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The Election!

Carl Schmidt, the Nazi political theorist, said that it was essential to liberal democracy to have an enemy to crush. After 1945 he went into the service of the leading liberal democracy, on which all the others depended, and he felt at home in it.

The dependencies of the United States have been in a condition of existential unease for four years because of the election of a rogue President in the United States. Trump got himself elected by appealing to "*the deplorables*", who had been consigned to the rubbish-heap by Hilary Clinton. They were deplorable because they lacked the broad, liberal vision of destruction and creation that is required for the cosmopolitan governing of the world. They were concerned only with themselves. All they could see was that their jobs were being exported wholesale and they were being reduced to white trash.

Trump, a mere capitalist without dynastic precedents, told them he would stop the export of jobs. That irresponsible appeal to populism brought about the White Trash Presidency which for four years has been the source of existential pain for all the talented souls of the civilised world—the Free World.

Four years have passed without a state being destroyed in the interest of freedom. When did that last happen during the term of an American Presidency?

Midway through Trump's Presidency, BBC Books published a book by its North American Editor, Jon Sopel: *If Only They Didn't Speak English: Notes From Trump's America*.

It comes with a recommendation from Emily Maitlis, the main presenter of BBC's Newsnight: "*Jon Sopel nails it. There is probably no more foreign land than America right now. An entertaining stock-take of how we got there.*"

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A Social Democratic Budget?

In beginning to implement the message of the 2020 General Election, Budget 2021 represents a further significant move away from neo-liberal economics towards a new, as yet undefined, form of social democracy. As the pandemic, understandably, continues to preoccupy public debate, this shift has not received the attention it deserves; it is being noted by commentators here and there, but the actions of the Government are not informed by a long-term vision and prospects for a coherent national consensus remain far off.

Fine Gael Finance Minister Pascal Donohue's latest Budget has been framed with an eye to looming icebergs, like the cost of pandemic-related lockdowns, which may continue into 2021; the possible collapse of EU-UK talks over Brexit; and, to a much lesser extent, the threat to Irish Corporation Tax revenue posed by international efforts to tax the digital multi-nationals.

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'She is a Protestant as well'

pamphlet review

Niall Meehan's new pamphlet, published by the Aubane Historical Society, looks at accounts of the 1921 IRA execution of Kate Carroll in County Monaghan. It analyses research by Terence Dooley, Fearghal McGarry, Anne Dolan, Diarmaid Ferriter, Eunan O'Hanlon, Brian Hanley, and Tim Wilson.

During the 1990s Irish historiography,

in its 'revisionist' variant, made a startling discovery: the IRA systematically persecuted Protestants during the 1919-22 Irish War of Independence.

Since it was not previously a feature of historical writing, the 'persecuted-Protestant' field was portrayed as something not merely new but previously hidden by 'Catholic-nationalists'. The fact of

its emergence into the light of academic consideration demonstrated to polite society that, as TCD's Anne Dolan put it, "fester[ing] under the quite sanitised surface of Irish nationalism" were what "may have been little more than a sequence of dirty deeds".

Ireland had been seen as a country subject to British sectarian, colonial and imperialist aggression, a rulership that included war, dispossession, and famine. Then,

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Regretfully, due to pressure of space, we are unable to carry
Part 3 of **In Defence Of Dorothy Macardle**, by Dave Alvey,
this month.

The **Es Ahora** and **Does It Stack Up** columns will be back next month.

Labour Comment, edited by **Pat Maloney:**
Thoughts On Covid-19
(back page)

A blurb explains:

"You see, if only they didn't speak English in America, then we'd treat it was a foreign country—and probably understand it a lot better."

England has come to hate the vigorous offspring that saved it in 1918 from defeat in the war that it declared on Germany and Turkey in 1914, and in 1945 from being an offshore island of a Soviet Europe in the outcome of its second war on Germany.

It has been totally dependent on the USA since 1945 but Presidents before Trump have been kind to it, acknowledging a kind of hereditary debt to it. Trump is the first President who came directly out of business activity in the raw capitalism that has made the United States what it is. He appears to be entirely unaware of any sense of debt to Britain.

Winston Churchill said his purpose was to ensure the continuation of the British Empire. He came to Office as the British and French Armies, which had declared war on Germany, were being

defeated by the German response. He brought the remnant of his Army home from the battlefield, but refused to call off the war on terms which would have left the British Empire intact. He then set about spreading the war, and did it with such success that Britain was reduced to a minor party in it, and the Empire was brought to collapse. Then, after the War, he reconceived British affairs under the category of "*the English-speaking peoples*". But, forty years before that, the very influential Protestant editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, W.T. Stead, had published *The Americanisation Of The World*. He saw the United States as the product of the fundamentalist Protestantism that had to escape from England in order to flourish. And, in its flourishing, it had superseded England. The essential Biblicalist England had become America.

England did not welcome being saved, and bankrupted, by its offspring in its last two World Wars, but it was only with the shock given to its illusions by the arrival

of Trump at the White House that it felt free to express its hatred. Under the Kennedy dynasty and the Clinton dynasty it could console itself that it was Athens to America's Rome—the source of its culture and its wisdom if not of its raw power.

It is now looking forward to the end of the nightmare and the return of illusion with the Presidential Election.

For the BBC the Election has been the main news after the Virus. Licensed commercial television has gone one step further. Channel 4 has participated in the Election. It has canvassed door to door against Trump on the ground in the USA. It got a copy of the Republican Party's *Canvassers' Notes* for the 2016 Election. It found that the electorate had been divided into four segments: Clinton supporters, Trump supporters, a segment that was there to be won, and a segment that there was no hope of winning. Its policy for the latter section, largely made up of black voters, was to deter them from voting for Clinton. And Channel 4 reasoned to its own satisfaction that to try to dissuade electors who certainly would not vote for you from voting against you was to subvert democracy.

It called that tactic *Voting Prevention*. So it went around the streets of various cities, confronting identifiable electors with the Republican Party's assessment of them.

These confrontations were a big part of Channel 4 News every night for a week or more. But the results were disappointing. The canvassing notes were mostly accurate, and those who had been assessed as unwinnable by the Republican Party had difficulty in seeing anything wrong with the practice.

Channel 4 also confronted Republican Party activists with the Notes, only to find that the practice was seen as normal electioneering. All the Republican spokesmen they met were black. One of them explained patiently that it was the duty of an elector in a democracy to make up his own mind about voting.

In the first week the counter-canvassing was done by Krishnan Guru-Murthy, who had usually been a studio presenter on the News. He was replaced by a high-profile journalist, Matt Frei. The following discussion was broadcast on October 22nd. The Channel 4 case about the subversion of democracy by Voting Suppression was put by Frei to Sean P. Jackson, who was described as Black Republican Caucus of Florida:

Jackson commented:

"So you know what our deterrence was? Our deterrence was deterring black voters from voting for Hilary Clinton. You know why? Because Hillary Clinton was the one who went out and, out of her own mouth, called black men "super-predators". And so we wanted to make sure that we deterred every black voter humanly possible from voting for Hillary Clinton, whether that meant coming to vote for us or it meant them staying home. We wanted to make sure that they did not vote for Hillary Clinton... And we have made black unemployment the lowest in the history of this country. We have increased, restored, and made permanent NAACP funding.

