exceeding six months. With regard to the Guild Merchant, it "in some places dominated over or regulated the crafts; in a few towns it was merely on an equality with the latter; in many places it was a union of various mercantile and industrial fraternities, as was sometimes the case in England". (*Gross*)

The Italian craft Guilds had to fight their way in the 13th century into the municipal government, and reached the apex of their power in the 14th century.

"Strictly protectionist, as they were, the Arts everywhere... wherever in fact they developed freely, succeeded in producing, without setbacks and without ruinous crisis; they performed miracles of ability and resource in a time of political instability and danger, and in the face of endless difficulties" (*Cambridge Medieval History*).

continued on page 26



Guilds in Europe

The Guild idea was the same everywhere: that of a group of traders, or of craftsmen, or of both, associated to protect, if necessary, and to advance their own interest and at the same time to promote the interest of the consumer and of the entire community. This idea took different shapes in different countries and even in neighbouring towns, but it was essentially the same and expressed itself in substantially the same way everywhere.

In Western Europe the Guild Merchant is not mentioned before the middle of the 11th century and does not come into prominent notice before the 12th century. The Guild Merchant in England differs in some respects. In the first place, the institution is rarely mentioned as one of the liberties granted in a Municipal Charter, being, generally speaking, established by virtue of a special Charter. And, in the second place, the Guild Merchant had quite early come to represent the better-off classes, the employers and the traders as distinguished from the craftsmen, and tried to prevent the craft guilds from acquiring a share in its privileges.

In some places the craftsmen were admitted to membership in the 12th century, but this was exceptional. "*The continental Gild Merchant generally corresponded*", states Gross, "*to the later civic mercantile fraternities of England*".

FIRST CONTINENTAL GUILDS

The craft Guilds first appear on the continent in the 12th century. In France and Germany some of them were very probably originally organisations of artisan serfs on the manors of the great lords. In southern and central France, the Guild was presumably of Roman origin, being a resurrection of the corporations which the Romans had established in western Europe and which were reconstructed on Christian principles after the barbaric invasions.

This can scarcely be said with regard to the origin of the guilds of northern France, and still less with reference to those of the Low Countries.

"But whatever its origin, the organisation could never have developed as it did were it not for the spirit of Christian charity which the Church infused into it and which she alone could infuse" (*The Medieval Gild System*, Rev. George Clune, Dublin, 1943).

The Guilds in France and the Low Countries were similar except in the matter of political importance. In France the despotism of the kings made itself felt by the guilds, which were placed in a position of utter dependence; but in the Low Countries Guild freedom was supported by the fact that the cities were large, that the number of craftsmen was very considerable, and that they were organised into military brotherhoods and were strong enough to hold their own against the feudal armies.

FRANCE

In these, and indeed in all the countries of Europe, the purposes for which the

Guilds were established were much the same as in England.

Their regulations corresponded roughly to those of the English Guilds. In France, for instance, the usual period of apprenticeship was six years, although sometimes it was only three or four, and sometimes was as long as eleven years. There, too, the apprentice was commonly given a small salary at the end of two or three years if the authorities recognised him as a capable workman. The instances of French Guild ordinances go to show that the organisation was after the same model in France as in England.

In time the Guilds in France began to deteriorate, as did those in England. The masters sought to keep mastership in their own family groups; they discriminated against journeymen and in favour of their own sons with regard to apprenticeship, travelling, entrance-fees, and masterpieces.

"In France", writes Brentano, "the Craft-Gilds, after the middle of the 15th century, hardened into the same narrow-mindedness as in England and Germany ... so that as early as 1614 the Third Estate desired the suppression of these Gilds".

It is true, of course, that the new conditions in which the guilds found themselves tended to cause disruption; the market was expanding, the productive unit was growing in size, money was becoming more and more important, and with money went power.

"The masters became societies of capitalists, and the gild-government fell into the hands of the richer members, so much so that for many members, as in England, election-day was simply the day on which they went to the gild-hall to hear the names of the new officials announced.

"In 1776, Turgot, the Prime Minister, feeling that he had sufficient support,

continued on page 27

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