

# IRISH POLITICAL REVIEW

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## Approximate Democracy?

Northern Ireland is now as close to being a democracy as it can possibly be, given that it is bound into an undemocratic political structure as part of a state that excludes it from its political life. It has two-nations devolved government, made functional by the collaboration of Sinn Fein and the DUP, the party founded by Ian Paisley.

DUP leader and 1st Minister Arlene Foster—

"has struck up an easy and warm working relationship with her partner in government—remarkable, really, considering that the IRA almost killed her father and her in separate attacks in her native Fermanagh... 'We get on and we do the work', she says. She doesn't mind the 'Marlene' depiction of herself and the Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness. 'I could be called a lot worse', she says.

"Foster appears smugly satisfied that the UUP and the SDLP did not take up ministries in the... Executive after the May Assembly elections... 'When we had a five-party Executive, we had a lot of internal opposition. We don't have that any more so it allows us to have frank and open discussions at the Executive table and know that it is not going to be leaked' she says, crisply." (*Irish Times* 29.10.16)

The SDLP and the Ulster Unionist Party had the opportunity to establish a functional governing relationship, as the DUP and Sinn Fein have done. But they weren't able for it. The UUP under David Trimble's leadership, and advised by Lord Bew and Eoghan Harris of the Official IRA, prevented the implementation of the Good Friday Agreement until the Unionist electorate got sick of it and turned to Paisley. And the SDLP under the leadership of first Seamus Mallon and then Mark Durkin, while toying with the notion of a full-blooded Coalition with the UUP against the "extremists" (ie, the present governing Coalition) did not have the nerve to put it decisively on the political agenda. It dithered and postured and its electoral support seeped away.

When the UUP began to crumble in Trimble's hands, some of its prominent members defected to the DUP. Arlene Foster was one of them. The formal ground of their opposition to Trimble, in many cases, was that he had consented to the Good Friday

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## Wanted: A World Ruling Class!

Is the world about to lose its Presidency?  
Has the last President of the world been elected?

What is the rational basis of the hysteria with which Europe has responded to the election of Donald Trump? It can hardly be that he was caught by a secret recording making appreciative remarks about women many years ago in a mode which a change in official culture has ruled out of order.

While it is true that Greg Duke says

that, in his career in football, he never heard men make lewd remarks about women, even in the locker room—a fact which suggests that St. Paul's exhortation to all men to become as he was, has borne fruit in the British Isles after 2,000 years—it is still not believable that the fury against Trump results from his being caught out as having an old-fashioned Anglo-Saxon male imagination.

It surely has to do with his expressed intention of leaving the world leaderless. And the European world is appalled by the prospect.

The EU:

## Between The Devil And The Deep Blue Sea?

Francois Mitterand is credited with saying that problems and crises in the EU were to be seen as positive because the project would only strengthen through solving them. An example being the creation of the Euro after German unification to solve the problem that a stronger Germany might create if it was not more fully integrated into the EU and the need was therefore to ensure a European Germany rather than a German Europe. But this approach can tend to hubris and it can tend not to see opportunities that could be even more positive factors for the EU project than crisis solving.

The end of the Cold War provided such an opportunity to build a multi-polar world by promoting a more independent and purposeful EU in world affairs. It had the economic power to do this and it had no political or military threat to its existence or development. But that opportunity was not taken.

The US promoted a unipolar world under the aegis of US *exceptionalism*.

He may not carry out this intention. He may not be able to because the US President is not a Prime Minister with a Legislative majority at his disposal. But has put the US government of the world on the agenda of politics, and the world is bewildered—not least that part of it that used to chatter against US Imperialism.

Obama was the first President to make a blunt assertion of US world dominance. He said that the USA was the only indispensable nation, and that it held an "exceptional" status in world affairs. He

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

Casement's Speech from the Dock - 1916 (back page)

Free Trade—the theory and the reality

by Michael Robinson

(page 34)

Agreement and was soft on Sinn Fein. And then the DUP, reinforced with recruits from the UUP, made a working arrangement with Sinn Fein within the terms of the Good Friday Agreement. That is the kind of thing that happens on the opportunist ground of democratic politics.

Northern Ireland, in the hands of Paisley, Adams and McGuinness, came to resemble a democracy sufficiently for it to happen there.

When the SDLP began to crumble because Mallon was locked into a doctrinaire but superficial Constitutionalism on a Hibernian base there was no defection from the SDLP to Sinn Fein. The SDLP leaders had been making Constitutionalist debating points for so long that they had become incapable of movement in the real world.

The SDLP and UUP have, in their decline, finally got around to forming a kind of Coalition of negativity. They decided after the last Election not to take up the Government Departments to which their vote and entitled them, and they had

got the Agreement amended so that they might have the official title of *Opposition* (with some funding for the role). But the structure of the Agreement has no actual place for an Opposition in the sense of an alternative Government which is waiting to win an Election. The SDLP and UUP refuse to take up their seats in government, and they do not, as an Opposition, shadow the Government Departments held by the DUP and Sinn Fein; and they do not have an agreed programme of government to implement in the extremely unlikely event of winning a majority of Assembly seats at the next Election.

What they do is snipe, from an implicitly anti-Agreement position, at the two parties that have superseded them and made the Agreement function.

But they snipe from opposite extremes. And, if by a miracle they did win an Election, they would quickly find themselves back where they were in the days of Trimble and Mallon.

The present position of the two parties is reminiscent of the old permanent minority status of the Nationalist Party under Stormont, only now the SDLP has

voluntarily accepted that position. The UUP is trying to connect with an atavistic majority-rule sentiment in the Unionist electorate and it is strange to find the successor to the old 'Nationalist Party' working along with that. Such is Hibernianism.

\*

The Alliance Party under David Ford declined to take up its entitlement to the Justice portfolio (to which it was entitled not under its share of the popular vote but under a DUP/Sinn Fein deal which brought about some devolution of policing) unless the Power-Sharing arrangements of the GFA were superseded by a weighted majority rule system. This policy had not appeared in the Alliance election platform. This placed SF and the DUP under some difficulty as neither could consent to the other taking up the role. In the event, with Sinn Fein showing considerable flexibility, a young Independent Unionist representing East Derry, Claire Sugden, the daughter of a Prison Officer, accepted the role and has been doing a good job of it. We cannot say whether Ford's retirement as Alliance leader and replacement by Naomi Long is connected with the failure of Ford's attempt to bring about a Constitutional crisis.

\*

Arlene Foster commented on the 1916 Centenary Commemoration:

"She believes they were handled with 'maturity' but still holds to her position that the Rising was 'an attack on democracy'. She does not, however, believe the Larne loyalist anti-Home rule gun-running of 1914 was an attack on democracy, 'when we... in what became Northern Ireland were... faced with going into an all-Ireland state which we were fundamentally opposed to. There was gun-running that took place at that time, as I understand it, to defend Northern Ireland so I don't think it was an attack on democracy'..."

Detachment of the Six Counties from the Home Rule Bill was a virtual certainty by the time of the Larne gun-running, but the construction of the Six Counties into Northern Ireland, semi-detached from Britain, was un-imagined by the gun-runners. What they wanted was that Ireland should be an integral part of Britain in its political life. That was made impossible by the rise of the Nationalist movement in most of the country. It became possible in the Six Counties when the Ulster Unionists gave up on all-Ireland Unionism in 1916 and agreed to Six County exclusion in the Home Rule Bill. The Ulster Unionist election programme in 1918 was that the Six Counties should become a normal region of the British state. And that is what would have happened

if Westminster had not prevented it by insisting on setting up a Northern Ireland system outside British politics, in an arrangement of communal dominance and politics.

The achievement of the DUP and Sinn Fein is that they have brought about a semblance of democracy, despite the undemocratic structure in which they must function.

And as for the IRA; the War cleared the air and made basic realities visible. It is a delusion of hindsight to suppose that the present condition of things could have been brought about cerebrally.

We have proof of that because that is what we tried to do more than 40 years ago. The actual present always comes out of the actual past. And the major event in the actual past from which the present emerged was the War.

## EU continued

The EU went along with this, with disastrous consequences. At one point in 2003 the world, apart from USUK, eagerly wanted leadership to prevent the planned invasion of Iraq. Chirac was in a position to provide that leadership and prevent the invasion by using the position of France at the UN—and he knew it but bottled it. That was the end of any hope of Europe being an independent force in the world. Russia eventually filled the vacuum, rose to the occasion and is now the State that is the fulcrum of world affairs as the force that solves problems rather than creates them.

Now another opportunity arises when the incoming US President acknowledges Russia's achievement and indicates a new relationship with Russia, which the EU should be supporting. Yet his greatest critics are EU leaders who cannot see what is obvious to Trump and the US electorate and to any objective observer. This is an absurd position for Europe to be in. The internal policies or attitudes of any US President should be of no concern to people outside the US. His foreign policy is what matters for Europe and others. And this policy so far is in many respects entirely positive and realistic. He is not ideological, which is a hugely refreshing break from his opponents at home and abroad. But EU leaders are stuck with Cold War mind sets.

### Wage Levels In America And Germany

American workers have rejected the economic model of recent decades, which has closed 70,000 factories since the Presidency of George W. Bush. Unfortunately, President-Elect Trump is unlikely to drop the wild free market version of Capitalism, in favour of the Social Market approach displayed by countries such as Germany. The figures produced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) show just how badly American workers have fared in comparison with German workers. It reports that the median weekly wage of a full-time American worker in the all-encompassing nonfarm business sector in 2016 was a bare 5 percent (\$17) higher than in 1979, adjusted for inflation. In Germany, by contrast, real wages are 30 percent above 1985 levels. In fact, the average 2.5 percent real wage gains reported by the Statistische Bundesamt (Federal Statistics Office) for German workers in 2015 alone was one-half the *cumulative* rise in median real American weekly wages since 1979 (see <https://www.socialeurope.eu/2016/11/trump-reaganomics-redux>).

Martin Dolphin

Another opportunity for the EU is presented by Brexit. But the EU tried its best to prevent this opportunity arising! It was obvious to the dogs in the street that for decades the UK was the prime disintegrative element in the EU. Brexit should provide a perfect opportunity for more integration among EU members but there is no evidence of it being taken. The UK may well end up being outside the EU, with substantive benefits of being inside, thereby encouraging even more disintegration.

Critics of Trump and Brexit are driven to distraction at this outbreak of commonsense as regards Russia by a US President and by the reality of Brexit. Fintan O'Toole says that Ireland, after trying "*to be everything to everybody... suddenly, our island feels fixed again, stuck between the devil of an EU in crisis and the deep blue sea of an Anglo-American world in the throes of a nervous breakdown*" (Irish Times, 15.11.16).

A crisis is when a person or a people do not know what to do because they don't know what their purpose in life is. That is the EU's crisis and all Fintan has is a wish list to give it a purpose:

"If it is not to go gentle into the good night of Putinisation, it has to declare a new compact with five basic components: fierce resistance to Trump's attack on the Paris climate change accord; a massive EU programme of public investment in infrastructure and sustainable energy, with priority for disadvantaged communities; a disavowal of the disastrous austerity mentality and removal of the excessive and ideologically-driven fiscal rules; a radical programme of democratisation; and a common goal of

directing all policy towards the reduction of social and economic inequalities" (ibid).

But if the EU had a purpose it would have acquired the means to take things like this in its stride. The ECB is printing money at the rate of 60 billion Euro a month, which should solve a lot of the things on Fintan's wish list. It is Keynesianism on speed. But there is no guarantee it will succeed longterm, because there is no EU State to put it to proper use and there is no prospect of one. Without that all this money may well end up driving up asset values and increasing inequalities.

Jack Lane

### Schäuble, the cry baby!

"Several European leaders are still feeling a bit raw about Brexit. Wolfgang Schäuble, the German finance minister, has told colleagues that he cried when he heard that Britain had voted to leave. If emotion were to triumph over cool economic logic—and no agreement is reached—it would hurt both sides. The intensity of feeling shows why British ministers must be extremely careful not to sound as if they are running down the whole EU project. Diplomacy and the national interest require that Britain conveys the message that it wishes the EU every success in future, regardless of how much ministers might privately think that the break-up of the euro would be a good thing."

The Spectator

# Shorts

from  
*the Long Fellow*

## COMMON TAX BASE

EU Commissioner on Economic Affairs Pierre Moscovici has recently published his proposals on a common consolidated tax base (CCTB). Media reports suggest that that the proposals will be mandatory for companies with Revenue greater than 750 million euro and will be voluntary for companies with less than that figure. The two main elements to the proposals are:

- i) Common method of calculating profits.
- ii) Profits to be allocated on the basis of assets, labour and sales.

The common method of calculating profits relates to what expenses are tax deductible. For example what proportion of plant and equipment can be written off over a year? Or how should research and development be treated for tax purposes? At present corporations operating across different countries need to employ tax specialists from each country. A common set of tax rules would eliminate such waste.

Ireland has everything to gain and very little to lose by supporting the first measure. The recent controversy over Apple showed how open and transparent our corporate tax regime is. Margrethe Vestager had an easy job auditing the last twenty five years of Irish corporation tax policy. The general rules are clear and there are relatively few tax rulings relating to specific cases. The number of such rulings in Ireland runs into the hundreds, whereas in Germany and other countries there are tens of thousands of rulings

## ALLOCATION OF PROFITS

The second broad recommendation is more controversial. The Commissioner recommends that profits should be allocated for tax purposes according to assets, labour and sales (*The Irish Times*, 26.10.16). It must be admitted that this is an improvement on a previous proposal, which intended allocating profits according to GDP and country size!

In the October *Irish Political Review* the Long Fellow suggested that profits should be allocated on the basis of the location in which capital is employed. Accordingly, he would not object too strongly to the Commission's proposal to

allocate profits on the basis of assets and labour. But the Irish Government should vigorously oppose any suggestion that profits should be apportioned by the location of sales. Profits should be taxed on the basis of where the wealth is generated and not where the products are bought. A tax based on sales is not a profits tax; it is a sales tax such as VAT.

## HOUSING CRISIS?

The 2016 census has produced some interesting figures on housing. The total housing stock in the country amounts to 2,022,895. Given that the population of the Republic of Ireland is 4,757,976, the average number of people per household is 2.35, which seems low. However, there are only 1,718,465 occupied housing units. So the number of people per occupied unit is slightly higher (2.77). The traditional family unit of four, five or more people is counteracted by a modern trend of people living alone?

But what are we to make of the high number of unoccupied properties in the midst of a housing crisis? Of the 304,430 that are unoccupied 44,868 are categorised as "temporarily absent"; 61,204 are vacant holiday homes; and 198,358 are "other vacant dwelling. The Central Statistics Office includes the vacant holiday homes figure in calculating the vacancy rate. So the vacancy rate (permanently unoccupied housing units divided by total housing stock) equals 12.8%.

An article by the Trinity College economist Ronan Lyons suggests that a more normal vacancy rate is about 5% (*Sunday Independent*, 30.10.16). So, there are about 158,000 more vacant dwelling in the Republic of Ireland over and above what would be typical of other countries. This is an enormous figure given that the number of homeless people (living on the street or in emergency accommodation) is about 6,000.

It is not obvious that this is a legacy of the excesses of the Celtic Tiger. Lyons estimates that only 5,000 of the vacant dwelling are in "ghost estates".

## CAUSES OF VACANCY

So how is our high vacancy rate explained? The short answer is that the State does not impose penalties on idle properties. We have a low property tax, which works out at about 0.18 per cent of the value of the property. In other countries such as the USA and France the rate is more than 6 times this figure. However, it is possible that the introduction of property taxes has had some effect. In 2011 the vacancy rate was 14.4 per cent compared

to the current rate of 12.8 per cent. The low property taxes also mean that there is little incentive to sell property when the children have grown up (the "empty nesters").

Another factor in causing the high vacancy rates is delays in property conveyancing. According to Lyons it takes 3 weeks longer than the UK for the legal formalities of the transfer of property to be completed. If it is considered that there are about 50,000 residential property transactions in a year the stock of available houses could increase by about 3,000 if the conveyancing period were reduced by three weeks (i.e.  $3 \times 50,000/52$ ). Part of the reason for the longer period was the absence of a national property register. But this is now in place thanks to the impetus provided by the introduction of property taxes.

A third explanation for our high vacancy rates is the understaffing in the probate office. Lyons thinks that this is causing delays of 10 weeks. Given that there are about 10,000 such transactions in a year the stock of available houses could increase by about 2,000 (i.e.  $10 \times 10,000/52$ ) if this problem were addressed.

## FAIR DEAL SCHEME

Another element restricting the supply of available houses is the Fair Deal Scheme. This scheme is a means of financing care in private and state owned nursing homes. An elderly person who is no longer able to look after himself is required to give 80% of his income towards the costs of his nursing home care and the State undertakes to finance the balance.

His assets (including cash and property) are also taken into account. The elderly person must contribute 7.5% of his assets per year that he is in care. However, in the case of property the contribution can be deferred until his death. Also, where the person in care owns his own home there is a cap on the contribution required of 22.5% or three years at 7.5% per annum. There is very little incentive to rent out the property that has been vacated since 80% of the rental income will have to be contributed to the nursing home care. Also, there is no incentive to sell the property since if he does this he will not be able to defer the 7.5% annual contribution.

At any one time there are about 25,000 residential properties in the Fair Deal Scheme. It is likely that changes in the scheme could help towards reducing the overall number of vacant houses. For example, rental income from a principal private residence could be excluded from the contribution required by the person in care.

Also, why should the person in care be allowed to defer the 7.5% annual contribution from his principal private residence? Surely, it is in the social interest for the property to be sold and therefore made available for occupancy *in cases where the property is vacant*.

There is no panacea for the housing crisis. Our population continues to rise with net immigration returning in the last 12 months. So, new houses will have to be built. Nevertheless, part of the solution may also involve the politically difficult choice of dismantling the generous supports for home ownership.

## World President?

continued

also said that its power was such that it did not usually have to interfere physically with other states to compel them to do its bidding, though it had often done so and reserved the right to do so again. It was master of the world, except for one or two unruly bits of it—and those bits would be brought to order.

No previous President had said so bluntly that America's "*manifest destiny*" (asserted by John L. Sullivan in the mid-19th century) was the destiny of the world. Obama's heritage is his statement that the world is American. And he had barely uttered it when he lost the election to an upstart who repudiated it.

Obama did not, as retiring President, stand above the electoral fray and let democracy take its course. He said "*Democracy is on the ballot sheet*". And nobody of any eminence in these regions contradicted him. And Democracy lost. It was rejected by disgruntled plebs in its home base.

The American electoral system, as the means by which the world is ruled, was deservedly ridiculed by those who were thrown into existential *angst* by it last month. How could it be that, at the source of world destiny, ignorant plebeians whose jobs had been exported were allowed to vote nationalistically and put the cosmopolitan project in jeopardy?

How can this situation be remedied?

The remedy is clear. If the US President is President of the world, then the world should have some tangible input into the US Election. The progressive elite around the world, whose future is at stake, should not continue to depend on unemployed plebs in Michigan who have no meaningful future. The world stakeholders in the cosmopolitan future projected by Ameri-

can hegemony should be accorded a means of ensuring that only Presidents committed to maintaining, and completing, US world hegemony, should be elected.

Democracy is too serious a matter to be left to the people. It is our highest value, and must be maintained against the people if necessary. That there is a will in the Free World—the world that exists under American hegemony—to use strong measures to save Democracy from the populace, was demonstrated in Egypt when an anarchic election, in which voters voted in accordance with their whims, was set aside and a new government was returned in an Election that was closely monitored and policed by the Army, and was continued over several days until the voters did what Democracy required of them.

True Democracy is the art of manipulating the populace by means of images. Plato showed that to be the case long ago. Unfortunately, the US democracy still bears traces of its crude origins in conquest,

pioneering and genocide, and it was possible for a practising capitalist to blunder into the political sphere, talk about facts which the populace knew to be true from their own direct experience, and upset the applecart.

Aspasia, the courtesan who instructed Socrates about many things, explained to him how Athenian democracy functioned in its great days:

"Government is in the nature of man, and the government of good men is good, and of bad men bad. And I must show you that our ancestors were trained under a good government, and for this reason they were good... Then as now, and indeed always, from that time to this, speaking generally, our government was an aristocracy—a form of government which receives various names, according to the fancies of men, and is sometimes called democracy, but is really an aristocracy or government of the best which has the approval of the many..." (*Plato's Dialogues*, Menexenus, Jowett translation).

Thoughts at the conclusion of the Centenary of 1916

## The Last Man Standing

In the bay, a departing boat sounded its hooter. Along the quays were berthed ships. Gulls came banking and swooping, like paper scraps blown about. The Liffey discharged its aromas, as marching troops approach O'Connell Bridge and entered Dublin's main thoroughfare. The streets were in pandemonium. Hearts were beating faster, but one beat faster than any other. At the head came the Colour Party, led by a young Air Corps officer, who was the standard bearer for the Tricolour.

Things had come full circle. He was a direct descendant of the Cathal Brugha who had shown such valour in the Easter Rising in the South Dublin Union (SDU), where he engaged the British. He taunted them. "*Come on, come on*". Some years later, still defending the Republic, he fell mortally wounded, across the street. A bitter moment, now at last more sweetened, "*Chlé, chlé, chlé!*" [Left.] Onwards they came. Óglaigh na hÉireann were marching the streets. They had seen great days, but none surpassing this. The ghost of Cathal Brugha must have been smiling.

Now all it needed was Judy Garland and her Easter Bonnet. It was Easter 2016. The Rising was being celebrated. The sky was blue and clear. The clouds were still. People were in delight, singing away. Children were everywhere. The

area was full of laughter. "*Please, please, Man Above, don't rain on this Parade.*" The forecast had got it right. Day after day it had bucketted away. Now it had stopped. Umbrellas were redundant. Parasols appeared. 'Somebody Up There' was smiling down.

The city was packed. These streets were overflowing. All along Dame Street, people were lost in joy. An Army Band played the Anthem. Troops marched in column of route, unit after unit, five abreast. Waves of cheering rose and fell. Women, overcome by emotion, began to cry. This was unsurpassed. "*Is breá an rud é, saoirse.*" (Freedom is a bright thing.) The parade was passing College Green, rounding past Trinity. The British eighteen pounders were silent. Pádraig had spoken. They were listening. Now everyone listened. The swirl of the Pipers added to the excitement. Left, right; left, right. They were coming, relentlessly. Phalanx after phalanx. Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching.

The soldiers were young and fit-looking. Immaculately turned out. They moved as one, rhythmically, straightening out as O'Connell Street came into view. Big Dan was looking down upon all he surveyed. The soldiers exuded pride. They

were swanking it. These were their streets. Upright, chests out, stomachs in. Arms were swinging in unison, like pendulums, straight, with closed fists, thumbs pressing in. Weapons on left shoulder. A drummer sounding the beat. Left foot in time with the beat of drum. Tick, tack; Tick, tack. Like a metronome. Passing the Saluting Base at the GPO. On and on they came. "*Dearchaigh fó chlé* (Eyes Left)! The parade passed, behind the Colour Party. Going towards the Parnell Monument, as the crowds cheered. Until, finally, each element had passed, to make its way to its final dispersal point; each element succeeding another, as they passed on and on, seemingly unendingly.

The people became hushed. Then the orators took centre stage. An Taoiseach heaped praise on all and sundry. A chaplain gave a lesson in verbosity, his big words leaving many regretting their lack of erudition. Suddenly, it all went quiet. Once again, people beheld each other. Laughter resumed. This was their celebration.

A young Army Officer very impressively read out The Proclamation. A tUachtarán had inspected a Guard of Honour. Though preferring to be with the proletariat, where I belong, due to certain circumstances I was seated in *Ramóg A*, like a prat, with and unequalled view.\*

The Great Icon of the Rising, the GPO, had been central to it all. It stood there, bullet-riddled, but majestic and of the people. The centre-piece of all causes. Where protesters of all hues gather together and make their case; the place of muster for emigres, refugees and asylum-seekers. The place where freedom was proclaimed; the place that people hold dear; the heart-beat of the nation.

Close by was Moore Street. The place greedy developers eye. Bruised and battered, fought for in the Rising; still being fought over as the money-men salivate. Haggard and run-down, like a mouthful of broken, rotten teeth, but a *belláza* for the money-lusters. They circle like buzzards. Seeking meat on the carcass.

On the Friday night, Pearse assembled the GPO garrison, as the building was afire from the British bombardment. The city centre lay in ruins. All around was devastation, as, ravenously, the British went for the jugular. Pearse, as others tired or were wounded, had taken the mantle of field commander. He thanked and praised the assembled garrison. When he finished, reluctantly, withdrawal was

arranged. They sang *The Soldiers' Song* (which became the National Anthem). Pearse then organised the exiting, in small groups, into Henry Street. They were peppered by British small-arms fire. Machine-guns rat-tat-tatted. The British, especially through the Capel Street — Henry Street — North King Street — axes had penetrated. Pearse organised a counter, led by The O'Rahilly. But they were decimated by machine-gun fire. Now, the withdrawing volunteers mouse-holed into Moore Street. There No. 16 stood. The last headquarters of the Irish Republic. Here regrouped the Military Council, incomplete, but consisting of Pearse, Connolly (badly wounded), Mc Dermott, Clarke, Plunkett. (MacDonagh was in Jacobs. Ceannt was in SDU.) There, in this city-centre little dwelling, they would oversee matters; tired, tried and battered. They contemplated courses of action. They considered joining with the garrison in The Four Courts; Breaking out of the city and making for the countryside; Occupying a large fortress-like building in Parnell Street West. Meanwhile, blood was still being spilt. The British guns still poured in their fire. The prospects were not good. It was decided to seek surrender terms. All agreed, with one exception (Clarke disagreed). Pearse had considered a proposal to attack the British barricade at Henry Street, but had decided against. He agreed with the "Surrender" proposition. The devastation all about had been overwhelming. He was appalled at the loss of life, especially of civilians.

