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Ideology And State

The Pope came and his presence was not ignored as the State wished it to be. The backwardness of the country—the heart of the country?—came out to welcome him. The head of the country had nothing memorable to say about it.

The Taoiseach said that the relationship of Church and State must be different in future from what it has been in the past. In fact, there is no relationship between Church and State. The Church is independent of the State. O'Connell's ideal of "*a free Church in a free State*" was realised when the Irish state was formed.

A change in the relationship of Church and State, therefore, could only be brought about by the establishment of a connection between them. And, in practice, in present circumstances, it could only be a relationship which subordinated the Church to the State in some way.

The freedom of the Church from all connection with the State in Ireland made Ireland exceptional in Europe. The Christian era began in reality, not in AD 1, but in AD 313 when the Roman Empire accepted Christianity, with it subsequently becoming the State religion, and Christianity shaped itself to the structures and needs of the State. That is how things remained for twelve centuries. And, when England seceded from Roman Christianity, it formed its own Christianity to be a subordinate instrument of its new Imperial State.

We commented about 45 years ago on the anomalous position of the Catholic Church in the Irish State and suggested that it might be regularised by means of a Concordat which would establish a connection between them. The Church did not welcome the suggestion. Neither did the furtive anti-clerical element that hoped that the Church would somehow collapse and did not want there to be any State support around it to hamper its fall. And so it remained a Church entirely free of the State.

continued on page 2

The Continuing EU Campaign Against Poland And Hungary

Ronan McCrea reminded us on 14th September of the on-going issue between the EU and Poland and Ireland's role in the saga involving the alleged Polish drug trafficker, Artur Celmar. He introduced his piece in the *Irish Times*:

"Unforeseen and shocking political developments in another member state have placed Ireland at the centre of the biggest crisis facing the EU. No, I am not talking about Brexit but the breakdown of the rule of law in Hungary and, particularly Poland" (14.9.18).

There could hardly be a more serious accusation—that there are lawless states in the EU! By this logic, the solution might need humanitarian intervention and soon.

Technically the dispute is about a legal issue but it really brings to the fore how the EU copes—or cannot cope—with the

continued on page 6

Ireland, Brexit and the Future of the EU

Part 8

Fault Lines In Syriza And Greek National Development

It would be wrong to conclude that full responsibility for the Greek crisis that started in 2010 and still continues, resides with the leaders of the Governments and institutions of the European Union. Fault also lies on the Greek side.

In the context of the Irish debate about Brexit this is a central issue. Those sections of Irish opinion that are suspicious of the EU—elements of the Left and the large Anglophile contingent inside the Irish elite—argue that the EU showed its true

colours by the way that it dealt with Athens, especially during the six months of the first Syriza Government in 2015. The Greek crisis, they say, exposed a fatal state of dysfunction at the heart of the Eurozone and, in so far as we need to remain in both the Eurozone and the EU for economic reasons, Ireland's influence should be used to oppose further European integration. That body of opinion, however, ignores both Ireland's interest in the long term stability and development of the EU, and the way that the Brussels

continued on page 7

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Ideology And State. Editorial	1
The Continuing EU Campaign Against Poland And Hungary. Jack Lane	1
Fault Lines In Syriza And Greek National Development. Dave Alvey	1
Readers' Letters: Was The 'Great War' China's War? Why Were Chinese Workers Dying In Europe? Donal Kennedy	
Anti-Semitism! David Morrison	3
Es Ahora. Julianne Herlihy: Clair Wills And The Story She Tells (Part 4)	4
Some Reminiscences. Jack Lane	10
Industrial Schools And Welfare Benefits In Britain And Northern Ireland. Wilson John Haire	12
Palestinian And Kuwaiti Rights Discussed At A Dublin Meeting. Dave Alvey	13
The Lemass/DeV Defiance Of Britain's Wartime Starvation Threat. Manus O'Riordan (Lemass, Part 3)	14
September Brexit Summary. Dave Alvey	19
The Russian Revolution. Brendan Clifford (100th Anniversary, Part 10)	21
Andy's Midnight Runners. Lt. Col. John Morgan (retd.)	26
Biteback: Why Not A Centenary General Election This December? Dr. Brian P Murphy osb	26
Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (Normans in Ireland; Cormac Mac Airt; Censorship and Revisionism)	27

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

100 Years Ago! 'Armistice' Centenary

(back page)

Ex-President and ex-Catholic Mary McAleese reveals that, when she was a very Catholic President, the suggestion of a Concordat was raised by the Church. She said nothing about it in public at the time. Presumably in her extreme Romanism then she wished to keep the Church free from State shackles. And presumably she reveals it now as a barb to throw at Rome.

The proposal had practical relevance when she kept silent about it. Today it has none. The political parties, and such intelligentsia as there is, are all intent on trampling the Roman Church in Ireland into the dust, and they even have the ambition of striking at it in the Vatican too, on the pretext that the Vatican was responsible for clerical sex abuse in Ireland.

The only foundation for the position of the Catholic Church in Irish life was the opinion of the people.

The Catholic Church held no feudal tracts of land that enabled it to dictate terms of life to a dependent populace. It was the Protestant Church that was in that position for centuries.

The Catholic Church held no privileged position within the structure of state that enabled it to disfranchise the populace in national or Municipal affairs. That too was the Protestant Church.

All the laws that exerted oppression on the ground of religion in Ireland were Protestant laws—not just laws serving Protestant interests, but laws imposed by the official Protestant Church which was part of the Legislature. The laws against homosexuality, for which the Taoiseach recently made an apology, were Protestant laws. And the Poor Law system, under which the secular authority enlisted convents to fill gaps in secular state provision, was Protestant—the English State, which governed Ireland for centuries, and bequeathed its basic structure to it when leaving, being Protestant.

So why is the Pope so hated, and why is so much of the Protestant history of Ireland attributed to him? We take it that the reason is that what Pearse called *The Murder Machine*—the educational system. Irish History was abolished by Fianna Fail under Jack Lynch and Patrick Hillery in the 1970s. The 'Troubles' in the

North were blamed on it, instead of on the undemocratic system of government that was conferred on the North by Britain, and the re-education of nationalist Ireland was put in the hands of Oxford and Cambridge.

An eminent Irish academic, Professor Crotty, declared that Irish academic history was bankrupt and appealed to the British ruling class to come back and show the Irish how to think. (See his article in the *London Times, Eire: A Land Where Emigrants Are Born*, which was reproduced in *Irish Political Review* in February 2012, along with commentary by Brendan Clifford and John Martin.) Oxbridge could hardly refuse. The Murder Machine was back in business, and more destructively than in Redmond's time. And Professor Crotty helped the work along by founding the Irish Sovereignty Movement as an anti-European movement.

There has been only one Irish Government since the 1960s that was informed by Irish interest as seen in the light of Irish history. That was the universally-hated Government of Charles Haughey. One begins to wonder in hindsight whether it was a mirage! It was a minority Government, condemned by all the established organs of national opinion, but it shifted the state onto the financial track along which it has evolved ever since.

The state now exists merely because it exists. If it did not exist, a will to bring it into existence would not cause it to exist. It was made by others in the past, which is another country. It is clearly felt by many of its contemporary functionaries to be a burden—an obstacle. John Bruton is unusual only in giving frank expression to this feeling.

It exists. It was taken into the EU along with Britain. Britain is leaving the EU, but the EU treats Ireland as if it had not been an appendage of Britain in European affairs for forty years (apart from the Haughey interlude). It is recognised as a competent state with interests of its own which it is capable of attending to. And, like the beggar who finds himself recognised as a Lord at the beginning of *The Taming Of The Shrew*, it begins to think that it must must be what it is recognised as being.

And so, because it has the form of a state, it will probably be obliged to re-acquire the substance of a state if Brexit goes through. There is no enthusiasm for it, but only the tail-end of Professor Crotty's Anglophile *Sovereignty Movement* has come out against with an Irexit policy.

*

The Pope came, provoking waves of hatred amongst the enlightened. He was welcomed by the ignorant mass—by what in the French Revolution, and also in the Russian, were known as the "*former people*"—people who should have been conjured away by the Spirit Of The Age, but somehow haven't been.

The only incident worth recalling is an interview on BBC's *Newsnight* with the Bishop of Derry, Dónal McKeown. The singer, Mary Coughlan, appeared with him and in effect demanded the abolition of the Vatican, and could not bend her mind to any lesser reform.

The Bishop agreed that there was a lot of anguish about. It was "*part of a bigger picture*". And he set out the bigger picture:

"The ideology of any society is the ideology of the ruling class, as old Karl Marx said. There's a new ruling class in place. And clearly a new ideology in place. And all the scandals have clearly contributed to the dominance of that new ideology, and to the huge embarrassment and humiliation of the Church in many quarters. That I don't think is a bad thing. It may be painful but I don't regret that happening at all" (25.8.18).

That's the voice of the free Church in the free State—the Church that does not live with the assistance of any institutional power of State but by the influence which it can exert on popular opinion by use of its wits.

The change of ruling class is an interesting way of putting it. The old ruling class which is being superseded is the property-owning democracy of the countryside, which sustained the independence movement for about three generations after the 1890s. It existed in an easy relationship with the Church, both supporting it and controlling it.

The rural population was then the majority population. It existed in small property units. There were no great propertyless masses. The new system is that of capitalism in the cities, predominantly Dublin, where the populace consists of proletarian masses. Dublin is a city of the colonial aristocracy of the 18th century that was abandoned when the aristocracy moved to London along with its Parliament after 1801, and the Church tried to fill the vacuum left by the aristocracy. The urban relationship of church and people was essentially different from the rural relationship. And Dublin never developed the form of secular politics appropriate to a large city.

The ideology of the new system is an

Was The 'Great War' China's War?

Why Were Chinese Workers Dying In Europe?

When my father worked as an Engineer Inspector in the Irish Land Commission, one of his senior colleagues was Charles Kettle, brother of Tom Kettle (the former Nationalist MP for South Tyrone, or Fermanagh, barrister, poet, former professor of Economics at UCD, pro-'Great War' propagandist who joined the Royal Dublin Fusiliers who fell in futile battle in September 1916). I was introduced to him as a child. That's all I can remember of "*Mr Kettle*" as my father used to refer to him. Whether he was a war veteran or not, I don't know. Another of my father's colleagues WAS a veteran of the 'Great War' which Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and 'Irish Labour' leaders have belatedly adopted as "*Ireland's War*".

I don't know if the then leaders of China regarded the Great War as China's War and would be very surprised if her current leaders, or the regime in Taiwan, so consider it today.

My father's colleague witnessed Chinese men, so broken in spirit that they would say "*I think I do a Die*", and then sit down and expire soon after. They had been recruited in China to work as "*coolie*" labour behind the British (and Irish!) lines, shipped (*Shanghaie'd?*) to Europe in appalling conditions.

Those who survived were shipped back in appalling conditions. Some tried to settle in Liverpool. Some organised protests in France, where they were beaten by British/Irish? Officers, some of whom wrote boasting of their exploits. Some were treated as mutineers and murdered by gunfire.

I wonder how many members of the Irish Labour Party, founded by the patriot internationalist, James Connolly, can endorse the claim that the 1914-1918 War was *Ireland's War*. Or members of Fianna Fail, Fine Gael. Or the SDLP?

Donal Kennedy

Anti-Semitism!

Hajo Meyer, a Dutch Holocaust survivor and human rights activist, once coined the phrase, "*Once an anti-Semite was a man who hates Jews. Today an anti-Semite is a man whom the Jews hate*" (see: Gideon Levy, Haaretz).

David Morrison

ideology of scandal. There is no proposal for a functional relationship with the Church. The Church is to be undermined by sensationalising the scandals that proliferated because of the abnormal condition of Dublin as a capital city.

Gene Kerrigan said long ago that monopoly capitalism would destroy the Church, so there was no need for a reformist engagement with it. The implication of this is that Christianity is to be ground into the dust, leaving nothing in its place. What is indicated is an era of disintegrating ideological drift.

We have seen no sign of interest in the Emperor Julian, as in other countries where Christianity became suspect. Julian was the nephew of Constantine who made Christianity the established religion of Europe. Julian published a penetrating critique of Christianity and used his power

to dis-establish it and give renewed currency to the religion which it displaced. He was killed soon after beginning the work, but it seems doubtful that he could ever have succeeded.

We are sure that the Bishop of Derry is culturally connected with Europe right back to its origins with Constantine and Julian. Anti-Catholic Dublin is just disconnected and resentful—just as Pat Murphy described it sixty years ago, when it carried on a furtive existence in a few snugs. Its entry into the Corridors of Power has not changed it much.

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es ahora *

'The Ministry of Fear'. for Seamus Deane

Well, as Kavanagh said, we have lived
In important places. The lonely scarp
Of St Columb's College, where I billeted
For six years, overlooked your Bogside.
I gazed into new worlds: the inflamed throat
Of Brandywell, its floodlit dogtrack,
The throttle of the hare. In the first week
I was so homesick I couldn't even eat
The biscuits left to sweeten my exile.
I threw them over the fence one night
In September 1951
When the lights of houses in the Lecky Road
Were amber in the fog. It was an act
Of stealth.

Then Belfast, and then Berkeley.
Here's two on's are sophisticated,
Dabbling in verses till they have become
A life: from bulky envelopes arriving
In vacation time to slim volumes
Despatched 'with the author's compliments'.
Those poems in longhand, ripped from
the wire spine
Of your exercise book, bewildered me—
Vowels and ideas banded free
As the seed-pods blowing off our sycamores.
I tried to write about the sycamores
And innovated a South Derry rhyme
With *hushed* and *lulled* chimes for *pushed*
and *pulled*.
Those hobnailed boots from beyond
the mountain
Were walking, by god, all over the fine
Lawns of elocution.

Have our accents
Changed? Catholics, in general, don't speak
As well as students from the Protestant schools.
Remember that stuff? Inferiority
Complexes, stuff that dreams were
made on.

'What's your name, Heaney?'
'Heaney, Father.'
'Fair Enough.'

On my first day, the leather strap
Went epileptic in the Big Study,
Its echoes plashing over our heads,
But I still wrote home that a boarder's life
Was not so bad, shying as usual.

On long vacations, then, I came to life
In the kissing seat of an Austin 16
Parked at a gable, the engine running,
My fingers tight as ivy on her shoulders,
A light left burning for her in the kitchen.

And heading back for home, the summer's
Freedom dwindling night by night, the air
All moonlight and a scent of hay,
policemen
Swung their crimson flashlamps,
crowding round
The car like black cattle, snuffing and
pointing
The muzzle of a Sten gun in my eye:
'What's your name, driver?'

'Seamus'
Seamus?

They once read my letters at a roadblock
And shone their torches on your
hieroglyphics,
'Svelte dictions' in a very florid hand.

Ulster was British, but with no rights on
The English lyric: all around us, though
We hadn't named it, the ministry of fear.

Seamus Heaney from '*Singing School*'.

I never cease to be amazed at the
ignorance surrounding the poetry of the
greatest Irish poet of this era. People with
agendas to serve, like to portray this most
genial of men as somehow slipperier in
that Bowenesque sense, that his nationality
was somehow dubious and his "*famous
green passport*" offered him protection
from a hostile world. But a quick reading
of his poetry shows how tough and
determined he was to "*shyly*" undermine
the pieties of a Northern Ireland troubled
more by the British State than the internal
divisions it eternally stoked. His '*Ministry
of Fear*' detonates any lingering doubt
that Heaney didn't know precisely whose
agency was responsible for the '*Ministry
of Fear*'. Britain liked to portray its clean
hands but the local Heaney knew where
the killing orders came from and so he fled
to Dublin with its own censorious policies
and prejudices.

The draconian Section 31 of the
Broadcasting Act enacted by that liberal
regime of Garrett Fitzgerald and Conor
Cruise O'Brien made sure that any loyalties
would be questioned (many by the *Heavy
Gang*—those Special Branch-men that got
the Irish Government nod to do its own
dirty work without too much interference
from the Irish media) and by God—it
worked.

In recent days, many newspapers and
broadcasters are printing their papers with
one whole page blank to shock us into the
reality that without them—democracy is
finished. They actually say that and
politicians like Micheál Martín immediately
jumped on their bandwagon and stated
that the State itself (actually the tax-payers)
would pump money equal to €30 million

euros to help them continue their sterling
work. For that he got a two-page spread in
the *Irish Examiner* to propound his various
policies—so what an advertisement for
our wonderful democracy? He probably
got exposure in RTE and *The Irish Times*
and *Independent* too but who notices them?

But, seriously, who cares about these
redundant news outlets anymore? And
when they were making serious money,
especially advertising property during the
boom—did they do anything for the
ordinary people now being called to bail
them out? Did they . . . ? So now that social
media is where it is at—they *canán* that
they have never been less than liver-white
in delivering the news. As the youngsters
derisively say today '*yeah whatever*'.

Seamus Heaney could tell you a thing
or two if he were still alive about how
tricky those same newspapers were with
him and never more so than when they
contested his nationality so no the MSM
don't get to tell us they are saviours of our
democracy and that fake news has never
entered their domains. They lie to us all
the time as surely as do our politicians and
we are not such eejits as to be taken in by
their bleating now. They want free markets
but not when the icy winds of change are
blowing their way—*well tough: deal with
it!*—as the Americans so rightly say!

CLAIR WILLS

In the last number of *Irish Political
Reviews*, I have been looking at the books
of Clair Wills and how they marked her
career ascent in academia from red-brick
universities in the UK to the very top tier
of the US tertiary system—Princeton
University. Wills began by doing her
masters in 1985 and then her DPhil at
Oxford University in 1989. She then went
to lecture at the University of Essex, where
she began researching the poetry of Paul
Muldoon who of course was one of the
newly emerging great poetic voices of
Northern Ireland. He was born the eldest
of three children on a farm in County
Armagh, outside Moy, near the boundary
with Co. Tyrone. His father worked as a
farmer (among other jobs) and his mother
was a school-mistress. He later was to
lament the dearth of books in his home
saying:

"I'm astonished to think that, apart from
some Catholic Truth Society pamphlets,
some books on saints, there were essen-
tially, no books in the house, except one
set of the Junior World Encyclopaedia,
which I certainly read again and again...
At some level, I was self-educated."

In 1969, Muldoon went off to read
English at Queen's University, Belfast

where he met Seamus Heaney and "*became close to the Belfast Group of poets which included Michael Longley, Ciarán Carson, Medbh McGuckian and Frank Ormsby*". He remembered his time at university as wasted: he was not a strong student as he never attended lectures and accepted he should have done "*the decent thing and dropped out*" but he hung around and brought out his first collection of poetry '*New Weather*', which was published by Faber & Faber.

After college graduation, he married fellow student Anne-Marie Conway in 1973 but their marriage broke up in 1977. For thirteen years Muldoon worked as an arts producer at the BBC in Belfast from 1973-'86. He left and went to England where he taught English and Creative Writing at the University of East Anglia and at Caius College and Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge. In 1987, Muldoon emigrated to the USA after he got a post in Princeton. He was also given the prestigious post of Professor of Poetry at Oxford University for the five-year term 1999-2004.

Muldoon won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 2003. He has also been awarded fellowships in the Royal Society of Literature and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the 1994 T.S. Eliot Prize, the 1997 *Irish Times* Poetry Prize, and the 2003 Griffin International Prize for Excellence for Poetry. In 2007 he was hired as the Poetry Editor of '*The New Yorker*'. Other prizes followed and in 2017 he was awarded the Queen's Gold Medal for Poetry. Basically he tracked Seamus Heaney in terms of awards and appointments except he didn't win (yet) the Nobel Prize for Literature. So Dr. Wills was very astute in picking her research project because it would ultimately bring her into contact with two men who would change her career and that of course is Paul Muldoon himself and the latter's biggest benefactor Leonard L. Milberg—a Princeton 1953 alumnus.

Wills wrote her first book '*Improprieties: Politics and Sexuality in Northern Irish Poetry*' (Clarendon Press, Oxford University) in 1994. According to the blurb, which is mostly academic textual nonsense, there is just the one readable part where it says that Wills gives an assessment—

"that is a much-needed evaluation of Northern Irish poetry, distinguished by its critical sophisticated and lucid readings of three notoriously complex but hugely important poets— Paul Muldoon, Tom Paulin and Medbh McGuckian."

Four years later Wills wrote her seminal account of the poet who most fascinated her, in her book '*Reading Paul Muldoon*' (Bloodaxe Books, 1998). During the 1990s she was involved in a large-scale collaborative project with Bourke, Kilfeather, Luddy, MacCurtain, Meaney, Ní Dhonnchadha, and O'Dowd dedicated to anthologising Irish women's writing. It was published as '*The Field Day Anthology of Irish Women's Writing and Traditions*, Vols. 4 & 5, Cork University Press in association with Field Day 2002.

I well remember when the great Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing in Vol. 1, 2, and 3—with their great Seamus *éile* Deane as General Editor and Associate Editors Andrew Carpenter, Jonathan Williams—was published in Derry by Field Day Publications and distributed by Faber & Faber Ltd. There was a huge outcry in the Letters Page of '*The Irish Times*' by various women academics, mostly from Cork University. Other female academic joined in and stated that a lot of women writers were absent. Basically the lads eventually said go ahead and write about those whom you think are important. And, in fairness, I and others thought that the Derry scholars did pretty well on women writers.

But the ladies saw an opportunity and, once backed by Government grants, they brought out the next two volumes after much quibbling and squabbling. I thought one of the primary movers was Professor Patricia Coughlan, UCC, and am now amazed to see her excised from the process and there is Clair Wills whom I had never heard of—or am I disremembering the whole academic imbroglio?

Wills was propelled to becoming Professor of Irish Literature at Queen Mary College, University of London, where she was now firmly ensconced in the literary firmament and in 2007 she consolidated her position with the publication of '*That Neutral Island: A Cultural History of Ireland During the Second World War*', published by Faber & Faber, London. It really was a massive tome containing 426 pages in paperback with a huge and by now famous '*Bibliographical Essay*' of 29 pages. It won many awards, most notably the 2007 Hessel-Tiltman Prize for History organised by English PEN—which won Wills £2,000 and of course all the issuing publicity.