C4: But the vast majority of black voters in America, men and women, tend to vote democrat.

Jackson: They do tend to vote Democrat.

C4: So it would be in your interest to not have them vote in the greatest possible numbers.

Jackson: No, it's in our interest to begin educating and showing and teaching them why their vote for the Democratic Party has been taken advantage of for the past 60 years.

C4: ...Those black voters who didn't show up... allowed him to win this state.

Jackson: If you want to look at it that way, that may very well be the case —

C4: — you agree with that.

Jackson: Well, why not? I'm going to tell you why. Donald Trump was a very unconventional candidate. And for some folks—if you start talking about very strong devout black Christians—they're not going to like some of the things that Donald Trump has said and done, and so they're not going to go along with him, there's no chance in hell. But then, at the same time, they're not going to go along with Hillary Clinton. And so at that point you have some black folks who feel that they have nobody to vote for.

C4: Is this the greatest democracy in the world?

Jackson: 1,000%, regardless of who the President is.

C4: So is it not odd that in the greatest democracy on earth, as you call it, you are trying to prevent people, deter them, from exercising their democratic right to vote?

Jackson: No. If we're talking about 2016, what we were trying to do is to, again, help people to understand —

C4: — And if the result of that

Insights Into Azeri Culture!

The Armenian/Azerbaijan War has been in the news. It is known that the Armenians are Christians and the Azerbaijanis are Moslem. What is less well known is one of the more interesting things about the Azerbaijanis: their consciousness of a pre-Islamic Christianity. They see themselves as Albanian Christians who were Islamized by the Arab conquests. One of the oldest Christian churches in the world is in Azerbaijan and well preserved.

They accuse the Russians of forcibly incorporating the remaining Christians into the Gregorian Armenian Church to bulk up their colony in the 1830s. They also have a Zoroastrian background from Iran and the Nowruz holiday is their central social event. This is also pre-Islamic.

When the Ayatollah tried to end it in Iran, the 20 million Azeris refused to cooperate and he backed off. Baku also has the *lifting of the veil statue* showing an Azeri woman throwing off her veil and exposing her breasts, which must come as a great shock to Arab visitors. You also see cartoons of Azeri women kicking Iranian mullahs up the arse in many places of Baku.

They are a very interesting people, the Azerbaijanis, and the West has no understanding of them.

Pat Walsh

understand was them not showing up at the polls at all, that's OK?

Jackson: If they so choose not to turn up at the polls at all, that's their prerogative. We can't control it. What we can do is given them the facts. And the facts are that Hillary Clinton was horrible for the black community and that Donald Trump could have been the saving grace. And he has proved to be the saving grace.

...

C4: So why do 8 out of 10 black Americans still think Donald Trump is a racist?

Jackson: Because the President has had some gaffes himself, some blunders, just some stupid comments himself that should never come out of his mouth that automatically make people think that he's a racist."

On October 14th the black Civil Rights leader, the Rev. Al Sharpton, was interviewed at length, on Russia Today's 'Going Underground' programme, by Afshin Rattans, about a book he has just published, *Rise Up: Confronting A Country At The Grassroots*. The well-informed interviewing that is characteristic of that programme can be found nowhere else in the British/Irish media.

Shipton agreed that the Democratic Party took the black population for granted as a voting resource, and that complacency had set in in that relationship despite the horrific consequences for the black community of the Clinton Administration,

particularly with the Crime Bill. But still the only thing to do was support the Democrats. Trump was a racist. He had mixed with Trump socially. He did not deny that there was nothing racist about Trump in social relations, but he was a racist because he had emphasised law and order in the Black Lives Matter confrontations.

He had been sitting alongside Harvey Weinstein at the 2016 Clinton Election Night dinner, but did not think Weinstein's fate would have been different if Hillary had won.

He agreed that the Clinton foreign policy had been horrific. And, while it was true that Obama had begun the practice of caging Latin Americans who crossed the Border, that was no justification for Trump continuing the practice.

He agreed that Kamala Harris had a highly dubious political past, and that there were grounds for black apathy about politics. But change will come. And anyway you just can't give up.

He described himself as a tree-shaker. He was an agitator who stirred things up. Shaking the tree caused the fruit to fall. It was up to others to make the jam.

He said at one point that what he aimed for was not perfection but liberation.

What does liberation mean for the black population that was wrenched out of Africa and planted by Britain as a slave population in North America?

Slavery was abolished a century and a half ago as a tactic in the Civil War. Lincoln

intended that the Emancipated slaves be sent home—but they were no longer Africans. They had become Americans.

An element in Congress adopted the policy of establishing them in power in some of the defeated Confederate States. The Ku Klux Klan was formed to prevent that by means of white terror. The great Democratic Party President, Woodrow Wilson, forty years later, in his capacity as a historian, hailed the KKK as the saviour of the Union by preventing the establishment of black States. And later as President he premiered in the White House the film *The Birth Of A Nation*, which features the KKK in a heroic role.

An effective system of black subjection without legal slavery lasted for a hundred years after emancipation.

President Lyndon Davies Johnson—"Hey, hey, LBJ/How many kids did you kill today?" [a slogan of the Vietnam War, ed.]—took Federal action to break up some apartheid policies. It was necessary that the black population should become an active element in the state which was asserting its supremacy in the world by war.

What is now called racial prejudice was ingrained in white America—actually, White Anglo-Saxon Protestant [WASP] America.

Catholics were half way to being blacks. Just look at the mess they had made in Latin America by cross-breeding! Careful thought was given to the Irish. One opinion was that they came just within the margin of being Aryan.

When the Irish set about establishing themselves in public life as American, it was comparatively easy for them. They were not physically distinguishable, and they had a homeland—like the Italians—and the United States, in its expansion across the Continent had ceased to be English colonial and had become a land of colonies. But the Blacks were a miscellaneous body of freed slaves without the influence of an identifying homeland.

An attempt was made to get over this by the element of the Black Power movement which proposed that the nondescript Blacks of the United States should assert themselves as a nation. But, for all the New Left intellectualism of recent decades about inventing and imagining nations and traditions—including Comerford's *Imagining Ireland* and Kiberd's *Inventing Ireland*—nations are not easy to invent.

But Black Nationalism contributed to

the shaking of the tree. And no doubt there is still much shaking to be done. But what liberation involves is the making of the jam—which means becoming part of the power-structure of American politics and ceasing to be something apart from it, whether persecuted or patronised by it. And the active black presence in the structure of Trump's Republican Party, brought to light by Channel 4's patronising canvassing against Trump, is the best indication that that is beginning to happen.

Europe admires the United States—or at least is obedient to it.