It appears that James Connolly was central in the decision to make the GPO the headquarters of the Republic. It was the correct decision. He did not believe that the British would so subject it to artillery-fire. The British caste system, he felt, would not destroy its counterparts, and their property, in Dublin, with such reckless abandon. Instead, he had been laid-low, badly-wounded, as he watched the centre of Dublin being destroyed. The British money-classes had prevailed. Their Irish counter-parts (themselves of the British system) would have to take the brunt. Not to mention the city proletariat, who were victims too. The British would spare none or nothing. For King and Country.

Meanwhile, "Wipers" awaited. And the Somme. (The British Royal, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, had acted as aide-de-campe to the British C-in-C, General Sir John Maxwell.) The Volunteers had split. Redmond urged on the majority. Irish blood would flow profusely

to further British Royalty. That well-known Kerryman, Kitchener, beckoned.

The surrender was conducted by Pearse, accompanied by the brave Elizabeth Farrell.

Twice, the British Field Commander, Gen. W. Lowe, insisted that Madame Markievicz was in the GPO. His interest was inordinate. Pearse reprimanded him on the second occasion: "*are you accusing me of untruths?*" he asked, as Gen. Low desisted, chastened. Pearse allowed him to regain composure.

Heroically, Elizabeth Farrell accompanied the British to the various garrison positions, where she amplified the instructions she'd received from her commander. The various garrisons made their way to the surrender points in the city. Eventually, most were marched to Richmond Barracks in Inchicore, to be incarcerated there for further British Special Branch interrogation. From there they were marched to the Quays, under escort, and deported. Firing-squads were activated. The conqueror was not yet sated. British jails awaited and, for the most, Frongach was looming. The Easter Rising was over, but the war would be resumed.

The people, 100 years on, know chapter and verse. They have helped to show the world. Their children now know the truth. The Rising belongs to the people. The Government has learnt its lesson. *Vox populi* has been heard. The streets, once again, have been theirs to enjoy. Let British Royals stay where they belong, in their own streets. But the people are alert. They are watching. One false move and . . . They reach for the ballot-paper. *Níl*.

*"Official Release: anyone seen a British Royal should report same to their local Garda Síochána Barracks, without further delay."*

During the incarceration of the deportees in Frongach, at some stage, those remaining were brought by train to London. There they were held temporarily in prisons (The Scrubs, Brixton etc). In these prisons they were interrogated. This was in order to gather Intelligence, seek out weaknesses; and generally disorientate. After these sessions they were transported back to Frongach. (Most of the internees have never been away from their homes before.)

Records must reside in the British system regarding these questionings. It is extraordinary that historians have not pursued this matter, so that people could discover the reactions of the prisoners, or,

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\* As descendants of participants in The Rising, Colonel Morgan's family were seated in priority viewing stands, Ed.

more interestingly, how the British perceived them. I do not think that this episode has been investigated at all. (The prisoners would have included those who remained subsequent to the earlier releases.) I believe the prisoners were interrogated singly and perusal might reveal individual reactions (allowing for "sparring", of course), and the resultant British over-view: a whole minefield awaits exploration.

British Security and Intelligence in Dublin would, too, have provided reports on individuals and matters in general, which are in need of investigation too. These views (home and away) need examining. Who had written what to whom and why? Had any been 'turned' or had such already occurred? Or, had a certain letter containing notorious, critical comments, been central to matters?\*\*\* Why has all of this been apparently ignored to date? I know I am like a dog with a bone that other dogs ignore. "*Oscail an dorais!*" [Open the door!]

Meanwhile, Dublin is throbbing. The whole country has joined in the celebrations. A certain female TD had cautioned against it being celebrated. A muted commemoration was what was desired, she said. A well-known historian had echoed her words. (All this was at a meeting of Republican relatives.) Instead, the country has rediscovered its soul. To a rueful Government's consternation. It has been moved to have a re-think. The world of the war-mongers has been constricted. The GPO has been suffused in the pride of the people. A nod of the head, or a broken Gaelic phrase, do not gainsay all that had preceded. "*Wow!*" no longer cuts any ice.

I left run *Rannog 'A'* and looked back towards the GPO. The Tricolour fluttered away. Will the money-men gain No. 16 Moore Street? Or, will it remain in the preserve of the people? "*Ripe oranges and bananas that have never been pelt!*"

#### Footnote

When Pearse reprimanded Lowe, he was on safe ground. Personally, as the GPO was alight, he conducted a search, after the evacuation, roaming the corridors and stories of the building, seeing that none remained. Later, some few claimed they had remained; that they were the last to leave. It became a treasured claim. Like the claims that they (certain named people) had hoisted the flags that flew

\*\*\* Allusion to Michael Collins' criticism of the way the Rising was organised in a letter written from Frongach. Ed.

over the building. These claims had belief at their foundation if not accuracy. Anyway, in the bedlam that existed, many might believe the reality of what they perhaps imagined, rather than that which, in fact, was occurring

. Meanwhile, the solitary figure of Pearse roamed and searched, having just orchestrated the garrison survivors' exit into Henry Street. Then, satisfied, he left.

Also, Madame had been all week in St. Stephen's Green and the College of Surgeons. The British sought her most of all. Hence, Lowe's great interest, and the surrounding confusion and contradictory Intelligence which often accompany such situations.

This unusual interest in Madame also tends to explain the subsequent remarks of Maxwell, who, it seems, wanted to have her executed, anyway, without regard

to gender; were it in his gift. But, it seems, the British Government wisely tied his hands. But, anyway, the Firing Squads would soon begin to assemble in Kilmainham. Branchmen, already, were reaching for their notebooks and pens.

Years on, Maxwell was known to be in Australia; unreckoned, a lonely figure, unrewarded by the Empire. Simultaneously, Arbour Hill had become a shrine. There lie the heroes of the struggle. To them, the people pay homage. The execution yard in Kilmainham is visited every day by some hundreds. Natives and visitors wonder at it all. The stone walls stand high, but their secrets are revealed. The Tricolour flies overhead. *Amhrán na bhFiann*, at ceremonies, is regularly played. The people sing along, enthusiastically. Like that last night in the GPO, when all seemed lost.

**John Morgan (Lt. Col. retd.)**

## Centenary Commemoration Shock! *Enda Kenny and Roy Foster Blame Britain!*

Well, not quite. But the Fosterites assembled at the Government's headline 1916 commemoration event in Galway, November 10-12, were somewhat disoriented when, as they sat meekly waiting for Kenny and Foster to deliver their profundities on 100 years of history, a politely officious individual moved quickly through the splendid university auditorium to distribute advance notes, of which the following is a sample:

" ... The object of revisionist writing [of Irish history] in recent years is to disparage everything that went into the making of an Irish independence movement, and to hold up to admiration all that ran counter to it. ... Revisionism is primarily an academic phenomenon. It aspires to bring about a fundamental change in public opinion through the medium of the greatly expanded educational system of recent times. ... Revisionism rearranges Irish history in accordance with British requirements. Irish history is in great part the history of British rule in Ireland. And the crucial issue for Britain is its handling of the Irish Election at the end of the Great War for Democracy and the Rights of Small Nations. ... Britain therefore had good reason, when the opportunity presented itself, to take over the writing of Irish history (mainly via Oxford University) and to prevent this aspect of the matter from being dwelt upon. ... The opportunity presented itself as a consequence of the collapse of Irish policy on the North in 1970 and the general sense of disorientation and moral culpability that followed. ... The idea was

put about that the conflict in the North did not arise out of the undemocratic mode by which Britain chose to govern it, but was a consequence of the teaching of Irish history. It followed from this idea that peace would only come about if a different history was taught. The Government therefore set in motion a project to devise a new history and insert it into people's minds, through the rapidly expanding education system, in place of the old history---a basically totalitarian project. ... Though British Universities have been active in *implementing [the revisionist policy], it is not merely a British conspiracy.*

As it happened, Taoiseach Enda Kenny announced in his Conference Address that the revisionist/anti-revisionist dispute was over, and he introduced the emeritus occupant of the Roy Foster Chair of Irish History in Oxford University by praising Foster to the skies.

In other words the premier Irish Government 1916 Centenary Commemoration declared a victory for the revisionist project.

The comedy continued at the next session of the conference (starring none other than Fintan O'Toole himself), when the table in the auditorium lobby, prominently reserved for the *Irish Times*, was used to advertise and display three volumes of the *Irish Bulletin*, the newspaper of the First Dáil, recently republished by the Belfast Historical and Educational Association.

Scandalised Fosterites were heard to mutter "*ultra-nationalists*", "*the flat earth version of Irish history*", "*apologists for sectarian massacre in Offaly*", etc etc. Cosmic order was finally restored when, after a couple of hours, the historic 1919-21 Dáil Bulletin was ejected from the Government's official Centenary Commemoration in favour of some navel-gazing *Irish Times* publication.

The main commemoration event took the form of an academic History Conference held over three days, with a plethora of fringe events of social, artistic and performance character, probably intended to attract a popular involvement which was visibly lacking in the main event, even though the latter was sumptuously provisioned and free of charge.

The line-out of speakers included Kenny, Foster, O'Toole, Louise Richardson (Tramore-born Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University and international terrorism guru), Brendan O'Leary, Maurice Manning, Mary Daly, and many other luminaries. The main, history event was apparently boycotted by all political tendencies other than true-blue Fine Gael, plus a UCG contingent which appeared to have been largely press-ganged in order to make up the numbers.

The numerous flunkies in attendance, supplemented by a noticeable contingent of fit-looking guys planted thickly among the civilians, were kept busy at chair management. That is, removing the rather embarrassing surplus of empty chairs, even during the high profile sessions; ensuring that the audience, such as it was, was not scattered too thinly with large gaps; and shepherding unsuspecting passers-by into the auditorium.

A lot of pomp and circumstance, but probably little impact. Foster's lecture was full of the predictable sneers, appreciatively acknowledged by the audience. But even Foster came across as bored.

Kenny and Foster did not, after all, blame Britain. But that is the only realistic starting point, at least as regards the Northern issue.

Charlie Haughey's position was that Northern Ireland was a *failed political entity*. If there is a criticism of this, it is that it implies that at one time NI was, or could have been, a successful political entity. But Northern Ireland was designed for failure from the start, in the sense of causing trouble for devious political purposes.

In 1920, for no justifiable reason, the sovereign power put an army of militant Orangemen in direct power over a practically defenceless Catholic minority. Imagine the British Government putting guns into the hands of an enraged, inflamed, excitable mob of Rangers supporters and sending them in to take charge of the streets in Celtic areas of Glasgow.

Having stirred up and aggravated sectarian dissension, Britain could then represent itself, in Ireland and internationally, as honest broker doing its best to keep the peace between backward and irrational local factions.

After creating the mess in the first place, the sovereign power doubled down on this "*Ulsterisation*" strategy throughout the troubles and subsequently. The purpose

of the strategy, from 1920 through to the present, is to leverage and amplify the British state's remaining sovereign control and influence in Ireland.

In the absence of legal and diplomatic intervention from Southern Ireland, or anywhere else, the Provisional campaign kept its focus on the sovereign target, thereby preventing Balkans-style catastrophe in a conflict caused by perverse British sovereign policy. The new, post-1998 arrangement is merely a re-jigging of the original as a result of a more favourable re-balancing of the local configuration produced by the Provisionals.

The ultimate advantage to the sovereign power is just the same as before.

**Pat Muldowney**

## **The Irish Times And The Reburial Of Kevin Barry**

On November 1st last, I posted a memorial notice on Facebook to mark the anniversary of the 1920 execution of Kevin Barry. Prompted by the degree of reflection present in the few youthful writings from which I had quoted, I wondered if that aspect of Barry's strength of character had been remarked upon on the occasion of the exhumation of his remains from Mountjoy Jail and their reinterment in Glasnevin Cemetery in 2001. Certainly not by the *Irish Times*. Quite the contrary. Two of its resident columnists, Kevin Myers and Fintan O'Toole, fulminated against the exhumation, reburial and State Funerals being accorded to Kevin Barry and his comrades. Kevin Myers is, of course, a notorious right-wing ranter, regularly achieving hard-to-match heights of hysteria, who has plied his trade between the *Irish Times*, the *Irish Independent* and, currently, the Irish edition of the *Sunday Times*.

See <http://irelandscw.com/org-ITOct-Nov05.htm> and pages 12 and 13 of [http://free-magazines.atholbooks.org/ipr/2009/IPR\\_June\\_2009.pdf](http://free-magazines.atholbooks.org/ipr/2009/IPR_June_2009.pdf) for some notorious examples of Myers, and responses thereto. But to return to how the reburial of Kevin Barry and his comrades was 'respected' in the *Irish Times* of 2001: The tone of its columnists' condemnations ranged from 'restrained' disapproval to mendacious ranting and raving. The more 'restrained' condemnations read:

October 3: "What is the Taoiseach up to? He has, with generosity and courage, done so much to acknowledge the Irish dead of two world wars, and to recognise the plurality and complexity of the various

strands of Irish history. So why, with the peace process apparently breathing its last, should he give State funerals to 10 IRA men of more than 80 years ago, so powerfully reviving the myth of single-sided victimhood? It is 12 years since Donal O'Donovan wrote *No More Lonely Scaffolds*, an account of the life of Kevin Barry. The author is a nephew of the republican martyr, and one could be forgiven for expecting a hagiography. It is nothing of the kind, but a fair and careful account of a tragic episode in which four young men were killed in the middle of a terrible war. If anything might have undone the cult of Barryism, this book should have done so. The proposed State funerals for Kevin Barry and nine other executed IRA men indicates that it has failed."

"Kevin Barry was involved in an ambush in which three British soldiers, two of them younger than him, were killed. Donal O'Donovan's account of the ambush, drawn in part from the recollections of IRA men, indicates that all three soldiers were armed. In the heat of the moment, it's not surprising that those IRA men thought this was the case. Newspaper accounts of time indicate that they were not. That one of these victims was a boy-soldier, suggests that newspaper accounts were correct... As we all know, Kevin Barry was caught at the ambush scene, and sentenced to death... The night before Kevin Barry was executed, Mountjoy Jail was deathly quiet to mark his last hours on Earth. Things were deathly elsewhere, but they were not quiet. In Granard, Co Longford Capt Philip Kelleher MC, son a GP in Macroom, and formerly of the Leinster Regiment Kerry, now a district inspector of the RIC, was shot dead as he kept a mystery appointment in Kiernan's Hotel.

Within days, his father was to perform autopsies on seventeen of the Auxiliaries killed at Kilmichael... It is a normal human response to ignore the morally repugnant done by one's own side. But no excuse remains today for the studied neglect of the reality of the time. This is particularly true in this country where, even before the unbelievable evil September 11th, we have over so many years had so many reminders of the reality of violence, and of the unspeakable heart-ache it brings. There's no justification for a State funeral now, with all its pomps and pieties, for just 10 of the thousands of unfortunate victims of the violence of 80 years ago, for this is to reaffirm a single narrative of suffering and sacrifice."

October 26: "So maybe Bertie Ahern was right to give a State funeral for Kevin Barry and the other nine IRA volunteers after all. Maybe that act is another drawing down of the historical curtain over the physical force tradition, for all time. And maybe the worldwide political forces unleashed by the abominable attack on the twin towers in New York City have, with an uncanny synchronicity, served to foreclose on that tradition from elsewhere... This doesn't mean those who differ over the past can't get on in the present. Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness will never admit that they have waged a purposeless, evil war, and only a bigot or a pathological warmonger would refuse reconciliation until they did. And only an utter cretin would deny now that what they have done, finally, to bring about the decommissioning of some IRA weaponry has taken immense skill, courage and determination. I doubt if this could have happened without the context that was provided by the World Trade Centre bombing, any more than the Easter Rising could have taken place without the context of the Great War, or the 1798 Rising without the war by the French Directory against the United Kingdom... Henceforward, there will be no America to turn to spiritually, no America to hide escaped prisoners in, no America to seek the dollars from... The US is closed territory for terrorists for ever more; so maybe, just maybe, we can start our history anew."

These two more 'moderately-toned' critiques of the Kevin Barry State Funeral did not come from the liberal 'leftie' wing of the *Irish Times*. They were in fact penned by Kevin Myers, in his "*Irishman's Diary*". It was in fact that paper's supreme liberal 'leftie' who ranted and raved. Fintan O'Toole, as its Assistant Editor, pulled rank one day ahead of that first column from Myers. O'Toole entitled his October 2nd diatribe "*A Grottesque Denial of Bloodshed*". I must confess that, in the intervening fifteen years, I had completely forgotten how hysterical O'Toole had been in his condemnation of Kevin Barry. For

the centenary year of the 1916 Rising, O'Toole thought it more prudent to change the tone of his tune, strut the stage of the National Concert Hall, and promote Shaw's no less egotistical 'defence' of Casement—a nonsense criticised by both Brendan Clifford and myself in the Second and Third Quarters 2016 issues, respectively, of *Church & State* magazine.

Yet it is worth noting that, in writing about Casement during this past centenary year, O'Toole opted to adopt a quasi-reverential tone. For example, on March 26th:

"As for Shaw, like any artist he wasted nothing. His last great play, *Saint Joan*, is, at heart, his considered response to the Rising and in particular to Casement's martyrdom. Joan's unbreakable will to sweep the English out of France, her trial and her ultimate decision to choose death over imprisonment all echo Casement's real drama. Joan, too, returns after death as an image and an inspiration: nothing in heaven and earth can prevent her spiritual and temporal triumph."

And, in the process, he could once again blow his own trumpet this past October 29th:

"It does not seem at all accidental that it is the most ambiguous figure of the Rising, Roger Casement, who has been of most interest to artists this year. Colm Tóibín and Donnacha Dennehy's *The Dark Places*, the Hugh Lane Gallery's fine exhibition centring on John Lavery's long-neglected painting of Casement's trial, Owen Roe's reading of Bernard Shaw's unused speech for Casement to deliver to the jury, and Fearghus Ó Conchúir's *The Casement Project*—as well as works by others, including myself and Una Mullally of this parish—explored the multifaceted nature of Casement's personality and legacy, from his homosexuality to his pioneering human rights investigations, from the body politic to the politicised body. If Casement symbolically replaced Patrick Pearse as the most magnetic figure of the Rising, it is because his doubleness is deeply attractive to a culture that has become more comfortable with, and more interested in, mixed feelings."

Being wise to O'Toole's current agenda, does not mean that its moderately-expressed tones cannot leave a poor memory quite unprepared for meeting up, once again, and fifteen years later, with the unmitigated vitriol of his denunciation of the 2001 State Funeral accorded to Kevin Barry. I might have been better prepared if I had read—before now—O'Toole's 2012 sneering commentary on the 1965 State Funeral accorded to Roger Casement. This was written for the US liberal magazine, *The New Republic*. I

have not seen anything that might suggest that this Wikipedia summary of *The New Republic* is unreasonable or inaccurate:

"*The New Republic* is a liberal American magazine of commentary on politics and the arts published since 1914, with influence on American political and cultural thinking. Founded in 1914 by major leaders of the Progressive Movement it attempted to find a balance between a progressivism focused on humanitarianism and moral passion, and on the other hand sought a basis in scientific analysis of social issues. It supported American entry into World War One... Domestically, *The New Republic*, as of 2011, supports a largely modern liberal stance on fiscal and social issues, according to former editor Franklin Foer, who stated that it '*invented the modern usage of the term 'liberal', and it's one of our historical legacies and obligations to be involved in the ongoing debate over what exactly liberalism means and stands for.*'"

"*The Multiple Hero*" was the title of O'Toole's Casement article for *The New Republic* on 2nd August 2012—an essay-in-review prompted by Mario Varga Llosa's novel *The Dream of the Celt*. O'Toole opined:

"Competing narratives, multiple selves, friction between public image and private desires, a personality constructed through texts: Casement is the perfect postmodern subject."

O'Toole was careful not to challenge the World War One narrative of *The New Republic* itself, and there was a tone of disapproval regarding Casement's engagement with Germany. But O'Toole also played up to the more modern liberal preoccupations and predilections of *The New Republic's* readers. Swallowing the 'Black Diaries' as authentically Gospel, O'Toole served up judicious and salacious quotations, designed to illustrate Casement's supposedly "*huge*" obsessions. What was particularly noticeable, however, was how, from the very start of his article, O'Toole fully played up to WASP anti-Catholic—and anti-Irish—prejudices:

"Perhaps, once a man's bones have been hauled from his grave, he will forever be unquiet... In February 1965, Casement's long bones were dug up from an unmarked grave in Pentonville prison in London, where he had been hanged for high treason in August 1916, and flown to Dublin. The return of the remains followed a long campaign by the Irish government, which was preparing to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the armed rising in Dublin in 1916 that is the founding myth of the Irish state... The bones were received like religious relics being brought to a medieval city. They lay in

state for five days in a Catholic church. As *The Irish Times* reported, 'People in small groups, mostly women, children and older men, passed quietly through the church, kneeling for some minutes to pray.' Children were given a day off school and government workers were allowed to leave work to attend the funeral procession. These public rituals were intended to fix Casement's identity once and for all. The ceremonies were ostentatiously Catholic and explicitly defined Casement as a martyr. The president, Éamon de Valera, himself the leading survivor of the uprising of 1916, welcomed the returning hero 'amongst his own people', the Catholic Irish: 'For them he died and as long as this nation exists and Irish men live, his sacrifice will be recalled and his memory revered'."

But this was unconscionable caricature from the pen of O'Toole. There was no Catholic sectarianism in de Valera's funeral oration. Dev pointed out: "*Casement was of Ulster stock and he loved the province of Ulster, particularly because of the part the people of Ulster had played throughout Ireland's history.*" Nor was there any expression of narrow nationalism, as de Valera continued:

"If there had been no 1916 and there had been no European war of 1914, the man whose bones lie here would deserve to be honoured and revered. He would deserve to be honoured for the noble part he played in exposing the atrocities in the Congo, for his championship of the downtrodden people there and for his championship in the same way of the people who were subject to the atrocities of the vilest type in Putamayo. It required courage to do what Casement did, and his name would be honoured, not merely here, but by oppressed peoples everywhere, **even had he done nothing for the freedom of our own country.**"

Shameless selectivity is O'Toole's stock-in-trade. This could not have been more evident than in his Kevin Barry opinion piece in the *Irish Times* of 2nd October 2001. "*A Grottesque Denial of Bloodshed*" screamed his headline, as O'Toole alternated between sneering and ranting:

"On Sunday week, unless there is a last-minute outbreak of sanity, we will be treated to an extraordinary spectacle. Coinciding with the Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis, the State will stage one of the most elaborate political ceremonies in its history. After a religious service, the remains of 10 IRA men, recently exhumed from their graves near the perimeter wall of Mountjoy Prison, will be draped in tricolours and loaded into 10 hearses. The cortege, accompanied by an Army motorcycle escort, will then move at walking pace through the north side of the city towards the Pro-Cathedral,

stopping on the way at the Garden of Remembrance and the GPO. From the cathedral, the procession will eventually move back to Glasnevin Cemetery, where to the accompaniment of the setting sun and an oration by the Taoiseach, the remains will be buried. The entire event will be relayed live on television. The President and the entire Cabinet will officiate..."

"Yet even before the events of September 11th, an elaborate State funeral was a very bad idea. It was likely to achieve two things: sickening many citizens by its ghoulish cynicism and offering a great boost to those who want us to feel that the only difference between a terrorist and a patriot is the passage of time... Donal O'Donovan, Barry's nephew and author of the excellent *Kevin Barry and His Time*, recalls a conversation between Barry and his sister, Kathy. Barry had just taken the oath of allegiance to the newly established Dáil. 'That's good', said Kathy, 'now you're a real army.' Barry's reply was 'I don't know. Anyway, when this damned Dáil takes Dominion Home Rule, they needn't expect us to back them up.' Nor was Barry's short military career very far from what we would now call terrorism. In July 1920, he took part in a raid on the home in Aughavanagh, County Wicklow of the elected Nationalist MP, Willie Redmond. The following month, he was involved in an attack on a Church of Ireland rectory in Co Carlow. The clergyman fired a shotgun at his attackers from an upstairs window. The IRA men fired back but then left. 'We decided', as one of Barry's fellow raiders later recalled, 'not to go near the minister that night but to take him unawares' at some later time..."

"None of this means that Kevin Barry was not a nice, bright, middle-class boy who, in normal times, would have ended up as a popular local GP and president of the rugby club. The State must acknowledge the circumstances of its own creation. The elaborate act of piety that is being foisted on us is not, however, an act of acknowledgement. On the contrary, it is an act of denial, deliberately designed to sanitise the ambiguities of people like Kevin Barry whose idealistic certainty makes them reckless of other people's lives. Before September 11th, that was a stupid mistake. After September 11th, it borders on the grotesque."

This, then, was O'Toole's post-9/11 "*war on terrorism*"—setting out to portray Kevin Barry as a bigoted Catholic terrorist proto-type for al-Qaeda. And, in the process, the three 'examples' he gave from O'Donovan's biography were quoted out of context, constituting mendacious misrepresentation.

As for Kevin Barry's remarks about the possibility of the Dáil bowing to superior British force in denying the achievement of the Republic voted for in the 1918 General Election, O'Donovan's narrative

proceeded to recall how Kathy Barry vividly remembered that conversation with Kevin, and brought it up in one of her frequent arguments about the Treaty with Michael Collins in the early months of 1922. Kathy recounted:

"Mick listed a number of very fine soldiers who supported it (the Treaty) and said: '*How do you know your brother would not have supported it too?*' I told him this little story and, with characteristic generosity, he said: '*That is good enough. I won't say that any more.*'" (p 49).