(I would advise my readers to look up this award on Wikipedia as all the winners have a certain mien in that they advance the notion that the so-called 'West' has the

monopoly on being the good guys—the CIA couldn't do it better, but then they have a very interesting relationship with PEN as outlined in '*Who paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*' (Frances Stoner Saunders, Granta Books, London, 1999 pp 362-365).

Wills also won the 2007 Michael J. Durkan Prize for Books on Language and Culture, which was administered by the American Conference for Irish Studies; *Times Literary Supplement* Best Book of the Year; and an *Irish Times* Best Book of the Year as well. So, with the awards came the reviews and they were indeed glowing, though sometimes I wondered had these reviewers read the same book as myself and honestly the short answer to that was *no!* Of all the most appalling reviews where ignorance was so predominant that one just could not find words for it—the worst one in my opinion, was by Emilie Pine of UCD for *Estudios Irlandeses—Journal of Irish Studies*. Who she? Well after much trawling I found in the UCD website that "*Emilie Pine is Associate Professor in Modern Drama at UCD and is author of the No.1 bestseller 'Notes to Self' (Tramp Press).*" (?)

Pine praises Wills's "*cultural history of Ireland*" and finds it "*a rare pleasure. With a depth of research and understanding and a lightness of touch, Wills creates a multi-layered picture of the realities of living in a neutral country that was 'both in and not in the war'...*". Pine goes on to aver that at—

"the opening of the war, both Britain and the United States were sympathetic to the Irish decision to pledge neutrality, considering the weakness of the Irish army and the general sense, in the *media at least* (my italics—JH) that Ireland was 'backing Britain to the best of her ability'."

Well—an idiosyncratic view, indeed!! Pine just sees neutrality as "*pragmatic*", which it was—but it was most certainly a political, strategic and moral stance as well. Taoiseach Eamon de Valera had been taught acute lessons at the League of Nations about the geo-politics of the major Powers (even if he didn't need them—seeing how the Irish nation was treated by Britain in its attempts to attain freedom), so he now had the right to consider how best to protect the sovereignty of his country in a new world conflict.

But to write as Pine did that Britain, the US and their media were *sympathetic* is absolutely outrageous. We were threatened, cajoled, bribed and, to use Churchill's favourite term, "*squeezed*" to try and break our spirit. The media—that

tool of war—especially the BBC, cast us implicitly in a "collaborationist" role. Many of our commentators today call up our "exceptional censorship" during the war. But in the *London Review of Books*, Vol. 40, No. 17, 13th September 2018, there is a very revealing letter referring to the use of Ian Jack's article (LRB 30th August 2018) about—

"switch censors, BBC employees who were ready to cut off a broadcast instantly if a speaker wandered into 'dangerous territory'... Despite the entreaties of commissioning editors, the Passport Office (by which we should understand M16) refused to grant Frank O'Connor, one of Ireland's best-known writers, a permit to visit London to record for the BBC in 1942."

This letter was sent in by Patrick Callan, Trinity College, Dublin. But Churchill himself got the BBC—

"to remove J.B. Priestley, novelist, playwright and essayist who identified himself throughout his life with the Labour movement and wrote frequently for papers like the 'New Statesman' from the air in 1941 for his radicalism" (etc—JH), (*English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980*, Martin J. Wiener, Penguin Books, London, 1985, pb edition.)

Pine latterly acknowledges that it wasn't until after Pearl Harbour when the USA came into the war, thereby bringing with its new position huge pressure on Dev to give up our neutrality. She says that there was plenty of demurring voices in Ireland over its position but who these were—she does not tell us. Other than James Dillon—as Bowen was to find out—there was near unanimity about our neutrality. Wills pointed out how all three leaders in Ireland got on the same platform to show solidarity over the Irish position, Taoiseach Eamon de Valera, Fianna Fail; William T. Cosgrave, Fine Gael; and James Norton, Labour. Our ports were the sticking point with all the politicians, their diplomats and their media. But even Pine has to admit that—after six years of Dev's policy—in the end he had the backing of his people which "was reflected in de Valera's huge electoral win in 1944".

Wills shows how—according to Pine—the war-work done not only by the Irish in the British army but in the factories, building sites, the medical service, *et al* indicated how big the presence of the Irish was in the UK at the time. It is hard to calculate how many Irish were in Britain during this period but there certainly were hundreds of thousands.

What Wills never alluded to were the difficulties of the newly emergent Irish State which had been hugely underfunded when it was under British rule. Now—practically nearly within 20 years—we were hit by this huge tsunami of economic difficulty. And the answer for Churchill and his Government was to tighten the screws even further. There had been economic agreements with the British which they were only too happy to quickly jettison and then dare to go out to the world with a put-upon story of how we were hampering them at every turn.

The cheek even now infuriates me. Robert Fisk, no lover of Ireland, wrote in his huge tome *In Time of War* (first published in the UK by André Deutsch Ltd., 1983) about the way the British deliberately "reduced Eire's allowance of petrol—already half of the 1940 shipments—by a further 25% in 1942. Dulanty angrily informed Attlee that this would cause hardship on a wide scale in Eire and have—

"the gravest consequences on the economic life of the nation... The Irish government regarded the latest fuel cuts as 'harsh and inequitable' and insisted upon the return to the Irish register of seven tankers which had been transferred to British control at the beginning of the war. The demand was ignored and the Irish never got their ships back."

To go back to Emilie Pine: she makes the obvious statement that Wills' balanced account was

"due to the inclusive nature of her source material, from official reports and archives to local and national media. In addition, Wills accesses the subjective side of history with not only personal letters and diaries, but also by including the creative writing and art of the period. Through drama, poetry and fiction Wills attempts to 'give word to the silent majority'..."

That last phrase is pure rubbish as it is the elite figures of that particular world who have the voice Wills is using. And then Pine steps in it in a big way by saying "this strategy pays off not merely in terms of referencing well-known works such as Elizabeth Bowen's 'The Heat of the Day'..." Ah, but Ms Pine, Bowen's "well-known" work wasn't published until 1949—well about four years after the end of the war—wouldn't you know?

Pine further identifies her ignorance by saying how Ireland was "cut off", "in paralysis" and characterised by "intellectual stasis"—all the usual tropes that critics today trot out about Dev's

Ireland. But, to be fair to Professor Clair Wills, she uses the sources to see how successful the Irish were in their theatre, cinemas, plays, novels and documentaries etc. Here she uses the acknowledgement of Hilton Edwards who stated in July 1942:

"Considering the present upheaval, there seems to be little to complain about in the position of the theatre in Ireland. There has been a mushroom growth of new companies, frequent productions, apparently a very healthy attendance and the creation of a virile theatre organisation."

Julianne Herlihy ©

To Be Continued.

EU: Poland and Hungary continued

nation states of the EU. There could not be a more fundamental issue for its future.

The EU case is based on a legal abstraction—an independent judiciary—an abstraction because there is no jurisdiction that exists, or can exist or should exist, independently of the democracy of the relevant state. The judiciary is not and should not be a law unto itself. But this abstraction is now being laid down as a condition of continuing membership of the EU by its leading lights.

Like all abstractions it can be defined, redefined, refined, accepted, and ignored *ad infinitum*, depending on circumstances. In other words it's all in the eye of the beholder. In this instance, it is a stick to beat national expressions in Poland and Hungary.

The case is summed up in the title of McCrea's piece: "*Hungary, Poland bigger threat to EU than Brexit*". Neither country wants to leave the EU, and both consider themselves as European as other members, so what justifies the row over a legal abstraction?

These countries do not subscribe to the Liberal ideology of the Anglo-Saxon world and that is their 'crime'. But does that make them a threat to the EU? I am sure the countries concerned are convinced they are as European as any country in Europe and want to continue to be so and would be horrified and insulted to be accused of running lawless countries.

What has Anglo Saxon Liberalism done for Europe? It did not create the European project. Quite the contrary. The great

paragon and exemplar of Liberalism as it actually came into existence was the British Liberal Party. It was the embodiment of British Liberal Imperialism and it initiated World War I, a war that effectively destroyed what existed of a European entity. The job was finished in the orchestrating of WWII that led to Europe being put under the hegemony of the USA and Russia.

The European project was given shape, substance and meaning by European Christian Democracy in the decades after WWII: its aim was to salvage what was left of Europe. The Christian Democracy of the main European nations initiated the EU project and its central, unique mechanism, *the Commission*, was created by it but then it was derailed by the European Liberals led by Pat Cox at the beginning of the century. That is Liberalism's contribution to the European project!

The current crusade against Poland and Hungary, if it succeeds, will ensure a further dilution of the European project.

Ireland has again punched above its weight by refusing to extradite a suspected drug trafficker, Artur Celmar, to Poland because of its alleged lack of an independent judiciary. Apparently Poland cannot now be relied on to perform such a mundane legal duty as to try an alleged drug trafficker! It referred the case to the ECJ but the ECJ asked the Irish High Court to establish an actual case to justify what it is doing. According to the McCrea: "*The (Irish) High Court has now decided to ask the Polish authorities for more information before it decides whether to surrender Celmer to them.*" Which implies that it had not bothered to ask for the relevant information before deciding not to extradite Mr. Celmar. In other words, it was so keen to join the bandwagon—indeed to drive it—that it jumped the gun.

This is what it means to be good Europeans in Ireland these days. It is pathetic but reflects perfectly the Establishment's attitude to the EU—it's there to do our thinking for us.

The only thing holding back further drastic action against Poland and Hungary is the requirement that such moves would need unanimous support among the Member States. The Commission is advocating majority voting in such matters. However, unanimity means working by consensus rather than arithmetic. And that is right: some human political issues are too important to be left to arithmetic.

Bonar Law created a furore during the Irish Home Rule debates when he said

there were more important things than majorities in the House of Commons, though he was perfectly correct. And creating a European consensus, *a demos*, on fundamental issues is one of these matters: it is more important than majority votes in the European Council or Parliament or elsewhere. Otherwise we go down the road of totalitarian democracy on issues that go beyond democracy itself.

The integration of European nations cannot be done by voting alone, as one can only vote for what exists. What to vote about, and what to manage by democratic mechanisms has yet to be created from the current state of the EU.

Insisting on mathematically correct democracy can wreck such a possibility and our Liberal ideologues show every sign of doing that.

Jack Lane

Fault Lines In Syriza

continued

institutions eventually got to grips with the crisis. It also portrays Greece as an innocent party. In this article I describe three fault lines underpinning the outlook of the Syriza Government.

In the two following sections I look at Greece's relationship with the EU and place it in a historical context. Blind spots in the Anglophile view of the EU are discussed in the concluding section where I argue that Greece is handicapped in its interactions with Europe by having an underdeveloped national culture.

THE LEFTIST FAULT LINE

In part 6 of this series I quoted from the socialist writer, Paul Mason, as follows:

"But Syriza, in the end, was a Gramscian party in a non-Gramscian world. It was conceived in the era of hierarchies, not networks, and in the era of national economies, not globalization."

Mason was also critical of Syriza for failing to follow a prescription laid down by Nicos Poulantzas in the 1970s that the European Left needed two things: "*independent mass social movements and a modernised electoral focused party*". These criticisms from Mason echo the position of the *Left Platform* grouping within Syriza.

Taking the last point first, the logic of the Poulantzas strategy is a political

movement that generates social polarisation. A moment of truth occurred during the referendum campaign of June 2015. While mass rallies supported by Syriza's social base played a part in the party's short-lived victory in the referendum, large counter demonstrations appeared on the streets of Athens supported by members of the "*outraged middle class*", fearful that Greece would be forced out of the Eurozone. At the critical moment agitation by an independent social movement merely intensified the social divide in Greek society.

One of the reasons why the first Syriza Government was handicapped in getting to grips with the political situation it faced was because it had an "*anti system*" worldview, a worldview bequeathed to it by the Left. Leftist parties that interpret the legacy of the Russian Revolution in a doctrinaire way can perform useful oppositional functions in the right circumstances but they have become increasingly apolitical and are congenitally unsuited to the business of Government. Even in the abnormal circumstances of Greece after 2011—where mass discontent against an apparently autocratic regime in Brussels had built up, where something like a revolutionary ferment was happening and, after January 2015, a socialist party was in power—even in those favourable circumstances, Leftist reflexes merely added to the unreal expectations being generated by the protests.

Ultimately Syriza's *Left Platform*, together with its revolutionary baggage, got its answer in the General Election of August 2015 (which it triggered) when all 60 of the *Left Platform* MPs lost their seats while Syriza held its share of the national vote.

There is a need for serious debate about these matters in the international socialist community. Paul Mason is right to question the relevance of Gramscian ideas and purely national responses in the globalised conditions of modern politics, but can he recognise the ideological straightjacket that currently constrains the hard Left? I suspect not.

THE ANTI-GERMAN FAULT LINE

Greek Prime Minister and leader of Syriza Alexis Tsipras had a greater capacity for pragmatic acceptance of what was possible than the more ideological wing of his party. The following extract from an interview that Tsipras gave to Paul Mason in November 2015 (quoted in Part 6 of this series) summarises the main mistakes that

Tsipras thought his Government had made:

"So what went wrong? First, miscalculation. Obama, Renzi, and Hollande assured the Greeks that they could bargain from a position where membership of the eurozone was inviolable. But Germany chipped away at all their allies using strong, quiet diplomacy. German diplomatic pressure wielded greater impact than American or French goodwill.

Second, everybody underestimated the amount of moral capital Germany was prepared to lose to smash Syriza. Tsipras says that if he knew then what he knows now, he would have staged the rupture with the lenders earlier: when the Greek state had money enough to ride out the closure of the banks for a few weeks."

These two points tell us more than the 548-page account given in Varoufakis's book about the defeat of Syriza. Tsipras and his colleagues placed too much trust in the goodwill of the Americans, French and Italians, and underestimated the determination of Wolfgang Schauble to crush the threat to the EU's authority that Syriza represented for the Germans. The excerpt also shows that Tsipras was not prepared to admit his biggest mistake: his Government's failure to recognise that power lay with the German Government more than with the Brussels institutions or other European Governments.

Michael Noonan, the Irish Minister for Finance during this time, made an inane comment about the Greek economy being only able to produce feta cheese, but in other respects he showed astute judgement. I recall hearing him state on RTE radio that it was important to understand that the Germans were open to persuasion, even if initially they expressed strong opposition to Irish proposals.

The Portuguese also played their cards well in wringing concessions from the EU without ruffling German feathers. When the social democratic Socialist Party formed a minority Government in late 2015, Finance Minister Mario Centeno was able to raise welfare payments and wages while keeping the Portuguese Budget Deficit within the limits set down in the Fiscal Compact. The Portuguese economy thus released from austerity began to grow and Wolfgang Schauble christened Centeno the "*Christiano Ronaldo*" (a renowned striker on the Portuguese national soccer team) of the Eurozone. In December 2017 Centeno was elected President of the Eurogroup with German, French and Italian support.

Following the Maastricht Treaty the power of the European Commission was

weakened as against that of the European Council, the body representing the heads of Government of the Member States. In line with what the UK Government had pressed for, power moved from the supranational EU level to the inter-Governmental level. This meant that the centre of EU power shifted to the Governments, effectively to the Governments of the larger States. Then, in the course of the Euro debt crisis in September 2012, Germany's Federal Constitutional Court ruled that EU decisions about bailout agreements with troubled EU States needed Bundestag ratification. This meant that, if changes were proposed, for example to the Greek bailout programme, the proposals would need to be passed by majority vote in the German parliament. In short, by the time that the Syriza Government went looking to renegotiate the Troika programme, the parties with the power to help them were the German Government and German public opinion.

Tsipras showed some appreciation of this in the way that he cultivated a relationship with Merkel but he was not immune from a current of anti-Germanism that flowed through Syriza's basic political stance.

THE CREDIBILITY FAULT LINE

Towards the end of his maiden speech to the Eurogroup on 11th February 2015 Yanis Varoufakis stated:

"To you I have this to say: it would be a lost opportunity to see us as adversaries. We are dedicated Europeanists. We care about our people deeply but we are not populists promising all things to all Greeks" (*Adults in the Room*, p. 236)

This is fair enough as far as it goes. All political actors engage in varying degrees of spin, but Varoufakis is unusual in that he seemed to expect his protestations of innocence to be swallowed by the other Eurozone Finance Ministers. Believing fervently in the scheme of debt relief he had devised, he expected those with whom he was negotiating to be persuaded by his arguments, as if a political crisis involving the survival of the Euro and affecting the financial interests of most of the Governments of Europe could be resolved by rational argument alone.

Syriza was elected on a wave of Left populism to bring the Troika's austerity to an end. It was clear from the start that the Greeks were on a collision course with the EU. In his book Varoufakis states that he had been expecting an all-out confrontation with Berlin since 2012 (p209). Playing down, or even denying, the

incompatibility of the two sides was disingenuous. Too often the Greek Foreign Minister's stated positions lacked credibility. His failings were symptomatic of an incoherence at the heart of Syriza's approach: the party was on a populist mission while harbouring illusions that it was something else.

On one of the days before he addressed the Eurogroup Varoufakis met with Wolfgang Schauble. At the press conference afterwards he stated that, when Prime Minister Tsipras had laid a wreath at a war memorial site in Athens immediately after his swearing in, he had engaged in "*an act of defiance against the resurgence of Nazism*" (p, 215). He meant that Tsipras was taking on the Greek fascist party which had polled well in the Election. On the following day the German press highlighted in shocked tones that Varoufakis had mentioned Nazism in front of Schauble, and in Greece nationalist representatives praised him for doing so.

In describing the incident Varoufakis is appalled that his words could be so wilfully misunderstood, but in my view the misinterpretation was justified in both countries; depicting Merkel's Government as Nazi in all but name had become a commonplace of anti-Troika propaganda in Greece, and was well known about in Germany.

As I have argued previously, from 2012 onwards there were solid grounds for initiating a comprehensive review of the austerity policy that was being forced on Greece. That Syriza was unable to build a cross-Europe consensus or influence German opinion to that effect shows up the disadvantages of the anti-EU bias of the European hard Left. Weaknesses in the party that I have highlighted provide a partial explanation as to why Syriza failed, but other more deep seated factors associated with the Greek-EU relationship and with the country's path to national development also came into play.

GREECE IN THE EU

From the start Greece's membership of the EU did not go to plan. A major part of the reason for this lies with a political decision made at EEC level. In the late seventies, when the Greek accession was being negotiated, the Commission proposed a ten year pre-accession period. Unprecedentedly this was overruled by the Council of Ministers because, in the Cold War environment of the time, it was considered strategically important to promote a quick Greek membership "*as a*

means of assuring the country's adherence to the West" as Eirini Karamouzi puts it in a paper for the London School of Economics ("The argument that Greece was granted EEC accession prematurely ignores the historical context in which the decision was made", 25 November 2014, LSE) The politician most associated with the Greek accession, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, has admitted in recent years that Helmut Schmidt was right in arguing in the late seventies that weaknesses in the state machine and the lack of a functioning tax system were matters that needed to be resolved before Greece was admitted. These weaknesses militated against the release of EU Structural funds to Greek projects in the eighties and nineties.

If premature admission to the EEC was a mistake, a much greater error was the decision to prematurely admit the Hellenic Republic to the Eurozone in 2001. Political responsibility for this at EU level lies with the German Social Democrats who claimed to be acting in solidarity with their Hellenic counterpart, Pasok. The force at work behind the scenes was the social democratic embrace of neo liberalism, expressed in different ways by the leaderships of Bill Clinton in the US, Tony Blair in the UK and Gerhard Schroeder in Germany.

In accord with this new social democratic dispensation, Goldman Sachs was employed by the Pasok Government of Costas Simitis, an emulator of the modernising style of Tony Blair, to assist his administration in meeting the requirements for joining the Euro. Goldman Sachs swapped debt issued by Greece in Dollars and Yen for Euro, using a historical exchange rate—a mechanism that enabled an apparent reduction in debt. It also used an off-market interest-rate swap to repay the loan. At a minimum, the swaps made about two per cent of Greece's debt disappear from its national accounts. Financial trickery thus enabled an improvident State to adopt the Euro, and the New Democracy Government that followed kept up the practice of fraudulent reporting. Varoufakis makes a persuasive case that the crisis in his country would have been much less severe if it had remained outside the Eurozone.

One-dimensional characterisations of Greece as an ungovernable basket case are a distortion. Athens successfully hosted the Olympic Games in 2004 and a major upgrade of the city's transport infrastructure was successfully delivered in advance of the Games. On a more ephemeral note, the Greeks have been

more successful than other Europeans at defying the stultifying encroachments of mass consumerism, over-education and standardisation. In a column for the *Irish Times* entitled, *Letters from Greece*, literary critic Richard Pine has described the vibrancy of life in a remote village where he lives on the island of Corfu. He states:

"It's a working village. There's a winery, a joinery, a blacksmith, an oily where you take your olives for the pressing, a post office, two tavernas, two multi-purpose shops, one kafeneio, an ice cream parlour, a car hire office, and a petrol station doubling as a DIY store" (*Greece through Irish Eyes*, 2015, p22).

Pine's village is subject to the same forces that are causing rural depopulation all over Europe but it is holding its own; according to Pine the crisis hasn't dulled its *joie de vivre*. On the same theme, acquaintances of mine who deliver sail boats by sailing them to destinations in the Caribbean, the USA, South America, Australia and Europe consider their Greek ports of call to be the liveliest, most genuinely hospitable places that they call to.

In the aftermath of the crisis many questions present themselves. Should Greece opt for an orderly exit from the Eurozone following a transition period? Should it defend its traditional way of life? Or should it embrace modernisation and seek to make good its membership of the EU? Such questions and their permutations are matters for the citizens of the Hellenic Republic.