European democracy was unable to survive the effects of Britain's first World War on Germany. It was re-created by the United States out of the shambles brought about by Britain's second World War on Germany. Democracy elsewhere depends on the United States. Democracy is what the US says it is. If an elected Government somewhere is decreed by it not to be a democracy and it applies sanctions against it, Europe does likewise. There is not within the 'Free World' another Power to dispute the matter with it. Democracy, as a pragmatic fact, is its creation, and it exerts control over it.

The USA is much admired—but it is what it is because of the way it came about. It could not have become what it is without conquest, genocide, slavery, racism, and the wildest form of capitalism ever seen.

Its democracy did not come about through concession to protest by a ruling class, as British democracy did. Right at the start it dismissed an attempt to establish a ruling class on the British model.

It also prevented the formation of a working class as an institutional element in political life. The plentiful existence of free land—land ethnically cleansed of natives—was the cause of this in the first instance. But it became the prevailing culture.

Obama was the first black President, but his blackness was merely racial. His heritage was not that of generations of freed slaves who had been trying for a century and a half to find a place as part of the state in which they had been freed. His origins were exotic, and perhaps that is why he was the first President to say clearly what was inherent in United States political culture from the start. He said that the United States was "the exceptional nation", and that it was "the only indispensable nation".

The meaning of that is clear enough. The United States was universally sovereign, and it could do without the rest of the human race if it was disobedient to it.

Trump's offence was that he retreated from that position. He took the United States to be a state amongst the states and asserted its distinct national interest against the interests of the others. But unfortunately the others—except for China and Russia—had learned obedience to the USA, and Trump left them leaderless.

*

In the final week of the Election campaign—as we go to print—Channel 4 has put two of its journalists on the ground canvassing for Biden: Lindsay Hilsum and Matt Frei.

On October 23rd Frei interviewed Congresswoman Donna Shalala, a Florida Democrat and a member of Clinton's Government, and put it to her urgently that their campaign against Trump needed to be revved up:

"shouldn't the Democrat campaign be much more assertive, about putting out campaigns saying 'Trump is Hugo Chavez. He's the strong man. He's trying to be like a Latin American strong man.' Why not put out that kind of message?"

She wasn't impressed. Trump would be defeated by the Virus and Money:

"I think that the fact that Joe Biden has so much money, and can literally overwhelm, in many parts of the state, the Trump ads, that that will make the difference."

Trying to take part in the American Election with a British or European political mentality is futile. America has its own way of doing things and it is puzzled by the childishness of the British mentality, when confronted with it at close quarters.

The only real remedy would be for Britain to apply to become the 51st state of the Union!

P.S.

Irish Times coverage has passionately favoured the Democrats. An Editorial on 23rd June opined: "A day never passes when the worst president in US history does not again pile egregiousness upon egregiousness..." (23.6.20). A piece on 26th October is headed, "*Biden The Anti-Venom For Trump's Poison*".

While continuing our series on events of 1920 with the help of the daily newspaper of the First Dáil, the *Irish Bulletin*, we are reducing the amount printed to just one week per month as reproducing the full monthly collection of the weekly summaries is taking up too much space at the expense of other items in *The Irish Political Review*. Instead, we are making available here just a page of the weekly summaries of events for that month, as well as all the previous instalments which have appeared in this magazine, on our dedicated Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/FrankGallagher1919/>

It should be noted that these weekly summaries are not by any means the full content of the *Irish Bulletin* which also contains daily accounts of all significant developments in the war and not just these specific events.

LEST WE FORGET (45)

Constabulary of the usurping English Government, as reported in the daily press for the week ending:-

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18th, 1920.

<u>DATE:- DECEMBER</u>	<u>13th</u>	<u>14th</u>	<u>15th</u>	<u>16th</u>	<u>17th</u>	<u>18th</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Raids:-	260	700	177	180	168	257	1742
Arrests:-	42	34	35	31	11	33	186
Court martial:-	5	2	2	11	9	11	40
Sentences:-	31	-	-	4	13	-	48
Proclamations & Suppressions:-	-	-	1	2	1	6	10
Armed Assaults:-	3	7	6	6	2	5	29
Sabotage:-	18	32	1	16	-	12	79
Murders:-	3	-	1	2	-	2	8
Internments:-	220	-	33	-	-	-	253
DAILY TOTALS:-	582	775	256	252	204	326	2395

The sentences passed for political offences during the above six days totalled

THIRTY-ONE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 13th, 1920.

RAIDS:-

The following places were raided by Crown forces during the weekend:-

Dublin City:- Premises in Parnell Street of Messrs. Heron and Lawless, cycle Agents. Raid occupied 19 houses and Parnell Street isolated by troops for 26 hours. Residence of Mr. O'Loughlin, Republican Member of Dublin Corporation. Residence of Mr. Maurice Collins searched twice in nine hours – raiders smashed doors and furniture. Galway Arms Hotel, Parnell Square – dance interrupted and dancers searched. Also houses in Waverley Ave., Fairview, Little Denmark St., Harold's Cross, Blessington St. and Grace Park Rd. The number of houses raided is estimated at sixty.

Derry City:- Over twenty houses raided.

Co. Donegal:- Fourteen houses throughout the county.

Co. Meath:- Seven houses in Kells.

Co. Kilkenny:- Twenty-five houses in Kilkenny City and environs.

Offaly:- Six houses in Tullamore and eight in Geashill.

Co. Cork:- Upwards of one hundred and twenty houses, principally in the Dillon's Cross area.

ARRESTS:-

Except when otherwise stated the following were arrested without warrant or charge:-

Dublin:- Three brothers named Devoy, of Waverley Ave., Fairview. Mr. J. Lawless, Little Denmark St.; Mr. Ml. Davies, 3 Harold's Cross; Mr. Ml. O'Brien; Messrs. Thos. Kieran, Louis Brady, Maurice Fitzsimons Lower Gloucester St. Dublin

and 3 other men (names unknown) in lodgings in Blessington St.; Mr. Jas. Murphy and Daniel Rourke, at a Social Club in Shankill (Wm. Owens, another member, shot dead).

Co. Tyrone:- Miss Susan Molloy, Mill St. Newtownstewart (charged with having seditious documents), J.J. Kelly, Clady.

Co. Derry:- Mr. E. MacDermott, Derry City.

Co. Donegal:- Messrs. J. Molloy, Belvin, C. Haughey, Loughmult, D. McGlynn, Castlefinn and J. MacCarron, ex-soldier, Ballybofey.

Co. Meath:- Mr. J. English, Republican Councillor and Chairman of Poor Law Guardians, Kells; Messrs. J. Fitzsimons and P. Flynn, Kells; Mr. T. M. Lynch, Republican Councillor, Ardagh; Messrs. P. Cusack and H. Curran, tierworker.

Co. Kilkenny:- Messrs. E. Comerford, Irish teacher, Wellington Sq., Kilkenny City; Messrs. J. Rice, Republican Councillor, Outrath; Ml. Carroll, Paulstown and Ml. Walsh, Paulstown.