O'Toole's wrote of the raid on the home of "*the elected Nationalist MP Willie Redmond*" as if it was Redmond's Waterford electoral mandate that had made him a target. But O'Donovan had written of a very different reality:

"Aughavanagh was one of the military barracks built in 1802 to capture Michael Dwyer. It was a gaunt, huge, rough-stone building made to house 100 redcoats... John Redmond paid over the odds for the house... In July 1920, Aughavanagh was occupied by John Redmond's son, William, MP for Waterford... Word had reached C Company that Aughavanagh was to be occupied by the British Army and soon afterwards they received orders from GHQ to burn the house down. 'One wet night (Matt Cullen recalled) fourteen members of C Company cycled to Aughavanagh, including ... Kevin Barry and myself... In the back there was a door with a small pane of glass in it; it was broken and Kevin Barry got in through it... Inside he found Captain Redmond with a large club ready to strike him, but the sight of Kevin's automatic vanished the pluck of the Captain... Mick McDonnell informed him we were going to burn the barracks... He denied knowledge of the military coming, said that he was an MP attending the British Parliament, and assured us that he would have a very serious row there if such a thing were thought of.' The Volunteers withdrew from the Captain to have a consultation and decided not to burn the house at all, but to hold Captain Redmond responsible that if the barracks were occupied by the British troops he, Captain Redmond, would be shot. The terms were conveyed to him and the Volunteers withdrew. In fact, Aughavanagh was occupied by Auxiliaries less than a year later without any harm coming Captain Redmond." (pp 65-67).

And what O'Toole disingenuously implied had been a sectarian attack on an Anglican rectory in Carlow, was anything but the case. It was, in fact, just one of a series of raids on the premises of known gun-holders, for the purpose of acquiring arms for the Army of the elected Government of the Republic. Of course, as well as the British Government, there

were also numbers of Irish Empire Loyalists who refused to accept the democratic mandate of Dáil Éireann, and who resisted it in arms. O'Donovan related how, on 2nd September 1920, C Company gathered to raid Jones's of Woodside for arms. They got some guns; they then went to the Church of Ireland rectory, where they surrounded the Rev. Charles Stuart Stamford Ellison's house. Matt Cullen later recalled (with a demonstrable lack of the sectarian murderous blood lust attributed by O'Toole's judiciously edited version to Kevin Barry and his comrades):

"Kevin Barry, Mike McDonald and myself went up to the hall door. We were refused admittance, demanded that the door be opened, and then saw the minister let down the window and fire from a shotgun point blank range at us. No one was injured but some of our men got a fright. We were now prepared to reply, Kevin with an automatic, Mike Mac and myself with revolvers through the window. We got back to get cover, and he kept firing out and we kept firing in for some time. We could not afford to waste ammunition as he would not give in unless we shot him. This we did not like to do without getting authority. We received orders that night to take the gun by all means. We decided not to go the minister that night but to take him unawares. But the (British) military took the gun that night" (p 68).

And with the gun gone, there was no longer any reason for a further raid on the rectory.

In his Address at the reburial ceremony in Glasnevin Cemetery on 14th October 2001, the Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, refuted some of O'Toole's wildest rants:

"We are gathered here today in honour of the ten Volunteers who died on the scaffold in Mountjoy Prison in the cause of freedom and the cause of Ireland. We are all here to lay their remains to rest in this soil at last with dignity and honour... In the war they fought, they had one support that could not be ignored. That was the mandate for independence from the General Election of 1918. They knew the people were with them. Dáil Éireann was formed from those who were elected, and who were willing or able to attend. When the Declaration of Independence was passed, the Ceann Comhairle of that First Dail said to the Deputies present that they all understood that war would be the consequence of the Declaration. They understood that. They were satisfied, if necessary, to fight to liberate the country. The big powers had said that it was for the small nations that the First World War was fought. The people of Ireland were determined that the principle of national self-determination must also be extended to the Irish nation... The men

we honour belong to a period, when the entire national movement was united in a tremendous effort to achieve Ireland's independence that was desired and voted for by a large majority of the people. War, for whatever cause and whatever circumstances, always has cruel consequences. But every nation, both large and small, has a right to defend and vindicate its freedom in accordance with the will of its people... The 10 Volunteers executed in Mountjoy died defending and upholding the independence proclaimed by Dáil Éireann on 21 January 1919. The British government of the day, who would relinquish control of this part of Ireland in 1922, were seeking in vain to maintain their continued rule by force, long after popular consent had been definitively withdrawn. Erskine Childers, who with Desmond FitzGerald was charged with explaining the Irish case to a wider international audience, stated that Kevin Barry was doing precisely what Englishmen would be doing under the same circumstances and under the same provocation, and that what was involved was a national uprising, '*a collision between two governments, one resting on consent, the other on force*'... Before the Truce, the Dáil and the Government, all members of the Dáil, took formal responsibility as the elected representatives of the people for the actions of the Volunteers, and recognised them as their army. They explicitly acknowledged the democratic legitimacy of the campaign that they had fought, and accepted accountability for it. So those of us who are proud of our national independence should have no reservations about honouring those Volunteers."

Elementary humanity was demonstrably absent from O'Toole's ranting and raving, and he went on to sneer at Barry as "*the nice, bright, middle class boy*". If Myers was demanding recognition of "*plurality and complexity*", well, it was in the form of a letter from within a strand of "*plurality and complexity*", that an example of elementary, decent humanity was to find a voice to subvert O'Toole's vitriol. As Lillian Roberts Finlay wrote (October 19, 2001):

"I was six years of age on the day Kevin Barry was executed in Mountjoy Jail. I have never forgotten the desolate weeping of all the neighbouring women on Ringsend Road where we lived, close to Boland's Mill. My grandmother went on and on, lamenting the bitter day, the bitter day, his poor mother, God help her, the poor, poor woman. My own mother was afraid to show her face; my father was a British officer. She was crying too, and I wanted to console her, but I was afraid to take sides. Those were tough times, either side. When I was in my late forties I visited a sick friend in the Mater Hospital, Rosaleen McDonnell, who introduced me to Kevin Barry's mother

in the same small ward. Mrs Barry had the loveliest face I had ever seen, and the gentlest voice—not a Dublin voice, a country voice. If she was seriously ill, it did not show in her fresh skin and wonderful eyes, nor in the serenity of her folded hands. 'He was only a lad', she told me, 'going on to be a famous doctor!' Her tender smile was sad... The old lady said to me: 'Tell your little children that today you met Kevin Barry's mother. Tell them proudly.' And I did tell them, in every detail, just as I'm telling you, proudly. One of my sons knew all the words of that old heart-breaking ballad: 'High upon a gallows tree, Kevin Barry gave his young life, For to set Old Ireland free'."

But the most telling put-down of O'Toole's "*nice, bright, middle class boy*" sneer at Kevin Barry is to be found in the integrity of what that boy himself had written. This I addressed as follows in my Facebook post:

#### IN MEMORIAM KEVIN BARRY (20 January 1902—1 November 1920)

November 1, All Saints' Day, marks the anniversary of the execution in Dublin's Mountjoy Gaol of the Social Republican youth, Kevin Barry.

See <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=BSjO9rIwn5M> for the powerful voice of the outstanding African-American artiste Paul Robeson singing "Kevin Barry". "*In Spain I sang with my whole heart and soul for these gallant fighters of the International Brigades*", said Robeson of his 1938 visit to the Volunteers for Liberty fighting in defence of the Spanish Republic.

In his excellent 1965 pamphlet, *The Story of Kevin Barry*, the late Sean Cronin brought to light an essay which the 17-year-old secondary schoolboy Kevin Barry had written in 1919 on the subject matter of "Prejudice", a subject which he considered from three angles—racial, religious and personal. Barry held that racial prejudice was the worst of all:

*"It usually masks a much worse thing—oppression or tyranny. It is also divided into two classes, namely that of the white man against his coloured brother, for brother he is whether black, red, or yellow, and that of the white man against his fellow-white man of a different nation. The two combined form the origin of very many of the world's greatest wars and slaughters."*

In another school essay on "Kingship", Barry described it as "*the only surviving evil of the days when the people, the mob, were looked upon as dirt; as animals to serve the mighty king and his minions. When all believed or were forced to believe in the Divine Right of Kings.*" Writing in the wake of the the December 1918 General

Election, and the ratification by the First Dáil Éireann in January 1919 of the Irish Republic proclaimed by the 1916 Rising, Barry continued:

"We are at present living in a time which marks the wane of this despotism. In a day when the people are coming into their own. When the labourer—the backbone of every nation—has the same vote and the same right to live as those noblemen who in former times had almost absolute power... The belief in the Divine Right of Kings is dying out and the thrones of Europe are tottering. Sentiments which would have shocked our king-worshipping forefathers are floating about in the air. *Liberté, égalité, fraternité*, the motto of the second greatest Republic in the world will shortly become the war-cry of all and we hope our little island will not change her present views upon Kingship."

Kevin Barry's 1919 essay on "*Industrial Unrest*" illustrated how leftwing the world view of this internationalist Social Republican schoolboy had become:

"We are today passing through a crisis which is unparalleled in the history of the world. It is the culmination of four years of starvation, privation and misgovernment—it is the nemesis which awaited war profiteers, place hunters and grasping capitalists. It is probably the beginning of the end of aristocracy."

"It is interesting to us to study this huge upheaval, its causes, its effects and its possible remedies. It is interesting also because it marks the triumph of Labour, of Trade Unionism and—as Martin Murphy's rag (the *Irish Independent*) has it—of Syndicalism. When one contemplates the immensity of the trouble—the fact that in Belfast alone 95,000 workers are out on strike—the fact that the whole city is paralysed and the whole country could be paralysed at an hour's notice, one is amazed at the stupendousness of this system and one can understand the elation of Labour."

"The causes of a strike are not hard to discover. In nine cases out of ten it will be found that the cause is hunger. This itself may arise from two causes, bad wages or misgovernment. In former times it was the former. This crisis is the result of the latter... There is no remedy for a strike except to accede to the demands of the strikers. This may seem strange but it is sound common-sense as a brief examination of former strikes will prove. If the strikers are beaten they go back to work sullen and revengeful and it is short until they are 'out' again. But the usual procedure is the election of an arbitrator who effects a compromise."

"We here in Dublin had an experience (in 1913) of a strike which has been looked upon by all the world as the 'model strike'. When W.M. Murphy refused to recognise the tramwaymen as a union they went out on strike bringing out every trade union man in Dublin with them.

The Socialists all over the world backed them and the food-ship 'Hare' was dispatched with food for the strikers, also money poured in from everywhere to keep up the strike. The men held out doggedly till they won or virtually won, since the tramway union was recognised. Thus we received a forcible demonstration of the power of an agitator in the person of that marvellous leader James Larkin and his able lieutenant, Commandant James Connolly."

This essay, of course, suffered from an excess of schoolboy optimism, and a rose-tinted view of 1913. "*Dublin is isolated*" had been the cry of Connolly during that Lockout, describing the outcome, when Murphy's employees returned to work

without Union recognition, as, at best, "*a drawn battle*". ITGWU membership slumped from 30,000 in 1913 to 5,000 in 1916. The ITGWU that Barry beheld in 1919 had achieved a post-Larkin and post-Connolly growth to 68,000 members by 1918, and a further growth to 120,000 by 1920, under the leadership of Bill O'Brien and Thomas Foran, and formed the backbone of the anti-Conscription General Strike of 23rd April 1918, whose success Barry had also witnessed. The schoolboy Kevin Barry is to be applauded, not for any "*scientific socialist*" analysis of the 1913 Lockout, but for his strong, unselfish, sense of social solidarity. I salute his memory.

**Manus O'Riordan**

## Expanding the Apprenticeship System

That apprenticeship offers an attractive option to modern societies is a 'no brainer' backed up by large volumes of research. In relation to the 2008 crash, societies with a strong apprenticeship system suffered significantly lower youth unemployment than those without one. Apprenticeship is often called work-based learning and tends to have advantages above and beyond the obvious ones. For industry it provides trainee workers on relatively low wages and a stream of new entrants who are employment ready; for young people it provides a non-academic educational pathway in which they get paid, in addition to usually guaranteeing them a job; for Governments it provides a way of ensuring close alignment between the recruitment needs of employers and available skills in the labour market. But organisations that employ apprentices also tend to be innovative with a capacity for long term planning; and societies with large apprenticeship systems like Germany and Austria tend to allow Trade Union representatives to participate in management and to eschew neo-liberal economic policies.

Building a German-style apprenticeship system in Ireland comes with a number of significant challenges, chief of which is the fact that in Germany it is the product of a long tradition involving sophisticated levels of social cooperation. Cultural borrowing of educational structures between nation states is common enough but the requirements needed to sustain a substantial system of apprenticeship are of a high order. The point is often made that the ability of the German, Swiss or Austrian Chambers of Commerce to

influence employers in matters related to apprenticeship is not readily importable to societies with different traditions.

In this article I will recount the process through which a major expansion of the Irish apprenticeship system has been planned and is starting to be rolled out. I will describe the reform from a political perspective and conclude by highlighting unduly negative coverage of the issue by the Deputy Editor of the *Irish Times*.

### RUAIRI QUINN'S INITIATIVE

The population of apprentices currently employed in Irish enterprises is a mere third of what it was in 2007: it is now 11,250, it was then 29,000. These figures mask real progress that has occurred since 2013; a huge drop in numbers followed the 2008 crash. In May of 2013, Ruairi Quinn as Minister for Education, commissioned a review group to produce a report before year end on needed reforms in the existing apprenticeship system. Membership of the seven-person group included Hilary Steedman, a left-leaning British researcher well known for her work in the area, as well as representatives from Irish employers with experience of apprenticeship, Jones Engineering (construction) and Dromone (manufacture of tractor hitches). The group was chaired by Kevin Duffy, a former head of the Bricklayers Union and former Chairman of the Labour Court and also included Tony Donohue of the employers group, IBEC, an advocate of 'effective business-education partnerships'. The group was aided by a Technical Group, and a background paper produced by officials at the Department of Education and Skills provided the group with a

document setting out the context in which the review was being conducted.

Following consultations with a wide range of interested parties, the review group recommended the expansion of the apprenticeship system into a large number of non-traditional areas including: ICT, retail, hospitality, business administration, medical devices, sport and leisure programmes, childcare and social care, financial services, accounting, hairdressing, and beauty care. The expansion would be spearheaded by employer-led consortia in line with EU practice and the proposals would be vetted by a new Apprenticeship Council.

The group recommended that the State should fund the off-the-job education while employers should pay the costs of the on-the-job phases, the apprentice wage rate being decided by employers. Critical success factors were identified as the level of take-up by large employers, especially multi-nationals, and the effectiveness of collaboration with further education and training providers. The report was published in January 2014 and is available at this link: <http://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Policy-Reports/Review-of-Apprenticeship-Training-in-Ireland.pdf>.

#### POSITIVE RESPONSE FROM EMPLOYERS

Following a period of consideration of the report's recommendations the Apprenticeship Council was formally launched on November 18th 2014 by Minister Quinn's Labour Party successor at the Department of Education and Skills, Jan O'Sullivan. Damien English, O'Sullivan's Fine Gael Junior Minister was an active supporter of the reform, showing that ownership of apprenticeship as a political issue was not confined to a party of the centre Left. As with the review group the choice of personnel for the Apprenticeship Council was critical. The Chairman, Pat Doherty, is the CEO of the ESB, a company with much experience in apprenticeship. The employer representatives from the review group graduated to the Apprenticeship Council and were joined by a representative from another large construction company, Cramptons. The new areas are represented by reps from Microsoft and the Irish Hospitality Institute. Otherwise the Council has representatives from various educational bodies and a strong Trade Union presence (Patricia King of the ICTU and SIPTU and Eamon Devoy of the TEEU).

The Apprenticeship Council duly issued a request for submissions for the creation of new apprenticeships and set a deadline of 31 March 2015. In total 86 proposals

for new apprenticeship courses were submitted and following evaluation by the Council they have been divided into three categories: category 1 proposals are deemed viable while the other categories will need further planning. In answer to a Parliamentary Question from Eoghan Murphy of Fine Gael on 17th November 2015 Jan O'Sullivan stated:

"The outcome of the evaluation process has resulted in the placement of 25 submissions in category 1; 35 in category 2 and 25 in category 3.

Under category 1 the new sectors for apprenticeships include Manufacturing and Engineering, Tourism and Sport, Financial Services, Information Technology Transport Distribution and Logistics and Business Administration and Management.

Within the Category 1 group, there are proposals at varying stages of development and it is anticipated that some project plans will need more work. Once plans have been considered and approved, the Council will prepare a detailed overall development timeline for the category one proposals. It is envisaged that the majority of programmes would be in a position to move to enrolment in 2016."

#### CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM FROM FIANNA FAIL AND SINN FEIN

The present Government's programme for government contains the modest commitment of providing 31,000 apprenticeship places by 2020. Only one of the new apprenticeship courses, Insurance Practitioner, has been launched to date. It is clear that in moving from consultation and planning to implementation progress has slowed. Realistically, that is to be expected. A politician who is pressing for more progress, specifically in the area of creating a greater gender balance in apprenticeship places is Niall Collins, Jobs and Enterprise spokesperson for Fianna Fail. Collins has asked three Parliamentary Questions of the new Minister for Education, Richard Bruton, on apprenticeship since July. In a reply on July 19th Minister Bruton stated:

"I expect to receive a plan from SOLAS and the Apprenticeship Council later this year that sets out how the commitments in the Programme for Government in relation to apprenticeship will be delivered. This will address issues such as how category 2 and 3 proposals will be progressed and the potential timing of future calls for proposals."

An interesting take on the apprenticeship reform has come from Sinn Fein. Speaking in a Dail debate on October 5th, Aengus O'Snodaigh criticised Minister Bruton on the grounds that the management of the traditional apprenticeships

has deteriorated as a result of the merging of FAS into SOLAS and the new Education and Training Boards (ETBs). He said:

"I am aware that serious funding and management issues are impinging greatly on the delivery of apprenticeship schemes with some six month courses being delivered without the provision of basic equipment such as phones, computers and other basic materials essential to learning a trade."

This criticism fits with a pattern following the creation of the ETBs in which already overburdened administrators were landed with increased workloads. The creation of the ETBs has been marked by an element of administrative chaos which can be expected to diminish with the passage of time.

To sum up, under the instigation of two Labour Party Ministers and with the active support of Fine Gael, the State has embarked on a significant expansion of the apprenticeship system. A viable framework for the expansion has been agreed and consortia of employers working in collaboration with education providers have submitted 86 proposals for new apprenticeship courses. 25 of these proposals are currently at an advanced stage of development. The apparent slowing in the pace of the reform is to be expected, although the 2020 target of creating an apprentice population of 31,000, a figure only marginally greater than the number of apprentices registered in 2007, seems low. It also seems that the administrative changes of recent years are having an adverse effect on the 27 traditional apprenticeship courses.

#### FINTAN O'TOOLE ON APPRENTICESHIP

Before concluding it is instructive to take account of how one section of the Irish media, specifically its leading organ, the *Irish Times*, views the apprenticeship reform. In an article entitled "*Between aspiration and reality we build a bridge of bullshit*" the paper's Deputy Editor, Fintan O'Toole, states:

"Over the course of a mere decade, our apprenticeship system is going to become better than Germany's or Switzerland's. Fantastic! Well literally fantastic—the numbers taking on apprenticeships collapsed during the recession, falling from about 29,000 in 2007 to 5,711 in 2013. There are currently about 7,500 apprentices in the system. Just 34 of these are women." (IT 20 Sep 2016)

Acknowledging that O'Toole may have a minor point in ridiculing some excesses of Government spin, the fact remains that a significant reform effort that has taken

years to reach fruition is being written off in a few ill-informed sentences. O'Toole is following the cardinal rule of his British orientated employer: in all coverage, as much as practicable, the independent Irish State must be disparaged.

Notwithstanding unhelpful snipes from the media, the expansion of the apprenticeship system remains on track. The nature

of the reform means that progress will at times be slow. In coming months it will be interesting to watch how the political system, the new administrative bodies created in the Further Education and Training sector and the Social Partners hold course on the apprenticeship reform that they have created.

**Dave Alvey**

## Busteed Exhibition Opens In Cork

On Thursday, 13th October 2016 a permanent exhibition opened in Cork Public Museum, Fitzgerald Park, Cork, on Frank Busteed, and his brothers Jack and Bill.

It includes biographical notes, photographs, three medals, and artefacts such as Frank's revolver, Irish Volunteer buttons, and two Irish Army training manuals; as well as his brother Jack's two medals.

The exhibit is located just behind the main Republican exhibition at the museum.

### **FRANK BUSTEED (1898-1974)**

Frank Busteed was born in Cork city and grew up in Blarney, Co Cork. He was of mixed parentage, his father Samuel being born Protestant from a Unionist background, his mother Nora Condon Maher, a Catholic from a Nationalist background.

In 1900 his father died, aged 35 and the family were split. Frank and a younger brother lived with their mother in Blarney, while his older brothers Jack and Bill lived with their paternal grandmother Margaret Busteed at Kilmuraheen. There was regular contact between the two houses, and Frank spent Summers at his grandmother's farm.

He joined Fianna Eireann around 1912, and the Irish Volunteers in late April 1916, was Capt of Blarney Company in 1918 (later amalgamated into 6th Battalion, Cork No.1 Brigade). He was appointed Battalion V/C in 1920 (and in January 1921 Commandant of the attached Flying Column). He served in most of the action in the Cork area during the War of Independence, and in June 1922 was appointed O/C of 6th Battalion. In April 1921 Frank successfully captured Major Geoffrey Lee Compton Smith, British Chief Intelligence Officer for Munster, at Blarney.

He was heavily involved on the Anti-Treaty side during the Civil War seeing action in Cork and Waterford.

In June 1924 he went to America, first to relatives of his mother's in Lowell near Boston and later to New York where he became a successful businessman with another domiciled Cork volunteer, Dan Horgan. Together they formed The Inisfail Ice Cutting Company. He married Ann

Marren in 1926 and they had a family of 6 surviving children.

He returned to Ireland with his family in 1935, working in Insurance brokerage, also helping to develop the Fianna Fail party in Cork. In 1941 he received a commission to the Irish Army where he served as a Lieutenant during the Emergency, among his duties being overseeing coastal surveillance of the South East coast. He was recommended for the rank of Captain in 1943.

He was also in private business, and later became a public servant in Local Government, retiring from this in 1963.

He was one of the main subjects of the 1974 book *Execution*, and has appeared in a number of books, historical journals, newspaper articles and letters in connection with the Irish Revolution, particularly the period 1917-1924.

He gave his account of the revolutionary period to Ernie O'Malley, which it is expected will appear with others in a book by UCC in the near future.

His biography is also currently being compiled.

### **JACK (JOHN) BUSTEED (1894-1944)**

Jack Busteed, elder brother of Frank, was born in 1894 at Kilmuraheen, Ballinhassig, Co Cork, where he grew up on his paternal grandmother's farm.

He trained as an engineer, and on the outbreak of World War 1 in 1914 enlisted in the Royal Engineers, British Army (Sapper/Pioneer, 1st & 27th Divisional Signal Company). Service No.26254.

In 1915 he was awarded a Gallantry medal\*, for acts of gallantry under fire and devotion to duty in France, earning him the right to add MM to his name. His home address at this time was Blarney, Co Cork.

From October 1917 the Royal Engineers were working underground, constructing tunnels for the troops in preparation for the Battle of Arras in 1917. Beneath Arras itself a vast network of caverns existed,

consisting of underground quarries and tunnels. The engineers came up with a plan to add new tunnels to this network so that the troops could arrive at the battlefield in safety. The size of the excavation was immense. In one sector alone four tunnel companies of 500 men each worked around the clock in 18 hour shifts for two months.

He returned to Ireland in 1918, later taking up employment in Cork city. In 1922 he married Julia Mullane. They had one son, Samuel, who died an infant. Frank's Lee Enfield rifle was in fact 'commandeered' from Jack while home on leave from WW1.

Jack died in 1944 and is buried in the Busteed family burial place at Ballinaboy, Ballinhassig, Co.Cork (where his mother Norah is also interred).

### **BILL (WILLIAM) BUSTEED (1892-1952)**

Bill Busteed, eldest of the Busteed brothers was born and grew up in Kilmuraheen, Ballinhassig, Co.Cork.

He trained as an engineer, and in 1914 at the outbreak of World War 1 enlisted in the Royal Engineers. He saw action in Belgium and France., and was mentioned in dispatches.

In 1918 he was decommissioned and returned to Ireland, but enlisted again as Sergeant of Armoury at Ballincollig Barracks, Co. Cork until early 1921, when he secured employment in Cork city. However, he again enlisted in April 1921 and was given back his former rank in Ballincollig, apparently with a recommendation from the Vicar of Ballinhassig. He was responsible for supplying Frank and the 6th Battalion with rifles and other weapons and ammunition from Ballincollig Barracks between 1918 and 1921.

After Independence he returned to private employment.

He married May Barrett, they had no issue.

Bill died in 1952.

\* His standard Brit. Army Victory service medal, and Star gallantry medal (which were missing for 100 years) came to light in August 2015, when a letter appeared in the Evening Echo from an English family named Wilson, who had the medals of a J. Busteed in their family for three generations and were determined to return them to their rightful owners. With the help of Orla Busteed (Tracton Genealogy Group) who did some research, ownership was established. It is possible that the Wilson and Busteed families were friends in 1915, and somehow the medals came into their possession. The Busteed family would like to thank Mr. Michael Wilson, and Becky Chester for their efforts in finding us. ■

**DVD Review: Hubert Butler. Witness to the Future....** but silenced in his own country.

DVD Filmed, Directed and Produced by Johnny Gogan. Bandit Films Ireland. 2016.