GREECE'S NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Milestones in Greece's national development are: War of Independence (1821-30); foundation of the State (1831-32); instigation of Constitutional Monarchy under George I (1863); territorial expansion (1864, 1881 and 1913); National Schism between pro-neutrality royalists and supporters of Eleftherios Venizelos (1916); British naval blockade and forced resignation of King Constantine (1917); Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922); Anatolian Catastrophe (1922); dictatorship of General Metaxas (1935-1940); Greco-Italian War (1939-40); German occupation and EAM/ELAS Greek resistance (1940-45); Civil War (1945-50); Military Junta (1967-74).

A factor that greatly inhibited national development throughout this catalogue of turmoil was the extent of foreign intervention in Greece's internal affairs. Having

intervened to force the Ottoman Empire to grant it independence in 1831, the Great Powers—Britain, France and Russia—continued to hold an element of control over Greece all through the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century the pattern intensified with Britain playing the major role. Following the Balkan wars in 1913 Lloyd George declared: "*The future of Greece will be decided in London, not Athens*".

During World War 1 pressure from Britain to align with the Entente Powers from early 1915 onwards created a searing divide in Greek society which later became known as the *Great Schism*. Eventually the defender of neutrality, King Constantine, was forced to resign following the imposition in 1917 of an economic blockade by the British navy. One of the enticements to Greece held up by the British was significant territorial concessions in the Asia Minor region of Turkey where a substantial Greek population lived. This led to the Greek invasion of Asia Minor in 1919 which ended two years later in Turkish victory. What is considered the greatest tragedy of modern Greek history, the *Anatolian Catastrophe*, occurred when a mass expulsion of the Greek population of Asia Minor (upwards of a million people) was implemented as part of a post-war settlement.

Accounts of the War of Independence that ended with the creation of the Greek State in 1832 testify that Enlightenment ideas about democracy and national sovereignty propagated by Greek merchants and intellectuals in cities outside of Greece (Odessa, Trieste, Vienna) had little meaning for the warlords and *klephts* (outlaws) who did the fighting on the ground. This disconnect between the intellectual ideas behind nationalism and the mass of the populace seems to have set a mould for subsequent development; identification with the Greek State has remained weak. A common theme among writers on the Euro debt crisis in Greece is that the failings of the State machine in the areas of tax evasion, bribery and clientelism all have deep historical roots.

RICHARD PINE'S BLIND SPOTS

In *Greece through Irish Eyes* Richard Pine makes an argument that fits neatly with the pro-British proclivities of many in the Irish anti-EU lobby. The book's front cover displays an endorsement from Professor Roy Foster, a leading critic of the Irish nationalist tradition, and its Introduction is by Denis Staunton, London correspondent of the traditionally Anglophile *Irish Times*. Writing in 2015 before

the word *Brexit* had entered common parlance, Pine argues that Ireland and Greece share many cultural similarities that make them unsuited to membership of the German-dominated EU. He says:

"...the most significant fact linking Greece and Ireland is that recent history has shown that neither country (nor indeed the UK) should be part of the EU: that Greece and Ireland, for very similar reasons, are not truly European, either geographically or culturally and that the characteristics which set them apart from any European 'norm' which may be on offer are not amenable to either homogenisation or submission" (p303).

In response I would argue that this merely highlights a blind spot of the Irish Anglophile mindset. The accidents of history were kinder to Ireland than to Greece and for that reason, of the two, Ireland has the more deep-rooted national culture. An element of national cohesion was visible in Ireland during the difficult years of the financial crisis as members of the business community spoke of "*wearing the green jersey*", the Public Service Unions agreed with the State a programme of wage cuts, the public administration rose to the challenge of the times through the creation of NAMA, and the organisation of necessary cuts in public expenditure, while the Fine Gael party in the successor Government to Fianna Fail agreed to implement an economic plan crafted by its arch rival. By all accounts similar cohesion was conspicuous in Greece by its absence.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of an anti-nationalist official narrative in recent years, in my view a majority of Irish people continue to identify, subliminally at least, with the achievements and *raison d'être* of the independent Irish State.

Richard Pine thus gets the comparison between Ireland and Greece wrong, but he also fails to understand the EU: specifically how the national and European spheres can complement each other. Commemorating the nationalist achievements associated with 1916 and the Irish War of Independence are not a subtraction from the Europeanism of the Irish State and, as President Michael D Higgins has stated, participating in EU decision-making has enhanced Irish sovereignty. Greece has been unable to derive maximum benefit from its membership of the Union because of historic weaknesses in its State machine which reflect various disruptions that held back its national development: if it had a stronger national consciousness it would function better in the EU.

It is not surprising that Eurosceptics should highlight Greece in making propaganda points against the EU. Yet what happened in Europe following the US financial crisis was a train crash caused by the EU's adoption of market fundamentalism, a failure to follow through on the construction of the Eurozone, along with specific problems in individual Member States like Ireland and Greece.

Tirades about the awfulness of the crash do not prove that the rail system cannot be

repaired or put to good use in the future. A case needs to be made by the critics of the EU that the Greek crisis was more than a product of adverse circumstances, that it arose out of the Union's essential purposes. In the meanwhile, if the citizens of Greece want it, it would be welcome to see proposals on how the EU can assist the country's recovery.

Dave Alvey

Next month's article will conclude this series.

Some Reminiscences

Ruth Dudley Edwards was in reminiscence mood in a recent piece she wrote for the *Sunday Independent*:

"The 1950s and 1960s weren't as bad as the 1930s—but the Roman Catholic Church I turned against as I grew up was certainly oppressive.

I used to stay with my aunt in a small Cork village for the summer holidays: the parish priest ruled the community, policed the dances and beat at the ditches with his blackthorn stick looking for courting couples.

Mind you, later I saw his point of view. A large proportion of local women married suddenly at 14 or 15, or went to England and didn't return, and there were whispered rumours about babies' bodies being found on the mountain.

Censorship was ridiculous" (26 August 2018).

I believe Ruth may be referring to the town of Newmarket or another village nearby in North Cork. In any case, I was born and raised there, near another village, Millstreet. However, I may as well have been in another planet in my experience of the place she describes.

On the basis of holiday visits, she draws an extraordinary picture. I wonder how many dances she actually attended during her visits and did she ever see anything that she describes? I often attended dances over a number of years in many towns, villages and 'patterns' in North Cork during the period of her holiday visits. The idea that I or my friends had to look out for Parish Priests wielding blackthorn sticks is enough to make a cat laugh. If she knew anything about the people of the area, she would know that they could not be stopped from dancing even it was against the law.

I cannot recollect anybody getting married at 14 or 15 and I never heard about babies' bodies being abandoned on mount-

ains and I lived at the foot of the highest mountain in Cork, Musherua. I know it well and it would be an obvious place for such crimes.

The idea that people of an area that fought the Tans and Auxiliaries—and were excommunicated by the Church—had become so supine as to accept stick-wielding parish priests is just too comical for words. And one result of the War of Independence was that every area had its accepted resident atheist and/or anti-cleric because of Church behaviour during that war.

There were illegitimate children in my National School that I never knew were so until years afterwards because it was not made an issue of. And I should mention that I was never taught by a priest, nun or Christian Brother—in the heart of North Cork—and that applied in several towns and villages in the area. Ruth can check it out on another visit.

There were some forms of censorship. For example, I was never made aware of the local politics of the decade before I was born—which I appreciated later was to avoid any repetition of the feelings of the 'civil war' and anti-Blueshirt period being passed on. This was maintained in my case despite one parent and family being Blueshirt and the other Fianna Fail! It was very sensible censorship in these circumstances.

Censorship could indeed be ridiculous as Ruth says. I remember the great issue and trial to lift the ban on "*Lady Chatterley's Lover*"—which occurred in England. The book then did the rounds of our school as soon as it became available. This was a benefit of the migration between the area and London. Reading it was the

greatest disappointment ever to anybody interested in literature about sexual relations. It nearly put me off English literature for good! It would never sell in North Cork.

Fortunately at the time I was immersed in the *Aislingí* of Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin and his fantastic *spéirbheans*. They were very interesting from his descriptions, even with an imperfect understanding of Irish. They could more than compare with Sophia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida then in their prime. (I should say that I had a very intimate relationship with Sophia at the time though she was unaware of it.)

The picture Ruth paints is the obligatory retrospective literary view of the Ireland of the time and her comments are based on that more than any dancing experiences she may have had in North Cork. This view assumes, for example, that the novels of people like John McGahern represent Ireland accurately as they were based on his experience of growing up in a police barrack with a sadistic father! There could be few more limited experiences of life, Irish or otherwise, on which to judge a whole society. But it fits the literary needs of the moment for our *literati*. And Ruth proves once again that paper never refused ink.

AUGUST 1969—ANOTHER REMINISCENCE

Ruth put me in reminiscing mood. For a couple of generations in the Republic a conversation-stopping question was—*"Where were you in 1916?"* Everybody knew that, if you were not at a certain address in O'Connell Street or nearby, you lacked a certain credibility in political matters and were not to be taken too seriously.

The same applied to many crucial events in the War of Independence. At a meeting in Tralee in the 1930s Seán Moylan was addressing a Fianna Fáil meeting. He was surrounded by Blueshirts who were about to do him serious damage. He asked the audience if there was anyone there who was at Clonbanin. When the answer was a vociferous *Yes*, the atmosphere changed because that question was a signal for, if necessary, a fight to the finish—just as Moylan and his comrades had won the Clonbanin Ambush. Moylan finished his speech to a quiet(er) audience.

A similar question might be asked of all the latter-day commentators and self-proclaimed authorities on Northern Ireland. Where were they in August 1969? In other words, where were they when it mattered? When the chips were down where were they?

The people of this Parish were there when it mattered and we should not go in for any false modesty about it coming up to the 50th anniversary next year when there will undoubtedly be a multitude of reminiscences, assessments and reassessments of the events of that year. What is different in our case is the conclusion we drew from those events.

A personal reminiscence. I found myself doing the necessary with a Citizens' Defence Committee in the Beechmount area of the Falls Road. I may have been influenced by St. Jack Lynch's advice *not to stand (idly) by* in the situation that prevailed there at the time. But, as a Communist, I was more interested in countering fascists—and Northern Ireland seemed an obvious place to do it as they were organising a pogrom there.

Tommy Dwyer (who was later interned) was my informal 'Commanding Officer', and I was allocated night duty in the grounds of the local Primary School.

In a quiet moment I got to talk to fellow comrades in arms. One seemed to be suffering from terrible asthma and I think his name was MacDiarmada. It was an incongruous sight. The next guy introduced himself and the name I caught was Spence. I remarked something to the effect that it was an unusual name in the circumstances. Everybody knew that the only known Spence in Northern Ireland was the then notorious Catholic killer, Gusto Spence. My comrade in arms read my thoughts and said he was his brother. A momentary shiver ran down my spine as I suddenly realised my geographical knowledge of Belfast was then about zero—and even less as this was in the middle of the night. And, as so much of the arrangements were *ad hoc* and informal—had I wandered into the wrong barricade?

But it turned out he was a Communist, Eddie Spence and, before the history of international Communism in the 20th century is written off as some sort of aberration, let it be known that it brought people like Eddie from the heart of Loyalist East Belfast to West Belfast, gun on shoulder, to defend the people there from the likes of his brother. Please ponder that.

I then began to realise that, if the Northern Protestants produced people like Eddie, they were not what I had been led to believe they were. That was the origin of *'the two nations theory'* for me, though it had nothing whatever to do with theory—crucial though the theory was and is.

Other comrades made contributions.

Guns were imported from very willing donors in the Republic in suitably modified cars.

Another was attached to Queens University as a scientist and he let it be known that he had an unlimited supply of nitro-glycerine at his disposal. It would now be classified as a weapon of mass destruction. It certainly frightened the life out of the people he offered it to.

A couple of other comrades let it be known that they had come back from a visit to Communist Albania and a rumour went the rounds that an Albanian submarine was on its way to Belfast Lough with God knows what on board. Albania was then 'more' Communist than the Soviet Union or China.

None of this was exactly true but in the atmosphere of the time it was all grist to the mill. Rumours were weaponised and all weapons are useful when needed. And it all probably made a difference.

Parts of Northern Ireland descended into what can only be described as a state of nature for a while, i.e., after the state broke down in August 1969.

A state of nature is the only alternative to a functioning State. Such situations are rare: indeed, human beings cannot tolerate such things, and once experienced they are never forgotten.

What the emergence of the Provisional IRA represented for many people was an alternative to the state of nature. That kind of reason for an IRA will always persist in some shape or form, as the British Government has proved it can never be trusted to avoid a state of nature emerging there again.

The current Secretary of State, Karen Bradley, has just confirmed this when she admitted she *"didn't understand some of the deep-seated and deep-rooted issues that there are in Northern Ireland"* (Guardian 6.9.2018). She said she didn't know that Catholics and Protestants voted for different parties. Say no more—just wait!

Jack Lane

Seán Moylan In His Own Words. His Memoir of the War of Independence. With Index of Bureau of Military History Statements. 262pp. €21, £17.50

Seán Moylan—was he a rebel? by Jack Lane. A review of Aideen Carroll's *Seán Moylan—Rebel Leader*. 20pp. €6, £5

Eoghan Rua Ó Súilleabháin: Aislingí/Vision Poems With translations by Pat Muldowney, Introductory material by P. Dinneen. Also: *Conflicting Views Of Ireland In The 18th Century: Revisionist History Under The Spotlight* by B. Clifford. 336pp. €27, £23.50

Industrial Schools And Welfare Benefits In Britain And Northern Ireland

It sure took a long time to get rid of Industrial Schools. But in their place was put 'day industrial retraining schools', to which young people were sent by the old labour exchanges here in England to learn discipline about getting in early to work. Later, older people were sent there who might have been suffering from depression. There was a chance of benefits being stopped if people didn't attend every day. That was at the beginning of the 1970s.

Now you have social benefits called Universal Credits in the UK. It means having to check in through computer and phone. Use another phone other than your own and it can mean sanctions—stoppage of money for 6 weeks. People lose rent benefits and lose their flats and end up sleeping on a friend's floor or even sleeping rough. The more vulnerable like the mentally ill and the wheelchair bound are suffering. There are said to be 11 suicides a week because of it all.

And so it goes on under different names.

In the North, as a boy growing up, you were sometimes threatened by one or other parent about being sent to an Industrial School, if misbehaving continued. Misbehaving then was nothing compared to what boisterous children do today. Then at 14 you would be threatened with being put into the army (British). The fear of the Industrial School was always around, though it might have been an idle threat. The army you wouldn't have minded as you were so militarised at school during WW2. But they weren't going to allow that to happen, you were their prisoner until the age of 21, at which age you had finished your apprenticeship.

In 1939, where I lived in Mealough, Carryduff, there was farm further up the lane. One day a teenage boy appeared. To me at 7 years old he looked like a fully-grown man. He seemed brow-beaten as he walked with his head down. He had just been released from an Industrial School to work for the farmer. He might have been a Catholic as my mother took to him as a poor boy who needed words of comfort. She found out he had been sent to an Industrial School in Downpatrick accused of stealing a horse's harness.

The farmer had built a place for him to live in, out of concrete blocks with a

corrugated-iron roof. It had a rough concrete floor and just an old iron bed and a rickety chair. A storm a few days later blew the tin roof off. He was so tired he was found still sleeping with the rain pouring in on his bed. After that he slept in a byre with the cows. He was allowed to have breakfast in the farmhouse kitchen. It consisted of bread and margarine and tea. The farmer would sometimes interrupt him in the middle of it and tell him to get to work in a brutal fashion. I spent a lot of time around that farmyard just gazing at everything happening.

Every day he crossed the fields to get to a shop which was on a road called the Moss Road. His journey there was to buy five woodbine cigarettes. One day he asked my father if five woodbines was like a day's wages. The lad was totally illiterate. But that's all he got from the farmer was the money for five woodbines, probably worth sixpence. When I say an industrial apprentice then at his age was getting £1 4s 6d a week you can see the enormous difference, and the apprentice wasn't getting enough to keep himself. What could my father say but five woodbine a day wasn't enough, especially for a seven-day week.

A few months later we all became gravely ill, and that included my baby sister who was 9 months old. It was retching with severe pains in the stomach and sudden loss of energy. Doctors then cost a week's rent to call. It also meant a mile's walk to a public telephone. We bore it throughout the day until it began to ease off. My father then went to the well and baled out the water until it was dry. At the bottom was a dead frog bloated with poison and also there was the sheep-dip bluestone. So, the RUC was called.

They didn't arrive for two days, making the excuse that they had to get hold of the supervisor of Downpatrick Industrial School. They had taken it for granted the lad working for the farmer had been the culprit. Or they had decided it was him in order to save the farmer, who was a member of the Orange Order, from arrest. He had been in dispute with us over the use of his well in the farmyard, and didn't want us to use it for a reason we found out later. He suggested we took the water from the

milk-cooler though it was contaminated with raw milk. My father instead walked across the field everyday for a quarter of a mile to fetch water from a well on someone else's farm. Then he discovered an old spring-well nearby and cleared it of vegetation and cleaned it out.

The farmer had taken us as Protestants because my father was one. I and my sisters went to the nearest Protestant school as the nearest Catholic school was in Belfast, about seven miles away. Anyway, he found out the truth and wanted us out of the thatched cottage where he had lived as child before the building of his then modern farmhouse.

But mostly here I'm concerned about the lad who had just being discharged from an Industrial School.

A RUC man arrived eventually with the supervisor of an Industrial School. My father showed them the bloated frog he had kept in an old bean tin. They might have been there for five minutes saying very little before they began walking up the lane towards the farm house. They had refused to take the frog as proof of poisoning. After a while they walked past our house without saying anything or even looking over.

If you are threatened with being put into an Industrial School then back then it meant you were a young criminal about to join other young criminals, and that you would be punished for at least two years. So it was easy for my father to think maybe the teenage boy put the bluestone in the well as a young criminal. My mother had her doubts, though still thinking of Industrial Schools as were young criminals met their comeuppance.

After the RUC and the supervisor had left a few hours previously, down the lane comes the teenage boy wearing his suit and tie. (That was something you had to have and wear if going out after work if you weren't to be declared *slumdum*.) The lad was carrying a brown paper parcel which we guessed was his ragged working clothes. He just walked past without saying a word, looking accusingly towards our cottage.

So he hadn't been arrested. Where was he going without a penny in his pocket? Did he have parents somewhere, why hadn't he been arrested after the accusation. A court case might have revealed too much?

Then the hide of a bullock appeared on the hedge opposite our cottage. It was summer and the hide was there to dry, and intimidate us. I knew the bullock as one

that seemed determined to break out of every field it had been put into, even when it was made to wear a plank of wood secured by a heavy chain around its neck. If the bullock ran the plank would hit its knees and slowed it down.

The light brown hide had dozens of holes in it as if it had been killed with a pickaxe. (After that the farmer killed a cow in the same manner as its calf looked on.)

My parents then got the fearful idea that the farmer had poisoned the well and now he was threatening murder by pickaxe.

The lad from the Industrial School, *for his own welfare and education*, had to be innocent. We decided to move out but it still would be only two miles away.

It doesn't look like Industrial Schools under Protestant Unionist rule were any different from ones under Catholic FF/FG rule. The only difference is that under Protestant Unionist rule, in looking back, Catholics aren't being attacked incessantly.

Wilson John Haire

29.8.18

Palestinian And Kuwaiti Rights Discussed At A Dublin Meeting

In Ireland in September 2018 it is still possible to freely discuss in a public forum Israel's denial of Palestinian rights. The subject received an airing on Saturday 1 September at the final session of a Summer School dedicated to the memory of Roger Casement. Taking place in the theatre of a modern library complex (the Lexicon) in a town on the outskirts of Dublin (Dun Laoghaire), the publicly-advertised, publicly-funded session was addressed by two platform speakers and numerous members of the audience many of whom clearly expressed opinions that opponents of Jeremy Corbyn in Britain would characterise as "*implicitly anti semitic*". In truth, however, those attending the event could easily be categorised as the sort of people who would actively oppose racist activity even if it had mainstream backing.

The speakers were Lana Ramadan from Palestine and Hadeel Buqrais from Kuwait and the session was chaired by Mary Lawlor, the founding director of an Irish organisation devoted to supporting human rights activists around the world, *Front Line Defenders*.

Readers might be forgiven for expecting the speeches to be predictable, or expecting that the audience would be left feeling frustrated in being unable to influence the injustices described by the speakers. Such was not the case on both counts. The speakers provided many unexpected insights and the audience discussion, in realistically appraising the power of international opinion, had an energising effect.

Ms Ramadan began by saying that she was born in a refugee camp near Bethlehem where she still lives. This is no longer comprised of tents but of houses built on

top of houses. Her family and community became refugees in 1948 when they were forcibly dispossessed of their lands. The memory of that injustice, together with a communal determination never to forget how they became refugees, constitutes her inheritance.

She wished to convey to the audience the manner in which her community continued to enjoy life. Palestinians, she said, like to dance and to engage socially as in the careful preparation of a wide variety of food to share with guests. Having what she called a privileged background, she had been able to study international law and human rights, even travelling to the United States to complete her education.

She described how the Israeli security forces routinely drive into the area where she lives. These incursions are designed to cow the population and as routinely as they occur they are routinely protested against. When protesters are arrested, it is her job to ascertain where and for how long they are to be detained before coming before the courts. The vast majority of the protesters are young males and most of them receive leg injuries of varying severity during the protests.

Ms Buqrais described her advocacy work in Kuwait on behalf of a social class known as Bedoons [sic] that is present in all the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (Bahrain, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Kuwait). Being assigned the status of stateless persons, many Bedoons lack birth certificates and driving licenses. Without documentation they are excluded from social services and the education system. Through dealings with the bureaucracy and occasional appearances on TV, Ms Buqrais helps people to procure documentation.

Asked by Mary Lawlor about particular challenges she faces, she described how the pressures of her job have sometimes forced her to keep a low profile or take a step back. At such times she has experienced persistent trembling and vomiting. The most common word used against her is "*whore*" and threats to her safety are a regular occurrence. As a separated mother of two, she has needed to explain the positive side of her work to her children.