Co. Waterford:- Mr. Michael Ward, Lismore.

Offaly:- Mr. J. Heavey, Harbour St., Mr. D. Finlay, Clonad, and Mr. M. Gibson, Geashill.

Co. Limerick:- Seven men whose names did not transpire were arrested at Gallyspillane "on suspicion" of being engaged in an attack on a military patrol.

COURTMARTIAL:-

The following were tried by court martial:-

CHARGE.

AT DUBLIN:- John Fitzpatrick, 36 Lower Gloucester St. Dublin
Possession of three swords.

Fergus McCabe and inner-city politics

Fergus McCabe, who died on 8 October, was one of the most significant figures in Irish politics (Republic) since the 1970s. This is a big statement, but I will seek to justify it. He died younger than he should have, following a terminal illness diagnosed about eighteen months earlier. He was just 71 and vivacious and engaged until close to the end. On his death, President Michael D. Higgins, who as President has invariably displayed an instinct for the important things, particularly people, issued a Presidential statement. He told Fergus's family they could be —

“extremely proud of the legacy he has left, through his tireless campaigning for social justice and his exemplary actions of solidarity, sustained by his unshakeable belief in the good of mankind and the potential of young people, irrespective of their backgrounds.”

I would only add that Fergus, thankfully, died peacefully and painlessly, and if any man deserved a peaceful and dignified end it was he. May he rest in peace.

Every person of substance has a degree of vanity, which is just a word the mediocre use to describe what they see as an oversized sense of pride which achievers take in their accomplishments. Most people, who are non-political, have little concept of what change is, and the enormity of its achievement. After something significant changes, people tend to think it would have happened anyway. In Fergus's case, his vanity was of the very quiet kind, a knowledge of his power and its application, and a quiet pride in steadily achieving things on the one issue he thought important.

Personally he was a shy man, though never intimidated by anything or anyone. He knew what he was about, and people were in awe of him simply for that, and more immediately for his selflessness in pursuing it. Some, very naturally, sought association with him for the reflected glory it conferred. But Fergus's motivation was an uncomplicated and simple one, essentially that every kid deserved a chance. Everything he did—in youth work, on drugs, in his sport and music, in politics, on many social issues—had that one common denominator. Because he was so clear in what he thought important (giving kids a chance), he was ultimately more political than nearly anyone around him.

This is a political magazine, and so this obituary tribute focuses on the political significance of Fergus's actions.

These can be summarised in two events that changed the character of the Irish Republic. The first was his role in the enormous feat of engineering a united inner-city movement, whose figurehead was Tony

Gregory, and the famous “*Gregory Deal*” of March 1982 which it achieved with Charles Haughey; and the second, his role in the drugs/crime issue after 1990, which fundamentally changed State policy on the major social issue of the day.

‘Belvedere Newsboys Club’

Fergus came from a very modest middle-class family and grew up on the fringes of Dublin's north inner city, the most neglected, deprived and hated area in the state. He became involved through school at 16 years of age as a voluntary helper in the ‘*Belvedere Newsboys Club*’, a small traditional Catholic social project founded by the Jesuits as a place of respite for newspaper-selling boys. I am told there was a particularly inspiring priest there, a Fr. Smyth, who, imbued with the new radical liberation theology coming from Brazil, and with Fergus as his chief co-conspirator, transformed the ‘*newsboys club*’ into a centre of wider youth work in the area. Smyth also encouraged the interest of Fergus and others in radical politics, including Maoism, which were coming at the time from the inner city housing agitation.

Fergus himself never joined any political movement, as far as I am aware, but was interested in all of them and encouraged all left wing activism, insofar as it furthered the cause of the inner city. I know, for example, that he agreed with what he saw as the sensible propositions of the B&ICO. He trained in UCD in social work and went on to a job with the Eastern Health Board, working in the north inner city. This became his base to initiate many things. Fergus inspired many young north inner

city people to believe they were more than society, or often even many of themselves, thought they were, though he did not do this by preaching or lecturing.

He was football mad, an undying Spurs fan, and played, not without skill and not entirely cleanly, but always with fun. Football was not just a passion, but a means to other things, especially building a spirit of confidence in young people. One who came through the football club Fergus organised was Wesley Houlihan, later a Premier League and Irish International player of first rank. Many events and gatherings Fergus was involved in often had two extras—a game of football and a “*session*”. He had a compelling voice, which he accompanied with much forceful guitar-playing that somehow worked, and his songs, and particularly his “*medalies*”, were the high-point of any session.

Not for him republican or old-time ballads, which he regarded as maudling and depressing, but 1960s international pop, folk and protest songs, though mainly the lively and funny ones. At his funeral, held under Covid conditions, a crowd came out in Summerhill and, in tribute, accompanied, appropriately, by forceful guitar-playing, sang Don Baker's “*Inner City Song*”, a favourite party piece of Fergus's.

“Gregory Deal”

The road to the 1982 “*Gregory Deal*” began in the early 1970s. A satisfactory history of where it came from has never been written. The key event was the creation of the ‘*North City Community Council*’ (NCCC) in 1973, an amalgama-

tion of projects and groups in a united movement to secure resources to better the inner city. This was an extraordinary achievement in itself, in a community renowned for its divisions, bitter feuds and general anarchic dysfunction. Fergus McCabe was central to that achievement.

The small group of people who created the NCCC were local veterans of the *Dublin Housing Action Committee* and its agitation in the late 1960s. This movement, seeking proper housing and social services, peaked in 1969 with the eviction and arrest of Denis Dennehy, who promptly went on hunger strike in Mountjoy Jail. Dennehy's protest inspired a War of Independence veteran, Joe Clarke, to interrupt in dramatic fashion de Valera's speech to the solemn 50th anniversary commemorations of the First Dáil in the Mansion House. Such was the impact of the protests that the Lynch Government of the day inaugurated a great expansion of public housing, effectively ending the agitation.

Except that the agitation didn't entirely end. In the new public housing suburbs of Coolock, Tallaght and elsewhere, a wave of Rent Strikes followed in 1972, involving dramatic clashes and evictions by the Gardaí. This movement too ended when Government reached agreement with the tenants' movement, NATO, committing to provide bus, shopping and state services in the new estates and, crucially, allowing tenants purchase their houses within two years on terms based on the differential rents scheme. But in one place, the movement did not end—the north inner city.

Modernisation?

The solving of the immediate housing crisis paradoxically was the very reason the inner city movement remained active. The then all-powerful City Executive—the elected Council having been abolished for failing to strike a rate and remaining abolished for nearly a decade—seized the opportunity of the housing programme to realise its own long-held dream of a grandiose 'modernisation' of central Dublin, aping cities in the US and UK. This centred on depopulating the area out to the suburbs in favour of commercial development and criss-crossing the city with shiny motorways and interchanges. At one time it contemplated a road through the grounds of Trinity College, to be acquired by compulsory purchase—a missed opportunity, some say. It also proposed filling in the canals and building a motorway along the quays with an interchange at Ballybough, where Tony Gregory had been raised. Scheduled for demolition, the entire quays fell into utter dereliction.