## Part 4

### Hubert Butler: The DVD

VO: Chris Agee.

"I went to the Custom House and after a prolonged search found Radoslav Anitch's birth certificate. He was born on the 1st June 1948 in the Prague House Nursing Home in Terenure Road East. He was the son of Alowz Anitch—a Professor of History at 6, Sion Road, Rathgar. On the strength of this discovery, I sent a letter to all the Dublin dailies explaining that I was writing an account of the Independent State of Croatia 1941-1945 and I wished information about the former Minister of the Interior, Andrija Artukovitch, (alias Alois Anitch) who had lived at 6, Zion Road, Rathgar in 1947.

Only The Irish Times printed my letter, turning him into a lady called Audrey."

VO: Fintan O'Toole.

"Its not at all surprising that the Artukovitch files remained under lock and key for so long" (photos of well dressed men walking towards officers—captioned 'The Trial of Andrija Artukovitch' Zagreb. 1986.) "because after all here we—the State effectively colluded to allow a war criminal to escape from genocidal crimes—now did the State do that accidentally?"

VO: CA.

(Agee is now filmed with a very well dressed and well spoken gentleman/public servant whose name pops up captioned: *Michael Kennedy, Royal Irish Academy.*)

VO: Michael Kennedy.

"Now Chris this is the Department of External Affairs file on Andrea Artukovitch's sojourn in Ireland 1947-'48. There it is in front of you—recently declassified". (Photo of CA with file and he puts it on a lovely pine desk and he starts turning the pages of the file over). (What amazed me is that the protocol for handling old paper files which are obviously in a fragile condition was not followed—he never used a pair of cloth gloves nor was he so requested by Mr. Kennedy. I have been in enough archives in my time to know that this would be never allowed except perhaps by special exemption –JH!)

VO: CA:

"Amazing... Basically a stand" (mumbling) "or a censor has been taken at the highest level against Hubert Butler even as other officials of External Affairs were aware of Artukovitch's criminal offences and very likely have intimations of the Catholic Church's involvement in the genocidal actions of the Independent Croatia."

VO: Michael Kennedy.

"If you go back to 1946—there was an attempt made by Croatian students in Rome who are hiding out in the Vatican to get to Ireland and then mentors/minders approached the Irish Embassy to the Holy See, asked Ireland's Ambassador to the Vatican Tommy Kiernan if it was possible to get safe passage to Ireland" (A photo of an elderly man—whom I eventually tracked down myself was Dr. T.J. Kiernan, lecturer in Economics in Galway University before becoming Ireland's Ambassador to the Vatican and President John F. Kennedy –JH) "Kiernan was wily and he sends Reports to Dublin saying: These guys are going to make contact with you but they are Ustache—they are a bad lot—they have a bad background. We need to be aware of this before the country gets in too deep. He sends the Reports to a man called Joe Walshe who was Ireland's top Diplomat. He was Head of the Department of External Affairs but Walsh" (photo of book cover 'Joseph Walshe, Irish Foreign Policy 1922—1946') "but Walshe was different to Kiernan in one critical way—he was an ardent Catholic, he was a former Jesuit—he didn't finish his studies but to him the Catholic Church was the centre of the universe and Rome was its centre so when Walshe picks up this dispatch from Kiernan says "Of course we'll welcome these Croats into Ireland if they can be given the right documentation." (CA filmed opening the file with what is obviously a letter heading to "Your Excellency...."

VO: CA:

"This is the reference written for Artukovitch by the Delegate General that is the Head of the Franciscans in Switzerland."

VO: MK:

"Now the process continues. Kiernan actually gets recalled from the Vatican and is replaced by Walshe and the man who took over there is Fred Boland—a much more urbane astute Diplomat than Walshe" (this is pure hokum—de Valera from day one had brought External Affairs into his Department of the Taoiseach and relied totally on the multi-lingual Walshe) —"he brings this idea to the Archbishop of Dublin John Charles McQuaid who saw himself as a Prince of Catholic Ireland if you like" (only Cardinals are so designated –JH) "*the Ruler of Catholic Ireland if you like*". (Throughout this narration CA pops up now and again grinning delightedly at the *story* that

Kennedy is telling) "He takes one look at this correspondence and he writes in a very direct style and said "I don't want this dumped on me—for want of a better word—the Vatican are trying to fob off their problem"(Michael Kennedy here acknowledges that he is *paraphrasing slightly* on this but that is the gist of it—could he not have cited from the Archbishop's letter itself or would that have complicated the nature of the *story* that this documentary is telling?) "but I think it is McQuaid's warning that is what Boland listens to. After the trial of Archbishop Stepinac—the mood changes in Ireland towards the Croatian and the Catholic Church in Croatia. I think that is from the background to why the Artukovitch/Anitch—this application is looked at in a more favourable light by the Dept. of External Affairs and its officers in 1947."

VO: Rev. Rob Tobin.

"But where it also points out to him" (HB) "and he is very eloquent on this topic is how the local, the national and the international all come together that really just as he is fighting for certain principles in his own neighbourhood so if people had been more responsible and more outspoken in the neighbourhoods of Croatia—perhaps the slaughter wouldn't have taken place and this is such an important theme in Butler's writing that local relationships be they in Ireland or in the outskirts of Paris when Jewish children are sent to the death camps ... or be it in Croatia during the forced Conversions campaign—its all about the eye to eye daily contact with your neighbours that has to be faced in the force of ideology of religious extremism and the bureaucratising and dehumanising impact of modern life."

VO: CA:

"They spent four days without food in the Velodrome d'Hiver—the winter cycle racing stadium before their mothers were taken from them, they were loaded 3-4 hundred at a time into cattle trains at the Gare d'Austerlitz and taken to Auschwitz" (caption "The Children of Drancy") "It was related at Nuremberg than an order came from Berlin that deportees from Vichy France should be mingled discreetly with the children to make them look like family groups. Was this done? It is not as though dubious legend has grown up around these children as it has around King Herod's far smaller enterprise in Bethlehem. The facts are bleak and few. It should not be hard to find more and to iron out the discrepancies. But no one seems interested." (Photo of young teens with a Star of David on one girl's coat—all are very well dressed with coats and scarves.)

VO: Lara Marlowe, France Correspondent, *The Irish Times*.

"Butler wrote in 1968 which was actually in Europe the time of the

Revolution. At the time the people were not very focused on the Second World War. They were not focused on the issue of collaboration. On the contrary, basically France had swallowed the myth that was peddled by General Charles de Gaulle after the War that all of France resisted. The collaborators, the Vichy Regime were not France, they were just a tiny, tiny minority and it took—obviously Hubert Butler realised that that was false and what he denounces in his wonderful essay is the fact that people just went along with it—they saw these Jews being rounded up—they saw the children being torn from their mothers and being put on cattle trains at Austerlitz Station and they did nothing. It took actually an American academic Robert Paxton—a historian in the early 1970's who published 'Vichy' and that blew the lid off collaboration. It was a very controversial book especially in France—a lot of French people were really shocked to learn the extent of the French population accepted—indeed even welcomed, co-operated and worked with Vichy and was quite zealous in deporting Jews."

(Photo of manuscript copy with lots of corrections of 'The Children of Drancy')

VO: RT:

"Clearly essays like 'The Children of Drancy' and 'The Invader wore Slippers' are the products of a lot of thought and Butler arrives at a particular moment of history or a particular concept and he hangs a much larger argument on the moment like who the children are betrayed by in Drancy or when he begins to ask the question how would the Irish have responded to an invasion of the Germans during the War and this sets him off on these contemplations which are actually quite beautiful constructions.

VO: FOT:

"And of course what he realises and wrote about brilliantly was that you wouldn't come in to crush Catholic Ireland—you'd come in as the ally of Catholic Ireland. *You'd come in and say "we are your friends—we're here to support you—your historic mission to free Catholic Ireland, shake off the British oppressor and what would happen in these circumstances—how would the Irish people respond and I don't think Butler ever said all Irish people would be pro-fascist—I think what he was hinting at very very (sic) subtly and very very (sic) brilliantly in 'The Invader wore Slippers' was there was in in (sic) the susceptibilities of Irish people—their sense of oppression—their sense of self-pity could have been easily been turned by a putatively Nazi Invasion and that the Nazis would have found a substantial number of people who would have been happy to take part in collaborating with the Nazi Puppet Regime. I mean—it is a very disturbing essay because it is in a way—it's a kind of science fiction—its not factually saying*

what would have happened but what makes it disturbing is not the contra-factual—it is what comes of what we know that Irish culture was like—what Irish society was like and how that kind of rhetoric, that kind of self-pity could have been manipulated and Butler was able to do this because he knew how this had happened elsewhere." (Photo of 'The Invader wore Slippers' 1950.)

VO: CA:

"In totalitarian society where human nature is reduced to its simplest terms and the skilled Invader can predict with fair accuracy the behaviour of the respectable X's and the patriotic Y's, the pious Z's—of course there are innumerable derogations but in an avalanche—it is the valleys and the rivers that count—the thousand car tracks can be disregarded". (Photo of street scenes of jubilation). "In a Zagreb newspaper of 1942, I read that Ireland with Croatia and Slovakia was to be one of the 3 model allied States in German Europe. In other papers too there was much of flattering content about the common loyalty of the Croats and Irish to Faith and Fatherland, our similar histories, romantic tendencies, literary gifts. Irish plays continued to be played in Zagreb—the English were taboo.

I think the Nazi policy in regard to Ireland would have been equally agile and ambiguous. The Celtic Nationalists—as in Brittany—would have been regarded as a valuable tool for undermining a non-Germanic construction of a German one. The Nationalist would have been manoeuvred not kicked out of his privileged position." (Really—this *raméis* is fogging up my brain –JH!)

VO: Roy Foster:

"One of the great Irish writers—I think his style is absolutely extraordinary and I think when I read 'Escape from the Anthill' in 1985—one thing that struck me besides the clarity and originality that he was bringing to bear in many many topics that I had vaguely thought of—he made me think again but the other thing that struck me was the metaphors, the similes, the slashing style that sometimes is very gentle and inferential and then comes a slap at the end. He says somewhere—and in fact I used this as a title of an essay that he always admired or believed the man was right who gave his son a good slap when he saw a salamander—this rare beast because then he would remember it. Hubert believed in a slap being a necessary thing to—in a type of style—from time to time." (Here Foster brings one of his hands down in a sharp arc). Sometimes he comes out with a twist, a dagger at the end of a beautifully constructed paragraph that makes you do "ouf!" And that's why reading him is a continuing revelation. He writes in a way that is utterly distinctive—you know the maker's name on the blade—if you read a Hubert Butler essay—it couldn't be written by anyone else."

VO: CA:

"Looking for a reason I can only conclude that science has enormously extended this sphere of our responsibilities while our concisions have remained the same size. Parochially minded people neglect their parishes" (Photo of 'The Sub-Prefect Should Have Held His Tongue') "pronounce ignorantly about the Universe. The Universalists are so conscious of the world wide struggle of the opposing philosophies that the rights and wrongs of any regional conflict dwindles into insignificance against a cosmic panorama. The needle of a compass at the North Pole, their moral judgements spins round and round overwhelming them with information and telling them nothing at all. They fear that the truth in some way relative to orientation and falsehood no more than a wrong adjustment so that they can never say unequivocally that is a lie."

VO: RT:

"You know it is sometimes said that human beings are almost biologically programmed not be able to relate to more than the equivalent of a small community of other people and Butler really believes that intrinsically we are meant to relate to the world in terms that the media and modern life demands of us. That really we can only comment meaningfully with a small group of people who we know and who we are in relationship with and so one of his great concerns is that modern life places moral demands on us just in terms of scale which really lie beyond our grasp. If Butler were around today the bumper sticker would be—he might have on his car—act locally think globally. You know that's very much how he tried to frame his own life. It raises interesting questions about his relationship to his European identity because he was a fervent European but he lived long enough to wonder what would be the impact of the European Union and how this affects the local industries, the local culture he so highly prized. He was deeply suspicious of centralisation."

VO: RF:

"It's very apposite I think that that is where the centre of his operations moved from. It is one of the few cities that has mediaeval merchant's houses" (Photo of a pottage of Kilkenny shots) "a wonderful Castle in the centre and antiquities in the wider area. It is a palimpsest of Irish life and it is very beautiful."

VO: CA:

"Butler was completely involved in his local world. He stood—for instance—bravely a year after the Nuncio Affair. He didn't get elected but that didn't quell his activities. When the local housing committee planned a housing estate on the Castle Park—Butler worked with others too successfully oppose it. Many writers try to escape their roots—out of a need to re-invent themselves—Beckett

and Joyce come to mind. Butler nurtured these roots" (Photo of 'Launch of Kilkenny Arts Festival Butler House') "whether it was his work on the city archives, his archaeological activities, and the clan gatherings of the Butler Diaspora." (Photo of a group of black long coated men—with swords—perhaps of a ceremonial nature –JH?) "And let's not forget Peggy including her own work on the archives" (Photo of a smiling Peggy amongst a smiling crowd) "her early years with the Kilkenny Arts Festival, the Arts Week or the Cities Arts Gallery which now proudly bears their names."

VO: RF:

"But these intellectual operations—rather a military metaphor—but perhaps not inappropriate took in Northern Ireland as well which he was determined to throw out grappling hooks to. The Kilkenny Debates are very important part of that so is his constant interest in what's happening up there—much more than many other Protestants of his era did."

VO: RT:

"So the 1954 debate bringing Ulster men or Ulster Unionists down to Kilkenny to have an open conversation about Partition and Unification—its hard for us now to remember just how controversial and upsetting that such an idea would have been to people." (Two photos—one of the interior of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny (?-JH), and the other of Rev. Ian Paisley holding up a Communion Host and shouting that the Church of Rome thinks this to be the body, bones, blood of Christ ... the caption is: 'Oxford Union Debate November 1967.')

VO: RF:

"We certainly didn't think that Northern Protestants were anything like us—they were *scarily different* and Hubert became interested in fundamentalism very early on. He is writing about Paisley" (Photo of a young smouldering Paisley) "far earlier than a lot of other people are and I notice this is some of the essays found in his last book collection 'The Appleman and the Poet.' (Two photos of Paisley—one with black sunglasses at a rally and the other of a self-satisfied Paisley holding up a new sledgehammer) "Of course Peggy came from a border county which I think is very important too and through her and his brother-in-law Tyrone Guthrie and various Northern friends—he had a close apprehension of the tensions in the North and of the possibilities and potentialities of the North which were denied to many other Southern Protestants because the debates are one of the ways in which he tried to infuse that knowledge." (A clip from the film about the Fethard-on-Sea Boycott—again annoyingly uncaptioned so I looked it up and it was the actors from 'A love Divided' 1999 with Orla Brady and Liam Cunningham in the lead roles.)

VO: RT:

"He saw that the Fethard-on-Sea boycott happened in 1957 and again what starts off seems a pretty minor thing but as we all know back in the 50's, there was the enforcement of Ne Temere which meant that when you had a mixed marriage between a Protestant and a Catholic, it was expected that the marriage would take place in the Catholic Church and ultimately it was also required that the Protestant partner in the marriage would agree that any children would be raised in the Catholic Church and so you have a young farming couple—the Cloneys in Fethard who are a mixed marriage and Sheila Cloney has agreed to all of this but as a Protestant mother when it becomes time to educate two young daughters she begins to have second thoughts and the very personal familial matter quickly turns into a cause celebre because the local Catholic priest is not willing to let it drop and so her response to this is to flee town with her two children and in response to that the local Catholic community begins to boycott Protestant businesses in Fethard." (This time the film clip is captioned with the already mentioned information with very dramatic footage of a priest throwing

down the gauntlet to a packed church about those who are against the one true Church will be boycotted! Nowhere is it stated that this is a filmic/fictional account and someone spray paints SCABS in black on a white cover over one window on a local shop 'Katie Anderson; Newsagent and Tobacconist.') "Because of what Mrs. Cloney has done and this raises lots of questions for Hubert Butler not just about the on-going friction between the two religious communities" (shots from film of shattering glass window and people packing up and putting stuff into a Removal truck) "and raises for him questions about whether Protestants are going to stick up for themselves. It is Butler who joins in an effort to get local Protestants in his area to go and buy their groceries, newspapers and other items from the Protestant businesses in Fethard to keep them open—to keep them from going as well as a show of solidarity but again it is very much secular, progressive tolerant intellectuals who take up the cause."

Julianne Herlihy ©.

To be continued in next issue of  
*Irish Political Review*

## Casement: *Précis of a Proof*

In the mid 1950s MPs in the House of Commons and others began to ask questions about the mysterious diaries attributed to the executed Roger Casement. The first of these was addressed by Lord Russell of Liverpool in a letter of 6th August 1955 to Home Secretary G. Lloyd-George asking if the unseen diaries existed at the time of the 1916 trial. The response was the standard '*no comment*'. Pressure in the Commons mounted with further questions. In 1958 the Home Office instituted a Working Party to reconsider the no-comment policy.

A study of the voluminous file which contains the considerations of the civil servants and advisors in 1958-59 on the dilemma of what to do about the diaries, shows clearly that a major concern was how to maintain cordial Anglo-Irish relations and somehow persuade skeptics (described as fanatics) to see things more reasonably.

The papers reveal that the dilemma was serious and that no solution would please all concerned. In some respects the dilemma resembled a second-rate Gilbert & Sullivan operetta with the theme—How can we cover up the cover-up? The cast included big and small names of the day, few remembered now. But how could one forget names like Clutterbuck, Snelling, Miss Nunn and Cecil Parrott? In

short, this was understandably a very British affair and redolent of a bygone era. In the end, following sage advice from the top diplomat in Dublin, Alexander Clutterbuck, that the diaries should be transferred to the Public Records Office for controlled access to scholars, Home Secretary Butler made the appropriate announcement on 23 July, 1959. The Ambassador's advice was to let the experts argue about the diaries "*in the hope that the verdicts of the scholars will cancel each other out ...*"

The National Archives file PRO HO 144/23455 contains some 200 pages relating to the deliberations of the Working Party. Among these pages is a long document dated 6th March, 1959 and entitled Memorandum by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and Lord Privy Seal and the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. This memo contains Annex "A" which is entitled *History of the Casement Diaries* and paragraph 4 of that Annex contains the following; "*There is no record on the Home Office papers of the diaries or the copies having been shown to anyone outside the Government service before Casement's trial*". Therefore this document confirms that there is no record of the bound volumes being shown *at that time*. There is, however, verifiable external evidence that typescript pages prepared

by the Metropolitan Police were widely shown and that a large quantity of these pages were given to journalist Singleton-Gates in 1922 who, after a Home Office warning in 1925, had to wait until 1959 before publishing them in Paris. But Casement did not type those pages.

It is, however, widely believed today that between Casement's arrest and execution the diaries now held in the National Archives were clandestinely shown to influential persons in order to disarm appeals for his reprieve. This erroneous belief was once again articulated by law professor Sean McConville on 2nd June 2016 at a Casement event in London when he stated to a TV audience of millions "...the diaries were circulated in London ... Blackwell... was circulating these diaries at a time when Casement's fate had not finally been decided ..." McConville's unambiguous declaration was unsupported by any evidence.

The original sources of this belief, however, are the books written over a fifty-year period by René MacColl BL, Reid, Roger Sawyer, Brian Inglis, and Séamus Ó Síocháin. These volumes comprise more than 2,000 pages and at an average of two years of research for each study, we have *circa* ten years of research. Strangely, in these 2,000 pages there is not a single verifiable instance recorded of the diaries in the National Archives being shown to anyone in that period. How can this be?

It is not credible that these authors during ten years of research overlooked this crucial aspect. If they found instances of the diaries being shown in that period, then it seems they withheld that vital information from their readers. Since this is not credible, we must assume that none of them found any instance of the bound volume diaries being shown in that period.

What would constitute a proof of authenticity of the diaries held in the National Archives? There are no witnesses to Casement's authorship and there have been no rigorous and impartial scientific tests. The only evidence that has been adduced in favour of authenticity is a resemblance in handwriting. The attempts at corroboration in July 1916 are not evidence of authorship.

But perhaps the question about authenticity is a false trail? In the period from 25th April to August 3rd the authorities claimed to be in possession of the five bound volumes now held in the National Archives. However, there is no verifiable record that these volumes were shown to

anyone in that period. Rather than show the diaries, the Intelligence chiefs had decided to prepare typescript pages and to show these to influential persons, journalists, editors, politicians, churchmen and others. They told these persons that the typescript pages were authentic copies of original diaries written by Casement. They failed to provide any proof that the typescript pages were copies of anything written by anyone. The proof which they did not provide would have been exhibition of the bound volume diaries now in the National Archives. No explanation has ever been proposed for this failure.

Today there are five bound volumes in the National Archives at Kew. Their existence today does not prove their existence in the period 25th April to 3rd August 1916. That the bound volume diaries were not shown in that period means there was some impediment to showing them. The protagonists—Blackwell, Thomson, Hall, Smith and others—had the strongest of motives for showing the bound volume diaries which they said had been discovered but they did not do so. The impediment certainly existed and it was such that these powerful men neither jointly nor singly could overcome it. Therefore it was out-with their *joint power* to show the bound volume diaries *in that period*. This circumstance indicates that the impediment could not have been overcome by anyone in England at that time—not even by the monarch. In this regard these powerful men had touched the limit of their *human power*.

The question is therefore not about forgery or authenticity but about the material existence of the bound volume diaries at that time. The absence of verifiable evidence that the bound volume diaries existed before August 3rd 1916 means that questions about authenticity are meaningless. What first requires to be proved is their existence in that period before August 3rd.

Those who claim the typescripts were true copies have now had 100 years to produce evidence of the existence of the bound volumes in that period. That they have not produced the necessary evidence indicates that they too have been unable to overcome the impediment which defeated their powerful predecessors, Thomson, Smith, Hall etc. In these circumstances an impartial court of law would decide to act as if the bound volume diaries did not exist *at that time* and would dismiss a case for their authenticity as being un-tryable. The case for the typescripts being copies at that time could not be tested or proved

without verifiable independent evidence that the bound volumes existed before August 3rd.

Thus the case in favour of the material existence of the bound volume diaries before August 3rd rests entirely on the word of Thomson, Hall, Blackwell, Smith and others and these are the persons who at that time were circulating typescripts which depicted Casement as "*addicted to the grossest sodomitical practices*". These persons can only be considered as hostile witnesses by virtue of their uncontested behaviour. There are no neutral witnesses who testified to seeing *at that time* any of the bound volume diaries now in the National Archives. Absence of proof of existence of the bound volumes at that time entails that no proof of their authenticity can be derived. That no proof of authenticity can be derived entails that until such proof of existence is provided, the veracity or falsity of the typescripts cannot be considered. *Ei incumbit probatio qui dicit, non qui negat*; the onus of proof rests on the accuser, not on the defence.

If questions about authenticity are meaningless due to lack of conclusive evidence after 100 years, claims favouring authenticity do not rest upon verifiable facts or upon independent testimony. Therefore such claims rest upon an induction which excludes the normal apparatus of reasoned proof, a process which is indeterminate, untestable and unprovable, akin to that of faith.

That there is no independent witness to the existence of the bound volumes at any time before 3rd August 1916 means that their continuous existence from 1903, 1910, and 1911 can only be presumed *because* it cannot be proven. That the Intelligence chiefs did not show the bound volumes to any independent witness during the three-month period up to August 3rd is an extraordinary omission but it cannot have been an oversight given their joint plan to destroy Casement's moral reputation. Therefore the *presumption* that the bound volumes existed before August 3rd is groundless because unsupported by verifiable facts or the testimony of independent witnesses.

That the bound volume diaries are effectively 'date stamped' proves only that they are date stamped but does not constitute a verifiable fact that they existed on those dates. The anomalous behaviour of the Intelligence chiefs was nonetheless intentional and intentional behaviour is that which is felt to be necessary. Therefore they felt it necessary to show typescripts rather than bound volumes. That necessity

compelled them to exclude showing the bound volumes. Such a necessity indicates that there was no option; the bound volumes could not be shown by any of the Intelligence chiefs at any of the recorded showings of the typescripts. An impartial person, indifferent to the political equations, would be irresistibly drawn to the conclusion that the bound volumes held in the National Archives could not be shown

in that period because they did not exist before August 3rd; therefore they cannot be authentic Casement writings. The search for reasonable alternative explanations being exhausted *after 100 years*, the impartial person would regard this as satisfying the 0.91 probability threshold required for proof beyond reasonable doubt.

**Paul R. Hyde**

## Casement: More Or Less

I have belatedly received a print-out from an Internet magazine, *Dublin Review of Books*, (June 2013) of a long rancorous review by Jeffrey Dudgeon, OBE, of a group of books by Angus Mitchell on the subject of the Casement Diary, in which BICO, and myself particularly, are stupidly quoted against Mitchell and in support of the contention that the alleged Diaries are genuine.

The quoting of me is utterly stupid, and indicative of the profound lack of political wit. I have never investigated the Diary document. I haven't even read it. And, if I had pretended to expert knowledge of it, quoting me in a Dublin publication could do nothing but damage Dudgeon's credibility.