The elders of her clan have exerted pressure on her to give up the job. Her defensive strategies include the daily prayers of her Islamic faith, yoga and breath control. She also gets relief from writing songs and plays, and from switching off completely to concentrate on family life.

Contributions from the audience were wide-ranging. The following comments separated by hyphens give a flavour of the first part of the discussion: more effort needs to be given to getting these matters taken up by the media – the courage of these two young women is striking – the imperative of keeping the Middle East in a state of instability is driven by a Western need to control oil production – we no longer need to depend so much on the mainstream media as young people now mainly use social media and through these new media coverage of the recent massacre in Gaza was extensive and viral.

Mícheál Mac Donncha, the Sinn Féin Lord Mayor of Dublin for 2017-18, described a visit he made to Palestine earlier in the year. His expression of solidarity with the Palestinian people made while in Ramallah on the West Bank in April was so effective that the Israeli Prime Minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, publicly denounced him. His reply was that the criticism from Netanyahu fell into the category of labelling as anti semitic anyone who criticised Israeli policies.

He said that Senator Frances Black's efforts to support the BDS movement (Boycott, Divest, Sanction against Israeli produce—especially Israeli produce from the Occupied Territories) in the Irish Parliament were worthwhile and needed to be kept up. He also urged support for an Irish boycott of next year's Eurovision Song Contest which is to be held in Jerusalem (since the meeting it has been relocated to Tel Aviv).

(In discussions after the meeting we were informed that social media videos showed activists in Palestine holding up placards stating "*Thank you Dublin City Council*" and "*Thank you Donegal County*

Council" in response to motions of solidarity passed by those bodies.)

A member of the audience questioned the efficacy of Senator Black's initiative, suggesting that it would never be acted on by the Irish Government. Lana Ramadan answered the point by stating categorically that passing a motion in the Irish Senate supporting a boycott of goods produced by illegal settlements in Israel was a significant development that was very much to be welcomed.

Another audience participant described his own efforts on social media to counter Israeli propaganda. He had followed this up by writing to all members of Dail Eireann (the Lower House of the Irish Parliament). Picking up on this point Mary Lawlor suggested that this example should be followed by others in the audience holding well-informed opinions.

Striking a discordant note, a speaker proposed that instead of projecting a picture of Roger Casement on the screen as a backdrop to the present discussion, a photo of businessman Denis O'Brien should be projected. O'Brien, claimed the speaker, had bankrolled the *Front Line Defenders* organisation—the implication being that the organisation was pursuing an agenda favourable to the interests of a wealthy businessman.

Mary Lawlor replied stating that, arising from her work for Amnesty International, she had founded *Front Line Defenders* in 2001 with a \$3 million donation from Denis O'Brien who attached no conditions to the donation. *Front Line Defenders* which had a legally constituted Board of Directors had benefited greatly from O'Brien's donation which was used to offer round the clock protection to human rights defenders in danger—through security grants, training in physical and digital security and risk assessment, advocacy at international level and emergency evacuation.

Pierrot Ngadi, a member of the organising committee of the Roger Casement Summer School, stated that *Front Line Defenders* was doing important work which he had personal experience of in the Congo. Angus Mitchell, a speaker at an earlier session of the Summer School, questioned whether an exclusive focus on human rights was the most appropriate means of assisting the Palestinians. Lana Ramadan replied that she knew that the human rights label had been used to justify oppressive interventions in different parts of the world. In the case of Palestine she considered it valuable to the struggle of her community. In the same way other

more political forms of activity should also be used.

Replying to a question about increasing cooperation between Israel and Saudi Arabia, Hadeel Buqrais stated that in the past it had been possible in Kuwait to express solidarity with the Palestinians but that this was now discouraged. She said that tensions between Sunni and Shia Muslims were on the rise in Kuwait and other Middle Eastern countries and that this had a bad effect on efforts to improve human rights.

A question was asked about the *Breaking the Silence* movement, which enabled ex-Israeli soldiers to speak out about traumas arising from military tactics used against the Palestinians. Ms Ramadan was unsympathetic to this movement as she considered it portrayed Israeli soldiers as victims. She recounted how, while in the US, she had been asked to meet a fellow student who had lived in an illegal Israeli settlement and now described it as a bad experience. She found it impossible to sympathise with people who had enjoyed the advantages of the Settlements while her community was being harassed by Settlers.

The last contribution to the discussion came from a woman who advertised a couple of websites which cover the debate about Israel-Palestine from a Jewish perspective that is opposed to the Occupation. This reporter believes that the sites in question were those of *Jews for Justice for*

Palestinians (UK) and *Jewish Voice for Peace* (US). Following the discussion, Roger Cole, Chair of the DLR (Dun Laoghaire Rathdown Council) Roger Casement Summer School committee, said that in relation to the session on Palestine and Kuwait, for that session alone, the effort expended in organising the School had been well worth it.

Roger Casement achieved international fame in the early twentieth century for exposing and ending rubber slavery in the Congo (1903-4) and in the Putamayo region of the Amazon Basin (1910-11). In both places the death toll inflicted on native populations was horrific: an estimated ten million Africans died as a result of King Leopold's reign of terror in the Belgian Congo, and an estimated ninety per cent of native Indians were wiped out by the Peruvian Amazon Company in Putamayo. Both instances of mass killing were fed by racist attitudes.

Considering that accusations of anti-semitism are now being regularly used in international discourse to curtail criticism of Israel's treatment of the Palestinian people, it is reasonable to deduce that the human rights discussion at a 2018 Summer School dedicated to his memory would have met with Casement's approval.

Dave Alvey

Dave Alvey is a retired teacher and former Branch officer in the Teachers Union of Ireland. He is a member of the organising committee of the Roger Casement Summer School.

Lemass, Part 3

The Lemass/DeV Defiance Of Britain's Wartime Starvation Threat

Fintan O'Toole is currently our most acclaimed Shavian. He is, after all, the author of *Judging Shaw*, published by the Royal Irish Academy in 2017. And, as UCD Professor Anthony Roche enthused in his review for *Dublin Review of Books*:

"Shaw was recently described by Brad Kent as 'easily the world's most well-known Irish public intellectual of the first half of the twentieth century'. The same could be said of O'Toole in relation to the past thirty years, not just for his prominent position as our leading public intellectual but for the world stage he also commands. In 2017 alone, O'Toole was awarded the European Press Prize and the Orwell Prize for Journalism, and holds honorary doctorates from several Irish universities."

Furthermore, O'Toole is himself flamboyantly Orwellian. In the *Irish Times* this August 27th, he has written:

"I read a depressingly accurate article the other day about the effects of social media on the uncivil way we now engage in political debate: 'The thing that strikes me more and more—and it strikes a lot of other people too—is the extraordinary viciousness and dishonesty of political controversy in our time. I don't mean merely that controversies are acrimonious. They ought to be when they are on serious subjects. I mean that almost nobody seems to feel that an opponent deserves a fair hearing or that the objective truth matters so long as you can score a neat debating point.'"

Undoubtedly a well made argument by

Orwell. But then O'Toole proceeded to provide his own sting in the tail:

"And how prescient of George Orwell to write this in the British left-wing weekly *Tribune* on December 8th, 1944. That's 1944 as in the profound seriousness of the fight against fascism and the great solidarity and unity of purpose that it engendered in most of the English-speaking world."

"*Most*", but not all. In other words, O'Toole's reprimand for the de Valera policy of neutrality that had safeguarded Ireland from Fascism, War and Invasion. Indeed, the decisive action Dev took in respect of the 1941 German bombing of Belfast also safeguarded Northern Ireland from such warfare thereafter. The one and only positive fruit from the Articles 2 and 3 constitutional/territorial claim on the North!

This past June, the "*Borris House Festival of Writing & Ideas*" featured a whole two days of what were headlined as "FINTAN'S TALKS"—including, of course, 'Judging Shaw'—with the Borris House blurb proclaiming:

"In 2011, Fintan O'Toole was named one of 'Britain's top 300 intellectuals' by *The Observer* despite not being British. Fintan is well known and highly regarded columnist and a literary editor for the 'Irish Times'."

But what should we say of those British intellectuals of the time who pronounced on Irish neutrality during the course of World War Two itself? For the threat to Ireland could be described as having been as much Orwellian as Churchillian. In a letter to the '*Irish Times*' on 8th July 2003, headed "*The trouble with Orwell*", Sean O'Casey's biographer, Christopher Murray, highlighted how, in February 1941, George Orwell had fumed in his diary: "*The spectacle of our allowing a sham-independent country like Ireland to defy us simply makes all Europe laugh at us.*" But O'Toole has had nothing to say, either then or since, about Orwell's advocacy of Britain making war on Ireland yet again.

Indeed, there was also a Shavian threat to 'John Bull's Other Island' voiced by "*Dublin's own*" George Bernard Shaw. And that threat was far from the euphemistic language employed by the '*Irish Times*' in reviewing its Literary Editor's '*Judging Shaw*' on 21st October 2017: "*Ultimately, he alienated the Irish government by petitioning for the allied forces to be given access to Irish ports.*" 'Petition' me arse!

I concluded my previous article on Seán Lemass (1899-1971) with a quotation from

the second book by his British biographer Bryce Evans, '*Ireland during the Second World War: Farewell to Plato's Cave*' (2014). Chapter One of that Evans narrative began, and continued:

"At 11 am, on 3 September 1939, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain declared war on Germany. When the Irish government responded later that day, declaring the Emergency Powers Act, Ireland's independence was just seventeen years old, its constitution two years old and its control of the strategic ports barely a year old... In these extraordinary conditions, the government hastily formed a cabinet emergency committee, composed of Taoiseach Éamon de Valera and a handful of key ministers... De Valera announced a 'rearrangement of the functions which are carried out by the members of the Government'. There would now be 'a Minister of Supplies so that he will be able to give his whole time to that very important service'... Lemass was appointed Minister for Supplies... In carrying out his new brief, Lemass relied on his Departmental Secretary John Leydon (1895-1979—who, from 1932 onwards, had already been his Departmental Secretary, with Lemass's first appointments as Minister for Industry and Commerce), and on his Assistant Secretary John Williams. The hagiography surrounding Lemass and TK Whitaker—the two men credited for Ireland's 'Economic Turn' away from protectionism in the 1960s—has nudged Leydon out of popular historical memory" (pp 1 and 19).

And yet I had been irritated before the Evans narrative even started. For Evans chose to add a literary flourish to this book, by prefacing each of his eight chapters with a quotation from the frequently whimsical personal correspondence of John Betjeman during his wartime sojourn in Dublin. Chapter One opens with a January 1941 quotation:

"And here Neutrality, harps, art exhibitions, reviews, libels, back-chat, high-tea, cold, no petrol, no light, no coal, no trains; Irish language, partition, propaganda, rumour, counter-rumour, flat Georgian facades, Guinness, double Irish, single Scotch, sherry, Censors, morals, rain home to all."

On which Evans commented:

"The Ireland that appeared in the letters of the poet John Betjeman, press attaché to the British delegation in Dublin during the war, was a place of charm but hardship, anxiously asserting its neutrality as Britain and Europe burned" (p 1).

And Chapter Two opens with the following profundity from Betjeman in April 1943:

"I have discovered that the real cause of the differences between these two countries is spiritual and will not be cured until God wills it."

Which elicited the following comment from Evans:

"To John Betjeman, Anglo-Irish tensions boiled down to differences in national temperament. During the war, however, the principal differences between the two countries were very much material" (p 18).

Behind Betjeman's whimsy, however, was the persona of a very effective spy, second only to Elizabeth Bowen in the quality of the Intelligence reports forwarded to their Whitehall controls.

Evans was not, however, the first to have been so distracted by the whimsy of Betjeman as to miss the substance. In '*Irish Political Review*', March 2010, I wrote how, in his 1983 account of Ireland's wartime neutrality, *In Time of War*, Robert Fisk had arrived at the conclusion:

"Rumours still persist in Ireland that the English poet John Betjeman... was a British spy... In fact, Betjeman—far from being anything so preposterous as a spy—was a cultural attaché in whom even Colonel Bryan could find nothing more suspicious than an interest in Gaelic poetry and a predisposition '*to go around calling himself Seán Betjeman*'..." (p 381).

This assessment had behind it the weight of Colonel Dan Bryan, Director of G2, the Irish Army's own wartime Intelligence service. Yet Bryan had been fooled by Betjeman, with that knock-on effect on Fisk. I went on to provide documentary evidence of how spot-on had been Betjeman's Intelligence reporting to his control, Nicholas Mansergh, who headed up the Empire Division of Britain's wartime Ministry of Information. (See <http://free-magazines.atholbooks.org/ipr/index.php> to download—from the March, April, May and September 2010 issues of '*Irish Political Review*'—all four parts of my Betjeman series, "*The Spy Who Grew Up With The Bold*".)

Both Betjeman and Bowen had a far deeper understanding of the realities of the age of de Valera than what has passed for authoritative Irish academic history. It is in confronting these latter 'schools' that Evans's depth of historical analysis shines through. In concluding remarks, with reference to his own book's sub-title, Evans wrote of the late F.S.L. Lyons, Professor of History at Trinity College Dublin: "*Lyons's 'Plato's Cave' analogy can be taken as casting the Irish people during*

this period as, at best, insular and, at worst, ignorant and subservient" (p 184). From the outset, Evans set out to challenge the legacy of Lyons:

"The social and economic history of the Emergency is the subject of a largely deficient historiography which provides little indication of the manner in which Irish people survived the shortages wrought by war. Much responsibility for this rests with one of Ireland's great historians, FSL Lyons. In his majestic 'Ireland Since the Famine' (1973), Lyons used Plato's allegory of the cave to claim that Emergency Ireland was 'almost totally isolated from the rest of mankind'. Ireland as 'Plato's Cave' was born: Lyons's lapidarian analogy... heavily influenced the historiography which followed it... Even the best general survey—Robert Fisk's excellent 'In Time of War' (1983)—extended 'Plato's Cave' backwards to the 1920s and 1930s, describing independent Ireland as suffering a 'postcolonial blackout'... By the late 1980s... early revisions... tended to dilute the economic impulses driving government action and its impacts by trivialising the narrative of absence. During the Emergency, the widely quoted Myles na gCopaleen contributed some of his most biting satire in the column 'Cruiskeen Lawn' in the 'Irish Times', but his references to the 'plain people of Ireland' sat too long as a waggish substitute for an analysis of social and economic conditions at the time..." (pp 2-3).

"In early 1941, with Britain's position in the war appearing increasingly precarious, George Bernard Shaw wrote in the London 'Catholic Times': Irish ports must be occupied and defended by the British empire, the United States or both'... As early as the Munich Crisis of September 1938, the British Board of Trade decided that in the event of a conflict, the well-worn tactic of economic blockade would cut off maritime trade, forcing neutral shipping into British hands... After France fell in early June 1940, Taoiseach de Valera turned down the British offer to end partition in return for the use of Irish ports. The following month, August 1940, the British began to turn the screw. The British Ministry of Food and Shipping requested that British merchant vessels be allowed to use Irish ports. The Minister, Lord Leathers, wrote to new Prime Minister Churchill, expressing confidence that the Irish government's weak economic position would force them to agree to this deal, which would have brought all Irish shipping under British control... (But) the agreement was likely to place Irish civilians at the mercy of Luftwaffe bombs. As Leathers justified the deal to Churchill, the subtext became clear. It would 'relieve the heavy concentration of large vessels' in a British ports. As this would have meant the extension of heavy German bombing to Ireland, and Dublin in particular, the deal was turned down at a subsequent Irish cabinet meeting. In refus-

ing the British offer, Irish policymakers ensured that for the rest of the war Ireland would suffer an agonising supply squeeze aimed at coercing Ireland into the war on the Allied side... As a nudge to neutral Ireland to join the war effort, the British imposed strict trade restrictions in January 1941, and the relationship between the two countries became increasingly strained. As Robert Fisk attests, Ireland was the victim of a British squeeze on supplies intended to coerce de Valera into joining the Allied cause... Leydon and Lemass were much at the mercy of geopolitical and economic currents that placed a very high premium on Ireland's steadfast maintenance of neutrality. Britain and America regularly used food as a weapon of war... Unfortunately, it seems that neither Lemass nor Leydon foresaw the extent of the British trade squeeze of early 1941. Britain's pursuit of ECONOMIC WARFARE was clearly signalled: between 1939 and 1945, there was an entire Whitehall Ministry devoted to just that" (pp 10, 21-22 and 37-38).

"The multifaceted interventionism practised by the Irish government in the early 1940s was necessitated by Churchillian economic bullying, coupled with Ireland's unique lack of natural resources... Famine was present in the minds of those responsible for Ireland's material wellbeing during the Emergency like a dimly remembered but disquieting nightmare. Liam O'Flaherty's novel 'Famine', published in 1937, was a very popular read during the Emergency, and it was in 1943, after Bengal was ravaged by mass starvation, that de Valera first proposed that a history of the Great Famine be written to mark its centenary" (p 178).

In his 1970 magnum opus, *The Irish Economy Since 1922*, James Meenan, UCD Professor of National Economics, wrote of what had to be done to avert that threat of starvation:

"At the beginning of the 1920s Irish shipping was almost extinct. As virtually all trade was with Great Britain there were few opportunities for the development of ocean-going tonnage. The services across the Irish Sea were almost completely in the hands of British-controlled companies whose vessels were British-registered. The weakness of this position was at once apparent in 1939 when many ships were withdrawn by the British Government from Anglo-Irish services for use elsewhere. The carriage of raw materials, foodstuffs, and oil needed for the maintenance of essential services within the Republic became a vital national interest. In 1941, therefore, Irish Shipping Limited was established by the Government as a State company. Operating, in the early stages, on bank overdraft, it succeeded in acquiring some fifteen vessels. Granted the then intense demand for shipping, some of these vessels were in very poor condition and

their ages varied between thirty and sixty years. Nevertheless, the company was able to maintain essential supplies and also able to accumulate a considerable working surplus. Since the end of the war in 1945 there has been a succession of building programmes and at the end of the year 1966-7 the company possessed fifteen modern ships..." (pp 164-5).

In his 1981 book, *The Long Watch—World War Two and the Irish Mercantile Marine*, Frank Forde wrote of how Irish Shipping had been urgently set up in order to overcome the economic stranglehold which the UK was prepared to impose on neutral Ireland, and how, in December 1940, British Prime Minister Churchill had written to US President Roosevelt, denouncing Irish neutrality, with its denial of Irish ports and airfields to British forces, and announcing that "*we cannot undertake to carry any longer the 400,000 tons of feeding stuffs and fertilisers which we conveyed to Eire*" (p 34).

It is in this regard that Evans did assign blame to Lemass for his "*failure to establish a merchant navy during the 1930s*". He continued:

"This meant that Ireland entered the war totally dependent on British shipping. British companies imported essential bulk cargoes like wheat, maize, timber and fertilisers as well as coal supplies. Ireland had been well placed to take advantage of the low prices for vessels during the shipping depression of the 1930s but, on a number of occasions, Lemass declined the opportunity to establish a merchant marine. This strategic failure would become clearer as war drew closer. In 1926, there were 152 steam ships registered in Ireland; by 1937, this had fallen to 1941; and at the outbreak of war, neutral Ireland had just 56 ships (none of which were of ocean-going standard) at her disposal" (p 20).

Evans has already been even more scathing in his 2011 biography, *Seán Lemass—Democratic Dictator*:

"In April 1940, while the conflict was still a 'phoney war', Lemass travelled to London for talks with Anthony Eden... Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs... During the cordial talks with Eden before the storm clouds broke, Lemass had agreed to the British Ministry of Shipping's request that it handle the charters for Ireland's shipping. This was because, the British claimed, competition from Ireland for neutral tonnage was proving 'embarrassing'. By July 1940 Britain had overcome its 'embarrassment' by securing all the neutral tonnage to Ireland's detriment. This left Ireland 'high and dry', as officials from the Department of Supplies put it. According to Sir John Maffey, the top British diplomatic representative in Ireland, the British supply squeeze left

Departmental Secretary John Leydon 'badly let down...' The desperation of the situation enraged the normally reserved Leydon whom, Maffey recalled, 'spoke to me with considerable violence about our policy and added that he hoped to 'never go to London again'. Lemass shared his lieutenant's anger. He stormily described the shipping development as a 'double cross'. But if Lemass's anger was understandable, it also illustrated his failure to establish a vital economic arm in Ireland's industrial expansion during the 1930s. Sinn Féin had placed the establishment of an Irish merchant navy high on its list of priorities during the War of Independence. But as Minister for Industry and Commerce Lemass did not add a mercantile marine to the collection of semi-state companies he formed. This major oversight ensured... being at the mercy of British naval might... Leydon and his counterpart at Finance, JJ McElligott, hastily drew up the provisions for the founding of Irish Shipping Ltd, which was launched in March 1941. The company was able to secure fifteen ships in total, most of these foreign vessels laid up in Irish ports and requisitioned by Supplies. The bulk of what little shipping Ireland possessed was concentrated on importing grain from the USA and the Lisbon trade route" (pp 120-123).