The inner city branch of the 1960s housing agitation—the "*North Central Tenants' Association*" (NCTA)—regrouped to oppose the Corporation plan of social cleansing, and agitated for housing within the city and for employment and State services. It was a small protest group, typical of social movements of the time, led by Trade Union and left-wing activists.

These included Tony Gregory himself, a socialist republican, former IRA member and friend of Seamus Costello. Costello had broken from Official Sinn Féin to found the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and been assassinated for his troubles by the Official IRA. Gregory had been brought up in a one-room flat in Ballbough, and he often recalled how, when his parents applied to Dublin Corporation for rehousing, they were told to "come back when you have six children".

Gregory trained as a teacher in UCD and was prominently active in the Dublin Housing Action Committee. Others in his circle were Seanai Lamb, a local Communist Party activist (CPI) and Mick Rafferty of Sherriff Street, an apprentice electrician activist in the Irish Communist Organisation, which became the B&ICO. Dublin Corporation in its bureaucratic arrogance dismissed the NCTA agitation and proceeded with its "modernisation".

Inner City Dublin had the last remaining extensive tenement slums in the Republic. The area was also left behind by the Lemass boom. The docks and traditional industries and workshops of the area were rapidly declining as new Lemassian industries opened, not on old city centre sites but in the suburbs or, under the IDA's sensible dispersal policy, at locations throughout the country. As the new housing suburbs enjoyed an employment boom in the 1970s, the city centre decayed. Long before the country-wide recession of the 1980s, the inner cities were in dire crisis. The modernising dreams of the city moguls were, it can be said, at least rational. But there was, as Mick Rafferty put it, a "perfect storm brewing".

Faith And Justice

The NCTA was not alone, as into the mix came two new elements that would transform it. Fergus McCabe would be the central figure drawing these elements together.

The Church had long run small projects on a traditional basis to alleviate poverty in the city, such as the Belvedere Newsboys Club, the Lourdes Centres, the Vincent de Paul, Legion of Mary hostels and so forth. State and Local Authority social and

welfare service provision was minimal to non-existent, and those that were there were miserly in the punitive/redemptive spirit of the Poor Laws.

The Church globally had changed direction with Vatican II, re-interpreting its "*mission to the poor*" away from charitable redress to "*social justice*". Some interpreted this more radically than others, with the radicals convening at Medin in Brazil in 1968, unleashing liberation theology on the world. This re-interpreted the Vatican II message as "revolutionary" community activism, borrowing much from the sociology of the Frankfurt School.

A major influence was the Brazilian academic Paulo Freire, who described his famous call to arms, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, a synthesis of "*Sartre and Mounier, Erich Fromm and Louis Althusser, Ortega y Gasset and Mao, Martin Luther King and Che Guevara, Unamuno and Marcuse*". The new philosophy of community activism, education and "*empowerment*" influenced many Irish social and university radicals. Fringe elements of the Church embraced it, and these became important when the key force, the Jesuits, decided it was the way to go. This occurred at their General Congregation in 1974. There were other groups, including the ever-radical Augustinians, who didn't need a theory, and various houses of nuns who took to the new thinking.

In 1975 the Jesuits established several new projects in the city centre based on the new thinking, including an agitational group, the '*Centre for Faith and Justice*', run by Frs. Frank Sammon, John Sweeney and Peter McVerry. Some secular clergy adapted too, including Fr. Casey of Sean McDermott Street parish.

"Empowerment"

The other new strand was the '*Foundation for Human Development*' which Dr. Ivor Browne, an original thinker, had established under the UCD Department of Psychology. Browne took models of community "*empowerment*" from the Black Panther initiatives in desolate US inner cities and combined these with social-psychological theories and his own experiences at Dublin's Central Mental Hospital. In a radical proposal for the time, he rejected the medicalised treatment of psychiatric problems, which he argued were social in origin and rooted in deprivation, and their solution being the repair and revitalisation of "*depressed communities*". The Foundation was opposed by the Church

Establishment but supported by Catholic radicals in establishing pilot “community projects”, based on Foundation thinking, in Derry and Ballyfermot, with the latter developing under a Foundation-funded facilitator, Jimmy Kelly, into the ‘Ballyfermot Community Association’.

This was temporarily defeated by a counter-offensive, orchestrated by Archbishop McQuaid, who was paranoid of “communist infiltrations” of his flock. His instrument for recapturing the Ballyfermot community leadership was the fake-Dublin creature Fr. Michael Cleary. Cleary’s victory would prove a temporary and pyrrhic one, but it blocked development for some time.

Browne then approached the already existing Gregory-McCabe *North City Community Council* group to establish a similar project in the inner city. Browne’s colleague, Paddy Walley, undertook the first ever social statistical analysis of the area, which showed it as the most socially deprived in the state. This caused something of a sensation as hitherto the public and official mind had regarded justifiable poverty only as what existed on the western seaboard. In the process, Walley coined both the phrase and identity “*Inner City*”. Walley’s damning analysis of official neglect, under-resourcing and “multiple deprivation”, in Rafferty’s words, gave the NCCC “a language for what we had been struggling to express”.

The NCCC can be seen as a combining of these various strands of traditional social agitation (such as the North Central Tenants’ Association) to the new community doctrines of the various strands of active groups in the inner city. But Fergus often stressed the particularly strong influence of Ivor Browne’s ‘Foundation’ in the development of NCCC thinking. It broke with traditional socialist/communist politics, adopting a politics more inspired by the US Civil Rights movement and Black Panther urban organisational activism.

The creation of the “NCCC”, an acronym purposely echoing that of the American civil rights umbrella body, the NAACP, was a result of Fergus McCabe’s influence on Gregory. The NCCC tolerated any and every political, religious or even material motivation for participating, and left political theories and programmes at the door.

It was a unique alliance of its kind in Ireland, a pioneering idea that would be subsequently emulated in many places, organisationally at least. The movement

uniting through the NCCC was given a coherent outlook through its regular newsheet, titled simply *Inner City News*.

Some projects in the inner city initially stayed outside the NCCC, for Catholic-conservative or idealistic left-autonomous reasons. One activist of the latter frame of mind told me he initially distrusted the NCCC as “centralist” and “controlling”, to which Rafferty responded, “yes, we were the Stalinists”!

‘Poverty Programme’

The NCCC, like emerging local coalitions elsewhere in the 1970s, seized on the few projects available under Government programmes as a base for practical social interventions. This included the EEC-co-funded ‘Poverty Programme’, which Frank Cluskey, a Labour TD and coalition Junior Minister, had played a central role in designing. It was inspired both by similar programmes under the Lyndon Johnson “fair society” US presidency and shaped by Cluskey’s assistant, Tony Browne, influenced by Catholic social teaching.