He has better reason than most to know that I was put out of court by the entire range of Dublin politics (including academia) in 1969 when I insisted that Unionist Ulster was not a brittle remnant of the feudal era that would collapse at a touch. I was excommunicated. The excommunication was renewed about the time of the publication that Dudgeon quotes from. And the fact that I was proved right by events only increased the gravity of my offence,

The *Dublin Review* does not seem to be widely read by readers of the *Irish Political Review*, so here is its case against me in this matter:

"So why is Mitchell taking up the cudgels on behalf of the forgery theorists, again and now? The school was formerly more united, being composed of himself, the Roger Casement Foundation, various unreconstructed old-time nationalists (who could not always be relied upon to curb their anti-homosexual sentiments), and the nexus of the *Irish Political Review*/BICO/Athol Books under Brendan Clifford.

That combination had gone its separate ways and Mitchell, having, as he says, taken advice from his mentors, perhaps wisely, set out on an academic and global path. Yet after being told for the sake of his career to keep out of the controversy he now seems released from that advice.

One clue may be that the piece is a precursor to a big international conference on Casement in Tralee in October 2013 run by the University of Notre Dame, one that, in turn, may be linked to The Gathering.

The British and Irish Communist Organisation (BICO, formerly the ICO), with its HQ in Athol Street, Belfast, used to have a different view on the diaries and Casement's homosexual activities, but now only appreciate him for his anti-English, anti-war writings and activities. Unwisely, they linked up with the forgery theorists, seriously subverting their own case on the origins of First World War that are now underpinned and sustained by a monocular Anglophobia.

For the record, in February 1984, the BICO publication *The Irish Communist* said:

'The great Irish homosexual is Roger Casement. The great English homosexual is Oscar Wilde. Casement was of the Keynes variety and Wilde of the Quentin Crisp variety. Casement never got into trouble over his apparently rampant sexual activity while he was a British imperialist agent, but his diaries were used after his conviction for treason in order to dampen down the demand for a reprieve. And Wilde wouldn't have got into trouble if his sense of humour has not failed him at a critical moment. The most outrageous humourist in the English language struck a high moral attitude when it was vital that he should have made a joke. He insisted on going to court, and he ended up doing hard labour for unnatural practices.

Irish national culture could only cope with Casement by declaring the allegation of homosexuality to be an imperialist slander and insisting that the diaries had been forged by Scotland Yard. It was tacitly conceded that if the diaries were not forged, then Casement was an abominable person. But Wilde, unnatural practices notwithstanding, became part of the fabric of English culture—both in his own proper person, and through the Gilbert and Sullivan opera *Patience*.

Official tolerance of homosexuality in England came after a long period of de facto tolerance connected with the growth of liberal culture. Perhaps that is why many English homosexuals can take

queer jokes in their stride, and even contribute to them. The culture of nationalist Ireland was not tolerant of sexual perversion and its classification of perversions was very extensive indeed. In the good old anti-imperialist days, a demand for "gay rights" would have been given short shrift. The de facto tolerance of "gay liberation" in recent years is not the product of a growth of liberal culture. It is a product of cultural collapse.

For half a century after independence nationalist Ireland embarked on a line of cultural development diverging from that of Britain. But that line of development was cut short by the influence of the Second Vatican Council. The past decade has seen a collapse in the value system which the society had been cultivating since the mid-nineteenth century. The old convictions are giving way to mere confusion. The society is beginning to follow on behind Britain for want of anything else to do, but the strongly developed liberal convictions of the British are absent. "Gay liberation" has sprung into being in this vacuum. Perhaps that is why it is so thin-skinned.'

(This article followed a dispute over a comic squib in the *Irish Communist's* December 1983 issue entitled "Gay Noise", which prompted the Cork Quay Co-op to withdraw all ICO publications from sale.)"

That *Irish Comment* article is in fact an editorial comment on its banning from sale in a Cork City shop by a homosexual commercial enterprise, the Quay Co-op, because it had ridiculed a motion at a homosexual conference to join the homosexual struggle with the national (i.e. anti-Partitionist) struggle at a time when the British law on homosexuality had been repealed in the North but not in the South. Joe Keenan, who was not a member of BICO, wrote the piece and suggested a memorable slogan to that group: *Ireland, not only free but gay-like as well*.

Dudgeon, who was the most high-profile homosexual in Ireland, was closely associated with BICO, though he did not join it, and he wrote for the *Irish Communist* after it had been banned by the Cork Puritans. I suppose that is why he is unclear about what he is quoting from.

I had little involvement with the IC in that period, but possibly I did write the comment on Quay Co-op. But whoever wrote it did no more than assume that the received opinion about the Diary 33 years ago was soundly based. In wartime Belfast Athol Street had other things on its mind.

The remark about Wilde probably had to do with Carson, who was in bad odour for having acted against him, but was appreciated by us for having opposed this setting-up of the horror of the Northern Ireland system.

Carson did not prosecute Wilde. He acted for the Defence in a libel action brought by Wilde against the father of his male lover, who left a note at a hotel addressed to Oscar Wilde "*posing as a Sodomite*". That Wilde posed as a Sodomite was beyond all doubt. It was his gimmick. It appears that he went into the witness-box with the intention of using it as a theatre in which he could make risqué paradoxes before a national audience. Carson took no heed of the brilliance of the paradoxes and, taking the words literally, demonstrated, out of Wilde's own mouth, the truth of the libel. Thus Wilde made it virtually impossible for the authorities not to prosecute him for sodomy.

Sodomy was made an offence punishable by death by the English Reformation. Following the collapse of the Puritan regime, and the evolution of a semi-sceptical Anglican ruling class, the laws against vice (which was seen as being very much Catholic thing) were relaxed in their application in the 18th century. But they were renovated and reinforced in the democratisation following the 1832 reform, which brought the Puritan (or Nonconformist) middle class back into political power.

As the force of Puritan virtue slackened at the end of the 19th century, the Decadent movement began flirting with vice in their select circles and were let be. But Nonconformity (which abhorred the Confessional and therefore carried virtue to extremes) remained the great power-base of the Liberal Party. It destroyed Parnell over adultery, as a few years earlier it had destroyed the Liberal second-in-command, Sir Charles Dilke. The sodomy laws were in place and the politicians who renovated them were in power. Wilde deliberately challenged them in a way that the upper circle that appreciated his witticisms could not ignore. So he had to pay for his rent-boys with hard labour.

Supposing Casement to have been a homosexual, then he was certainly of the Keynes variety rather than the Wilde/Quentin Crisp variety. He had things to do in the world that had nothing to do with homosexuality and he applied himself to doing them, and did not apply himself to overthrowing the predominance of heterosexual culture, which is a necessity for any society that reproduces itself.

Dudgeon does not do justice to Athol St. in merely describing it as BICO HQ. It might also be described as a homosexual HQ in Belfast in those times. There were many homosexuals in the Belfast BICO,

all of them Keynes variety that had other concerns in the world than just being homosexual. Some of them were members of CHE [Campaign for Homosexual Reform] which, in those times at least, did not want to overthrow heterosexual culture as the social norm.

The GLF [Gay Liberation Front] did want to overthrow the heterosexual norm. BICO had a long meeting with it, I think in the middle or late 1970s. A feminist group also took part in that meeting. The GLF/Feminist ideal seemed to be human reproduction in laboratories, as the only way of getting free of heterosexual oppression. If that ideal had been realised, then marriage would have become obsolete in its historic social function and "*same-sex marriage*" (or asexual marriage) would be as meaningful as the other kind. But laboratory reproduction has not happened, yet the GLF has succeeded in abolishing marriage as a heterosexual reproductive institution, through a propaganda effort fuelled by American millions which Quay Co-op types had a hand in spending.

Heterosexual reproduction is a messy business. Some are enthralled by it and some are disgusted. Andrea Dworkin, a marvellous writer, regards the heterosexual act as rape which women are brainwashed into tolerating, and even imagining they enjoy. Tolstoy, whose *Kreutzer Sonata* she quotes extensively, had mood swings in the matter. G.B. Shaw envisaged human evolution into the more civilised reptilian mode of reproduction, in which the next generation emerges fully-formed by breaking out of an egg-shell.

BICO drew up a policy position in the matter following its meeting with the GLF—in which, I think, Dudgeon took part as a fellow-traveller of BICO. It took it that heterosexuality was the cultural norm everywhere for the good reason that it was the most basic of all social necessities, and that the occurrence of homosexuality was a matter for different countries to deal with as they saw fit. I gather that that view, in the era of same-sex marriage, is homophobic. If I live to see the Third World War, I expect to see Gay Marriage as one of the things it is being fought for. I have already heard it described on the BBC as a universal human right which is being denied in Russia in its reactionary transition from totalitarian atheism to atavistic Christianity.

Tolstoy's ideal in the *Kreutzer Sonata* would, if realised, put an end to the human race. So would St. Paul's ideal. I seem to recall that Tolstoy reflected that it was

natural that extinction should be the outcome of perfection. And St. Paul, of course, thought that the end of time was close at hand. But the world has carried on, and the greater part of it has refused to be redeemed—has refused to see that it is lost. It is only in the thin upper strata, that live on Imperialist super-profits and imagine that they have discarded Christianity, that the ideals of the GLF have taken root.

Radclyffe Hall—who is no Andrea Dworkin, but is still worth reading—said that homosexuals were the Most Oppressed People Ever. I forget her actual words, but that is what she said. And either she, or somebody else in the cultural anarchy that followed the Great War trauma in the English upper-to-middle-class, saw homosexuals as having a special part to play in the unfolding of history. It was not made clear what that part was but, if human society was to continue, it is obvious that it could only be ancillary to, and subordinates to, heterosexuality.

Amongst the Athol St. homosexuals, the one who puts me most in mind of Keynes is James Ford Smyth, a bourgeois public servant who had no desire to overthrow the existing arrangement of things just because his inclinations did not fit neatly with this aspect of it. And, similar in kind in this respect was the late Brian Earls, a diplomat in the service of the Irish state, and a bourgeois with a national outlook in circles where this had become unusual, whom I got to know fairly well through a Polish connection. Both of them, as far as I could see, accepted that the biological process of reproduction is infinitely complex and that accidents sometimes happen in it, and that the best thing to do is to make particular arrangements if you find yourself an accidental variant in that matter.

When the Quay Co-op denounced the *Irish Communist* as homophobic because of Joe Keenan's satire, Joe replied with an article on *The Social Function Of Raw Humour*, suggesting that, while it might be felt to be offensive on one side, its main effect was to reduce the shock effect of something new on the other side by making it familiar. But Cork City was becoming priggish, and no part of it more so than the Quay Co-op, and Belfast humour was pretty raw—as battlefield humour always is—and communication was impossible between those two worlds. (The Cork affinity with Belfast is entirely rural. And the City, in the form of Kieran Rose, pioneered post-Catholic censorship.)

Finance capitalist England maintained

and expanded its population by importing people from a world which it was disrupting. Reproduction ceased to be a social concern with it. It seems unlikely that this fact is unconnected to the rapid increase in influence of the "Gay" movement—in which there is nothing like the gaiety of Eddie Linden, the dishevelled Scottish poet, and others that I knew in the bad old days of the 1960s. The Gay world pitted itself against the Straight world, in the spirit of MOPE, and looked on it as fair game. And this began to happen amongst the mescellany of homosexuals who used Athol St. as a publishing base. I did not notice this until I found a number of valuable items had gone missing. (One, which I was not able to replace, was a collection of recordings of Wolf songs published by the Hugo Wolf Society.)

It was around that time—early to mid 1980s, I suppose—that I noticed the literature of what I think was called the *Paedophile Exchange* lying around Athol St. This obviously has some bearing on the Casement Diary. I understand that it is being taught in Southern schools that the Diary is genuine and that only homophobes question it. And I gather that the Diary Records paedophile activity.

There was a West-European movement, 30 or 40 years ago, to normalise sexual relations between adults and children. It seems that children have a naturally occurring attraction for some adults, both heterosexual and homosexual. And, if naturally occurring homosexual attraction must be provided for by legislation, even to the extent of abolishing marriage in its historical sense by including homosexual pairings within it, why not a naturally occurring attraction that children have for some adults?

Tommy Byrne, the wonder of Gardiner Street, used to raise that question with liberal progressives. He reflected about it because he had himself been abused in an industrial school. But he was of a philosophical disposition and felt sorry for the abusers rather than injured by them, and he refused to apply for compensation when compensation was being laid on. And, while he was, as far as I know, as little of a believer as me, he questioned the abolition of Christianity by the Liberal Progressives, who were also most insistent on demonising the abusers. If paedophilia was a naturally occurring attraction, and an attraction that must be suppressed, how could it be suppressed in a liberal secular society which knew nothing beyond itself? By police action? Police action was punishment after the event, not prevention.

But what could be as effective in preventing paedophile inclination from leading to paedophile action as the religious culture which branded certain actions as sinful, regardless of nature, and threatened them with eternal punishment if they were acted upon?

He challenged the liberal secularists to find a substitute for sin in these matters. They haven't done so

(Tommy disappeared on a holiday in Spain. It is not known what happened to him. Possibly the world became too absurd for him.)

In the event, paedophilia was neither legalised nor suppressed nor allowed to have a natural basis. It was demonised and prosecuted, even when it took the form of looking at invented images. No treatment was devised for it. And the length of official childhood was increased by the raising of the age of consent. (And this was combined in girls with the sexualising of childhood.)

I don't know how the Southern educational system, which teaches that the Casement Diary is genuine and demonises paedophilia, deals with this aspect of the Diary.

In relations between adults, the distinction of heterosexual relations as the means of perpetuating the species has been abolished officially by the institution of "*equal marriage*" in the Republic and Britain. This historic innovation is still resisted in Northern Ireland, which remains substantially Christian, but professional treatment of homosexuality with a view to alleviating or curing it, for Christians who are convinced that it is wrong, is not allowed. As far as I have been able to gather, the position is that therapists approached by Christians for help with overcoming their homosexual inclinations must treat them for Christianity with a view to abolishing it.

I don't know where Dudgeon stands in these matters. During the twenty years when I knew him, I never associated him with the secular millenarianism of the GLF.

Something which he neglects to reveal in his *exposé* of me is that, when I heard homosexuals in Athol St. discussing how to proceed, I suggested that they should call their organisation the Casement Society. My helpful suggestion was not taken up. But, ten or fifteen years later, after we had parted company, I noticed that Dudgeon, who had become a Unionist, was focusing very closely on Casement in a propaganda campaign that was characterised by what I could only describe as

homosexualist homophobia. Its object seemed to be to strike at the roots of nationalist Ireland by playing on its presumed homophobia with the Casement Diary.

I had tried to explain, from my own experience in a very traditional part of rural Ireland in the fifties, that homosexuality was just regarded as odd and puzzling, and that rural Ireland was tolerant of eccentricity. And I knew from discussions in Athol St. with a group associated with the Provisionals that Sinn Fein was very *avant-garde* on these matters. But Dudgeon, when he became a Unionist, lost the sense of these things that he encountered in Athol St.

It was only after Dudgeon collapsed into Unionism, and in the process destroyed what Athol St. had spent twenty years trying to accomplish, that I took any serious interest in Casement. In the 1990s I had to rediscover Southern politics, from which I had been cast out because of what I published about the Ulster Protestant community in 1969. And it was Casement, the international statesman, that I was interested in.

In 1969 I proposed that Dublin should treat the Ulster Protestants as a distinct national community with a will of its own, rather than as part of Nationalist Ireland which somehow had lost its bearings, and on that basis should establish the possibility of political communication with it. When that proposal was comprehensively rejected, as a kind of treason, I proposed that the exclusion of the North from the political democracy of the state which held it should be ended. A lobby group was set up to persuade the Labour Party of the state that it should contest elections in the Six Counties, which it governed when it won the election in England, Scotland and Wales. It was called the Campaign For Labour Representation (CLR). At a later stage a group was formed to address the Tories: the Campaign For Equal Citizenship (CEC) and many Tories joined the Belfast BICO at that time. Dudgeon complained the decisions were being taken in Athol St. which affected both the CLR and the CEC at meetings at which non-BICO members of those organisations could not participate. He was invited to join BICO. He refused on irrelevant grounds having to do with "*Stalinism*". The Tories who joined did not become 'Stalinists'—though I suppose from a Trotskyist perspective Stalinism is seen as a kind of Toryism.

It so happened that it was only a 'Stalinist' Group that saw the obvious fact

that, leaving Partition aside, the Six Counties were an undemocratically-governed region of the UK state, judging the matter by the standards and arrangements of that state. Northern Ireland was a place apart. It was a uniquely disenfranchised region of an otherwise democratic state. There was nothing else like it in the world. It was an affront to common sense to suppose that this uniqueness was unconnected with its other uniqueness of a long war waged by a community of about half a million people against the Government of a state of more than 50 million people, which the state was incapable of winning. That was why people of all political persuasions took their ideologies of state to be irrelevant to the Northern Ireland Limbo and joined the only organisation that was addressing that issue. "Stalinism" was a complete irrelevance—except perhaps in its tendency to address realities rather than evading them under the influence of some Utopian vision—and it never raised any problems in Athol St. discussions.

The CLR and CEC were both managed by David Morrison. After a difficult start both gained considerable traction in the late 1980s. CLR fringe meetings at Labour Party Conferences began to be attended by MPs. It became increasingly apparent that neither the Labour or Tory Establishment had an answer to the charge that the system of government imposed on the Six Counties was undemocratic, and perverse, and was apparently designed to aggravate "sectarian" antagonism.

A Labour MP of Ulster Protestant background, Kate Hoey, joined the CLR. She seemed to have grasped the situation perfectly and was elected its President. Then, with the assistance of Dudgeon, she secretly set about splitting it between Protestants and Catholics and drawing off Protestants into a new organisation called *Democracy Now*, that was handsomely financed for its first appearance on the fringe of a Labour Conference, and was strongly Unionist in style.

It was an operation by the Labour leadership to get rid of the CLR, which had credibility with the Labour membership because it was a cross-community organisation..

The highly financed Democracy Now organisation made the issue of Labour Party organisation in the Six Counties into a Unionist ploy. The CLR disbanded. Hoey became a Junior Minister. Dudgeon became an OBE and a member of the Unionist Party. *Democracy Now* vanished, its work done.

A similar job was done on the CEC, Dudgeon acting with Robert McCartney and Dr. Lawrence Kennedy in order to liberate it from the sinister and retarding influence of Athol St.

I was denounced by McCartney and Kennedy with Dudgeon's prompting. I responded by proposing at Athol St. that all members must choose between it and the CEC. The CEC was freed from Stalinism to do great things. To the bewilderment of its middle-class Protestant membership—political innocents of a kind only to be found in the Northern Ireland Limbo - it withered promptly.

(It was around that time that is a frivolous libel action was brought against me by Mary McAleese, who had been appointed to a legal position in breach of the Fair Employment laws that were being introduced. What was being done to the CEC made me determined not to win, but it took some time to persuade her that it was very much in her interest to call off the action and bear the considerable cost she had incurred by starting it.)

I will not speculate about Dudgeon's motives, or Hoey's, or McCartney's, or Kennedy's. The facts are as stated, and have not been disputed. But Kennedy later sent an apology to me.

"*Sectarian*" is a much-used word in the North. I did what I could to discourage its use. The State deliberately took on an undemocratic form in the Six Counties which pitted the Protestant and Catholic communities against each other, with no common political ground of mediation. The populace acted under the influence of the system into which it was placed by the State without being consulted. Sectarianism, as I understand it, means bringing in religion where it has no proper function. It can hardly be said that it had no proper function within the Northern Ireland structure of the British State. But it could be said that the State imposed a sectarian arrangement—and that Dudgeon engaged in a sectarian disruption of two organisations which had made some progress towards overcoming the sectarian arrangements of the State.

Athol St. attempted to bring about the democratisation of politics and government in the North as part of the UK state, against the determined opposition of the two States, the Unionist Party, and the SD LP, but it was the sectarianism of Dudgeon and Kate Hoey that brought home to us the futility of the effort we were making. We gave it up.

They had all chosen communal attrition

as their ground of action. There was nothing we could do about it so we gave up the democratisation project and became observers—close observers who knew on which side competence lay. Our withdrawal, as far as it made a difference, helped the Hume-Adams project. The Unionist side was damaged by having the possibility of democratisation presented to it and by their categorical rejection of it.

Susan M'Kay, in her book, *Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People*, gives this very potted account Dudgeon's political career:

"He had been involved in the Campaign for Equal Citizenship after the Anglo-Irish Agreement, where the unlikely alliance of the late Limerick socialist Jim Kemmy and Bob McCartney fell apart after political feuding. The campaign had its roots in the British and Irish Communist Organisation, then in a unionist phase, later to turn nationalist" (p.50).

Susan M'Kay, who originated in Derry but settled down in feminist journalism in Dublin, had no interest in BICO. Her book is a collection of interviews with Ulster Protestants and I don't doubt that what she writes here is an accurate paraphrase of what Dudgeon told her.

The Southern mind is highly resistant to the idea that, quite apart from the matter of Partition, the North was undemocratically governed as a region of the UK state, that what had fuelled the Republican war effort was the experience of undemocratic government, and that Ulster Unionism was intransigently opposed to the introduction of the democratic mode of politics and government of the state into this region of the state.

What Carson demanded in the 1918 elections was a simple Six County exclusion from the Home Rule Bill which would leave the region an integral part of the politics and government of the state.

Carson was Southern Anglo-Irish and a member of the British ruling class, and the implication of devolved government outside the politics of the state was clear to him. But Whitehall worked on his Ulster lieutenants and persuaded them to choose the sham security of this semi-detached Northern Ireland system in preference to UK democracy which, they were assured by Whitehall, would betray them.

It is inconceivable that Dudgeon should have been around Athol St. for 20 years without understanding that, while advocacy of democratisation within the politics of the state might, in a purely literal sense, be described as Unionist, it

was not what Ulster Unionism stood for. And Unionism since 1921 has only meant Ulster Unionism. And, when Athol St. succeeded in reviving Carson's Unionism as an issue within Ulster Unionism, the Unionist Party made it an expulsion issue.

The question of whether Catholics could be Ulster Unionists was opened and closed before the War started in 1970. Ulster Catholics would have been members of the British Labour Party if the Party had let them. They made an attempt to force their way in by electing Jack Beattie for the task during the World War but Beattie was locked out. If he had been admitted, it could be said, pedantically, that he became a Unionist. His ambition was to be a Unionist in the way that the great multitude of Welsh and Scottish revolutionary socialists were Unionists.

But Ulster Unionism? Louis Boyle tried in earnest to become an Ulster Unionist in the late 1960s, and thus to demonstrate to Catholics that they had political options. What his attempt demonstrated was that they hadn't.

(With regard to Jim Kemmy, he was very much an old-fashioned Labourite. I doubt that he had any connection with McCartney, or the CEC. He certainly had nothing to do with the breaking up of CEC. That was done by Dudgeon and his associates. And there was no feuding. As soon as Athol St. heard that CEC members were being told that its participation was retarding development, it ended its participation—and the CEC died.)

It seems that Dudgeon, having become an Ulster Unionist Party Councillor, has acquired an appropriate memory.

When democratisation of the North was rendered hopeless, I re-connected with the South—and discovered how its history had been rubbished by revisionism. It was only then that I took any real interest in Casement—but not in the Diary. If I had ever said the Diary was a forgery, I'm sure Dudgeon would have quoted it.

With regard to Angus Mitchell, I saw him once, at some event in the Mention House at which he spoke with Martin Mansergh. I don't recall that they questioned the genuineness of the Diary presented by the British State in 1959. But they made dismissive remarks on his views on international affairs and the War, and these were what interested me.

I have not read any of Mitchell's books and I'm sure he has not read mine. I gather from Dudgeon's article that he has changed his mind about the Diary, and that what he has written has made Dudgeon feel very

insecure—so insecure that his criticism is only a kind of spluttering.

I attended a couple of public meetings of the Roger Casement Foundation to hear the Diary issue argued out. At the first of them I saw W. J. McCormack for the first time. He seemed to have dedicated himself to being a humourless reincarnation of Bernard Shaw. And, in a highly melodramatic scene, he declared that anyone who cast doubt on the Diary had a share of responsibility for the Enniskillen Bombing. That did not go down well with me. Though I opposed the War, and tried to devise an alternative, I could see that there was sufficient reason for the War in the Northern circumstances, and I did not think that, if bombs had to be placed, a celebration of the Great War was the most outrageous place to plant one.

I addressed one meeting of the Casement Foundation and tried, with little success, to interest it in his foreign policy writing.

It was only at those meetings that I came to realise a number of basic facts about the Diary: The document placed by the British Government in the Public Record Office in 1959 had never been seen by any member of the public until then; the documents shown or circulated by the Government in 1916 for the purpose of deterring influential public figures from signing a petition for the setting aside of the sentence of death on Casement had all disappeared without trace in 1959; The Government, for most of the intervening 43 years, had, in effect, denied that it had in its possession a Casement Diary that would substantiate the matter said to have been in the documents circulated in 1916; Only one person who was shown the documents in 1916 was alive in 1959 and he said he did not think the 1959 version was the same as the 1916 version (Ben Hall of the Associated Press). He said that in 1916 he suggested to whatever Crown agent gave him the document, or showed it to him, that he should be allowed to go with it to Casement, and confront him with it. But the Government would not allow this.

I found it very surprising, in the light of these facts, that the dispute about the Diary was focusing on analysis of the manuscript made public in 1959, rather than on the circumstances of the 1916 business.

One of the people who were shown a document in 1916 was a well-known poet, Alfred Noyes, who was working at that time in the 'News' Department of the War Propaganda operation. (There were few

intellectuals who did not work for the War Propaganda.) Noyes was shown briefly a number of typed pages about buggery and was told they were from Casement's Diary. He took the matter on trust and added his voice to the body of opinion that it was okay to hang Casement as a traitor because he was also a sexual pervert.

He expected that in the course of time the Government would substantiate the story he had been told, and that he had told to others. But the War ended and the years passed and the Government would not even say that it had in its possession a Casement Diary.