It was, however, another member of Dev's Republican Guard, Frank Aiken (1898-1983), to whom Evans gave the greater credit for a decisive intervention at this juncture. Coinciding with this second book by Evans, there was a further book which he co-edited with Stephen Kelly in that same year of 2014, *Frank Aiken: Nationalist and Internationalist*, a biographical collection of essays about the IRA Chief-of-Staff who had brought the Civil War to an end in 1923, and who would go on to serve as Minister for Defence 1932-39; Minister for the Co-ordination of Defensive Measures for the War years 1939-45; Minister for Finance 1945-48; Minister for External Affairs 1951-54 and 1957-69; and Tánaiste 1965-69. In both his own Introduction to this book, and his concluding remarks, Evans was again at pains to challenge the prevailing "conventional wisdom" of Irish academia and its caricaturing of Aiken:

"With the coming of the Second World War... Aiken would do much to sully his reputation by overseeing a fastidiously neutral censorship regime. His actions constituted 'an ignorant, excessive and grotesque infringement of civil liberties', according to historian Dermot Keogh ('Twentieth Century Ireland', 1994). Infamously, Aiken's obstinate articulation of Irish neutrality before US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1941 prompted FDR to fly into a rage during which he pulled the table cloth from the

Oval Office table, sending cutlery flying around the room... In his 2006 survey of Ireland during the war years ('The Emergency: Neutral Ireland 1939-45'), Brian Girvin rolls out the well-worn juxtaposition between Aiken the ideologue (whom he describes as 'blunt, uncompromising') and Lemass the pragmatist ('a subtle mind open to nuance'). The fact remains that, against the 'terrific and all-prevailing force of modern warfare', as Aiken himself put it, his rather draconian approach was, at times, simultaneously the most pragmatic one" (pp 14-15).

"Aiken served as Minister for Finance between 1945 and 1948. Aiken had requested the finance portfolio from de Valera, and, according to Ronan Fanning in 1978 ('The Irish Department of Finance, 1922-58'), proved to be a 'dogged and inquisitive' minister... Todd Andrews remarked ("The last of the great Sinn Féiners", 'Irish Press', 21 May 1983) that Aiken's technical knowledge of the sector ensured that his colleagues at Finance 'developed a great respect for him', while 'the banks developed a great distrust of him—a situation greatly to his credit'... To his detractors, Aiken's lack of public panache connoted a lack of intelligence, rationalism and culture. But behind the austere persona lay a clever man, eager to learn. Senior civil servant TK Whitaker recalled with fondness ('An able minister and a kind friend', 'Irish Press', 20 May 1983) that Aiken was a 'ceaselessly inquisitive minister'. His mind was constantly busy... Looking to the French Popular Front governments, Aiken asserted that 'banks should not exist to amass profits but should perform such functions as they were performing in France where they managed credit and issued money for the benefit of ordinary people'... On the subject of Aiken's decision-making process, Whitaker recalled that 'It was best to acknowledge first the good points of any idea he put forward and introduce the caveats only tentatively and gradually. He pondered those in silence for extended period trying to neutralise them'..." (pp 15, 314, 316 and 320).

Whitaker could not, of course, resist the temptation to boast of how, with Aiken, he himself would play a "Yes, Minister" role, just like Sir Humphrey Appleby in the TV series. Yet Aiken had been the "able minister" *par excellence* on his wartime visit to the USA. This is how Evans narrated Aiken's meeting with President Roosevelt in Washington in April 1941:

"In February 1941, and in the midst of an ever-tightening British supply squeeze, de Valera decided to send Aiken to America... When he met with Head of the US State Department, Sumner Welles, on 21 March, Aiken outlined Ireland's neutral position. Welles's

response was 'that England should win'. He said this with 'great gusto and significance'. Aiken responded in kind. Dismissing British policy as 'foolish', he told Welles that 'there was no point in talking to the Irish people about a potential aggressor when they were already facing an active aggressor'. This was Aiken's first experience of a bullish State Department attitude towards Irish neutrality. But given what was to follow when he met President Roosevelt, these meetings ... were very much the calm before the storm... That meeting was tempestuous... Going on to speak about the severity of the British supply squeeze being applied to Ireland at the time, Aiken found it 'very difficult to outline the purpose of my mission'. 'I had to interrupt the President and keep talking against his attempts to interrupt me in what would be a boorish way in dealing with an ordinary individual'. Roosevelt promised Aiken that he would grant Ireland supplies if Britain consented. Aiken instructed the President to 'use his own initiative and save the British from their own folly'. Roosevelt was not used to being talked to like this... Aiken asked Roosevelt whether he would support Ireland in 'our stand against aggression'. 'German aggression, yes' replied the President. When Aiken had replied 'British aggression too', Roosevelt lost control of his temper in a quite spectacular fashion. Roaring 'nonsense', he pulled the tablecloth from the table, sending cutlery flying around the room... Aiken admitted that that Roosevelt had lost his temper, but inserted a quip, which he claimed inflamed Roosevelt... when he asked how high Ireland's defences were. Aiken supposedly replied: 'You'd need a good horse to get over them.' On his way out, Aiken claimed that he asked Roosevelt to get Churchill's assurance that Britain would not attack Ireland, and for a 'definite reply' on Ireland's request for 'ships and arms'. He promised that he would, and 'we bade him good bye'..."

"American commentators, relying heavily on the papers of the hibernophobic American representative in Ireland David Gray, portrayed Aiken as intransigent and his mission disastrous... The negative appraisals of the trip are, in part, based on misconception that all Aiken was seeking from the Americans was arms and ammunition (which were indeed refused—MO'R)... But just as important was his quest for aid, which was a success, albeit a limited one. He was able to secure valuable supplies of grain, two ships, and the promise of coal. Given the material hardship in Ireland in mid-1941, half a million dollars worth of food for the civilian population was substantial... Ireland was experiencing a supply squeeze so severe that it threatened the very existence of the state. With Winston Churchill unflinching in his pursuit of economic warfare against Ireland... Aiken's acquisition of two ships—later

renamed 'Irish Pine' and 'Irish Oak'—was crucial. Not only did it kick-start the celebrated Irish Shipping Ltd (for which Lemass took the credit); it provided food and the promise of fuel at a time when Ireland's material situation was truly perilous and starvation a distinct possibility. As the Government acknowledged, 'Ireland's need for these ships is great, and the possession of them might well mean the difference between extreme hardship and a hardship that would be...' (p 140-144).

In finally setting up Irish Shipping, Lemass was as increasingly reliant on Leydon, "*his able and unsung lieutenant*", as he had been in the pre-War years, to quote from the 2011 Evans biography:

"He strategically placed Leydon on a number of boards in the 1930s. His departmental secretary proved more than a mere mouthpiece for Lemass, however, and was instrumental in many of the key ventures of the projectionist era... in 1936 Lemass approved the use of Foynes as a base for flying boats and in 1938 he famously gave the go-ahead for the construction of Dublin Airport. Leydon deserves more credit for his central role in this process. Lemass appointed Leydon chairman of Aer Rianta and Aer Lingus in 1937, where he exercised a decisive agency and headed liaisons with the Department of Industry and Commerce's Aviation Branch" (p 105).

In an earlier biography, '*Seán Lemass—The Enigmatic Patriot*' (1997), John Horgan wrote of the relationship between the two Ls:

"As contemporaries noted, they complemented each other admirably. Leydon saved Lemass from the untoward effects of decisions that had been made, as Lemass later acknowledged, in an occasionally slapdash fashion. Leydon would get decisions from Lemass; Lemass would get action from Leydon. Together they fashioned a plan for the duration of the war... that also involved a certain degree of cannibalism. Leydon's eagle eye noticed, shortly after the establishment of the new department, that there was a section on transport and maritime affairs in the Department of Industry and Commerce, which did not seem to have woken up to the great urgency of the shipping question. He discussed it with Lemass, who went straight to the Government and got permission to absorb the section into Supplies; within two days of the Government decision Leydon had drafted a scheme for the establishment of Irish Shipping Ltd and was bidding for ships in the London market before registration" (p 101).

For the duration of the War, Leydon doubled as the Chairman of both Aer Lingus and Irish Shipping, while Aer

Lingus Company Secretary J.F. Dempsey further doubled in that role at Irish Shipping. What Leydon needed was his own lieutenant, whose role would be solely dedicated to Ireland's wartime shipping. He went head hunting for a talented young civil servant from yet another Department. To quote an Irish Shipping website:

"Liam Furlong (1913-2004) was an Administrative Officer in the Department of Finance from 1932 until 1941. He was appointed Assistant Principal (Shipping) in the Department of Supplies in 1941, and in this position he had responsibility for the allocation of shipping space during the most difficult years of the Second World War. He was appointed Company Secretary in December, 1945, and continued in this capacity until 1948 when, with Captain John O'Neill, he was appointed Joint General Manager of Irish Shipping Limited. On Capt. O'Neill's retirement in 1961, he became General Manager of the company and he held that office until his own retirement in 1973."

At this juncture, I should declare an interest. Liam Furlong was my mother's brother-in-law. And, just as his children and grandchildren are rightly proud of him, so also am I proud of the vital role played by that dedicated public servant, always known and addressed by me as Uncle Liam, in saving Ireland from wartime starvation.

There was nonetheless a human cost to be paid—the lives of the 149 seamen lost on the vessels of smaller Irish private companies, as well as of Irish Shipping itself, in memory of whom a memorial stands on Dublin's City Quay. They were also memorialised in Frank Forde's '*Long Watch*', who related:

"The most tragic loss in their short history was suffered by Irish Shipping Ltd in the last months of 1942 when the 'Irish Pine' was reported missing with all 33 hands in the North Atlantic... It was not until 1977, when most seafarers considered that the loss of the 'Irish Pine' would remain a mystery forever, that the author learnt from the Naval Historical Branch, Ministry of Defence, London, of her fate. The answer lay in the (German) U-boat Diaries captured at the end of the War and brought to England. They disclosed that the 'Irish Pine' was sunk ... on 16 November 1942... The War Diary of U-608... recorded the last eight hours... from (the Captain's) first sighting... when she appeared out of a snow squall... Very rough sea, hail showers. 'Irish Pine' was frequently lost in the rain squalls... No reference to seeing neutrality markings... He made his attack... Again there is no reference to neutrality markings... So ended the 'Irish Pine', sinking in just 3 minutes. No

wreckage or bodies were ever found" (pp 50-52).

Forde related the fate of a second Irish Shipping vessel, in which case all the crew survived:

"The 'Irish Oak' was torpedoed and sunk... by an unidentified submarine on 15 May 1943... German naval records held (post-War) in the (British) Ministry of Defence reveal that the submarine was U-650... (The Captain) noted the neutrality markings and name but was unable to find the name 'Irish Oak' listed in his Standing War Orders as a recognised neutral. He decided to attack her... In Berlin, his action in sinking the 'Irish Oak' was not well received. Flag Officer U-boats said it ought not to have happened... 'The precise observance of Irish neutrality and of all Flag Officer U-boats' strict orders in this connection is the duty of all U-boat captains and is in the most immediate and pressing interests of the German Reich'..." (pp 56-58).

None of this information, first unearthed by Frank Forde in 1997, was, of course, known to the wartime de Valera Government. Had it been, the fearlessly neutral Dev would have vigorously protested, as per his track record to date. As Forde further related:

"The 'City of Bremen' was in the Bay of Biscay when attacked (and sunk) by a Junker 88 bomber on 2 June 1942. She was bound from Lisbon to Dublin with a cargo of grain. As the plane circled the ship, the German markings were clearly seen... The 22 man crew left in two lifeboats... and were picked up by a Spanish trawler, which landed them at Vigo... There was some apprehension for the safety of Fireman George Gerassimoff, should the Spaniards—just recovering from the Civil War—discover he was Russian; so it was decided to give him temporary Irish nationality. As 'Paddy Murphy' he travelled to Dublin... and there took out formal Irish citizenship... The Dublin 'Evening Mail' on 13 June 1942 carried the headline 'Irish Protest to Germany about Sinking of Ship'. There followed a press release from the Government Information Bureau: 'The master of the 'City of Bremen' having reported that the loss of the vessel was the result of an attack made by a German aircraft, the Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin (William Warnock) has been instructed to protest energetically to the German government and to obtain full compensation for the loss of the ship and her cargo'..." (pp 105-6).

Also energetically protesting to the German authorities was Frank Ryan, who was, *de facto*, Dev's most effective spokesman in Berlin, and who reported to the Irish Minister to Spain, Leopold Kerney, on 13th August 1942: "*I have never*

left an opportunity pass of criticising matters like those of (bombing) Belfast, North Strand (Dublin), the 'City of Bremen' etc." (Seán Cronin, 'Frank Ryan—The Search for The Republic', 1980, p 246).

Forde also related the attack on the 'Kerlogue', on 23rd October 1943, undertaken by a different belligerent:

"The little ship was on passage from Port Talbot to Lisbon, when 130 miles south of Ireland, two planes dived out of the sun and the ship was shaken with explosions as cannon shells burst within her. The attack lasted twenty minutes and four of the crew were wounded (with the Captain permanently disabled)... On 2 December 1943 de Valera made a statement in the Dáil: 'The ammunition fragments were found to be of British origin. This information was passed to the British government who instituted an investigation which confirmed that 'Kerlogue' had been attacked by a British plane. They informed us that the attacking plane did not identify the ship as Irish... which was sailing off course... The British government for that reason will not accept responsibility for the attack but are prepared to make a payment ex-gratia to the injured men'..." (pp 117-8).

In the meantime, Roosevelt, putting behind him his previous concession of two ships to Aiken, now emerged as a fully signed up member of Churchill's "squeeze Ireland" club, as related by Forde:

"The early months of 1944 saw intense diplomatic pressure by the Allies against neutral Ireland as the preparations for the invasion of Europe were drawing to a close. America in particular was very irked by our failure to join the crusade which World War Two had become for her after the attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, and on 12 March 1944 she released correspondence between the two governments which referred to the loss of the 'Irish Pine' and 'Irish Oak'. Both ships were chartered from the US Maritime Commission for the duration of the War. Following their loss, Irish Shipping inspected the steamer 'Wolverine', owned by US Marine Corporation of New York and agreement was reached to purchase her. However the sale was vetoed by on 6 January 1944 by the State Department, as 'not being in the interests of the United States government'. A further comment was made that Ireland had not protested to Germany over the sinkings of the 'Irish Pine' and 'Irish Oak'. On 11 March 1944 the Irish minister in Washington, Robert Brennan, replied on behalf of the government: 'The accusation that we had not protested to Germany was most unreasonable because such a protest could not be made without positive evidence. I instanced the case of the 'Kerlogue' which had been machine-gunned from the air and stated that a premature protest to Germany in that

case would have been ridiculous because it had lately been proved that the plane involved was British and the British had admitted the facts but denied responsibility because the vessel was off course.' Despite this rejection of the accusation, Ireland received no further ships from America, even after the War when surplus Liberty class vessels were allocated to many countries, including ex-Axis supporters like Italy. The unsympathetic attitude of David Gray, US Ambassador to Ireland had long-felt repercussions" (pp 62-64).

Forde summed up what had nonetheless

been achieved in ensuring Ireland's national economic survival in the face of the UK/US squeeze:

"So ended the War years for Irish Shipping Ltd, during which the fleet carried to this country 712,000 tons of wheat; 178,000 tons of coal; 63,000 tons of phosphates; 24,000 tons of tobacco; 19,000 tons of newsprint and 10,000 tons of timber. The profits earned were used to replace the obsolete and ageing fleet, and by 1950 seven new ships were in service."

Manus O'Riordan

September Brexit Summary

That the Salzburg Summit of Friday September 21st was a major setback in the Brexit negotiations has increased the possibility that the whole process will end in failure. The next milestone, the Council Summit of 18th-19th October will decide whether a 'no deal' will be announced or whether there is sufficient common ground between the two sides to justify the holding of a further special Summit in November.

An informative expression of the Irish view on Salzburg was provided (in the *Irish Times*) on the day of the Summit by former Irish Ambassador to the UK, Italy and the EU, Bobby McDonagh. A thorough journalistic analysis has also been provided by Tony Connelly in an article on the RTE website headed, "Salzburg: How a chronic misreading has brought Brexit to the brink".

Another Irish development of note over recent weeks was a speech by Frank Clarke, the Irish Chief Justice, made in Fordham University in New York (14 September) to the effect that Brexit will create a significant opportunity for Ireland to become a centre for international dispute resolution for corporations bound by both the common law jurisprudence used in the US, the UK and Ireland and EU law.

An article by Jean Pisani Ferry entitled, "Europe could miss its opportunity for political realignment", looks forward to next year's European Parliament Elections and covers many of the issues currently preoccupying the EU elite. Pisani Ferry shows his political colours by arguing that the battle lines should be drawn between illiberal nationalists who oppose immigration and pro-European liberals who favour openness. Revealingly, he takes a swipe at the most interesting socialist leader in Europe at the current time, Sara Wagen-

knecht, of both *Die Linke* (the Left) and *Aufstehen* (stand up) in Germany.

SALZBURG

But first it is necessary to take account of what happened in the Austrian city where Mozart was born, Salzburg. On the night before the Summit Theresa May gave a speech to the EU-27 leaders which had the same text as an article of hers published in *Die Welt* that morning. The UK Prime Minister's tone was mildly aggressive, the EU response reserved, Donald Tusk making a diplomatic statement that Chequers was an indication of an "evolution in the British position". On the next day May held a breakfast meeting with Leo Varadkar during which she informed him that a proposed solution to the Irish backstop would not be ready in time for the October Summit. When word of this reached other EU leaders a collective response seems to have been rapidly agreed.

Macron led the running in formulating an EU statement that the economic provisions of Chequers were unacceptable, in that they threatened the Single Market and that a decision to hold a special Summit on Brexit in November would only be made if the UK side had produced a workable position by then. This was duly interpreted in the pro-Brexit part of the British media as an EU ambush. And so the trend of mutual misunderstanding continues.

Unlike the general line of Irish media commentators that Boris Johnson, Jacob Rees Mogg and the Brexiteers are the sole cause behind Britain's inability to understand the EU, Bobby McDonagh lays the blame squarely on the UK Government and officials in Whitehall. Referring to the British tactic of talking to EU leaders over the head of Michel Barnier, Mc Donagh opines: "The notion of bypassing

the EU negotiator was always going to fail." He also states the obvious when he says that the arguments from the UK side are feeding "comfortably into the British tabloid narrative about Brussels bureaucracy" and keeping alive an illusion that "German and French business cavalry are about to appear on the horizon".

However, the following paragraph indicates that former Ambassador Mc Donagh may have illusions of his own. It reads:

"Experienced British officials know all of this well. The UK used to understand the EU's decision-making processes better than anyone. It was therefore able to exert exceptional influence in the EU until the decision to leave. One hopes that some of those British officials are still speaking up and being listened to in London."

But is the UK Government's current stance so very different from that of successive Westminster Governments since the Thatcher era? Long-time readers of *Irish Political Review* will recall British Government attacks on European Commission 'bureaucrats' going back to the mid-eighties. That the UK was able to exert exceptional influence in the EU is an indictment of the political competence of European leaders; does it make sense that a Member State fervently opposed to the concept of "ever closer Union" should have been treated with such overweening respect by Brussels?

The more pertinent question of course relates to why the Irish State chose to align with the UK on EU matters over the last two decades. Now that the anti-European prejudice of the UK Establishment is exposed for all the world to see, we can only hope that the current Irish diplomatic corps has the substance to prise Irish foreign policy away from the close-to-Britain policy and get it back on a genuinely pro European track.

One member of the Irish elite who is certainly looking to Europe is the Chief Justice, Frank Clarke. His speech at Fordham University drew attention to the opportunity provided by Brexit for Irish legal firms to develop a competence in international dispute resolution in corporate law. Speaking on the matter to RTE's Sean O'Rourke recently, he also described how it is necessary for EU legal committees working for the European Commission to have representatives who are familiar with common law jurisprudence. So Brexit is providing opportunities in different areas of the legal profession and its top brass is not being slow off the mark.

PISANI FERRY'S VIRTUE SIGNALLING

Jean Pisani Ferry's article was published by Project Syndicate on August 30th and re-published on the Social Europe website on September 10th. A Social Europe blog from some months back contained the information that Pisani Ferry had resigned his post as one of the advisors to President Macron but it now seems that was untrue; he is credited at the bottom of the article as the Commissioner-General for Policy Planning in the Macron administration. In the past I have found Pisani Ferry's writing on the Euro-debt crisis to be valuable; I have not changed my view of that. Nonetheless I found this to be a dreadful article brimming with the self-righteousness now associated with liberal elites across the West.

Pisani Ferry argues that European politics has generally been structured on a Left/Right basis, expressed in the European Parliament over the years in the dominance of either Centre-Right or Centre-Left groupings. More recently the critical divide has been between illiberal nationalists and pro-European liberals, he says, giving the example of last year's Presidential Election in France. He sees the Left/Right divide as still having relevance in the national arena but of being inadequate for providing voters with a clear choice at the European level. Referring to traditional Centre-Right and Centre-Left blocs he states:

"Both groupings actually seem clueless when it comes to empowering disenfranchised working-class citizens, whereas the proponents of identity politics offer at least the guise of a response."

What he wants is for new camps to be formed in advance of the European Elections to bring greater clarity "on the issues that matter for Europe". But this not going to happen, he argues, because the dikes separating the hard Left and hard Right have not yet been breached. A remark he makes about the European hard Left is revealing. He says:

"...the increasingly anti-immigration stance of Sahra Wagenknecht of *Die Linke* (The Left) and fiercely anti-European diatribes by Jean-Luc Mélenchon of *La France Insoumise* (France Unbowed) suggest that some radical leftists would rather lose their souls than the working class."

But Monsieur Pisani Ferry is not going to lose his highly virtuous soul. To achieve an unravelling of the old Left/Right structures he wants "a strong voice for Europe and openness to emerge". The voters of Europe—given a straight choice between the liberalism of the EU elite and the nasty nationalism of Marine Le Pen, Victor

Orban and Matteo Salvini—will, according to Macron's top advisor, rally to the liberal banner. It is as though Pisani Ferry longs for the simplicity of the anti-fascist narrative that emerged once the Second World War was safely over. Why can't we just have good guys and bad guys?

That he should pick out Sara Wagenknecht is noteworthy as she has spearheaded the most interesting political development in Europe in recent times. However the *Aufstehen* movement has only just been publicly launched. A commentary on it can wait until it has had time to develop.