While the “poverty committee” included figures like Dr. Ivor Browne, it was dominated by Church-oriented ones, even if these were semi-radicals, such as its chair, Sr. Stanislaus Kennedy, and the Augustinian, Fr. Michael Mernagh. But, under official Church pressure, it turned down “poverty funding” for both the NCCC and Ballyfermot projects, until forced to re-instate this in 1977 after noisy protests.

Fergus McCabe had the NCCC use its project funding as a base both for doing useful things, such as training people, and creating working partnerships with State services, while also agitating for State policy change.

Rafferty, who was completing his electrician’s apprenticeship at the time, recalls how Gregory and McCabe came knocking at his door to convince him to take on the role of running the project. The project blossomed and the inner city group retitled itself the ‘North Central City Community Action Programme’ (NCCCAP) to run it, uniting every active group in the area within it. This again was engineered by McCabe.

Barry Desmond, a Labour Minister in the brief Garret FitzGerald coalition of 1981-82, decided, however, not to state-fund these projects once the EEC funding ran out, fearing they were generating a political movement competing with the Labour Party. This was an extraordinary,

but unfortunately typical, Labour Party reaction, reminiscent of that party’s later destructive hostility to Social Partnership. Many wonder if the decision would have happened had Cluskey not lost his Dáil seat in that period, as a result losing the Labour leadership to the charlatan Michael O’Leary, who would go on to help set up the PDs.

Political Route

But it was probably Desmond’s decision more than anything else that decided Gregory and McCabe that the only route to go, if there was to be any State response to the needs of the inner city, was the electoral one. Gregory had been elected to the City Council in 1979 as a “*Dublin Community Independent*”, but contesting the Dáil was another matter. In the small group of Gregory, McCabe and Rafferty, it was agreed there’d be no “ideological” politics and Gregory would leave his republicanism outside. They united around a platform instead focused on the employment, housing, education, training, social services and other needs of the inner city, to be delivered by the State in partnership with the NCCCAP grouping.

Gregory then stood in the 1982 election that followed the Government’s fall over John Bruton’s breathtakingly idiotic re-imposition of VAT on children’s clothing and footwear. Organising Gregory’s campaign—and indeed all his subsequent campaigns—was Fergus McCabe, and the vote was got out through what was effectively the group’s party—the North Central City Community Action Programme, whose constituent projects, groups and clubs honeycombed the inner city.

Haughey

I will not recount the story of the Gregory Deal, which is well known. There are excellent accounts of it from the time by Vincent Browne and Gene Kerrigan in that valuable magazine, *Magill*. The election outcome was a hung Dáil and Gregory held a swing vote. The Gregory trio met the top party leaders, FitzGerald, O’Leary and Haughey. Suffice it to say that O’Leary had no interest, FitzGerald mumbled incoherently, promising a few projects to a total value of £850,000, which left Gregory’s negotiators raising their eyes to heaven, while Haughey, enticed by his friend, ITGWU General Secretary Michael Mullen, an active supporter of the NCCC, to take the group seriously, enthusiastically embraced the programme, saying “you are pushing at an open door”. The £100m-valued Deal was signed and, as insisted upon by the team, following

Haughey's narrow election as Taoiseach in March 1982, it was read verbatim into the record of the Dáil.

Fergus McCabe was the central figure in all of this, and in the negotiations, though you would hardly know it from his own otherwise interesting description of what it was all about in an interview with a short-lived TCD magazine, *Devoid Media*, in May 1982 (available online).

Responsible Ireland was appalled. The "Deal" was disparaged and sneered at by a chorus of left-liberal 'opinion' as another awful Haughey 'stroke'. But it changed the city for ever. While much was not implemented by the time that short-lived Haughey Government fell in October 1982—brought down by the dilettantish "Workers' Party"—and the follow-on FitzGerald coalition refused to continue implementing the State's commitments under the Deal, its programme would eventually be broadly realised.

In place of the slums, the last of which were pulled down in that very year of 1982, came—not the Corporation's dreamed-of masterplan—but new social housing schemes, the first in the city centre in decades, along with industrial training centres, a technical college (Larkin College), an urban regeneration agency, the Dublin Docklands Development Authority, and much more.

Things could have taken a very different turn, as in the 1980s the spectre hovering over economically 'failed' Ireland was Thatcherism and its many Irish adherents. Finding a force that would create an alternative answer to Ireland development challenges was the issue of the decade.

The meeting with Gregory, McCabe and Mick Rafferty had a major impact on that extraordinary politician, Charles Haughey. His major contribution was to build a feasible alternative route to development, quite at odds with the Thatcherite solution which many Irish economists, much of FG and the leaders of the new PDs were touting. So impressed had Haughey been with the colourful band of intelligent Dublin inner city radicals he met in 1982, that when he returned to power in 1987 as head of an era-changing Government, among the initiatives he engineered of long-term significance was the Dublin inner city renewal programme—centred on the IFSC (International Financial Services Centre), and the setting up of "Local Partnerships" in many areas of the state, on the model of the Gregory Deal blueprint, to tackle problems of inadequate and inept local services, unemployment and education.

The Dublin Docklands Development Authority was set up as a State agency, specifically to free it from the dead hand of Dublin Corporation and tasked to revive and restore the city centre as both a centre of business and the arts, and a vivacious residential area. He called his vision a new Liffeside "*Bloomusalem*", the greatest transformation of the city since Georgian times. From the start he included a large social development aspect, involving local groups. When constructing the Local Partnerships in 1990-91, Haughey asked his civil servants to come up with a model of how they should work but, when they returned with a structure involving Local Authority officials overseeing "*social and economic development*", he exploded. Projects should only be established, he ordered, where existing vibrant local organisations existed. All relevant State services were to be on the Boards and collaborate with the initiatives, but they were to be driven by the local groups, and independent "*facilitators*", recruited—not from existing Authorities—but from outside, were to be appointed the Project Managers.

To ensure the new groups had power and leverage, he personally leaned on people of status he knew to chair these Boards, such as Mark Hely Hutchinson, a recently retired senior banker, in the Inner City; and Padraic White, the recently retired IDA Chief Executive, at Dublin Northside. Twelve such Partnerships were set up by the time Haughey was removed from power in 1992, and for several years, and with varying degrees of success, would transform the nature of State service provision in these areas.

Drugs Task Forces

I do not have much direct personal knowledge of Fergus's later role with the Drugs Task Forces. But I do know that it was his idea and that he lobbied long and hard for it. The notoriously botched economic mismanagement of the second FitzGerald Coalition of 1983-87 saw the National Debt more than double to 160% of GDP, unemployment rise to 20%, emigration return to 1950s levels, real wages fall by 17%, with welfare continuing at its subsistence level and deprived areas such as Dublin's inner city succumbing to a plague of organised crime and then drug dependency. Dublin became among the most heroin-addicted cities in Europe. In the early 1990s, McCabe remained deeply involved in all manner of youth and social projects in the inner city, but saw himself fighting a losing battle. Although he was officially never anything more than a Health Board official, such was his status

and force of personality, that colleagues of his in the State services tell me that the word was always "*leave him alone where he is*", "*don't ask what he's doing*" and "*give him everything he wants*".