I have no doubt that many of those who spread the rumour for the Crown did not care whether it was true or false. It was a useful thing to do for the cause, the cause being the War, and the end justifying any means necessary to achieve it.

In going through the history of the Russian Revolution, I came across the phenomenon of individuals sacrificing their honour for the cause. It began, I believe, among the Socialist Revolutionaries. And it was suggested that that was what Bukharin did at his Trial. I doubt that such a thing played much part in the inner life of British ruling circles. Honour, as an attribute of the individuality, was rendered obsolete by the remarkable statecraft of the 18th century. Honour, like morality, was tended to for the individual by the State, which was a merger of Church and State. Truth became pragmatic—what achieved results in action was what was true. And Honour became the feeling aroused by ceremonial Victory displays.

I know little about Noyes. But I guess that he must have been a very old-fashioned kind of Englishman—early 18th century, pre-Walpole in politics and pre-Bishop Hoadley in religion. Anyhow he retained a remnant of an individual sense of honour. He had taken certain things on trust from people whom he had supposed to be equally honourable. His honour had not been vindicated subsequently by proof. After being baited by Yeats and others as a post-truth smut peddler for the Government, he published a book about it all to vindicate his honour. He concluded that he had been duped by a forgery—or by some typed sheets, which is hardly a forgery. A couple of years after his book was published, and the year after he died, a manuscript was placed in the Public Record Office by the Government, which called it Casement's Diary. That was forty-three years after the hanging.

There was a public dispute about the

authenticity of the 1916 documents in the 1930s and 1940s. It was a dispute about the authenticity of documents which were not even admitted to exist by the institution that had shown them around—or showing something around—In 1916. I don't see how the circumstances of the case could do anything but support those who concluded that forgeries had been used in 1916. And yet Dudgeon, McCormack etc. condemned those who, during the 43 years of Government denial, did not believe that the 1916 documents, which had disappeared without trace, had been authentic.

The only possible basis I can think of for Dudgeon's judgement on those who, during the 43 years when there was nothing to be seen, concluded that forgeries were used in 1916, is an absolute belief that the British State would not do such a thing.

If I was faced with the necessity of believing in either the Immaculate Conception or the virtue of the British State in such a matter, I would choose the Immaculate Conception.

The British State had a vast forgery department in the Great War and some of the forgers boasted about it after the War. I remember coming across an account by one of them about how they invented the German Corpse Factory, which made a great impression when they put it about.

I have come across a belief variant which says that Britain would never do such thing to *the Irish*—as if they had not practised such things on the Irish for the doing of them to others.

And didn't Bernard Shaw say that, if he publicly entertained the possibility that his friend Birkenhead might have circulated a forgery, so that Casement could be killed with impunity, they could never again have a friendly conversation. *That* has the ring of truth.

The case about the Diary existed entirely in the medium of probability for 43 years. During these years the circumstances indicated a strong reasonable probability that the documents used by the Government in 1916 were fakes. If nevertheless the 1959 document was authentic, and the Government wished to establish that, although the State had acted the part of blackguard in 1916, it had at least been an honest blackguard, one would have expected it to try to lay low the reasonable skepticism resulting from 43 year of denial and evasiveness, by making the manuscript available to all possible scientific tests of paper, ink, pollen, and whatever else applies, and also to make available, or account for, the 1916 documents. But I gather that, not only did it not do this, but

it sprayed a film of plastic over the sheets as a 'preservative' of the visible surface.

What I conclude from all of this is that, in putting a manuscript in the Public Records Office, the purpose of the Government was to provide the Irish with material for endless dispute on a marginal issue in order to distract them from what was the major issue in Casement's life—the one that got him killed. He returned to Ireland to call off the Insurrection, for which he had been unable to raise sufficient support in Germany. He was hanged for demonstrating, as a British diplomat, that the object of British diplomacy for about a decade before 1914 was to isolate Germany diplomatically in order to make war on it from a position of considerable supremacy.

In their dispute about the Diary both sides, as far as I have noticed it, leave aside the matter of the World War, which, it seems to me was the major determinant of his actions. And, in international affairs, they limit themselves to his Congo Report, merely in its humanitarian aspect. They do not discuss the Report as possibly having had an important bearing on the War.

It is a very long time since I read about these things, but didn't Capt. Monteith, who should know, write that it was Casement's opinion that the Foreign Office used the Report to exert pressure on the Belgian Government to resist a German march-through to France, and thus provide it with the means of launching war on Germany on a wave of Liberal/Non-conformist hysteria?

(Belgium was not a sovereign state and the Treaty said to have been breached by the German German passage of arms was a Treaty about Belgium, not a Treaty with it. Belgium, being non-sovereign, and not permitted its own foreign policy, might simply have observed the German Army passing through it on the way to France and left it to its sovereign creators and guarantors to sort the matter out amongst themselves.

The British Liberal press during the week before the War, was of the opinion that a German march through Belgium would not require Britain to make war on Germany, and that, if the British Government used such an incident to declare war on Germany, it would be, as Casement soon after described it as being, a crime against Europe. It was the Belgian resistance that inflamed the situation for Britain and enabled it to work up war hysteria in the crucial Nonconformist element in the Liberal Party. And Belgium

resisted in return for the Congo Report being taken out of the news. The great genocidal Empire was transformed for the public into *heroic little Belgium*.

On the face of it, that suggestion rings true. But the propaganda mythology of the Great War remains of vital importance for the British sense of well-being, and the issue has not been probed.

And how did the Irish "*Constitutional nationalists*" respond to the Congo Report? I have never seen the matter discussed. Belgium was the model of a Catholic nation-state for the Redmondites and I suspect that many of them would have seen Casement as a propagandist acting for the British Empire to discredit their ideal, and that they were very happy when it was transformed from a gross Imperialist predator into a heroic victim of German Imperialism.

And there is another aspect of the Casement question that I have never seen mentioned.

The British Government in August 1914 declared that it had no war aims, other than the vindication of a system of international law which Germany had broken, and that its defeat of Germany would result in that system of international law being consolidated in a powerful international order characterised by democracy and the rights of small nations. It sought no material gain whatever from its warmaking.

Austria had not broken any international law (supposing such a thing really existed). It was criticised for responding excessively to the murder of the Crown Prince in Bosnia by an agent of Serbia. But that was not a breach of the supposed international law. And there was no suggestion that Austria had broken any semblance of international law with relation to Italy. But Britain, acting in alliance with Italian irredentists (including Mussolini), lured the Italian state into war against Austria (with the assistance of the Redmondites, but against the opposition of both the Vatican and the Italian Socialist Party) by offering it chunks of Austrian territory.

In the Austrian state, south of the Alps there was an Italian population which was participating in the political life of the Hapsburg state. There was no national rebellion by this population against the Austrian state, as there was by the Irish against the British state, but some Italians in the region joined the Italian Army as it prosecuted its war against Austria, and some of these Italians became prisoners-of-war, were discovered to be Hapsburg

subjects, and were charged with treason. When one of them was executed as a traitor, outrage was expressed in Britain that the enemy was deploying such outmoded and barbaric notions in the era of democracy and the rights of small nations.

As far as I recall, this happened only a few weeks before the Casement Trial. And there were some high-minded but slow-witted British warmongers who still believed in the altruistically internationalist British statement of purpose of August 1914, and they could not help seeing the Casement affair as a mirror-image of the Italian/Austrian incident which they had just condemned. They too needed to be reassured by the pederasty documents that were shown around.

There is very much more to the Casement question than a doubtful Diary. And neither will it do to reduce him to an ineffectual humanitarian who probed the atrocious conduct of other states in the service of the British State which made judicious diplomatic use of his discoveries.

I gather from Dudgeon's angry spluttering response to Mitchell that Mitchell changed his mind about the Diary, and made Dudgeon feel insecure about his own belief in the matter—or at least about the reasoning with which he supported his beliefs. Why else would he abuse Mitchell so vehemently about issues which have nothing to do with the authenticity of the 1959 document, and the vanished 1916 documents:

"Significantly, the writer hardly addresses the outstanding and contemporary issues of Ulster and the Irish nation, else he might reveal Casement, and his representatives on earth today, have little original or useful to say on that subject beyond *bien pensant* peace process remarks and abuse of England."

Dudgeon has conferred on me the status of a Casement representative on earth. I admit that I have abused England. I did it steadily for twenty years in Belfast, often in company with Dudgeon. I held that the perverse, sectarian, profoundly undemocratic mode of government and politics imposed by England on the Six Counties in 1921 caused the War that began in 1970, in the sense of making it possible and fuelling it—and that it justified the War in the sense of causing it. I asserted that view for twenty years, from the most popular agitational level to a level that made the state-operated academia squirm, and it never met with a rebuttal. I would have been happy to give it up and do something else if somebody had shown me the flaw in my reasoning. Nobody did.

After twenty years Dudgeon gave up, joined the system, became a Protestant Unionist operating within it, and was honoured by it. But he did not put a case to the CLR or CEC to show them that they were on the wrong tack, and that the existing system was OK. He just acted secretly to separate the Protestants from the Catholics so that the situation could settle down in its historic norm since 1921.

Dudgeon says "*I gained academic approval, following a launch by Lord Bew*". That's about the Diary. Lord Bew was trying to be a historian when I knew him. He ceased to be a historian and became an officially-approved propagandist on the way to becoming a Professor and a Lord. He had a career purpose and sufficient political wit to achieve it. That same degree of wit caused him to reject the idea that Northern Ireland was

undemocratically governed by being excluded from the democracy of the state.

The Lord Bew, while still a commoner, attended a public meeting of the CLR (mid-1970s, I think) and rejected its analysis. The rejection was phrased in a piece of Althusserian jargon which I was unable to decipher. (I have recorded it somewhere.) Since he was not a simpleton when I knew him rather well only a few years earlier, I assumed that his actual reason for rejecting the CLR view was that he saw that it was about the most fundamental condemnation that could be made of the British government of the Six Counties after 1920—the most Anglophobic, as criticism of British conduct in Ireland is described nowadays.

How strange that Dudgeon did not realise that for twenty years he was a raving Anglophobe!

**Brendan Clifford**

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**Labour Comment is edited by Pat Maloney**

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The Wars In Kerry. *John Morgan* (Lt. Col. Retd.). (Book Review: Dying For The Cause, Kerry's Republican Dead, Part 2)  
Launch Of Irish Bulletin. *Éamon Ó Cuív*  
The Black Panthers: Vanguard of The Revolution. *Seán McGouran* (Film Review)  
Biteback: Poppy Politics. *Dave Alvey*  
Going West. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack*. (General Tom Barry National Commemoration 2015)  
*Labour Comment*: Programme Of The Irish Democratic Labour Federation. About Michael Davitt

### February

The Castlereagh Break-In Enigma. *Pat Walsh*  
The case for considering a Sinn Féin—Labour—Fianna Fáil Coalition. *Philip O'Connor*  
Brexit—the ECJ, Open Europe and a curious incident. *Sean Owens*  
Readers' Letters: 1916 And 1966. *Donal Kennedy*  
Aspects Of Democracy. *Editorial*  
Shorts from the Long Fellow (Flood Insurance; Income Protection Insurance; Redundancy System; Pádraig Ó hUiginn 8 EUxit. *Jack Lane*  
Nick Cohen on "Charlie Hebdo". *Manus O'Riordan*  
Liam Clarke And A Sunday Times Comic Strip. *Manus O'Riordan*  
Patsy McGarry Crucifies Patrick Pearse. *Brendan Clifford*

The Dripsey Ambush. *Brian O'Donoghue*  
Sinn Féin Start Centenary in Mansion House. *Dave Alvey*  
Defend 1916, defend Irish history!. *Leaflet*  
The West-British Times gets it wrong. *Seán McGouran*  
Biteback: Redmondite Independence? *Séamus Lantry* (unpublished letter) Legitimacy Of The State. *Nick Folley*  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Flooding; 1916)  
Could Have Been A Contender. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
*Labour Comment*, Labour And Society, Mondragon, Part 48

### March

Irish Election: Just Desserts!. *Editorial*  
Anti-Rising propaganda for the gullible. *Philip O'Connor*  
Brexit—Cameron's agreement. *Sean Owens*  
What Drives Brexit. *Jack Lane*  
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Readers' Letters: WW1 And 1916. *Gerry Docherty* and *Jim Macgregor*  
Continued UK membership will undermine the Euro. *Dave Alvey* on behalf of *Irish Political Review Group*  
Shorts from the Long Fellow (Google Tax; Reductio ad Absurdum; Britain and Global Taxation; The United States and Global Taxation; The Banking Inquiry; Burning the Bondholders (again).)  
John Hume: Saint or Sinner? *Pat Walsh*  
Redmond's Volunteers Were Not All Nationalists. *Philip O'Connor*  
Fifth Column. (Unionism's Side-Long Glance; The Russian Aspect; Cold Comfort on St. Pat's Day; DUP Defector; Prod St. Pat? Minister Morrow). *Sean McGouran*  
Another Anniversary—and a challenge! *Jack Lane*  
"A Challenge To Myth, Propaganda And Fabrication". *Pádraig Óg Ó Ruairc 15*  
The Professors' MOPE. *Brendan Clifford*  
Fr. Michael O'Flanagan and the Cloonercu Bog Fight. *Joe McGowan*  
The Moving Statues Of Dublin. *Lt. Col. John Morgan (retd.)*  
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officials. *Report*  
The Glasnevin Memorial Wall. Alice Hanratty.  
*Dave Alvey*  
Heaven Or Glasnevin. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Thank You For Self-Harming. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Biteback: Army Of The Republic. *Donal Kennedy* (Unpublished Letter)  
Haughey & DFA. *Dave Alvey*. 1916 and 'Just War'. *Philip O'Connor*  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Bank Guarantee; The Future of Banks)  
Labour Comment: Why We Should Celebrate 1916. *Jack Lane*  
Education: The art of appearing to be doing something! *Seán Ó Riain*

## April

1916: People and Regime. *Philip O'Connor*  
Election 2016: A State Of Chassis!. *Editorial*  
After Brexit - Europe to Eurasia, from Inish-vickallane to Vladivostock? *Sean Owens*  
Readers' Letters: 'Drummer Boy' Duffy. *Philip O'Connor*  
Dail Election. *Report*  
The Newspaper-of-Record On 1916. *Editorial*  
Goslings Can Also Wear Khaki. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
An Eyewitness To The Rising. *L. G. Redmond-Howard*  
Why The Glasnevin 1916 Wall Should Be Opposed. *Leaflet*  
Shorts from *the Long Fellow* (The Irish Times and 1916; Irish Independent and 1916; The FAI on 1916; Irish Water in 2016)  
Our Genocidal Allies (Again). *Pat Walsh*  
Northern Ireland Labour. *Brendan Clifford*  
The Search For Shangri-La (Continued). *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Rock Against Bowie. *Seán McGouran* (Obit.)  
That Redmond Banner! *Philip O'Connor*  
Biteback: A 1916 Banner For Trinity College. *Manus O'Riordan*  
Ireland: A Failed State ? *Nick Folley*  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Crossbarry Commemoration 2016)  
Iran and the Middle East. *Philip O'Connor*  
*Labour Comment: Neglected Morals Of The Irish Rising. Bernard Shaw*  
Industrial Democracy and Social Partnership. *Mark Langhammer*

## May

Ireland On Auto-Pilot. *Editorial*  
Britain At The Crossroads!. *Editorial*  
Brexit: United States enters War (of words). *Sean Owens*  
Lloyd George & Proportional Representation. *Report*  
Corbyn, Livingstone And The Semites. *Editorial*  
Readers' Letters: Redmondism at Laochra. *Dave Alvey*  
Shorts from *the Long Fellow* (1916 Values; 1916 Celebrations; 1916 Blood Sacrifice?; 1916 Class Politics; 1916 and Yanis Varoufakis)  
Remembering Thomas Kent. *Nick Folley*  
That Other Anniversary. *Jack Lane* on Shakespeare 'Murderess' Markievicz Or Malicious Misogyny?. *Manus O'Riordan*  
McKenna's Fort a play about Roger Casement reviewed. *Tim O'Sullivan*  
The 1918 Election: An Ignored Centenary. *Jack Lane*  
That Wall. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
"And a Rout upon the Galls". *John Morgan* (Lt. Col. Retd.)

Politics of Glasnevin Wall & history of Glasnevin Trust. *Dave Alvey*  
Glasnevin *Petition*.  
Civil War Politics Over? The Taoiseach's Approach Memorials. *Tom Cooper* (Report of Letter)  
Protest Over Glasnevin Wall. *Dave Alvey* (Unpublished Letter)  
Why the Glasnevin 1916 wall is indefensible. *Leaflet*  
Biteback: Remembering the forgotten female heroes of the 1916 Rising. *Toirbhealach Lyons* (Report of Letter)  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Historic Speech; Terrorist attacks; Ireland; Arabic and the Koran)  
Reconciliation. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Labour Comment, edited by Pat Maloney:  
Neglected Morals Of The Irish Rising: G.B. Shaw  
The Law and the Citizen: *Seán Ó Riain*  
HMRC—The Sleeping Game Keeper: *Michael Robinson*

## June

Northern Ireland: Where Are The 'Moderates'?  
*Editorial*  
Whither Europe? *Editorial*  
Sneering for Britain. *Pat Walsh*  
Somme Think While Others Flanders. *Wilson John Haire*  
Readers' Letters: A 'Nazi' Ship? *Philip O'Connor*  
NI Assembly, 5 May 2016 Election Results. *Editorial*  
The 'People Before Profit' Vote. *Editorial*  
Shorts from the Long Fellow (Ireland and the Marshall Plan; Ireland and China; Ireland and Leicester City; Ireland and the Begrudgers; The Flood/Mahon Tribunal Camel; Wilbur Ross and the Phoenix)  
Hugh Lane Gallery Marks Casement Centenary. *Tim O'Sullivan*  
Es Ahora. *Julianne Herlihy* (Baron Bew, Roy Foster et al)  
The Irish Bulletin. *Jack Lane* (Kanturk Talk)  
Should Ireland Have Stayed In The Empire? *Pat Muldowney* (South Kilkenny Historical Society Debate)  
In Praise Of 77 Women Of The Easter Rising. *Manus O'Riordan* (Review of, and Extract from, book by Mary McAuliffe and Liz Gillis)  
Two Nations Once Again. *Pat Walsh*  
Ken Livingstone, anti-Semitism, and the state of Israel. *Eamon Dyas*  
Biteback: TTIP Bad For Environment. Report of Matt Carthy MEP, Sinn Fein, letter  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Population Control; Irish University Review)  
Labour Comment, edited by Pat Maloney:  
The Easter Week Executions. *Bernard Shaw*  
Brian Campfield Speech to Sinn Fein Ard Fheis

## July

Brexit: Britain Takes The Plunge. *Editorial*  
Keane, OBE, Raises An Important Issue. *Brendan Clifford*  
Brexit—reality bites. *Sean Owens*  
Brexit and Northern Ireland: Result  
European Integration And Brexit. *Dave Alvey*.  
Irish Political Review Group  
The case for creating a 1916 'battlefield site'. *Dave Alvey*  
The Citizen And The Special Criminal Court. *Nick Folley*  
Shorts from the Long Fellow (The Anglo Trial Part 1; The Anglo Trial Part 2; The Anglo Trial Part 3; The State Conspiracy; The "Green Jersey")  
The Forged Irish Bulletins. *Jack Lane*  
Guilty Germans!. *Pat Walsh*

That Man Called Pearse. *Manus O'Riordan*  
A Lordly View. *Jack Lane* (Review: Bew's Churchill & Ireland)  
War Of Independence In Howth. Feature on Philip O'Connor's The Road to Independence: Howth, Sutton and Baldoyle  
Readers' Letters: In Defence Of Casement. *Dave Alvey*  
Warming Earth. Freezing Hearts. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Biteback: Casement and A.M. Sullivan *Tim O'Sullivan* (Unpublished letter)  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Water Charges; Bin Charges; Abortion)  
Labour Comment: The Irish Rebellion of 1916. *V.I. Lenin*  
British Labour Wars  
1. Rules for the election of Labour Party leader by *David Morrison*  
2. *Jeremy Corbyn: Supporting our elected leader* by *John McDonnell*  
3. *Corbyn On Referendum Result*

## August

No Commemoration Here!. *Pat Walsh*  
The Democratic Burden! *Editorial*  
Trump. Contributed by *David Morrison*  
Readers' Letters: Paul Bew Is Citeless! *Niall Meehan*  
In Defence of Casement. *Tim O'Sullivan*  
Shorts from the Long Fellow (NAMA in the North; Housing Crisis; False Solutions: Repossessions; False Solutions: Selling Council Houses; Charitable Services; Italian Banks)  
Sasamach/Brexit. *Niall Cusack*  
Lord Roberts and Luke Wadding: Memorials in Waterford. *Pat Muldowney*  
For Sale Or To Let. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
No Truce With Revisionist Myth, Propaganda And Fabrication. *Manus O'Riordan*  
History Hollywoodised: Casement Art Installation. *Tim O'Sullivan*  
Armenians: Irish Times at it again. *Pat Walsh*  
The Independence Story. *Donal Kennedy* (Book Review)  
Biteback: Chilcot Report: Blair, America And Eastern Europe. *Caoimhin de Bhailis* (Report of Letter)  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Invasive Plants; Computer Coding; Monsignor Pádraig O'Fiannachta) 22  
Casement's Ashes. Contributed by *Jack Lane*  
Lock Up. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)

## September

Disengagements And Engagements. *Editorial*  
Michael D. at Béal na Bláth. *Jack Lane*  
False History. *Philip O'Connor* on the Irish Independence movement and Zionism analogies  
Readers' Letters: Casement And The Law. *Jeffrey Dudgeon*  
Obituary for Patrick O'Beirne. *By O'Beirne Family*  
Shorts from *The Last Gaullist!*; Socialisation of Production; Pensions; Irish Water; International Capital)  
Moore Street Update. *Dave Alvey*  
When The Irish Times Predicted Darwinian 'Evolution' For A New Gaeltacht. *Manus O'Riordan*  
Reflections on a Belfast Meeting. *Dave Alvey*  
Northern Ireland: Britain And The Conflict. *Wilson John Haire*  
A Sniper from an Ivory Tower. *Pat Walsh* on Dr. Robert McNamara  
Hubert Butler: The DVD. *Julianne Herlihy*  
Why Constance Markievicz Stood By The Republic. *Manus O'Riordan*  
Biteback: Russia Today! *Donal Kennedy*

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Auditors and Accountants; Kilkenny)  
*Labour Comment: The "National" Press and 1916 Jack O'Connor: A Trade Union Strategy to Win for Working People*

## October

The Brexit Stimulus. *Editorial*  
Of War And Famine And Suppressing The Record: one day in the life of the Irish Times. *Manus O'Riordan*  
Trinity College and 1916. *Philip O'Connor*  
Press Release: Appeal In State Papers Case. *Barry Keane*  
Casement Weekend Ballycastle. *Pat Walsh*  
Casement. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Shorts from *the Long Fellow* (Corporate Power; Irish Industrial Policy; Evolution of Irish Industrial Policy; Morality and National Interest; The Apple Case; Political Context to Decision; Ireland's Appeal; Allocating Corporation Taxes)  
"Famine scholarship". *Jack Lane*  
Hubert Butler: The DVD. *Julianne Herlihy* (Part 2)  
A Sniper from an Ivory Tower. *Pat Walsh* (Part 2)  
Brexit—Land Grabs, Hard Borders, and NEuros. *Sean Owens*  
On the Blanks on my own lovely Lee. *Jack Lane*  
A Murder Of Crows. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)  
Biteback: Neo-Redmondism. *Dave Alvey*. Casement & 'Armenian Genocide'. *Pat Walsh*  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Auditors and Accountants; Constitutional Amendments)  
Apple And Tax Justice. *Brendan Howlin* (Press Release)  
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The Refugee Crisis—and the real villains of the piece. *Michael Robinson*  
Foreign Affairs Refuse to Reveal Details of US Military Use of Shannon. *Shannonwatch* Press Release

## November

Constitutional Nationalism!. *Editorial*  
2017: Another Safe Budget. *John Martin*  
Trump v Clinton. *Editorial*  
Readers' Letters: Who broke the Syria ceasefire?. *David Morrison*  
*John Gillespie. Obituary*  
Shorts from *the Long Fellow* (The Irish Times; Budget 2017; Budget 2012; Project Eagle; Theresa May; Brexit; Ireland and Brexit How America Made Europe! *Jack Lane*  
Appeal on the release of a State Paper case—Round 5. *Jack Lane*  
Centenary Commemorations, Casement and Gavin Friday. *Tim O'Sullivan*  
Hubert Butler: The DVD. *Julianne Herlihy*  
The 1921 Cork Docks Strike And The Irish Times—And A Book Cover Explained. *Manus O'Riordan*  
The Origins of the Long War in Historical Context. *Dave Alvey*  
Foster's 'Uncertain Future'. *Jack Lane*.  
Biteback: Kilmichael And Eunan O'Halpin. *Niall Meehan*  
Southern Protestants and the State. *Niall Meehan*  
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Auditors and Accountants, Part 3)  
Roger Casement Remembered At Pentonville. *Donal Kennedy*  
EASTER, 1916. *Erskine Childers*  
A Thinking Democracy. *Seán Ó Riain*

# FIFTH COLUMN

## A SCHOOL CENTENARY (and one to come...)

The posh (London) papers have been carrying an advert about SOAS (the—London university—School of Oriental and African Studies, or for self-pitying Zionist publications "*Organised Anti-Semitism*"). The ads are canvassing for fresh students and part of the come-on is the fact that SOAS is celebrating its centenary year. Its website is rather coy about its foundation, there is no pre-history, but the year must be of some consequence. The UK, the greatest, in the sense of biggest, Imperial power on the planet had gone to war with a smaller rival, Germany. The latter had only

united in 1870, by which time England had been in the Empire business for three centuries. Despite being an upstart, Germany had in about thirty years become an industrial and commercial rival to Great Britain. Despite 'Iron' Chancellor Bismarck's admonitions, it also entered into rivalry in the colonial field, grabbing at bits of Africa, some islands in the Pacific, and a port in China (the latter was the fashionable thing to do for self-conscious European 'powers' in the 1880s).