The nature of EU liberalism was revealed some years ago when a discussion took place over whether a reference to God or Christianity should be included in the Preamble to the European Constitution. After a short debate it was decided that the Constitution, which in the event never got off the ground, should be Godless. From a purely secular perspective of building popular support for the EU, what a mind-blowingly foolish decision! All the more so when you consider that Christian Democracy was the political force that pioneered the EU's creation. How European is the EU if its elite cannot even acknowledge the Continent's two thousand year Christian heritage?

In trying to formulate a criticism of EU liberalism, I am reminded of lectures in political philosophy given by a Catholic priest, Fr. Fergal O'Connor, in University College Dublin in the 1970s. O'Connor encouraged students to learn about all the political philosophers on the course—Plato, Aquinas, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Machiavelli, Marx, Mill, Popper—by seeing the world from their perspectives and getting under their skins, so to speak. His point, I think, was that to be philosophically informed it was necessary to take something from all of them, even if you ended up adopting the stance of one of them. EU liberalism draws too narrowly from one part of the canon, if it draws from it at all.

I am not qualified to provide philosophical commentary but I believe it possible that Pisani Ferry's viewpoint can be traced all the way back to the French Enlightenment, and to thinkers like Thomas Paine. Going by the standard set by O'Connor, a modern thinker influenced by the Enlightenment should also be informed about the reaction against it. In other words he or she should be familiar with the conservative philosophy of Edmund Burke. In their day Burke and Paine acted in direct opposition to each other but at this remove their

works can be savoured for the particular insights that they each contributed to political thought.

In this publication a decade or so ago, in attempting to appreciate the qualities needed of a reforming political leader, the formulation *Paine plus Burke* was proposed. The basic idea, as I understand it, is that reforming politicians need to appease the conservative base of their societies even while they bring forward reforms; any opportunity to quell conservative anxieties needs to be embraced whole-

heartedly; conservatism itself, in certain circumstances, can be prized for the stability it brings to society.

This idea would be anathema to the community of politicians, experts and officials that make up the current EU leadership, as it would be to liberal elites across the West. Perhaps the prevalence of that liberal intolerance explains why those same elites are reviled so much by their non-liberal fellow citizens?

Dave Alvey

100th Anniversary Part 10

The Russian Revolution

When the Soviet State set about industrialising the Russian economy on socialist lines in the early 1920s, the general understanding of its leading theorists was that Capitalism had become World Capitalism. Capitalism had become essentially Imperialist. It progressed relentlessly around the world, using whatever means it found appropriate, from brute force to the subtleties of elaborate forms of money lending. It was a Destroyer, with a power never before seen in the world, and a Creator which reassembled the ruins of what it destroyed in its own image.

There had been a time when Capitalism was one of a number of modes of production in the world, engaging in trade with other modes of production, and seeming to accept that those other modes of production had legitimate grounds for existing. The political economy of that era argued that international trade was mutually beneficial: that it had to be so, otherwise it would not be engaged in.

That argument rested on the fact of the different modes of production existing in substantially independent states, that were self-sufficient, and that only traded internationally with inessential surpluses.

The beginning of the end of that state of affairs in the world set in with the Wars of the Spanish Succession and the Grand Alliance around 1700. The British war effort was financed with money that did not exist. It was fought on credit. But this credit was not borrowed money that did exist. It was invented money: fictitious money. It might be described as *future money*, which would acquire reality in the long run by leading to the production of its equivalent in goods.

Jonathan Swift, a pamphleteer of the Tory Party, influenced the elite public opinion of Britain against the Whigs sufficiently to cause the War to be ended in a negotiated peace which left the enemy state intact. His reasoning was that the fighting of the war on credit was commercialising life and eroding all recognised human values. For his achievement in bringing about the negotiated Peace of Utrecht he was exiled to Dublin, where he brooded on human ingratitude for twenty years.

Britain gained a very substantial points victory over France by the Treaty of Utrecht. It became the hegemon of Europe—the balance-of-power arbiter of Europe—freeing itself for world conquest, and for the construction of capitalism into the dominant system in Britain.

The rise of capitalism to complete dominance within a long-established society, freeing itself from all the curbs of custom, religion, law, and all the interests connected with them, and remaking human life in the service of the market, was an extraordinary development. It was achieved in Whig England and nowhere else. It was achieved in the course of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th.

It was achieved by the combination of corruption and the introduction of industrial technique. Robert Walpole, the first Prime Minister—that is, the first leader of the commercial party that took over as a ruling class from the monarchy while acting in the name of the monarchy—smoothed the way in Parliament with his guiding principle that: *Every man ha his price*.

The source of the means of corruption was the plunder of India.

Society could not be laid bare to be

reconstructed into something new and unheard of by men of principle. And principles abounded in the early 18th century as spin-offs from the Glorious Revolution. The compliance of high-minded men was secured by bribery.

There was a time when what is now called *corruption* was well understood to be the lubricant of *progress*. It is frankly described in a history of the Whig/Liberal Party published around 1830, along with the pious thought that the commercial system was now well-established, had produced the appropriate principles for itself, and could operate without corruption in future.

The other great source of capitalist breakthrough was the vast industrial Slave Labour Camps in the Caribbean. I got to know about these Camps through consorting with West Indians when I went to London in the late 1950s and through having a wayward interest in the theatre. I found that there was a play called *The West Indian* which had once been famous. I looked it up and found that there wasn't a West Indian in it. The 'West Indian' was a white colonist. West Indians of the late 18th century, like Irishmen, were English colonists. The slave populations on the Caribbean Island had no more presence in English public life than had the *de facto* serfs in Ireland.

A moment came when industrial slavery had served its purpose. There was then a peaceful transition to freedom. The Government bought the slaves from their owners and left them to wither as themselves, while their former owners invested the money got for them in wage-labour capitalism.

The slaves, abandoned as waste matter, became the modern West Indians by living on what nature presented. A hundred years later large numbers of them were brought to England to be wage-labour. The fact there had ever been West Indians of an entirely different kind—colonials with Parliamentary Assemblies—was removed from public memory. The only trace of it remained in the mid-20th century was the convention that the captain of the Cricket Team should be white.

It was through British action in the world that Capitalism became a world system. And it was through colonisation of North America by Puritan refugees from the compromising Restorationist system of 1660, and their hygienic extermination of the peoples they found in North America, that a purely capitalist society was formed—a society with no complicating pre-capitalist survivals.

And it was through construction of that

half-Continent into a coherent and purposeful capitalist Super-state that Capitalism became the weightiest and most energetic force in the world.

(The Southern half of the Continent remained broken up into nominally independent pre-capitalist states, but the United States, with the support of the British Empire, asserted effective sovereignty over 'Latin America', where Catholic Europeans had mixed with American natives: the *Monroe Doctrine*.)

Capitalism was economically dominant in the world in 1919; it was militarily dominant; and it was morally dominant. Capitalism did just as it pleased in the service of extending its power and making itself universally binding. There was nothing that it could do for this purpose that world opinion could find morally repugnant, because the only morality that existed internationally was the morality of Capitalism.

The effective states were the victor states in the War: Britain, France, Japan, Italy and the United States. Britain and France were facing defeat in the War they had launched against Germany when the United States intervened and saved them. They were beholden to the United States morally (so to speak) and were in hock to it financially. Britain had, before this, sapped the independent Imperial will of France, and now its own independent will was sapped by the USA.

The matter was put to the test on the issue of the *Anglo-Japanese Treaty*. The "*Manifest Destiny*" of Puritan America had carried it from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and then it was clear to it that it must cross the Pacific. The Anglo-Japanese Treaty lay in its path. It gave Britain an ultimatum to end it—or else. Britain ended it—and lost its Asian Empire as a consequence twenty years later. The British submission was made at the Washington Naval Conference of 1921.

Italy was never a serious contender for world power. It made war on Austria in 1914, against the opposition of a substantial body of Italian opinion, only because Britain offered it a large tract of Austrian territory as a reward.

The political will of world capitalism became concentrated in the United States as a consequence of the working out of Britain's Great War. It was indisputably the most powerful force in the world. The question was whether it would allow any economic form other than capitalism to exist in the world.

About ten years ago a Middle Eastern political group (Usbit al Tahir) took as its object the restoration of the Muslim Caliphate. The British Home Secretary (Jack

Straw) declared that advocacy of the Caliphate was an act of terrorism. It was self-evident to him that a restoration of the Caliphate would be a stain on the life of the world.

And it was self-evident to the United States citizens that Capitalism was a direct expression of human nature, and that where it did not exist human nature was being suppressed.

The United States—the essential Yankee part—knew nothing but Capitalism. (Well, it had slavery in its Southern region, but that was the "*peculiar institution*" inherited from Britain, and in any case it was not part of an elaborate social structure which Capitalism had to overcome, such as was the case with Feudalism in European countries, but was a mere appendage to Capitalism without any rights against Capitalism.)

Bukharin's statement in the early 1920s that "*modern capitalism is world capitalism*" accorded with the facts of the matter at the time. But Bukharin had anticipated the facts before they arrived, feeling out tendencies of development during the War.

Liberal Britain launched the World War in August 1914 in the expectation of a quick victory being achieved by the vast mass of the Russian Army. Elements of the Liberal Party were worried at the prospect of the Tsarist State being extended westward. But, if things had gone according to British expectations, the melt-down of Europe and the subversion of the British Empire would probably not have occurred, and the world would have remained a complex place in which many different lines of development were possible. It was the War that brought about the simplification: Capitalism as a world system centred on the United States.

(A German writer in 1916 observed that the world had never before seen the phenomenon of a great Empire, constructed over the centuries by brilliant statesmen, being subverted in a couple of years by an upstart rival which it sought to swat away. Of course the British Empire went on to win the War—or at least to be on the winning side—but it also happened that Germany subverted it in the course of being defeated by it.)

The new Russian State, committed to both Industrialisation and Socialism, set out on its task in a world that had become comprehensively capitalist in principle through the construction of the League of Nations. The United States did not become a member of the League, though it was the inspiration behind it. There was an expectation in the Bolshevik leadership that Central Europe would erupt in socialist

revolution, but that expectation diminished week by week.

Trotsky predicted that war between the British Empire and the United States was bound to happen in the mid-1920s, and it did seem to be the next item on the international agenda. But the demoralised British Empire was a battered remnant of what it had been in 1914, incapable even of holding Ireland, and it conceded Washington primacy at the Washington Naval Conference 1921-2.

World capitalism, however, was still only a potential political entity. Washington was not yet ready to take over its direction. It had been precipitated into its world role by British rashness in 1914, and Britain's military and political bungling thereafter, and in 1919 it needed a pause for thought, to fill itself out, and to deal with its immediate issue of Japan.

The policy advocated by Churchill in 1919 was an alliance with Germany to crush Bolshevism. He was ashamed of the totalitarian ideology of Good and Evil adopted during the War. He wanted to shrug it off, and to secure the Empire in he enlarged position which it had gained in the world through the War, by means of practical world politics. He wanted to treat the defeated enemy honourably and unite with him against the fundamental enemy of capitalist civilisation that had taken power in the East.

Under the limited, oligarchic, democracy, in which he had cut his political teeth, that is what would have been done. But democratised Britain of the 1918 reform just wasn't up to it.

Democratised Britain made a mess of Europe in 1919, deflating the pressure that might otherwise have been exerted on Moscow, and providing the opportunity for Soviet/capitalist deals.

In these circumstances the industrialisation of Russia by a socialist regime—Socialism in One Country—was undertaken and achieved. Its achievement was demonstrated in 1941-5 in the most industrialised war ever fought.

The industrialisation of the economy was accomplished without capitalists. The production of modern armament was in the circumstances a priority of production. And these armaments were used in battle by the social force that produced them.

All of this could have been done only through intense activity on the part of the greater part of the populace. A realistic description of what Russia was like in 1922 allows for no other explanation short of Divine intervention.

The populace, in accomplishing this, was not divided into political parties competing for its votes and doing each other down. It was therefore not democratic in the British sense. British democracy is a system in which the employees of private capital vote, every four or five years, for one or other of the parties which share the business of governing the state, and for the rest of the time earn their wages.

It took close on 300 years, starting with the abolition of the Monarchy in 1649, for this system of representative government to be established. It was established through successive phases of aristocratic Parliaments—capitalist middle class Parliaments—and popularly elected Parliaments.

When the Monarchy fell in Russia in 1917, there was no elite able to take its place and form a State. The matter fell to the populace.

The British populace was enfranchised into the middle class representative system in 1918 and was an influence preventing a functional settlement of Europe in 1919. In 1939 it committed the hulk of the British Empire to war on Germany in defence of the anomalous position of Danzig under the Versailles system. It did so in alliance with Poland, precipitating the German/Polish War and then leaving the Poles to fight it alone.

It declared war on Germany, but went about it in the most leisurely manner, as a World War. When Germany, after nine months responded to the declaration of war on it, and won the first battle, Britain brought the Army home from Dunkirk, greatly relieved that there would not be another war of fixed positions like 1914-18.

The French Government, having lost the war which it had declared jointly with Britain, and being under occupation, made a settlement with Germany and was denounced for it by Britain. Britain, with the Royal Navy dominant over the German, refused to make a settlement. It kept Germany on a war-footing, hoping this would lead to a German/Russian War. It did.

Russia defeated Germany. The will of the undemocratic Russian populace achieved what the British party-political democracy (suspended) did not even attempt. And, as Russia was pushing into Germany and winding up the War, the British Government was searching for ways to make war on it.

British democracy survived incidentally as a result of the outcome of the German/Russian War and, in surviving it, sought for ways of destroying the force that had

saved it.

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Industrialisation was generally agreed to be the business of Capitalism. It became the business of the socialist regime in Russia because of the utter failure of Capitalism to industrialise under the Tsarist system, or to establish a capitalist regime when Tsarism fell.

The socialist regime had to accomplish a capitalist task. Western socialist enthusiasm for the Bolshevik Revolution never came to terms with that basic fact of the situation. It applied its ideals of Socialism, as a take-off from advanced Capitalism, to the work of industrialisation as undertaken by Bolshevism in the actual pre-capitalist conditions existing in Russia. But it did not urge the Bolsheviks to stand down and let private Capitalism take over as the mode of production appropriate to the situation so that the ideals of Socialism should not be sullied.

As I write, Radio Eireann announces that there is to be a Dublin History Festival at which the star turn will be Anne Appelbaum, an anti-Russian American journalist in the right-wing London 'quality' magazines who in recent times has been specialising in Ukrainian/Russian affairs. She has a New Cold War potboiler on the Russian Labour Camps, *Gulag*, which she attributes to a common source with the German Extermination Camps. And she has a book on the Ukrainian famine of the early 1930s: *Red Famine, Stalin's War On The Ukraine*.

Famines are a common feature of the modern era, particularly with the British Imperial part of it. Some are more popular than others with Western democracy. The Ukrainian Famine of the early 1930s is uncomplicatedly popular because Britain had nothing to do with it. But the Persian Famine of 1917-18, caused by the operations of the British Dunsterville Expedition is unknown to the democratic populace, even though the numbers are greater.

I imagine that there have been local Famines caused by sheer bad luck, but large-scale Famines are associated with economic progress and the "*primitive accumulation*" required for industrial take off, or with associated wars. And those might be treated as costs of production of Capitalism—or of Socialism, where Capitalism is in default.

Famines were not unusual in Ireland under British rule, but the Famine of the late 1840s stands out because of its circumstances, its scale and its purpose. It was an event in the consolidation of Capitalism. The Famines of the 18th century were

useless by comparison.

The English aristocracy imposed its dominance over the defeated Irish was exploitative but was not economically constructive. It luxuriated on its rack-rents, built its network of Great Houses around the country and reconstructed Dublin as a decorative city. It lived grandiosely on the wealth it extracted from the broken Irish populace. The Irish economy under it did not make a vital contribution to the rise of Capitalism, as did the Slave Labour economy of the Caribbean.

In the 1780s the Anglican aristocracy in Ireland over-reached itself. It took advantage of England's difficulty with its Colonies on the American mainland to assert the independence of its little Parliament, while the slave drivers in the Caribbean only sought a slight increase in the power of their Parliamentary institutions.

The Slave Labour Camps were an integral part of the developing capitalist system. The Slave Masters had their feet planted firmly on the ground of Progress. Fifty years later there was a peaceful transition from slavery to wage-labour. The slave-owners exchanged their slaves for money which they could invest in the system of wage capitalism. The slaves were bought by the Government and turned loose on the islands to become the new West Indians. A century later they began to be shipped to England as wage-labour.

The Anglican aristocracy in Ireland lived in parasitic illusion. Political independence was disastrous for them. Within 20 years they provoked rebellion and had to be rescued by the British Army. The Westminster Government then bought the Irish Parliament out of existence. But, for the next forty-five years, Ireland remained clogged with pre-capitalist social bodies, landlord and peasant. Ireland—leaving aside the development in the Ulster Plantation, which always is left aside—was a drag on Progress.

Was the Irish Famine man-made? Was it genocidal? Put it this way: if the Ukrainian Famine was these things, then so was the Irish. Judgment in the matter is necessarily comparative. There are no absolutes. The Irish Famine was an incident in the development of Capitalism. The Ukrainian Famine was an incident in the development of Socialism.

Ireland was part of the British state and the Ukraine part of the Soviet state. There was a mass political movement in Ireland demanding a reorganisation of its relationship with the British state and a weak political movement in the Ukraine for

secession from the Soviet state.

Food was exported, under military escort, from starving Ireland to other regions of the British state, and similarly from Ukraine to the Soviet state. The British Empire had at its disposal vast resources with which it might have fed the Irish populace when the single crop on which it lived failed. There the similarity ends, both with regard to the subject of the Famine and the matter at issue.

The Irish potato eaters, who had a toehold on existence, were not bidding for power against the British State. They were what they were as a consequence of the destructive effect of British rule in Ireland over many generations. They had not chosen to be rack-rented potato-eaters. That was all that, under the British system, it was possible for them to be. And the Soviet State did not have at its disposal the vast resources that the British Empire had.

It was in the Ukraine in the early 1930s that the conflict inherent in Lenin's strategy, pointed out by Rosa Luxemburg, came to a head. Lenin, in order to establish a socialist regime, abolished landlordism and enfranchised the peasantry as owners of private property, knowing that this would be a source of Capitalism. He relied on class divisions arising amongst the peasantry, which could be used to break the power of capitalist elements and facilitate the establishment of co-operative farming that could be combined into a general socialist development.

I grew up amongst a property-owning peasantry that had organised itself into a co-operative system, but not a collective system. Rural Ireland was well-informed about the world—at least Slieve Luacra was. I recall discussions about Soviet farming when Stalin died. That was at the height of the Cold War, when the Bishops were going full blast in denunciation of Communism as Godless Atheism. And I seem to recall that a prayer for the conversion of Russia was added to the Mass—strange to recall now that Russia has been converted, is no longer Communist, but is hated more intensely than it was then.

I recall perfectly reasonable discussions about the merits and drawbacks of the Stalinist organisation of agriculture by property-owning peasants of a social disposition.

There are two main accounts of the cause of the Ukrainian Famine: that it was caused by the refusal of the upper stratum of the peasantry to agree to the establishment of agricultural collectives, which

was the policy of the State, and their refusal to sell grain to the State as a form of resistance—which led the State to confiscate the grain that was needed for the cities; or that it was part of a long-term Russian policy, dating from Tsarist times, to suppress Ukrainian nationality, with collectivisation being used as a spurious issue to generate national conflict.

A 1953 publication, *Tortured But Unconquerable Ukraine*, by J.F. Stewart, treats it as the latter, and describes it as "the greatest massacre of all time", beating the massacre of the Jews by a couple of hundred thousand: "More than Six Million Ukrainians were deliberately starved to death in pursuance of Russian policy".

And it was Russia, not Communism:

"They entered upon the path of provocation, terror and physical annihilation of whole masses of people, a policy which was well known to the Russian Tsars which has been followed during the entire period of Russian domination and which still continues. Not only to oppress but to strike a deadly blow at the Ukrainian nation, and, after it, all the other non-Russian peoples in the USSR, and then to master the whole world, is Russia's centuries-old dream and policy."

It says that entire Ukrainian villages were wiped out in 1933 and Russians brought in to colonise them.

A similar view is expressed in Stephen Oleskiw's *The Agony Of A Nation* (1983) but it is combined with the other view:

"The famine of 1932/3 can perhaps be best viewed as a desperate attempt by the Russians to totally subjugate the Ukrainian nation" (p7).

Then Robert Service is quoted:

"Collectivisation, dekulakisation and the man-made famine are separate matters. It would have been possible to collectivise without dekulakising, to collectivise and dekulakise without the famine... The decision to inflict all three was a political one. The general aim was the destruction of market relations and of the last bourgeois or petty bourgeois classes; the particular aim in the Ukraine was all those, but also the devastation of a hostile area" (p16).

It appeared to Moscow at the time that the opposition of the bourgeoisifying stratum of the Ukrainian peasantry was a serious obstacle to the consolidation of the State. Stalin told Churchill that it was the most dangerous moment in the life of the State. At that moment Churchill was necessarily sympathetic to Soviet reasoning. He had insisted on continuing the war on Germany in 1940, though lacking the

means to fight it, and his prospect of ending up on the winning side depended on the capacity of the Russian State which had mastered the crisis of 1933. And Ukrainian separatism was at that moment reasserting itself in alliance with the Nazi occupation.

Appelbaum says that the voice of the Ukraine on the subject of the Famine was silenced from 1934 until the collapse of the Soviet regime, with one "complicated exception". That was the period of Nazi liberation from Communism, 1941-1944.

The striking thing about Ukrainian nationality is that it never appeared in stable political form until after the Ukraine was forcibly incorporated in the Soviet system in 1945 and then functioned as part of it for almost half a century.

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The British State since August 1914 has made a point of never going to war over a conflict of interest with another state. It never goes to war over anything less than the saving of civilisation.

It made a particular point in August 1914 of having no material interest at stake in its war on Germany. It stood to gain nothing material from victory. But one of the Government papers astutely pointed out—I think it was the *Manchester Guardian*—that going to war purely in the interest of ensuring that Right would prevail in the world would probably lead to other good things too. And it did.