What he now wanted were *Drugs Task Forces*. These were a reformulation of the same model he had pioneered in the days of the NCCC and the Gregory Deal—get all the relevant State and local agencies around a table with relevant active local groups, pool their knowledge and resources, work out a local plan, and resource and deliver it. Employment, support services, training, sport and job prospects for young people was the only alternative to the dire attractions of the drug and crime culture.

The media at the time were obsessed with the crime spree, though principally only after one of their own, the journalist Veronica Guerin, was killed in a drug gang hit. Fergus made sure the focus moved to drugs and how the State should respond to it as a social problem. A movement arose in the inner city—with Gregory and McCabe at the centre of it again—to combat the drugs scourge, establishing the *CityWide Drugs Crisis Campaign*. They also supported the "*Concerned Parents Against Drugs*" movement scaring the Establishment at the time. They defended it as a dignified and necessary movement, which, in the absence of State interventions, would inevitably involve direct politics, such as marching on drug dealers' homes to force them to leave the area. Fergus had his idea of Task Forces from the start and used the energies of drugs protests to blackmail the State on the need for such an initiative.

Fergus was not above using his relationship with 'ordinary decent criminals' to advance this agenda and impress its urgency on the State. He knew "*The Monk*"—at that time the big boy of the Hutch crime family—as he had been in the Belvedere Newsboys Club as a boy. Hutch was a ruthless, entrepreneurial inner-city criminal (ruthless, that is, to competing criminals—nothing personal!). But he was also fiercely anti-drugs, which he regarded as destroying communities. In time-honoured fashion he yearned for the applause of his community and was involved in sorting people's debts, sponsoring boxing clubs etc. Fergus used him as an alternative role model for kids to the drug lords. This was risky and controversial, but it yielded some success.

But what John Bruton's FG-Labour-DL Coalition of 1994-97 most feared was

the arrival of Provisional Sinn Féin in southern electoral politics, and leading the anti-drugs movement. In this context, DL Minister Pat Rabbitte took the imaginative initiative in 1997 of establishing the local Drugs Task Forces Fergus McCabe had sought, and liaised closely with him on how these should be organised and what they should do. Whether Rabbitte was genuine or motivated solely—as a former ‘Sticky’—in cutting ground from under the ‘Provos’, I don’t know, but he certainly got some things done and was widely admired for that.

A ‘national drugs strategy’ followed, and a ‘national coordinating body’ was eventually formed. An acquaintance of mine in a State agency at that level told me that, when the message came down that Fergus McCabe had been appointed to the group, “*the faces around the table turned pale*”. But Fergus was no rabble-rouser or disruptive agitator. Quite the contrary—he was a quietly effective one. He would sit attentively through meetings, listening to contributions often with his eyes shut, and then intervene with his own, usually very practical, though sometimes also radical, suggestions.

My colleague tells me that, when he spoke, all eyes would turn to him and you could hear a pin drop as they waited on his every word. The idea of the Criminal Assets Bureau was also one he formulated and which Gregory first raised on a Dáil Committee. The CAB would prove a highly effective agency in subsequent years and was to be copied by countries from Spain to the UK.

When the Bruton Coalition fell and was replaced by a Fianna Fáil-PD one in 1997, it was lucky for the drugs campaigners that, in appointing Chris Flood to continue and expand Rabbitte’s initiatives, Bertie Ahern chose wisely, as Flood would earn a reputation as probably the most effective Minister ever in the role. Fergus McCabe would become the key figure in the National Drugs Strategy Team in its various guises over the years that followed.

The heroin/crack/whatever scourge has not disappeared and seems to have established itself as a permanent phenomenon. But the cycle of deprivation and drug dependency in a mutually reinforcing spiral has been broken, reduced to a persistent but very much more marginal phenomenon. The working class areas of the inner city today have been transformed beyond recognition, with good housing and most of the population enjoying a reasonable living environment. State services are many, located at every junction and eas-

ily accessible. The old NCCC movement never really rejuvenated with new leaders. Maybe it hasn’t needed too.

Coalition Again!

Wilson John Haire, a regular writer of interesting contributions in this journal, recently commented that a problem with 1960s radicalism is that it was all about process, empowerment and so forth, rarely concrete answers. The answers, in that proverbial Dylan lyric, were left always “*blowing in the wind*”. While Fergus McCabe would belt out that song too with passion, he did have answers, and in his time some of them were realised. When a post-crash Coalition returned to power in 2011, it did what coalitions have always done, and dismantled a lot of local community infrastructure and Partnership bodies. Enda Kenny sent Kieran Mulvey in to do another report, which reached the obvious conclusions on why inner city deprivation continued, and designed yet another package of emergency interventions, though involving little real collaboration with local groups. As a weary Fergus McCabe said to me at the time, “*here we go again; the wheel goes round*”.

Fergus officially retired about five years ago, but little changed as he continued with his many voluntary roles continuing the work he had always done until laid low by his illness. He leaves behind his wonderful wife Helena, children and grandchildren, all of whom he was immensely fond of and nurtured with great love. I would like to finish with some better, more appropriately secular, salutation than “*Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis*”, but I cannot think of one.

A Social Democratic Budget?

continued

Yet it also represents, given the scale of its planned investment in infrastructure, a vote of confidence in the future. The real possibilities that the pandemic will recede sooner rather than later, and that a Brexit deal will be struck either before or after the end of the transition, could brighten budgetary prospects in 2021.

PUBLIC SPENDING STIMULUS

There is unanimity from all sides, nationally and internationally, that the Covid crisis should be answered by a contra-cyclical fiscal stimulus. In other words, so long as large swathes of the

economy are closed in line with public health policy, the State should transfer funds to the closed-down employers and employees so that businesses remain in being while retaining connection with their unemployed workers. Likewise, the Government should pump money into public services so that people will continue to buy goods and services, and keep the economy ticking over. This of course is the Keynesian strategy implemented in the first lockdown and now, through the Budget, extended into how ever long the crisis lasts next year.

The stimulus package, which comes close to 18 billion Euro, needs to be seen in the context of the size of the economy, 200 billion, and the total public expenditure in the Budget, 88 billion. As an increase in public expenditure, its size is unprecedented. The assistance given to private sector interests was larger than expected and includes a VAT reduction in the hospitality sector from 13.5% to 9% for 2021, and the deferral of various tax and rates liabilities.

Fergal O’Brien of employer organisation IBEC has described the relief to businesses as “*cross sector solidarity*”, in the sense that sectors continuing to generate profits and tax revenue (the multi-national sector plus the banks) are subsidising those that can’t, but the plain truth is that much of the private sector is being kept alive by an interventionist State.