SOAS must have been the focussing of previously dissipated and distinct elements of scholarship about various parts of Asia, previously the province largely of the East India Company. But the government of the British Empire at that point needed all the information at its disposal focussed at one point for strategic reasons. The School of Slavonic and East European Studies was set up, for similar reasons the next year, between the overthrow of the Tsar, the setting up of a Republican Provisional Government in February, and the Bolshevik seizure of power in November (the 'October Revolution' was due to Russia using the Julian as opposed to the Gregorian calendar). The comparatively mild February Revolution created an enormous geopolitical problem, or interconnected set of problems.

## RED, WHITE and BLUE on the FALLS ROAD

The *Irish News* reported in mid-August, that small, square posters, printed in red and blue on white, had appeared in deepest County Armagh. They read "People Should Not Inform", with the initial letters PSNI in red on white squares, with the rest of the lettering being white on a blue background. It is odd that the *IN* should

report such a thing. Similar posters had been up on the Falls Road for weeks prior to the *IN* getting round to noticing the matter. The *Belfast Telegraph* confessed itself puzzled at the slogan '*Strike a Reddner, John Major*' painted on a wall near the Royal Hospital on the Falls about twenty years ago.

In 'proper' English it meant 'blush with shame', but the *Telly* (sub title: The National Newspaper of Northern Ireland didn't get it. Admittedly the absurd sub title was probably dreamed up in an advertising agency Somewhere in England, where the difference between 'state', 'nation', 'province', 'region' and even 'society' is somewhat vague. But it emphasised the fact that the people who produced the *BT* lived in something of an air-bubble, detached from the society around them. It's rather odd to find the *IN* suffering a similar defect. I (rather smugly) congratulated myself on guessing that the posters were the work of Éirigi.

That was mainly due to the fact that Éirigi has displayed something like a sense of humour over the years, though so too has Sinn Féin. And Sinn Féin has, or had, more personnel to stick up posters—maybe Éirigi is recruiting, now that SF is positively respectable, allowing the Queen (of Jamaica, among other places) to shake their hand[s] and all that.

The small posters are very effective, but Éirigi has followed this up with a large complicated poster with a rather vague message, into which this poster is integrated. And, thereby, rendered rather null, the eye can't really rest on any one item. And the PSNI, Army (presumably the 'British' one) and Mi5 are set into red 'Stop' road-signs. Apart from the 'i' for 'intelligence' being in the lower case it is a pretty ordinary item of propaganda. It is clearly out of a word-processing machine, so the lower case 'i', is not the result of running out of the upper case "I". Presumably it is an implicit comment on the Spooks lack of ordinary street-wise intelligence.

Seán McGouran

### Six Days Of The Irish Republic (eyewitness account of 1916), by L.G. Redmond-Howard.

Contains a profile of Roger Casement, written during his trial; the Irish Case for the League of Nations; and a play written jointly with Harry Carson (the Ulster leader's son). Intro. by *Brendan Clifford*. 256pp. **€21, £17.50**

**The Casement Diary Dogmatists.** by *Brendan Clifford*. 68pp. **€8, £6**

**Traitor-Patriots In The Great War: Casement & Masaryk** by *Brendan Clifford*. 56pp. **€6, £5**

## Irish Bulletin Forgeries still doing their work!!

The Trinity College Library website has a page entitled "*Changed Utterly—Ireland and the Easter Rising*" (<https://www.tcd.ie/library/1916/spot-the-difference/>) and it carries an item on the forged Irish Bulletin which includes the following:

"A police raid at its Molesworth Street premises in March 1921 saw the loss of the press along with the subscribers list. Not content with attempting to suppress the paper, officers Hugh Pollard and William Darling printed and distributed fake editions of the circular. This crude attempt at counter-propaganda soon backfired—not, however, before initially fooling Éamon de Valera. The fake issue was characterised by incorrect numbering and poorly composed articles. The efforts were soon exposed, thereby enhancing the status of the genuine bulletin. Among our newspaper collections are copies of a fake edition (Vol. 4 No.56) and the later genuine edition (Vol. 4 No. 61), which

includes a notice denouncing Pollard and Darling's efforts. A reprint of 'Irish Bulletin' (1919-1920) was published by Aubane Historical Society in 2012.

It is a rather amazing fact that TCD, which appears so knowledgeable about the fake *Bulletins*, is still taken in by the forgeries! The fact is that the issue it claims is genuine, Vol. 4 No. 61, and which is reproduced on the site, and below, is a fake.

It is almost self evidently a fake to anyone familiar with the background. It asserts that there was no genuine issue No. 56. There was, of course, and it reported on the raid that captured the equipment. A No. 56 was also the first forged issue.

The genuine *Bulletin* continued as normal for all issues. The genuine issue 56 is not in the microfilm version for some reason. It does exist and will be included in the next Volume to be published by

Aubane. It is true that it was not the Director of Propaganda, Desmond Fitzgerald, who published a No. 56, but for a reason the forgers were not aware of—he was in jail. This ignorance was more evidence of a forgery.

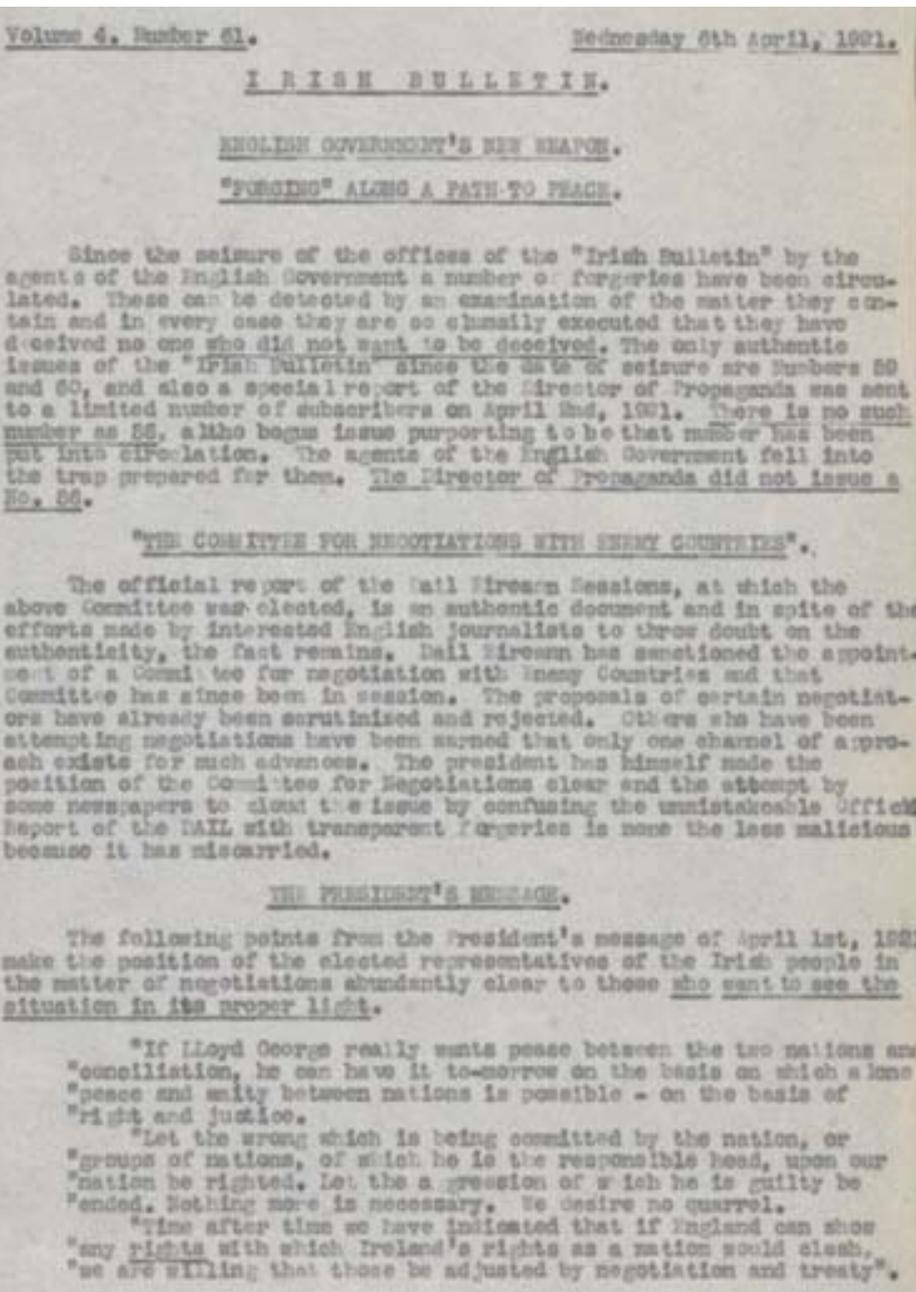
There was no Committee set up to discuss negotiations with the British Government. This was reported in the non-censored press and thereby fooled de Valera temporarily. Even though it knows that de Valera was taken in for a while, TCD does not realise that it is itself still taken in by that same fake *Bulletin*. The forging has not yet "*backfired*" for TCD.

And of course there was a genuine No. 61 published.

So, realising that issue No. 61 is a fake is not too difficult: in fact as a certain character might say—"It's elementary, my dear Watson!"

Is there any connection between this sloppiness and TCD falling down the University League tables? If this is anything to go by, they certainly must do better!

Jack Lane



### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR · LETTERS

**Saudi Arabia was elected to the UN Human Rights Committee, whilst Russia lost its seat.**

### Rough Justice?

Russia obviously didn't cut off enough heads in public and lagged behind with the hand and foot amputations.

They also foolishly let women drive and go out without a relative male escort. And another foolishness was to let Christians practice their faith even in their own homes. Last, but not least, they let male doctors examine females.

Wilson John Haire

### OF CHOPPED CABBAGES AND KINGS

The blade touches the neck gently  
to awaken  
the drugged condemned  
don't go there, my friend,  
I recommend  
don't go to Chop Chop  
Square  
in Jeddah today  
don't dare  
the sword rises in  
warlike display  
the teeth-snapping head  
rolls  
down the dead-man's alley  
of bowls  
the blood gushes from the stem  
to an ornamental grating  
recovered it's stitched to  
the body  
wrapped without waiting  
the residue hosed

Saudi can't be shoddy  
must again be Deera Square  
of quadraphonic traffic  
of bird song of shoppers  
but beware.  
of those who sit in the human rights  
chair

Wilson John Haire  
6 November 2016

## Roger Casement Remembered At Pentonville

Roger Casement, the Irishman born in Dublin, arrested in Kerry, conveyed to London, hanged by an Englishman after conviction by an English Jury of High Treason' was remembered and honoured outside Her Majesty's Prison Pentonville, London on Wednesday 3rd August, the centenary of his death there, by between a gathering of 60 to 70 drawn from the Connolly Association and other organisations. A representative of the Congolese community recalled the humanitarian work of Casement who had revealed to the world the enslavement, torture and murder of Africans by the employees of King Leopold of the Belgians. Leopold was responsible for genocide there of up to ten million Africans to enrich himself, and Belgium, by the extraction of rubber.

Casement's speech from the Dock of the Old Bailey was read out, to remind us of the reasons for his presence there, for which he made no apology. At 9.00 AM the crowd stood bareheaded for one minute's silence. A lament was played on the Irish War Pipes.

Authentic and Authenticated writings of Casement written between 1911 and the outbreak of the Great War and entitled "*The Crime Against Europe*" and "*The Crime Against Ireland*", published by Athol Books in 2003 with an Introduction by Brendan Clifford, were on sale. Casement forecast Britain's War on Germany which had been planned and prepared for since 1904 and condemned it as a crime. The Socialist James Connolly independently judged it a crime, as did the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Dwyer.

Casement's authenticated essays collected under the titles above appear to have been ignored by nearly all commentators, or dismissed as unworthy of study.

But other alleged writings of his have been lucrative sources for some writers and useful weapons for anti-democrats, who would not dare to suggest that his trial judge, Lord Reading, the former Rufus Isaacs, had been involved with Lloyd George in a scam involving Marconi Shares.

Donal Kennedy

· Biteback · Biteback

Letter sent to *Irish Times*, 25th November,  
but not published at time of going to press

## Ireland 'too close to Britain' in Brexit debate

When the Brexit negotiations begin next year it will be important that Ireland is not perceived as being, in Suzanne Lynch's words, 'too close to Britain', "*Brussels better prepared than London for Brexit talks*" (24 November). It is debateable whether the Government has readjusted its stance sufficiently in the five months since the referendum to create such a perception.

Much evidence points in the opposite direction. A press statement issued by the Taoiseach on October 12th, welcoming the EU's chief Brexit negotiator, Michel Barnier, referred to Barnier's, "strong appreciation of our close historical, political and economic ties with the UK". Likewise, Minister for Foreign Affairs Charlie Flanagan has chosen to defend the Government's proactive support for David Cameron in the run up to the referendum, rather than playing it down. In a speech to the British Irish Association in Oxford on September 10th he stated: "We passionately believed that a strong UK in a strong EU was the best possible outcome for Ireland, the UK and the EU."

An article by Fiach Kelly, "*Confidential memo reveals Irish view of UK Brexit ministers*" (14th November) describes a leaked Government memo on the subject of Brexit and refers to the "approach Ireland must take to building alliances to ensure that Britain maintains as close ties as possible to the EU". Even if this wording is not a verbatim quote from the memo its implicit message is that Ireland's close alignment with the UK should continue. And such thinking is not confined to the Irish Government. An article about the leak in the Guardian newspaper (14th November) described Ireland as, "one of Britain's closest EU allies".

In the impending negotiations over Brexit, negotiations that will affect vital Irish interests including the peace process, the border, trade barriers between Ireland and the UK, and the future development of the euro zone, the Government surely needs to clear its lines on two fronts. As an urgent priority it needs to cultivate good will in the major EU institutions and among the other 26 member states so that sympathy for our interests is maximised on the EU side. Secondly, a working relationship with Theresa May's Government, based on respect for the will of the people as expressed in the referendum, needs to be forged.

In these challenging circumstances it is past time for the mindset associated with the pre-Brexit alliance with Britain to be ditched, root and branch.

Dave Alvey

*Irish Political Review Group*

## Brexit and the Border

In due course, the present land Border between the Republic and the United Kingdom will also be the only land border between the EU and the UK.

It seems to me that both the EU and the UK negotiators will have no option but to insist that the only land border between the two will most definitely be a hard border.

The UK will not achieve its migration control objectives unless it closely monitors the flow of people across that Border into its country. The EU will be unable to control the import of UK goods unless "our" Border is as closely monitored as any other land border into the EU.

How can our Taoiseach assert so confidently that the Border will remain "soft"?

Vincent MacCarthy, Athboy  
*(Irish Times 4.11.16)*

On-line sales of books, pamphlets and magazines:  
<https://www.atholbooks-sales.org>

Does  
It  
Up

Stack  
?

#### THE AUDITORS: DO WE NEED THEM?

Limited liability provided for in the Companies Acts and in the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts is a two way street. The State allows the limited liability of owners, entrepreneurs, Trade Union members and others who form themselves into limited liability corporations so that the wider society in the State will benefit from the activities of the limited liability corporations.

But in return these corporations have obligations to society and to the State to publish Annual Reports of their financial position and to not owe money which there is little or no prospect or repaying, and to have independent auditors to report on the financial performance of the limited liability companies. If the limited company has its shares quoted on the Dublin or London Stock Exchange, there are Stock Exchange Rules which have to be observed by the Directors and by the Auditors of such companies.

This is all very well in theory and in the law, but does it work in practice? Sadly, not always.

Most people value their good name and reputation among their neighbours, their families and among those with whom they do business and for most of us this wish to look decent and honest is enough to keep us on the straight and narrow path. There are even those among us who do the right thing because that is the way we were reared and there are even those who do the right thing for religious or idealistic reasons. And so for one reason or for another—the majority of people will avoid doing wrong.

The laws and regulations exist to show the boundaries, so to speak, of the path of righteousness. But, as it is said "*locks are only there to keep honest people out*". Similarly the laws and regulations will keep the honest majority of people in line. Dishonest business people will find a way to break the law and together with those business people who are negligent to a criminal degree—the result of their activities can be disastrous for society and for the State—as we all discovered in 2007 and 2008.

Very few directors of failed companies have been prosecuted and a minute few have been punished with gaol sentences. No auditors of companies have been gaoled. That offences have been committed on a very large scale is obvious—not least against taxpayers and the State which has had to bail out those companies which are the banks. But no auditor is held responsible. Billions of euros, billions of pounds and billions of dollars were lost by companies whose auditors were not prosecuted. Why not? The answer is that the systems are rigged in favour of the wealthy and powerful people in society and the poorer people are made to pay.

It is quite clear that auditors of large companies do not function **effectively** except where the directors are honest or reasonably honest. Most directors are at least reasonably honest and so mostly auditors serve a useful function. But it is the dishonest minority which may cause financial havoc and cause losses to millions of people and so this is where we rely, mistakenly, on auditors.

Under the present laws, the remuneration of Auditors and their appointments are set by the shareholders. But that is commonly circumvented by, for example, a Resolution being passed at the Annual General Meeting of Shareholders "*To authorise the Directors to fix the remuneration of the auditors*".

Such resolutions should be forbidden by the Companies Acts.

Another trick (and these are tricks which should be criminal conspiracies) is where the directors disagree with an auditor or wish to be rid of the auditor for any reason, they can purposely make the auditor's job difficult or impossible and force the auditor to resign, at which the directors will co-opt another auditor whose appointment is ratified at the next AGM.

The directors can control the AGM by using company money to circulate the shareholders, asking them to appoint the Chairman of the AGM to act for them. You may ask why do shareholders sign a Proxy Form in favour of the Chairman? It is a crazy mad thing to do but many shareholders do it and the result is that the Chairman controls the AGM. All the Chairman has to do is sit out the AGM and cast his/her votes and perhaps take some flak from disgruntled shareholders who he/she can outvote.

Proxy voting by the Directors or their families or legal representatives should be outlawed.

The method of appointing independent Auditors to limited companies must be changed. Independence is essential in the public interest and I suggest that a Register of qualified auditors be maintained by the Office of the Auditor and Comptroller General; that it be divided into, say, five levels depending on size of companies to be audited; that the Office of the Auditor General will assess the level of auditor's remuneration to be paid by each company to its auditor; and that, before each AGM of any company, the shareholders be circulated with a list of all the appropriate auditors for that size of company; and that at the AGM the shareholders shall nominate an auditor of their choice from the lists and that no auditor be eligible to be appointed who has acted as auditor of that company more than twice previously.

Also the Companies Act might be altered so as to provide that auditors shall not provide any services other than auditing services, and that auditing firms be permitted to have qualified accountants together with qualified lawyers as partners and that the accountants and lawyers must be Irish citizens holding their qualifications in Irish law and Irish Tax law.

#### LIGHT REGULATION

Having covered the responsibilities of auditors for the financial crisis of 2007-2008 which is still with us now in 2016—it is only fair to say that, if the Provisions of the Law and particularly of the Companies Acts had been properly enforced, there might never have been a crisis. Banking laws were not properly enforced by the Central Bank, and the Companies Acts were not enforced by the Companies Regulator. Laws are still not being enforced—even after all that has happened.

Penalties for non-compliance are so low as to be not economically collectable. At the most basic level, experienced by all of us—look at Section 114 of Companies Act 1963 which is as follows:

"114 (1) Every Company –

- (a) shall paint or affix and keep painted or affixed its name on the outside of every office or place in which its business is carried on, in a conspicuous position, in letters easily legible
- (b) shall have its name engraved in legible character on its seal
- (c) shall have its name mentioned in legible characters in all business letters of the company and in all notices and other official publications of the company and in all bills of exchange, promissory notes,

endorsements, cheques and orders for money or goods purporting to be signed by or on behalf of the company and in all invoices, receipts and letters of credit of the company."

That is very explicit.

A child would understand it!

But the Companies Regulator does not bother to enforce it: And so we do not know who we are dealing with. Who is *eir*? Who is Irish Water? Many companies now advertise only an email address. Why is the Regulator allowing them to get away with it? One of the reasons is that the penalties for infringements are derisory and not worth collecting. The penalties must be increased to ten thousand euros or more to emphasise the seriousness of the offences. We are entitled to know straight up who we are contracting with when we buy goods or services.

Nearly every section of the Companies Act requiring regulation is being ignored by the Regulator. Not so with the Income Tax Acts which are rigorously enforced by The Revenue Commissioners. So I encourage the Regulator to get some lessons and expertise from the Revenue. Good regulation is essential for the success of the Irish economy.

#### THE JEWS AND ZIONISM

I am not knowledgeable about Judaism and I am puzzled to know that Semites are regarded as the descendants of Shem, son of Noah in the Bible and the Jews are one branch of the Semites and some Arabs are another branch. This goes back in the Bible for thousands of years and yet in modern times we hear only of Zionists who it seems were founded or brought together by Theodor Herzl in the 19th century and unified into a movement by the Balfour Declaration; and of Ashkenazi Jews who follow a German Jewish ritual; and of Sephardic Jews who follow a Spanish and Portuguese ritual. None of these seem to be ancient enough to have existed at the time of the fall of Jerusalem in 69 A.D. Then there are the Yemenite Jews of southern Arabia whose origin goes back to about 200 AD.

So where are the ancient Jews who were enslaved by the Egyptians? I mean of course, where are their descendants? Did they always live in Jerusalem in the Promised Land? Could somebody fill me in on this bit of Jewish history? It does not seem to stack up!

Michael Stack. ©

## TRADE concluded

Hillary's other problem was that NAFTA is over 20 years old and its results are there for all who wish to see. They are particularly detailed in—

"NAFTA's 20-Year Legacy and the Fate of the Trans-Pacific Partnership". See: [www.tradewatch.org](http://www.tradewatch.org). Feb. 2014. Published by Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch.

#### Extracts from Introduction

"This is not a story about protectionism, but about lived experience. The data show that NAFTA proponents' projections of broad economic benefits from the deal have failed to materialize. Instead, millions have suffered job loss, wage stagnation, and economic instability from NAFTA. Scores of environmental, health and other public interest policies have been challenged. Consumer safeguards, including key food safety protections, have been rolled back. And NAFTA supporters' warnings about the chaos that would engulf Mexico, and a new wave of migration from Mexico, if NAFTA was not implemented have indeed come to pass, but ironically because of the devastation of many Mexicans' livelihoods occurring, in part, because NAFTA was implemented. ...

NAFTA created new privileges and protections for foreign investors that incentivized the off-shoring of investment and jobs by eliminating many of the risks normally associated with moving production to low-wage countries.

NAFTA allowed foreign investors to directly challenge before foreign tribunals domestic policies and actions, demanding government compensation for policies that they claimed undermined their expected future profits. "

#### SANDERS ON BILL CLINTON & NAFTA

As early as 1997, Bernie Sanders said of Bill Clinton—

"His support for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was a sell out to corporate America. Pure and simple, it was a disaster for the working people of this country..."

"The function of trade agreements like NAFTA is to make it easier for American companies to move abroad, and to force our workers to compete against desperate people in the third world." (Source: "Outsider in the House" 17 June 1997.)

Further extracts from "NAFTA's 20 year legacy"—

*\* More than 845,000 American workers have been officially certified for Trade Adjustment Assistance because they lost their jobs due to imports from Mexico or Canada or because their factories were relocated to those nations.*

*\* Overall, it is estimated that NAFTA has cost us well over a million jobs.*

*\* U.S. manufacturers pay Mexican workers just a little over a dollar an hour to do jobs that American workers used to do.*

*\* The number of illegal immigrants living in the United States has more than doubled since the implementation of NAFTA.*

*\* The exporting of massive amounts of government-subsidized U.S. corn down into Mexico has destroyed more than a million Mexican jobs and has helped fuel the continual rise in the number of illegal immigrants coming north."*

#### US ELECTION: GLASS CEILING?

It is clear that in the end, the US Presidential election was determined, ironically, more than anything else, by the maxim coined by Bill Clinton in a previous contest—"It's the economy stupid." Hilary Clinton chose to make her campaign about individualism and identity politics based on race and gender, and set litmus tests around liberal issues, possibly even believing that we were indeed in the epoch of liberal democracy and the triumph of the market over all other forms. No room there for thought about the inevitable victims of such a system, just political tactics designed to misdirect the electorate.

Hilary's 'victory' party was to be held in a massive hall with a symbolic glass ceiling, representing, (to her at least) the most important issue in politics in the USA—the prospect of a female President. But the dispossessed victims of the Neo-Liberal economic policies followed by successive governments, many living in trailer parks and tent cities like that outside Detroit, weren't immediately preoccupied about glass ceilings. And Bernie Sanders, who did care about their circumstances, was robbed of his moment by the internal machinations of the Democratic National Convention and the "invisible hand" of the corporate power he railed against.

Post election we now learn from the psephologists, that Bernie Sanders would have won states lost by Hilary under the USA's electoral college system, where the Democratic and Independent voters simply couldn't bring themselves to vote for her and remained at home or switched to Trump.