The Empire was greatly expanded—though the will to govern it competently was undermined.

Now, if you go to war to save civilisation, there is nothing you can do that you judge necessary to winning the war that can fall under moral condemnation, because nothing that saves civilisation can be bad, because civilisation is what is good.

In both its World Wars Britain carried out subordinate wars in which it did the very thing that it had declared war on Germany over. But it did so with an easy conscience—indeed, with a positive sense of virtue—because everything was justified by the great disinterested moral principle put on the table at the start.

When you come across the Hush-Hush Army commanded by General Dunster-ville, that was sent into action between Bagdad and Baku in 1917, and whose passage through that marvellous wilderness was recorded, with photographs, by Major Donohue in *The Persian Expedition*. You suspect at first that it must be an elaborate hoax. But it was all matter-of-factly true. And there was some purpose to it, connected with countering some new variant of the

Kaiser's plan to conquer the world. So how can it matter that a few million Wogs died of starvation because of it?

How many million? when I first came across this very minor incident in Britain's Great War, twenty or thirty years ago, the figure that was claimed was ten million. I don't know if there is an agreed estimate. Who would there be to agree it? The whole thing is too slight and too alien to be bothered about.

The estimate for the Ukraine seems to have settled around a million and a quarter—less than the Irish Famine in a population five or six times the size of the Irish population in 1845.

And about half the size of the Famine in Bengal during Britain's Holy War against Fascism, when Churchill decided that India must play its part, like it or not, and diverted Indian resources to the war effort.

Famines are commonplace in the history of British action in the world—which is the history of the rise of Capitalism to world dominance. And likewise with conflicts of nationality.

The world was quite old when the capitalist assault on it began, but it had not formed itself into a series of distinct nations which were waiting to be crowned by capitalist states. To a considerable extent, tight national cohesion was formed in conjunction with the formation of political units of the market, and potential nations pulled and pushed at each other in the process of determining the formation of nation-states.

In Ireland a coherent national development began very quickly after the Parliament of the English colony was removed in 1800., but it did not include the population of the Ulster Plantation, which had been developing a public life of its own, in conjunction with Britain, for 200 years. In 1969 I said it should be treated as having a distinct national life of its own, and that an accommodation should be made with it on those terms. I was blacklisted for this, but the facts remain as I stated them.

As between the Ukraine and Russia, they could neither merge nor separate. Russia could not have held the Ukraine if a substantial body of Ukrainians had not regarded themselves as Russian—and if the Ukraine had a capacity for State formation equal to Russia's.

It has been argued that Russia originated in Kiev and that this fact has been concealed by Russian censorship. But it was in Moscow that the State was formed, and Kiev could never avail of opportunities to form a viable State.

Of the three major peoples in the region—Poles, Russians, Ukrainians—it was the Russian people that proved to be capable of sustaining a State. A Russian historian of the early 19th century argued that the Russians did not constitute a nation at all. But they were a body of people on whom a State could rest, and it was therefore beside the point politically whether, without a State, they would have been a nation.

The Poles could not sustain a State. Joseph Conrad took offence of the description of his father as a Polish revolutionary. His father was a rebel. He rebelled for the independence of Poland as it was, not for revolution.

Attempts at Polish State formation failed because the Polish nobility would not allow a governing Monarchy to be formed, and it was itself incapable of governing as a ruling class, as the English nobility did, because very noble asserted a right of veto.

A Polish State was eventually formed by James Connolly's kindred spirit, Joseph Pilsudski. It lent itself to British manoeuvres after Pilsudski died. It re-emerged as an independent State two generations later, when the Soviet Union was dismantled.

A major ideological object of the Ukrainian State that emerged from the Soviet Union has been to indict Russia of Genocide because of the Famine. The inventor of the word "*genocide*"—as an exotic replacement for "*extermination of a people*"—Raphael Lemkin, badly wanted to indict Russia of Genocide, but in order to get the term adopted by the United Nations he had defined it in a way that meant Russia could not be indicted under it.

The Ukrainian Prime Minister, Yuschenko, made use of the term *Holodomar*. This is a Russian/Ukrainian term made of "*golod*" (there is no 'h' in Russian), meaning *hunger*, and *mor* meaning *plague*, and is used to convey the sense of genocide without coming up against Lemkin's UN definition.

There is a report of a Maynooth Conference on the Ukrainian and Irish Famines, *Holodomar And Gorta Mor*, with Vincent Comerford as an editor.

About twenty years ago T.P. O'Mahony proposed in the *Cork Examiner* that nationalist Ireland should make the Famine the centrepoint of its history and use it as Israel uses the Holocaust. He was slapped down by Professor Keogh of Cork University, who insists that Irish history has to be made strictly subordinate to the policy of a particularly insipid kind, lest it cause more disturbance than was already happening in the North—whose cause lay entirely

in the undemocratic mode of government insisted on by Westminster. O'Mahony's proposal was snuffed out, making the writing of history problematical. But, when Ukraine came on the scene, it was emphasising its *Holodomar*—and was not reprimanded.

In *Holodomar And Gorta Mor* there is a rather sneering summary of Irish national history in the Introduction, and Comerford comments that, in the the past, "*the distinction between 'national' and 'nationalist'*" was frequently overlooked" (p59). It is at best a tentative distinction.

In the world set in motion when Britain launched it into world war in 1914, nations do not present themselves as inert substances. Ernest Gellner came closer to the truth when he said that nations were a product of nationalism. That is certainly the case with the Ukraine. In Ireland the case can be made that nationalism went astray, and did itself immeasurable damage, by claiming to include within it a well-established and stable body of people who rejected it. But I don't recall that we got any gesture of support from Comerford when we made that case.

Raphael Lemkin reminisced about his youth as the son of a Jewish farmer in Poland:

"I was born in a part of the world historically known as Lithuania, or White Russia, where Poles, Russians (or rather White Russians) and Jews had lived together for many centuries. They disliked each other and even fought, but in spite of this turmoil they shared a deep love for their towns, hills and rivers. It was a feeling of common destiny that prevented them from destroying one another completely. This area was between ethnographic Poland to the west, East Prussia to the north, Ukraine to the south, and Great Russia to the east" (*Totally Unofficial: An Autobiography*. Yale 2013).

More likely it was the absence of a sense of common destiny in the era of Empires, before the era of inescapable nationalism that followed the destruction of the Empires, that enabled them to jostle against each other and let each other be.

Lemkin's last piece of writing was a typescript which lay unpublished for half a century, until it was issued as a *Holodomar Occasional Paper* in Ontario in 2014. He was still trying to pin genocide on Russia, despite his own official definition obstructing him. The title asserts *Soviet Genocide In The Ukraine*. The argument is:

"Notably, there have been no attempts at complete annihilations, such as the method of the German attack on the Jews. And yet, as the Soviet programme

succeeds completely, if the intelligentsia, the priests and the peasants can be eliminated, the Ukraine will be as dead as if every Ukrainian were killed, for it will have lost that part of it which kept and developed its culture, its beliefs, its common ideas, which has guided it and given it a soul, which, in short, made it a *nation* rather than a *mass of people*."

Does that not describe English rule in Ireland over a century and a half? And, when it appeared to have failed in the mid-1840s with the rise of O'Connellism, was the potato blight not seen as an act of Providence at the eleventh hour to do the job, and ensure that a Celt in Ireland would soon be as rare as a Red Indian in Manhattan?

And Britain, in the 19th century and into the 20th century, boasted honestly about being the greatest exterminator of weak peoples in the cause of Progress. How is it that none of this figures in scholarly discussions of Genocide?

I will return to the issues of primitive accumulation and the formation of nation-states next month.

Brendan Clifford

Why Not A Centenary General Election This December?

At the present time plans for marking the centenary events of this year, notably the Armistice on 11 November 1918 which ended the First World War, compete for attention with the coverage given to the possibility of a general election. May I suggest that our politicians give some consideration to the unique opportunity of combining the next general election with the centenary of the election which took place in 1918.

The facts are clear: Parliament was dissolved on 25 November 1918; voting took place on 14 December; and the first Dail Eireann met at the Mansion House, Dublin, on 21 January 1919. It would probably be too fanciful to suggest that all parties might resolve the differences between them that were caused by the divisions over the Treaty and the subsequent Civil War but it seems eminently desirable that all parties should commit themselves to the ideals proclaimed by the first Dail on 21 January 1919.

The ideals expressed in the Democratic Programme merit special attention at this time. It declared, among other things, that "*it shall be the first duty of the Government of the Republic to make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food, clothing, or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as Citizens of a Free and Gaelic Ireland.*" Here we have some words not only to reflect upon but also to commemorate and the time line suggested above would provide a fitting context in which to mark the centenary of that event.

Dr. Brian P Murphy *osb*

Irish Examiner, 12.9.18

Andy's Midnight Runners

All day the sun shone. For weeks it roasted the place. The sky was streaked with vermilion. Now it was the witching hour. A pall covered the city. The Bells of Christ Church Cathedral rang out. Dean Swift's ghost smiled. The Liberties slept on. All was quiet in Pimlico. Kathleen and Josephine looked contented. A good job well done. They clinked their glasses and gulped their drinks. Their chins went up and down as they insincerely admired each other's gowns.

A nearby police barracks had been tarted up. Here were gathered big, bluff men. They would do the business. Police were all about. Handy Andy was on his way. The new cynosure. A recent Northern malcontent had been seen off in the court. His advocate defeated. His predecessor had stood outside the GPO that Easter Monday in 1916. About to enter. "*I helped wind the clock*", he'd said. "*I must listen to it strike.*" But Andy was unaware of these details. They did not merit consideration. Katie and Josie concurred: On with the motley. And blood was for the spilling, wasn't it? The others' blood.

"*Know sumptin, Katie?*" said Josie. Mystery cloaked her voice.

"*Wha?*" said Katie. "*Wha's id all abouta?*" Josie could be a bore.

Katie tossed back her abundant tresses and adjusted her spectacles. She tossed her head about like a bull facing a matador.

"*Great for the dandruff*" she said, as she brushed her shoulders.

"*The Head and Shoulders*", she added. "*Anyway, wha abouta?*"

"*Maybe . . . we should do a runner?*" offered Josie.

"*You're on to sumptin. I know yous are.*" Katie sounded distracted. "*Go on. Let it rip.*"

"*Sure?*", Josie asked. "*Sure, I'm sure.*" Katie pinged a dandruff flake on her shoulder with an index finger. "*See that?*" she asked. "*Practice.*"

"*Sit down and listen*", said Josie. "*This is serious.*" She stopped before asking, "*Why don't you use Head and Shoulders all the time?*"

"*How laconic*", thought Katie. "*Arrah, will you go on, outa that?*" Katie was getting addled. She'd had enough of Josie.

"*Riddle me this*", said Josie. "*You know Jamesy Mitchell—*"

"*Course. One a the untouchables.*" "*Great one for the parties.*" "*I know. Loyalist parties.*"

"*Great*", said Katie. "*Those mighty Portadown boys.*"

They both contemplated things. Momentarily. A reflective pause.

"*Yes*", sighed Josie. "*South Armagh*". She had a wistful look. "*Those wonderful evenings!*" Now, her words were full of double meanings.

"*How beautiful! I mean awful: You know . . .*" (She tailed off.) She had that wistful look. Again. "*What am I saying?*", she asked, quietly.

"*So young*", she thought. "*No, not the drumlins. Fields so neat. The smell of new-mown hay. And the gelignite, of course. So quiet. A stranger would resemble a Martian. Oh, yes, those Portadown boys. Something about those Midnight Runners. So attractive.*"

To kill for our cause. Not to die for, now. Just to kill for." She'd let it go at that.

But Katie was getting confused. Who's up for whom? Josie was giving her the needle. Josie could go on a bit.

"*They spent a lotta time in Glennane, rightyo*", said Josie.

"*They did and all*", agreed Katie. "*Sure Mitch was one of their own.*"

"*There were more bombs coming and going there than a British Army munitions factory*", she added.

"*Detonators included*", not to be outgunned, as it were.

"*More RUC men than you'd see in the Kesh*", said Josie.

"*Whence the immunity?*" "*Or impunity?*"

"*The Jackal was a frequent guest.*" "*A neighbour of Andy's. Both had that Lurgan bond.*"

"*Bang on. Pardon the pun. Another Midnight Runner.*"

"*The greatest.*"

They were lost in contemplation. Their hush was respectful, suffused in awe. His killing-power was unequalled, the same Jackal.

"*He brought the three bombs down to Dublin in his chicken-truck. Right through the heart of the Republic. Under their noses!*"

"*Their noses were up in the air*", suggested Katie, sniffing about.

"*All the way. Down from Glennane, across the Boyne, into the city*", continued Josie, as Katie sneezed. "*I'm like Jimmy Durante*", she said.

To page 28, column 2

Does It Up

Stack ?

NORMANS IN IRELAND

For some years past I have been actively searching for any information about the headland and village of Knockadoon near Ballymacoda in Co. Cork. Knockadoon is a prominent headland between Ardmore Head and Ballycotton. About 600 metres off the headland of Knockadoon is Capel Island.

It is not as if you would miss Knockadoon. Anyone who has been in Youghal has seen Knockadoon—it embraces the southern side of Youghal Bay. There is what looks like a Dún on Knockadoon and it is a prominent feature, but it is a Signal Tower, one of the many built on headlands by the English to give warning of any possible French or Spanish invasion two hundred years ago.

Surprisingly, Knockadoon is not mentioned in P.W. Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, nor is it in the otherwise excellent index of *Irish Place Names* in *Bibliography of Publications on Irish Place Names*. Perhaps it is in the ongoing publication of *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Place Names*, but at present I do not have access to the most recent Fascicle which may mention Knockadoon.

Knockadoon maybe of some importance because it is the only Irish village due south of Youghal. And, in the poem *Song of Dermot and the Earl*, Maurice Regan, King Dermot Mac Murrrough's personal assistant, translator and advisor, says that, after visiting the Bishop of Lismore, Dermot and his entourage sailed down the River Blackwater to join a ship at a place called Corcoran due south of Youghal and they sailed from there to Bristol in England. Maurice Regan was there on the day but that does not prevent much discussion and obfuscation by academic historians these days about the location of 'Corcoran'.

The only place due south of Youghal is the Knockadoon headland and so the place of embarkation must have been there. There is in the locality a townland called Corcoran: it is a few miles inland and perhaps it was where the party stayed before embarkation. Goddard Henry Orpen agrees with my interpretation in his book *Ireland Under the Normans 1169-1333*. Although I do not agree with him

on many things, including the falsity in the very title of his massive book—Ireland was never under the Normans—only nominally did Henry II allocate great swathes of Ireland to his noblemen who were instructed to conquer and colonise their allocated areas. But it never happened. The Normans, it is calculated, never numbered more than 2,000 in Ireland and they invested Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Youghal, Kinsale, Limerick and Galway and some inland towns such as Trim, Co. Meath—where it is said they built the biggest castle in Ireland.

But Norman rule was largely ineffective over the country as a whole, enabling A.G. Otway-Ruthven to quote in her book *History of Medieval Ireland* from the Calendar of Close Roles 1364-'68 that:

"the lordship of Ireland was for the most part destroyed and lost".

The Gaelic way of life and the Brehon Courts lasted well into the 16th century. They were much reduced by the Elizabethan Conquest: the brutality by the English was horrendous—they endeavoured to kill and wipe out all those Irish who spoke Gaelic and who did not dress in the English manner.

King Dermot MacMurrrough was driven out from his Kingdom of Leinster and sailed for aid to Bristol on 1st August 1166, together with an entourage of sixty three people. He had been driven out by his great enemy O'Rourke, and by Rory O'Connor who wanted to be, and was later, Ard Rí of Ireland. Who could blame Dermot for seeking aid? A few years earlier Dermot had lent his fleet of ships to Henry II and so Dermot was owed a favour and now he was calling it in by going to Bristol, where he had a friend Robert Fitzharding, who fixed contacts for Dermot. King Dermot was acting in a very logical way to raise an army.

However, he got a bad and dark image from the Four Masters, who took the view that Dermot had introduced the foreigners to Ireland. Yes, he did, but it was under severe provocation. And of course, the foreigners would have attacked Ireland in any event because that was their policy after they had settled England and Wales. The Normans already had a hold on the ports, which were settled by the Vikings, their cousins, with whom they had many common relationships. The Irish had always been travellers and Dermot had contacts in Wales and England and France through the comings and goings of the nobility and clergy. And so it was most natural for Dermot to call on his allies when he was in difficulty. This had always been the custom.

CORMAC MAC AIRT

King Cormac's father was King Art, Ard Rí of Ireland, who was killed about 195 AD at the battle of Mágh Mucruimhé by Mac Con who was King Art's sister's son. MacCon was a Munster Prince who had been banished out of Munster by King Oilill Olíum of Munster. MacCon went to Britain where he raised an army with which he sailed around the South coast of Ireland and to Galway Bay where they landed. They plundered around in West Connaught. The Ard Rí, King Art, mustered all the forces he could manage and, together with MacCon's six step-brothers (sons of Oilill Olíum), he advanced on MacCon's army and they fought the Battle of Mágh Macruimhe where King Art was killed. Whereupon MacCon usurped the throne and set himself up as Ard Rí.

King Art's son Cormac was a young boy at the time and he had to be hidden by his mother's friends. However, when he grew up, he was encouraged to challenge MacCon at Tara. Cormac went to Tara where at first he was not recognised.

But one day, when MacCon was sitting in judgement on law cases—as it was a King's duty to do—a case came for hearing concerning a widow's sheep which had strayed onto the Queen's lawn and were caught grazing there. The Queen had the sheep captured by her men. The widow sued for the return of her sheep. Evidence was heard and MacCon decided in his wife's favour and that the sheep be awarded to his wife. Hearing this, Cormac Mac Airt spoke up and said it was unjust that the sheep be forfeited. He said the sheep were grazing the Queen's lawn and that, as the sheep were grazing the fleece of the land, then the sheep should only have their fleeces forfeited. Everyone hailed this as a wise and king-like judgement.

MacCon ordered the arrest of Cormac but the people present surrounded Cormac and protected him. As a consequence, MacCon was deposed and exiled and Cormac Mac Airt was made Ard Rí of Ireland in the year 227 AD. And there followed one of the most peaceful and prosperous reigns in Ireland. You can read a lot more about it in the *Book of Ballymote*.

CENSORSHIP AND REVISIONISM

The reason I quoted the foregoing examples of Irish history is to show that Irish history is well documented for two thousand years or more. The ancient Irish books and manuscripts were actively destroyed, suppressed and carried off by the English colonisers of Ireland.

Fortunately, the Irish were such prolific

writers that a great number of books and manuscripts survive in libraries all over Europe—Rome, Prague, Milan, Madrid, London's British Library, Oxford's Bodleian Library, the Stowe Collection and other collections in private ownership, the Bibliotheque National in Paris, the Burgundian Library in Brussels (where much of the old Louvain Library ended up). There is a very valuable (to historians) Library in the Monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland and the Library of the great Monastery of Bobbio is now in Milan.

Trinity College, Dublin and the Royal Irish Academy have very commendably sought to repair some of the damage caused to Irish cultural heritage by their ancestors.

They have bought in and are conserving many rare and precious books and manuscripts. The Irish Text Society and particularly Eamonn De Búrca have done Ireland some great services by reprinting and saving Keating's *History*, O'Currey's *Customs and Manners of the Irish*, and the various *Annals*, along with Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's enormous *Book of Irish Genealogies*. And in 1905 Alphonse Picard et Fils of Paris published Ulysse Chevalier's two volumes of *Repertoire des Sources Historiques du Moyen Age: Bio- Bibliographie. Nouvelle Edition Refondue*, which refers to and has biographies of all the main people in the Middle Ages in Ireland, including St. Declan of Ardmore, St. Ciarán, St. Colmán of Cloyne, and sixteen other Colmáns etc. etc. A real substantial work of scholarship.

With all the foregoing enormous extent of Irish mediaeval writings—how is it that academic people in the English language can get away without mentioning Irish mediaeval cultural and historical sources?

How does a publisher such as Routledge publish *Who's Who in the Middle Ages*, edited by Richard K. Emmerson? How did Emmerson get to be Executive Director of the Medieval Academy of America and why is he allowed to be editor of *Speculam: A Journal of Medieval Studies*? How could the University of Pennsylvania Press stand over its *The Apocalyptic Imagination in Medieval Literature* when Richard Emmerson was one of the co-authors?

In over 1000 pages in two volumes of *Who's Who in the Middle Ages* I could find **no reference** to any of the thousands of Irish mediaeval persons of importance. Either, Emmerson is ignorant of the very great contribution made by the Irish to mediaeval literature and history or he is an anti-Irish propagandist. In either case, he is transmitting ignorance to those who try

to gain education from his efforts. It is one thing to warp Irish history but it is something else altogether to try to obliterate it. And it is stupid too, because the Irish legacy will not disappear unless all the libraries of Europe are demolished. It has survived so much and will again one day become important to those who seek the truth about our world.

Michael Stack ©

Andy's Midnight Runners

continued

"You got it", said Josie. She knew she had the nose for things.

"Unseen", suggested Katie. "No. Not your nose. The bombers!"

"Like a phantom", said Josie.

"And what about? So what?"

"From Glennane down to The Coachman's Inn, in North Dublin city. No security. Nothing. Wide open. A free ride. Not even a stable door. The Jackal knew. He was no patsy. He knew he had clearance." Josie was contemplating her ring-finger, glancing at Katie.

"You mean . . . ?" Katie was suggesting, looking dubious. Looking askance.

"Yes." There came finality with Josie's reply. "That's it. Believe me."

Silence reigned. They contemplated. Some operator, The Jackal.

"All the way?" wondered Katie, finding it hard to believe. "So simple."

"All the way" agreed Josie, as she put her rosary beads back into her purse.

"What was it all about? Katie was looking about, seeking reason.

"That's what Andy should ask", said Josie. "That's what he's supposed to do?"

Josie continued: "Right down into the pub car-park at the Airport. There to give out the three bombs like plates of bacon and egg. And off into the city and the target streets. To bomb the place to pieces. Clockwork. In and out."

Kate replied: "How beautiful! I mean awful: in broad daylight. Imagine."

Josie said, "like going through a gaping hole."

Josie and Katie were sitting back. Reclining. Lost in contemplation. Wonder. Awe. It was hard to take in. What would Handy Andy do? What could he do? Had not arrangements been made? What could Andy's Midnight Runners do? Such a conundrum. A puzzle.

Just ask yourself, they thought. Understandings had been developed. Evolved. Anyway—heaven's sake—it was part of the arrangement. Yes. The before and the after. And Andy. Was he in the before or the after? Or the now? In fact, was Andy the why? That was getting to the nub of it. Was Andy the why? Was he an innocent abroad? Surrounded by plotters. As things once were. As they remained. As they would remain. Were the Midnight Runners to be all

spancelled? And he seemed so serene. But serenity uncovered may reveal horror. Some day, he might sit up with a jolt. "Am I a patsy? Have they taken me for a ride?" In consolation, he feels for his wallet and wonders at its density. "Ah, well." He thinks, "The Mainland. That's where it's at." But a niggling thought lingered. "Is this another crowd of cute hoors?" Trying me out. "Will they set me up?"

He banged his mahogany desk. He'd been warned. Taken as a patsy, if you like. A shiver ran down his spine. He took out his wallet and carefully took note. There was a knock on the door, startling him.

"Who's there?" He was jumpy, alright.

"Pandy, sir", a voice called out. "Your Pandy's ready, sir."

A big, broad flunkey entered. "By the way, sir, there was no entrant for the Rose of Tralee from the Shankill." He placed the plate of Pandy on the desk, bowed and scraped, and departed, as Andy watched. The flunkey added "never", as he left. "Pandy", mused Andy. "My mammy never gave me any Pandy."

He was preparing a paper. He was meeting a delegation. He had a good realisation of money. What it could do. What effects it had on events. What it could procure. And, of course, mankind. What money does to man. And what man would do for money. *Justice for the Forgotten* could elaborate.

It was all about money. He knew it instinctively. Even Andy's Midnight Runners. They had a price. Everyone has a price. He lifted his eyebrows. *Jump. When I say 'jump', don't jump: just ask 'How High!'*

He was digging into the Pandy, licking his chops. "More salt". He shook the salt-cellar. Licking his lips. "Delicious. Effing delicious!" He lifted the phone and called "More Pandy." He was wondering at the ingredients: boiled potatoes, butter, salt and onions from the Maharees, well chopped. "Must remember. Never had anything like that in Armagh." He was polishing off the first plate, wiping his face with the back of his hand. "Effing delicious." He looked at his watch. The night was closing in. Time for Andy's Midnight Runners. He adjusted his Sam Browne, letting it out a notch, belched and made for the WC. The toilet flushed, gurgling.

There was a knock upon the door. A voice said, "Your Pandy, sir! And there's someone here to see you. A politician wants you inside.

Críoch.

John Morgan (Lt. Col. retired)

NOTE: Details are contained in my book, *The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings. 1974*, with Foreword and Afterword by Angela Clifford (published by Belfast Historical and Educational Society, 2013).

WWI continued

grown from a mere 133,000 officers and men to 4.5 million, a force that proved indispensable in what was primarily a victory for the British Empire and its expansion.

BALFOUR DECLARATION (1917)

"The promise of a Jewish homeland in Palestine brought Britain the support of the Zionist movement, which was of particular value in bringing America into the war against Germany.

"The British problem with the Jews came to a head with the necessity of bringing the United States into the Great War—which England had bungled and was seeing it could not win with its current allies.

"At that point, the Zionists got their chance. They began to convince the British that the only way to induce the American President to come into the War was to secure the co-operation of Zionist Jews by promising them Palestine, enlisting and mobilising the powerful forces of Zionist Jews in America and elsewhere in favour of the Allies on a *quid pro quo* contractual basis" (*Centenary of the Balfour Declaration 1917: Why did they do it?*, Pat Walsh, Athol Books, 2017).

Give us Palestine and we'll deliver the US was the Zionist cry!

RADICAL PURITANS

"The famous historian, J. R. Green in his *History of the English People*, described how England had become in Elizabeth's reign the 'People of the Book'—meaning the people of the Bible.

"The Bible played a large part in moulding English nationalism after England became the first modern nation-state. It was the Old Testament and the Wars of the Lord in which the Chosen People would 'smite the Philistines and Amalkites' that captured the imagination of the newly emerging Puritan middle class" (*ibid*).

The Old Testament Bible contained a fundamentalist view of God that later inspired Reformationist England to go forth and remake the world. And they sure did!

The Pilgrim Fathers the first settlers of Plymouth (Massachusetts), the first permanent colony in New England (1620). The members of the English Separatist Church, a radical faction of Puritanism, composed a third of the 102 colonists who sailed aboard the *Mayflower* to North America, and they became the dominant group in the colony. The settlers were later collectively referred to as the Forefathers.

Like their almighty leader Cromwell, the continued the task of genocidal work of wiping out the native races of the American continent or anything that stood in the way of the Chosen People: Irish, Germans or Chinese!

The "Pilgrim Spirit" more even than the massive interests of American capitalism inspired the Bible loving President Wilson to go to war for the British Empire, conscious that a new vibrant offspring of that Empire would also be taking its place amongst the powers of the world.

A new biography of the 28th American President [Wilson] depicts him as an idealist Democrat whose moral and political influence still reverberates today. *Haaretz* newspaper [Israel] interviewed its author, A. Scott Berg.

Question: In late 1917, the British Government asked President Wilson to support a declaration of sympathy with the Zionist movement.

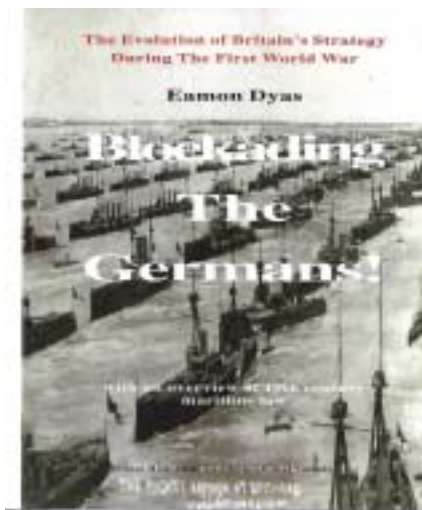
Answer: "And he did. Wilson supported the Balfour Declaration—the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.' He did so despite the advice of his most trusted confidante,

Col. Edward House, who acted as America's first national security adviser. You must remember that, at the time, the US was an extremely anti-Semitic country, so expressing support for the Balfour Declaration was a very courageous act.

"Wilson was the most Christian president the US has ever had. He was the son and grandson of Presbyterian ministers; he prayed on his knees twice a day and read the Bible every night. But he was also the most pro-Jewish president the US has ever had. He appointed the first Jew to the Supreme Court, Louis Brandeis, a fervent Zionist, who counselled Wilson about the Balfour Declaration, and who would go on to champion an individual's right to privacy and free speech. He brought the financier Bernard Baruch into government, and he appointed Henry Morgenthau as the ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during the First World War.

"Earlier, as President of Princeton University, Wilson appointed the first Jew to the faculty, and as Governor of New Jersey, prior to becoming President, he appointed the first Jew to the state's Supreme Court" (*Haaretz*, the online edition of *Haaretz* Newspaper in Israel, 25.9.2013).

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Also: *Irish Political Review* on Woodrow Wilson (*Labour Comment*, March/April, 2008).

Also: *The Confessions of a Reformer* by Frederic C. Howe published by Kent State University Press, 1988, from whom it can be bought. Howe's study of Germany appeared in James Connolly's *The Workers Republic* throughout 1915-16.

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WWI continued

Germany. Whether Wilson liked it or not, the US economy was becoming wedded to the fate of the Allied cause. Were the Allies to lose, what would become of the loans? Increasingly, it came to seem as if US prosperity or financial disaster hung on Allied victory or defeat.

US President Woodrow Wilson loved England and everything English but, in the end, England broke Woodrow Wilson's heart. England betrayed every value and principle of civil liberty and democracy, tenets which poor Wilson believed were the soul that made England a superior civilisation amongst nations instead of "A wolf in lamb's skin" (see *Labour Comment*, March, 2008)

Wilson made apparent efforts to avoid US entry into the war by bringing the war itself to an end. Early in 1916, he sent his closest adviser, Edward M. House, to London and Paris to sound out Allied leaders about the possibility of the United States acting as a mediator between the belligerents. This resulted in a memorandum drawn up with British Foreign Secretary Sir Edward Grey on 22nd February 1916, which stipulated that the United States might enter the war if Germany rejected President Wilson's efforts at mediation, but that the right to initiate US mediation rested with the government of Great Britain, not Wilson.

It was a monumentally ambiguous document—on the one hand a genuine effort at bringing about binding mediation, but, on the other hand, a threat of US entry into the war. As the 1916 elections approached, Wilson decided to suspend this 'peace initiative' because he perceived that the threat of entry would conflict with his "He kept us out War" platform. In any event, Germany had at this time agreed not to resume unrestricted submarine warfare.

Wilson did not resume any attempt at mediation until 18th December 1916, when he invited the Allies and the Germans to clear the air by stating their "war aims". This, however, resulted in nothing productive. On 22nd January 1917, Wilson appealed for international conciliation based on achieving "peace without victory" on any side. War-weary Britain confidentially communicated its willingness to accept Wilson's mediation, as did Austria-Hungary. But Germany rejected the

American President as a mediator. Undoubtedly Mr. Grey made sure the American offer was couched in such terms that Germany had little alternative but to reject.

US "ARMED NEUTRALITY"?

On 31st January 1917, Germany announced the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare (its response to Britain blockading import of foodstuffs and other essentials): it had restricted this activity in the hope of bringing about a peace deal. On 3rd February 1917, after a US warship, the *Housatonic*, was torpedoed and sunk by a U-boat, Wilson severed diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. Later in the month, on February 26th, he asked Congress for the authority to arm US-flagged merchant vessels and to take other military measures to protect American commerce. He called his new policy "armed neutrality".

It was the first official step in what had become an ongoing, if unofficial, military *preparedness* movement. Until Germany reinstated unrestricted submarine warfare, Wilson was careful to meet all calls for military *preparedness* with the response that America would remain the "champion of peace". Even after severing diplomatic relations with Germany he declared, "I am not now preparing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it".

Yet as early as the outbreak of war in Europe in 1914, such prominent individuals as former President Theodore Roosevelt, financier J.P. Morgan, and principal Wilson rival Senator Henry Cabot Lodge called for US military preparedness. After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, former army Chief of Staff, Leonard Wood established the first so-called "businessmen's military training camps", in Plattsburg, New York. By the Summer of 1916, well before the Selective Draft Act was signed in May 1917, some 40,000 young men had been put through basic training in similar camps on a strictly unofficial basis, not dissimilar to the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1912—although the training was administered by personnel of the regular United States Army. And, while he avoided direct support of the "Plattsburg Movement", Wilson did actively encourage American industry and commerce to assume a war footing.

Although White House logs do not record his visit, Frank Cobb of the *New York World* reported talking with his old friend President Wilson on 1st April 1917. Cobb later wrote that he had "never seen him so worn down". Wilson, Cobb recalled, told him that entering the war would attack

the soul of America:

"The spirit of ruthless brutality will enter the very fibre of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man in the street. Conformity will be the only virtue. And every man who refuses to conform must pay the penalty."

Nevertheless, the next day, the President sat down to write his war message, a request that Congress declare war on Germany and the other "Central Powers".

Before going to war, Woodrow Wilson went to war with himself. He had resolutely refused to prepare the nation militarily. Indeed, some historians believe that, even as he delivered his 32 minute war message to Congress on 2nd April 1917, he hoped the United States would not actually have to send troops to Europe. The mere threat, perhaps, would be sufficient to end the war. If this was indeed his hope, he wasn't alone. On April 6th, after hearing testimony that the military might need appropriations for an army in France, Senator Thomas S. Martin of Virginia, Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, exclaimed: "Good Lord! You're not going to send soldiers over there, are you?"

WILSON'S 'GETHSEMANE'

Wilson's Personal Secretary, Joseph Tumulty, recalled that, when the President returned to the White House after delivering the war speech, he slumped in a chair at the table in the empty cabinet room. Wilson looked at Tumulty and, reflecting on the thunderous applause that had greeted his war message, said, "Think what it was they were applauding. My message today was a message of death for our young men. How strange it seems to applaud that."

Wilson may or may not have been "worn down" by public opinion and accounts of German 'atrocities' etc. On the other hand, he ignored Britain's flagrant violation of the international law of the sea and the internationally-accepted conventions of war in its maintenance of a naval blockade aimed at starving the German civilian population.

By the time he asked Congress for a declaration of war, he had clearly also decided that war had a major advantage for the United States. It would transform the nation into a formidable world power. It would give him a seat at the table of other Imperial powers.

By November, 1918, the US Army had

continued on page 25

WWI continued

Army was woefully unprepared, and a war in which 50,300 American soldiers were killed and 198,059 were wounded during some two hundred days of combat. In addition, 62,668 succumbed to disease, and in 1930, the US Veterans Bureau estimated that war-related maladies and wounds actually raised the total cost to 460,000 US military dead.

It was a high price to pay even for an unambiguous victory. For a victory that in essence, did not stick—that, in fact, brought on another, even costlier war—it was a cataclysmic price. What led Wilson to decide on a risk with such stakes?

WILSON: THE CONFEDERATE

Thomas Woodrow Wilson was an unlikely warrior and, indeed, an unlikely US President. He was born in 1856 in the Shenandoah Valley town of Staunton, Virginia, the grandson of a Co. Tyrone Presbyterian. His father was a Presbyterian Minister and Chaplain to the Confederate forces in the US Civil War. Wilson graduated from Princeton University, studied law at the University of Virginia and practised for a time in Atlanta.

Bored with the legal profession he entered academia, becoming a professor and author. Amongst his publications was a five-volume *History of the American People* (1902). He attained the Presidency of Princeton in 1902.

The Democratic Party offered him the 1910 nomination for Governor of New Jersey. Elected, he introduced sweeping reforms into the New Jersey Government. This earned him a national reputation which won for him a hard-fought nomination as Democratic presidential candidate in 1912. He defeated the Republican nominee, William Howard Taft, and the third-party candidate, former President Theodore Roosevelt.

He was the first President from an academic background and although a fine orator, his manner cool and aloof. He quickly set out to introduce serious reforms into the US Government: progressive income tax; the Federal Reserve Act; the Federal Trade Commission Act, the Clayton Anti-Trust Act; a Farm Loan Act; Labour reform legislation; and a Child Labour Act, won his much public acclaim.

THE 'GREAT' WAR

Wilson was two years into his term as President when Britain declared war on

Germany on 4th August 1914. The entire world, including the US, would hear accounts of the "*rape of Belgium*", and other stories that, as in any war, had elements of truth that were amplified manifold by Britain's highly effective propaganda machine—which told tales liberally laced with rapes and the wanton bayonetting of children and babies.

The shooting war started on 29th July 1914, as Austrian artillery bombarded Belgrade, and just days later, on 4th August 1914, coinciding with the British declaration of war, President Wilson declared the absolute neutrality of the United States.

After some eight months of the war, the *Literary Digest* polled some 367 US writers and editors, of whom 105 favoured the Allies and 20 the Germans, but a substantial majority, 242 called for the continuation of absolute neutrality.

THE PROFITS OF NEUTRALITY OR "OH, WHAT A LOVELY WAR"

Neutrality, in fact, was highly profitable. As a neutral, the United States had the right to trade with all sides—and it did! Indeed, President Wilson insisted that American industry and American financial institutions do business with all sides impartially.

However, US concern was growing at the success of the German submarine campaign in which the U-boats monitored and attacked Allied shipping, essentially this was British shipping, an integral part of the largest navy ever seen. This in itself was not a violation of international law or the accepted conventions of warfare, indeed, the German U-boats surfaced to give warning before an attack, allowing passengers sufficient time to abandon ship.

The submarine campaign was a response to Britain's blockade of Germany, which intensified as the war went on—eventually bringing about the end of American trade with Germany and the severe curtailment of other neutral trade.

LUSITANIA

On 7th May 1915, the British liner *Lusitania* was torpedoed by the U-2, with the loss of 1,198 lives, including 124 Americans. The fact was that the *Lusitania* carried more than passengers. It had been built before the war along lines established by the British Admiralty, which classified it as an "auxiliary cruiser",—in both World Wars, Germany and Great Britain both used auxiliary cruisers. However, the British used armed passenger liners for protecting their shipping and also to carry military cargo—and on its fateful voyage

from New York, it carried American-made war material, including ten and a half tons of rifle cartridges, 51 tons of shrapnel shells, and a large amount of gun cotton (which explodes on contact with water). Also on board were 67 soldiers of the 90th Regiment of the British Army.

Days before the *Lusitania* sailed, the German Government secured permission from US Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan to publish in New York newspapers a notice that the ship was leaving port with six million rounds of .303 calibre rifle ammunition and a warning to potential passengers that it was therefore subject to attack.

In the American outrage that followed the sinking of the *Lusitania*, none of the British violations of international law and the rules of warfare were noted. Instead, American newspapers condemned the attack as murder pure and simple. Some prominent Americans, including Walter Hines Page, US Ambassador to Britain, called for an immediate declaration of war, lest the nation "*forfeit European respect*". Again, Secretary of State, Bryan was among the few Government officials who pointed out that the *Lusitania* had carried contraband. For his part, Wilson condemned the attack as "*unlawful and inhuman*" and sent a strongly worded diplomatic protest to the German Government on 13th May 1915. When he sent another Note on 9th June 1915—sent even after the US Customs Service had confirmed the presence of contraband onboard the *Lusitania*—Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan resigned in protest.

While Wilson's Notes were too much for Bryan, the President publicly continued to steer a neutral course, declaring in a famous speech just three days after the *Lusitania* sinking that "*there is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight*". This statement drew criticism from American war hawks, including Theodore Roosevelt, but it is undeniable that Woodrow Wilson won re-election in November, 1916 largely on the strength of his leading campaign slogan: "*He kept us out of War!*"

THE WAR DOLLARS

In the meantime, despite the President's stated policy of non-favouritism in trade, American industrialists and financiers increasingly backed the Allies while backing away from Germany. By the end of 1916, US firms had done some \$2 billion in business with the Allies and had made \$2.5 billion in loans to them—in contrast to just \$45 million loaned to

continued on page 26



'Armistice' Centenary

100 Years Ago!

(Only one quarter of English Local Authorities responded positively to an official request for special commemorations on this, the centenary of the ending of the First World War. But the Irish Government has stepped up to the mark! Here is Labour Comment's 'take'.)

WORLD WAR ONE BELLIGERENTS:

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE: (The Allies):

The British Empire (England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, Australia, India, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland); France, Japan; Italy (1915-1918); Romania (1916-1918); Portugal (1916-1918); Greece (1916/17-1918).

Associated Allies and co-belligerents:

Serbia, Belgium, Montenegro, Emirate of Asia (1915); Emirate of Nejd and Hasa (1915); Portugal (1916); Romania (1916); Hejaz (1917); Greece (1917); China (1917); Siam (1917); Brazil (1917); Albania (1918); Armenia (1918).

Co-belligerent: United State (1917-1918).

In April 1917, the United States declared war on Germany, then on Austria in December, 1917. The US did not go to war with the Ottoman Empire or Bulgaria. The US joined the Triple Entente (Allies) as a co-belligerent, due to the long-standing American opposition to formal alliances.

Three non-state combatants, which voluntarily fought with the Allies and seceded from the constituent states of the Central Powers at the end of the war, were allowed to participate as winning nations to the peace treaties: Armenian irregulars and volunteers: seceded from the Russian Empire in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution and fought against the Ottoman Empire. Polish Legions. Czechoslovak Legions: armed by France, Italy and Russia.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (Central Powers):

Quadruple Alliance were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy (until 1915), Ottoman Empire (Turkey), Bulgaria.

Co-belligerent states: Dervish State (Somali), Transvaal (Boers-South Africa), Sultanate of Darfur.

Client states: Azerbaijan (Ottoman), Belarus, Courland and Semgalia (German Possession), Crimea, Don (Russia-Anti-Bolshevik), Finland, Jabal Shammar (Middle East), Kuban (German Possession), Lithuania, Northern Caucasus (Ottoman), Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, United Baltic Duchy.

The United States entered World War 1 at a low point for the Triple Entente (Allies: GB, France and Russia) who exhausted and all but bled white by three years of

staleated slaughter, were reeling under the blows of a series of desperate German offensives. The arrival of some two million fresh troops—with millions more available after them—turned the tide by the Autumn of 1918, and President Woodrow Wilson found himself counted among the "*Fathers of Victory*".

Yet, while no one doubts that Germany was defeated in World War 1, a number of historians have challenged the simple calculus of victory versus defeat. President Wilson believed he could ensure that the 'Great' War would be the "*war to end all wars*", but, as it turned out, a defeated Germany crushed under the punitive terms of the Treaty of Versailles, became ripe for the rise of National Socialism, and the 'Great' War had to be renamed World War 1 after a second and more horrific, World War began in September, 1939. That it made World War II all but inevitable was the crowning tragic irony of the "*war to end all wars*". which had been amply tragic in itself, costing the lives of 8,020,780 soldiers and 6,642,633 civilians.

Apologists for Wilson claim that, had he attained everything he had wanted at the peace talks that led to the Versailles Treaty—but, had the Treaty been less punitive and more conciliatory and had the Senate approved membership of the United States in the League of Nations—there might not have been a World War II.

The fact remains that Woodrow Wilson decided to take the United States into the most desperate and destructive war up to that time, a war for which the American

continued on page 27

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