So now we have as US President—Donald Trump, a candidate sufficiently aware of the feelings of the American working class, to harness their anger, incoherent although some of it might be, to his advantage. How that plays out and how it affects the ongoing Free Trade negotiations between the USA and EU, will be rather important and more than a little interesting.

Michael Robinson

16 November 2016 contribution to NIPSA's Global Solidarity Committee journal

## TRADE continued

weeks, will decide whether the world enters a new era of freer trade, with fewer barriers between countries.....

.....But the protectionist rhetoric suggests that many do not see these benefits, and that they see global economic change in zero-sum terms: if Asia rises, we decline; what benefits are generated are captured by a small, rich clique; the openness boom that has sustained us for decades now threatens to eat us alive.

Few would disagree that globalisation has its dark side. I understand the concerns of those who feel under pressure as they face the impact of growing foreign competition.

But open markets and economic integration are still by far the best tool we have for increasing global economic welfare, including our own prosperity at home."

But Peter, now Baron Mandelson, wasn't just interested in the 'invisible hand' of the market to generate global economic welfare, there were political considerations in world trade.

"This is not just about economics. It's also about politics. Global economic welfare is an essential component of global stability. Only stable, co-operating states can manage the growing squeeze on vital resources such as energy, food and water. "

In light of the various 'liberal' interventions across the world, by the USA, UK, France, NATO et al, to ensure that states are sufficiently 'co-operative' with the Neo-Liberal order, Mandelson's words are quite chilling.

### WHO SPEAKS FOR FAIR TRADE?

The concept of fair trade does not exist in the Neo-liberal concept, so Baron Mandelson doesn't greatly trouble us with it. With its reductionist, libertarian dogma, appropriated from Adam Smith, the Neo-Liberals hide behind Smith's assertion that individuals pursuing their own, apparently selfish, economic interests, are nonetheless guided by the 'invisible hand', "to promote an end which was no part of his intention". That end, is of course a prosperous economy for all, in case you haven't noticed it in your life experience.

The rather smug and self serving justification for excluding the government from the proper regulation of such economic activity, is provided by Adam Smith's famous *dictum*—

"It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their

self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages."

### POPULORUM PROGRESSIO AND THE OTHER INVISIBLE HAND -

There has been a moral collapse in most of the mainstream Left parties in recent years. They have adopted electoral strategies based around 'triangulation', ensuring they remain as close to the other competing Conservative parties, in pursuit of the chimera of the 'middle ground'. This has squeezed out radical thinking and grass roots activism.

But we are not entirely bereft of analysis on the effects of capitalism and free trade. And so we turn to *Populorum Progressio* (On the Development of Peoples), an Encyclical Letter of His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, promulgated on 26th March 1967. It is addressed to—

"To The Bishops, Priests, Religious, The Faithful And To All Men Of Good Will."

The following paragraphs detail very prescient concerns around free trade that deserve to be shared, (with my emphasis indicated):

"56. The efforts which are being made to assist developing nations on a financial and technical basis, though considerable, would be illusory if their benefits were to be partially nullified as a consequence of the trade relations existing between rich and poor countries. The confidence of these latter would be severely shaken if they had the impression that what was being given them with one hand was being taken away with the other.

57. Of course, highly industrialized nations export for the most part manufactured goods, while countries with less developed economies have only food, fibres and other raw materials to sell. As a result of technical progress the value of manufactured goods is rapidly increasing and they can always find an adequate market. On the other hand, raw materials produced by under-developed countries are subject to wide and sudden fluctuations in price, a state of affairs far removed from the progressively increasing value of industrial products. **As a result, nations whose industrialization is limited are faced with serious difficulties when they have to rely on their exports to balance their economy and to carry out their plans for development. The poor nations remain ever poor while the rich ones become still richer.**

58. **In other words, the rule of free trade, taken by itself, is no longer able to govern international relations.** Its advantages are certainly evident when the parties involved are not affected by any excessive inequalities of economic power: it is an incentive to progress and a reward for effort. That is why industrially developed

countries see in it a law of justice. But the situation is no longer the same when economic conditions differ too widely from country to country: prices which are "freely" set in the market can produce unfair results. **One must recognize that it is the fundamental principle of liberalism, as the rule for commercial exchange, which is questioned here.**

59. The teaching of Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum* is always valid: if the positions of the contracting parties are too unequal, the consent of the parties does not suffice to guarantee the justice of their contract, and the rule of free agreement remains subservient to the demands of the natural law.[57] **What was true of the just wage for the individual is also true of international contracts: an economy of exchange can no longer be based solely on the law of free competition, a law which, in its turn, too often creates an economic dictatorship. Freedom of trade is fair only if it is subject to the demands of social justice."**

### NAFTA, THE US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION & THE GIANT VAMPIRE SQUID.

It is little wonder then that the ongoing NAFTA agreement and proposed CETA agreement, containing all the elements highlighted in the "*Arbitration Game*", should become an issue in the US Presidential election, with Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump against and Hilary Clinton vacillating and unclear. Hilary's problem being that her husband Bill, was a major advocate for it when he was President and Hilary was in hock to many of the corporate interests that spawned it.

Not least of these was Goldman Sachs, described by journalist Matt Taibbi in *Rolling Stone* on 5 April 2010, as follows— "*the world's most powerful investment bank, is a great vampire squid wrapped around the face of humanity, relentlessly jamming its blood funnel into anything that smells like money.*"

In October 2013, Hilary Clinton gave a speech at a Goldman Sachs conference on "*Builders and Innovators*" in Arizona, for which she received her customary fee of \$225,000. CNN reported that between 2013 and 2015, Hilary made 92 speeches. She made 8 speeches to big banks worth \$1.8m and in a two year period collected \$21.6m.

Bill Clinton also presided over the deregulation of banking that Adam Smith had warned against, with his Treasury Secretary, Larry Summers' repeal of the Glass Steagall Act of 1933, which was designed to protect banking deposits from the rampant speculation that had fed the Great Depression.

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## TRADE continued

would unlock resources beyond the mere exploitation of the natural mineral wealth and agricultural production controlled by a land owning aristocracy.

However, he understood too, that without the agency of the state, rudimentary as it might have been in the 1700s, corporations would rush to merger and monopoly and maximise profit, not through efficient production in the context of competition, but by simply ensuring scarcity of supply and the fixing of prices within a cartel.

He went even further, warning that the interest of manufacturers and merchants

"...in any particular branch of trade or manufactures, is always in some respects different from, and even opposite to, that of the public...The proposal of any new law or regulation of commerce which comes from this order, ought always to be listened to with great precaution, and ought never be adopted till after having been long and carefully examined, not only with the most scrupulous, but with the most suspicious attention."

Smith envisaged the net worth of such commerce generated, being shared within the 'Nation' (state) for the benefit of society. Unlike Thatcher, Smith did believe that there was such a thing as "society". He also thought the state should, amongst other things—provide public goods such as infrastructure, provide national defence and **regulate banking**. It was also the role of government to provide goods "of such a nature that the profit could never repay the expense to any individual" such as roads, bridges, canals, and harbours. He also supported monopoly arrangements to protect developing industries.

### FREE TRADE IN THE MODERN WORLD

Alas Free Trade Agreements forged in the modern world are framed in a different context than that of the '*most scrupulous and suspicious attention*' envisaged by Adam Smith, even though his Moral Philosophy and Political Economy is often cited to sanctify them.

My colleague Ian Boersma has described in the April 2016 edition of the NIPSA Global Solidarity magazine, the nature and effect of the proposed Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP). Noting the **Investor State Dispute Settlement** procedures at the core of TTIP, Ian warned—

"Corporations will also be given privileged early access to proposed public policy legislation, potentially leading to what some have described as a "chilling effect", in other words governments will

be reluctant to put forward legislation that large corporations are likely to be hostile to.

### THE ARBITRATION GAME

Concern at such provisions is far from limited to those of us in the union movement. Indeed in an article in the *Economist* (yes the *Economist*) titled "*The Arbitration Game*", (11 October 2014), the author stated—

"If you wanted to convince the public that international trade agreements are a way to let multinational corporations get rich at the expense of ordinary people, this is what you would do; give foreign firms a special right to apply to a secret tribunal of highly paid corporate lawyers for compensation whenever a government passes a law to, say, discourage smoking, protect the environment or prevent a nuclear catastrophe. Yet that is precisely what thousands of trade and investment treaties over the past half century have done, through a process known as "investor-state dispute settlement", or ISDS."

### BRETTON WOODS & LICENCE TO ROAM.

A number of measures were necessary to bring the modern world to the situation of virtually untrammelled corporate power that we now face. They are largely the result of the capture of the post war Bretton Woods institutions—the World Bank and the IMF. Once Keynesian and expansionist, they have been captured by adherents of the 'Washington Consensus' - neoliberal dogmatists who hold that the loans given by the World Bank, must be made conditional on requirements for the liberalisation of trade, investment and the financial sector, together with the deregulation and privatisation of nationalised industries. The IMF is maintained in the role of overseer (or undertaker) of the necessary economic and political arrangements.

Free trade in the modern context, is essentially a licence to roam for corporations. They can locate and relocate according to the tax advantages of various jurisdictions and declare profits in jurisdictions different to that in which they carried out their activity.

Google's 'Double Irish' being a case in point. Transfer-pricing within a company can ensure that a "loss" is declared, with any actual 'surplus' (profit) being 'off-shored', where it will have no beneficial impact on any economy. The investigation into Apple (Ireland) by the European Commission, revealed a deliberately opaque and complex company structure, with manufacturing off-shored to China, at wages and conditions condemned by the

International Labour Organisation and others. The company used 'transfer pricing' and tax avoidance/evasion that the EU investigation found to amount to €13bn.

Adam Smith must be spinning in his grave.

### SPEAK SOFTLY AND CARRY A BIG (REGULATORY) STICK.

Yet the nature of corporate power, left unchecked, has been known for some time. Here's what Theodore Roosevelt, President of the USA from 1901—09 had to say in an earlier era—

"These great corporations rarely want anything from the government except to be let alone and to be permitted to work their will unchecked by the government. All that they really want is that governmental action shall be limited. In every great corporation suit, the corporation lawyer will be found protesting against extension of governmental power. Every court decision favouring a corporation takes the form of declaring unconstitutional some extension of governmental power. Every corporation magnate in the country who is not dealing honestly and fairly by his fellows, asks nothing better than that.... there be stringent limitations of governmental power."

### EU Too?

The corporate lobby groups that dominate American politics are not the only interested parties in all this. In the EU, the European Services Forum (ESF), champions the same self interest. Representing global services companies such as Deutsche Bank and Microsoft, the European Commission helped to establish the Forum in 1999, with Trade Secretary, Leon Brittan saying at the launch meeting —"*I am in your hands...I count on your support and inputs.*"

### NEW LABOUR—SAME DANGER.

The Thatcherite Leon Brittan, was followed in the post of EU Trade Secretary by Peter Mandelson. He was very much a creature of Labour B.C. (Before Corbyn). Responding to arguments from President Sarkozy in favour of a measure of 'protectionism' in the EU, Mandelson took to his column in the *Sunday Telegraph* on 6th July 2008, to declare -

"*These are not comfortable times for those committed to free trade.*

In both Europe and the United States, there is increasing rhetoric about the need to protect people from change, some of it sincere but much of it populist and self-serving.

In recent days there have been strong statements about the Doha round of World Trade Organisation negotiations. Those negotiations, which will come to a head at a ministerial meeting in the coming

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## CASEMENT continued

sought no dominion, over others—Ireland is treated to-day among the nations of the world as if she were a convicted criminal.

If it be treason to fight against such an unnatural fate as this, then I am proud to be a rebel, and shall cling to my "rebellion" with the last drop of my blood. If there be no right of rebellion against a state of things that no savage tribe would endure without resistance, then I am sure that it is better for man to fight and die without right than to live in such a state of right as this. Where all your rights become only an accumulated wrong; where men must beg with bated breath for leave to subsist in their own land, to think their own thoughts, to sing their own songs, to garner the fruits of their own labours—and even while they beg, to see things inexorably withdrawn from them—then surely it is a braver, a saner and a truer thing, to be a rebel in act and deed against such circumstances as these than tamely to accept it as the natural lot of men.

My lord, I have done. Gentlemen of the jury, I wish to thank you for your verdict. I hope you will not take amiss what I said, or think that I made any imputation upon your truthfulness or your integrity when I spoke and said that this was not a trial by my peers. I maintain that I have a natural right to be tried in that natural jurisdiction, Ireland my own country, and I would put it to you, how would you feel in the converse case, or rather how would all men here feel in the converse case, if an Englishman had landed here in England and the Crown or the Government, for its own purposes, had conveyed him secretly from England to Ireland under a false name, committed him to prison under a false name, and brought him before a tribunal in Ireland under a statute which they knew involved a trial before an Irish jury? How would you feel yourselves as Englishmen if that man was to be submitted to trial by jury in a land inflamed against him and believing him to be a criminal, when his only crime was that he had cared for England more than for Ireland?

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Roger Casement: *The Crime against Europe*. With *The Crime against Ireland*. Introduction by Brendan Clifford. 184 p.p. Index.  
€15, postfree in Ireland and Britain

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## More on Casement

"Casement forecast Britain's War on Germany which had been planned and prepared for since 1904 and condemned it as a crime. The Socialist James Connolly independently judged it a crime, as did the Catholic Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Dwyer.

"Casement's authenticated essays collected under the titles above appear to have been ignored by nearly all commentators, or dismissed as unworthy of study. But other alleged writings of his have been lucrative sources for some writers and useful weapons for anti-democrats, who would not dare to suggest that his trial judge, Lord Reading, the former Rufus Isaacs, had been involved with Lloyd George in a scam involving Marconi Shares."

**Donal Kennedy.**

There are of course scores of books about leading historical figures in print. But a book

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about somebody can never be the same thing as a book by somebody. It can only give a filtered account of him—an account of what he said and did as filtered through somebody else's interests and prejudices. This is why it is so important to read and reflect on Casement's own words.

One final observation, in 2007, Richard Aldous who holds the Eugene Meyer Chair at Bard College, New York, having previously taught for fifteen years at UCD, brought out a book titled: *"Great Irish Speeches"*. The paperback version in 2009 had a Foreword by Colm Toibin and the book was plugged as a "Number One Bestseller".

It contained a speech from 1782 by Henry Grattan up until 2007 with an address by Bertie Ahern. If the present writer is not mistaken, Bertie launched the book. In fact, Aldous co-authored Bertie's own Autobiography (2009). Yet, Casement's Speech from the Dock never even merited a space in his bestseller, indeed his name doesn't even appear in the index.

## Free Trade—the theory and the reality

Free trade deals are in the news again. The Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement (CETA) between Canada and the EU has been held up by Belgium and Donald Trump, now President of the USA (really) has indicated that he intends to tear up the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as soon as he gets installed in the White House and completes a garish redecoration of the Oval Office. (He's bound to.)

### ADAM SMITH AND WEALTH OF NATIONS

Trade agreements are not a new phenomenon of course and in many regards, modern agreements claim their lineage back to the ideas promulgated by Adam Smith in his treatise—the *Wealth of Nations*, first published in 1776 and in his other writings. A Moral Philosopher and Political Economist, Smith's ideas later inspired the Manchester-based Anti Corn Law League in their overturning of the Corn Laws in 1846. The Corn Laws were a protectionist measure which imposed tariffs on imported wheat and thus maintained the higher price of food in Britain. The laws were supported by the land owning aristocracy who controlled domestic food production and benefited from the absence of competition, but opposed by the many textile factory workers in Manchester, who bore the main burden of higher prices. With their emerging power, the Industrial working class was able

to secure a consequential increase in wages from the Mill owners. But the additional labour costs were added to the price of finished goods for export, arguably making them less competitive. The victory over the Corn Laws heralded a new era in the British Empire, based on free trade and a *laissez faire* attitude to economic or other regulation. Henceforth, as Adam Smith had asserted, "the invisible hand" of the market would ensure economic equilibrium, without bothersome "interference" from the state.

Margaret Thatcher is said to have kept a copy of the *Wealth of Nations* book in her handbag.

### MANUFACTURERS, MERCHANTS AND THE MOST SUSPICIOUS ATTENTION

Alas, Adam Smith is just as misunderstood and often as misquoted as Karl Marx. He had envisaged a 'political economy' in which free trade between nations would offer opportunities to grow domestic economies by appropriate specialisation and division of labour in the production of manufactured goods for export, from which to fund the import of goods that could not be as affordably produced by them. For example, it made sense that Britain would export Whiskey, which it could make well and import wine, which it could not, because of climate. This ensuing trade and the tax generated,

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## CASEMENT continued

title, and if it exists over the body, it fails over the mind. It can exert no empire over men's reason and judgment and affections; and it is from this law of conquest without title to the reason, judgment, and affection of my own country men that I appeal. I would add that the generous expressions of sympathy extended me from many quarters, particularly from America, have touched me very much. In that country, as in my own I am sure my motives are understood and not misjudged for the achievement of their liberties has been an abiding inspiration to Irishmen and to all men elsewhere rightly struggling to be free in like cause.

My Lord Chief Justice, if I may continue, I am not called upon, I conceive, to say anything in answer to the inquiry your lordship has addressed to me why Sentence should not be passed upon me. Since I do not admit any verdict in this Court, I cannot, my lord, admit the fitness of the sentence that of necessity must follow it from this Court. I hope I shall be acquitted of presumption if I say that the Court I see before me now is not this High Court of Justice of England, but a far greater, a far higher, a far older assemblage of justices—that of the people of Ireland. Since in the acts which have led to this trial it was the people of Ireland I sought to serve—and them alone—I leave my judgment and my sentence in their hands...

My counsel has referred to the Ulster Volunteer movement, and I will not touch at length upon that ground save only to say this, that neither I nor any of the leaders of the Irish Volunteers who were founded in Dublin in November, 1913, had quarrel with the Ulster Volunteers as such, who were born a year earlier. Our movement was not directed against them, but against the men who misused and misdirected the courage, the sincerity and the local patriotism of the men of the north of Ireland. On the contrary, we welcomed the coming of the Ulster Volunteers, even while we deprecated the aims and intentions of those Englishmen who sought to pervert to an English party use—to the mean purposes of their own bid for place and power in England—the armed activities of simple Irishmen. We aimed at winning the Ulster Volunteers to the cause of a united Ireland. We aimed at uniting all Irishmen in a natural and national bond of cohesion based on mutual self-respect. Our hope

was a natural one, and if left to ourselves, not hard to accomplish. If external influences of disintegration would but leave us alone, we were sure that Nature itself must bring us together.

How did the Irish Volunteers meet the incitements of civil war that were uttered by the party of law and order in England when they saw the prospect of deriving political profit to themselves from bloodshed among Irishmen? I can answer for my own acts and speeches. While one English party was responsible for preaching a doctrine of hatred designed to bring about civil war in Ireland, the other, and that the party in power, took no active steps to restrain a propaganda that found its advocates in the Army, Navy, and Privy Council—in the Houses of Parliament and in the State Church—a propaganda the methods of whose expression were so "*grossly illegal and utterly unconstitutional*" that even the Lord Chancellor of England could find only words and no repressive action to apply to them. Since lawlessness sat in high places in England and laughed at the law as at the custodians of the law, what wonder was it that Irishmen should refuse to accept the verbal protestations of an English Lord Chancellor as a sufficient safe guard for their lives and their liberties? I know not how all my colleagues on the Volunteer Committee in Dublin reviewed the growing menace, but those with whom I was in closest co-operation redoubled, in face of these threats from without, our efforts to unite all Irishmen from within. Our appeals were made to Protestant and Unionist as much almost as to Catholic and Nationalist Irishmen.

We hoped that by the exhibition of affection and good will on our part towards our political opponents in Ireland we should yet succeed in winning them from the side of an English party whose sole interest in our country lay in its oppression in the past, and in the present in its degradation to the mean and narrow needs of their political animosities. It is true that they based their actions, so they averred, on "fears for the Empire" and on a very diffuse loyalty that took in all the people of the Empire, save only the Irish. That blessed word "Empire" that bears so paradoxical a resemblance to charity! For if charity begins at home, "Empire" means in other men's homes and both may cover a multitude of sins. I for one was determined that Ireland was much more to me than "Empire," and that if charity begins at home so must loyalty.

Since arms were so necessary to make

our organisation a reality, and to give to the minds of Irishmen, menaced with the most outrageous threats, a sense of security, it was our bounden duty to get arms before all else.

We have been told, we have been asked to hope, that after this war Ireland will get Home Rule, as a reward for the life-blood shed in a cause which whoever else its success may benefit can surely not benefit Ireland. And what will Home Rule be in return for what its vague promise has taken and still hopes to take away from Ireland? It is not necessary to climb the painful stairs of Irish history—that treadmill of a nation whose labours are in vain for her own uplifting as the convict's exertions are for his redemption—to review the long list of British promises made only to be broken—of Irish hopes raised only to be dashed to the ground. Home Rule when it comes, if come it does, will find an Ireland drained of all that is vital to its very existence—unless it be that unquenchable hope we build on the graves of the dead.

We are told that if Irishmen go by the thousand to die, not for Ireland, but for Flanders, for Belgium, for a patch of sand on the deserts of Mesopotamia, or a rocky trench on the heights of Gallipoli, they are winning self-government for Ireland. But if they dare to lay down their lives on their native soil, if they dare to dream even that freedom can be won only at home by men resolved to fight for it there, then they are traitors to their country, and their dream and their deaths alike are phases of a dishonourable phantasy.

But history is not so recorded in other lands. In Ireland alone in this twentieth century is loyalty held to be a crime. If loyalty be something less than love and more than law, then we have had enough of such loyalty for Ireland or Irishmen. If we are to be indicted as criminals, to be shot as murderers, to be imprisoned as convicts because our offence is that we love Ireland more than we value our lives, then I know not what virtue resides in any offer of self-government held out to brave men on such terms. Self-government is our right, a thing born in us at birth; a thing no more to be doled out to us or withheld from us by another people than the right to life itself—than the right to feel the sun or smell the flowers or to love our kind. It is only from the convict these things are withheld for crime committed and proven—and Ireland that has wronged no man, that has injured no land, that has

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**LABOUR**

# Comment

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## Casement's Speech from the Dock 1916

My Lord Chief Justice, as I wish to reach a much wider audience than I see before me here, I intend to read all that I propose to say. What I shall read now is something I wrote more than twenty days ago. I may say, my lord, at once, that I protest against the jurisdiction of this Court in my case on this charge, and the argument that I am now going to read is addressed not to this Court, but to my own countrymen.

With all respect I assert this Court is to me, an Irishman, not a jury of my peers to try me in this vital issue for it is patent to every man of conscience that I have a right, an indefeasible right, if tried at all, under this Statute of high treason, to be tried in Ireland, before an Irish Court and by an Irish jury. This Court, this jury, the public opinion of this country, England, cannot but be prejudiced in varying degree against me, most of all in time of war.

I did not land in England; I landed in Ireland. It was to Ireland I came; to Ireland I wanted to come; and the last place I desired to land in was England. But for the Attorney General of England there is only "England"—is no Ireland, there is only the law of England—no right of Ireland; the liberty of Ireland and of Irish is to be judged by the power of England. Yet for me, the Irish outlaw, there is a land of Ireland, a right of Ireland, and a charter for all Irishmen to appeal to, in the last resort, a charter that even the very statutes of England itself cannot deprive us of—nay, more, a charter that Englishmen themselves assert as the fundamental bond of law that connects the two kingdoms.

This charge of high treason involves a moral responsibility, as the very terms of the indictment against myself recite, inasmuch as I committed the acts I am charged with, to the "evil example of others in the like case". What was this

"evil example" I set to others in "the like case", and who were these others? The "evil example" charged is that I asserted the rights of my own country, and the "others" I appealed to to aid my endeavour were my own countrymen.

The example was given not to Englishmen but to Irishmen, and the "like case" can never arise in England, but only in Ireland. To Englishmen I set no evil example, for I made no appeal to them. I asked no Englishman to help me. I asked Irishmen to fight for their rights. The "evil example" was only to other Irishmen who might come after me, and in "like case" seek to do as I did. How, then, since neither my example nor my appeal was addressed to Englishmen, can I be rightfully tried by them? If I did wrong in making that appeal to Irishmen to join with me in an effort to fight for Ireland, it is by Irishmen, and by them alone, I can be rightfully judged.

From this Court and its jurisdiction I appeal to those I am alleged to have wronged, and to those I am alleged to have

injured by my "evil example", and claim that they alone are competent to decide my guilt or my innocence. If they find me guilty, the statute may affix the penalty, but the statute does not override or annul my right to seek judgment at their hands.

This is so fundamental a right, so natural a right, so obvious a right, that it is clear the Crown were aware of it when they brought me by force and by stealth from Ireland to this country. It was not I who landed in England, but the Crown who dragged me here, away from my own country to which I had turned with a price upon my head, away from my own countrymen whose loyalty is not in doubt, and safe from the judgment of my peers whose judgment I do not shrink from. I admit no other judgment but theirs. I accept no verdict save at their hands. I assert from this dock that I am being tried here, not because it is just, but because it is unjust. Place me before a jury of my own countrymen, be it Protestant or Catholic, Unionist or Nationalist, Sinn Feineach or Orangemen, and I shall accept the verdict and bow to the statute and all its penal ties. But I shall accept no meaner finding against me than that of those whose loyalty I endanger by my example and to whom alone I made appeal. If they adjudge me guilty, then guilty I am. It is not I who am afraid of their verdict; it is the Crown. If this be not so, why fear the test? I fear it not. I demand it as my right.

That, my lord, is the condemnation of English rule, of English-made law, of English Government in Ireland, that it dare not rest on the will of the Irish people, but it exists in defiance of their will—that it is a rule derived not from right, but from conquest. Conquest, my lord, gives no

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