CHALLENGE OF HEALTH AND HOUSING REFORMS

The stimulus is not all Covid-related. Minister for Public Expenditure and Reform Michael McGrath (Fianna Fail) announced on Budget day a 5.5 billion euro addition to core expenditure—funding likely to continue after the pandemic. The outcomes achieved as a result of this spending, especially in health and housing, will be a key test of this Coalition Government.

In Health, current spending is comprised of 19 billion Euro for core expenditure and nearly 2 billion on Covid measures. On the capital side 880 million will be directed to core, and 130 million to Covid, projects. A statement regarding Slaintecare is welcome. It reads:

“Reducing our dependence on the hospital centric model of care and supporting capacity in the community, whilst pivotal to the Slaintecare vision, is also crucial in the context of the ongoing management of the Covid 19 pandemic” (Part II – *Expenditure Allocations 2021*. pdf, p. 79).

Overall, the allocation of 22 billion to health is positive, but a shift to social democratic norms requires more than throwing money at problems. Progress achieved under the heading, *Implementing National Strategies and Expert Reviews*, with an allocation of 147 million, will be worth watching.

Housing Minister Darragh O'Brien (Fianna Fail) has also increased the Budget allocation to his Department. He has secured 3.1 billion euro for next year, an increase of over 750 million on Budget 2020. In response to a query from me over whether the 9,500 social houses to be built next year will involve the Housing Assistance Payments (HAP) scheme, I received the following reply from the Minister's press office.

"Budget 2021 has provided the resources needed by the Department, Local Authorities and Approved Housing Bodies (AHBs) to get started on what will be the biggest social housing build programme in the history of the State. Next year we will build 9,500 social homes as part of an overall delivery of 12,750 social homes. These 9,500 homes represent a 22% increase on 2020 targets of 7,736

The 9,500 homes will be provided by both Local Authorities & Approved Housing Bodies under the build programme. These houses will be allocated to households on the Local Authority social housing waiting lists. These households will pay rents based on their incomes. HAP is a completely separate delivery stream for social housing and is not included in the above figures."

So after years of failed efforts to resolve the housing crisis using the private sector we are finally getting back, near enough, to the social democratic policy of providing publicly funded housing on the basis of social needs.

Noting the failure of the last Fine Gael-led Government to achieve effective reforms in the health service and in the provision of social and affordable housing, Cliff Taylor of the Irish Times sees progress in these areas as dependent on a move towards greater State involvement in the economy. He identifies two long term questions in the way of this.

"The first is ongoing spending commitments will have to be paid for and the current base of tax revenue looks unlikely to be enough. It is hard to map the shake-out of the public finances after the pandemic—impossible in fact. But a lot of new commitments were made in the programme for government, and

the pandemic has surely pushed politics towards greater social spending in areas like sick pay and income supports. A new commission on tax and welfare is to try to work out how to set this balance.

The second issue is that getting better outcomes for spending is challenging in Ireland because it is a high-cost country. A recent ESRI paper by Dr Maev-Ann Wren and Aoife FitzPatrick said that while health spending here looks high by some international comparative measures, the high cost of providing services here means the actual volume of what is delivered gives us a much more modest international ranking. The same will apply in other areas" (IT, 16/10/20).

Taylor is right on both counts. If social democracy is to emerge as the core influence in the Irish political system, the tax system will need to be broadened, and powerful interests like the medical consultants, the private hospitals, the legal profession, the insurance lobby and the construction federation—the rent-seeking bodies behind the high cost of services—will need to be faced down. Has the Fianna Fail/Fine Gael/Green Party Coalition the capability to deliver in those areas? Would those parties want to enhance the role and authority of the State? Sinn Féin members and voters would answer in the negative to both questions.

CONTINUED INVESTMENT IN INFRASTRUCTURE

Regarding capital investment Minister Donohoe stated: *"Together with the additional €600 million I am providing for core capital investment in 2021, the State will, for the first time in our history, deliver over €10 billion in Exchequer resources for critical projects across all regions of our country."* The projects include five major road projects, fleet expansion for the railways, over 20 higher education building projects, 145 new school buildings, the National Broadband Plan, equipment replacement for the Defence forces, continued expansion of the Dublin and Rosslare ports and a 10 million provision to Shannon and Cork airports.

The Minister also committed to a review of the National Development Plan to ensure it aligned with regional development and the Programme for Government, a sensible initiative. To nurture North/South trade he announced a Shared Island initiative which will receive 500 million over the next five years.

RELiance ON BORROWING

Outside of the economics profession, most people consider borrowing to be a

dangerous means of funding government. Even economists see a public debt larger than the size of the economy as unhealthy, and borrowing to fund ongoing current expenditure is considered bad practice.

On the other hand, borrowing to fund capital investment is viewed in a positive light. Ireland's public debt prior to the pandemic stood at around 200 billion euro, the same size as the economy, but, as the economy was growing, the ratio of debt to Gross Domestic Product (the size of the economy) was declining. As a result of borrowing by the State to fund its response to the pandemic, Ireland will owe 240 billion at the end of 2021, and the economy is likely to have declined to some extent. So, Ireland's borrowing strategy is not without risk.

But is the magnitude of this borrowing creating a long-term problem for the economy? Probably not, because the rate of interest set by the European Central Bank (ECB) is currently so low that it is negative. When states borrow money on international money markets they can continually roll over the debt or (for large states) choose very long-term loans. The borrowers can then wait for long-term inflation to degrade and lessen the debt. The critical value is always the interest rate, as interest needs to be paid annually. Most economic commentators believe that interest rates will remain low for at least the next two years.

John Fitzgerald, the former director of the Economic and Social Research Institute, maintains that current Government borrowing is sustainable for two reasons:

"Because of almost zero interest rates, the borrowing will not add significantly to the debt interest burden over the rest of the decade. Debt interest payments in 2021 will be €0.3 billion less than this year.

[Secondly] Households are saving large sums in bank deposits. The demand for bank loans is down, so the banks deposit their surplus funds with the ECB. The ECB then buys Irish government bonds. Thus, there is no increase in Ireland's foreign indebtedness as the Irish government borrows, indirectly, from Irish households" (IT, 16/10/2020).

So long as the interest rate remains low and the ECB's current bond purchase programme continues, Eurozone monetary policy will continue to support the present policy of fiscal expansion.

A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC MIRAGE?

In response to the Budget there have

been a few social democratic straws in the wind, musings on whether the State should play a more active role in the economy. One such was an article by Aidan Regan in the *Sunday Business Post*. His point was to ask questions:

“Last week’s 18 billion budget and the whopping 4 trillion support package being provided by the European Central Bank (ECB) and the EU ought to invite a wider public debate on this role for the state. Is last week’s budget simply an emergency response to a public health crisis? Or is it the beginning of a paradigm shift for the role of the state in the economy?” (*Sunday Business Post*, 18/10/2020).

A similar article by Mark Fitzgerald appeared in the *Irish Times* on the following day. The article was significant for who it was written by, more than the profundity of what was being said. Fitzgerald (brother of John quoted above and also a son of Garret Fitzgerald) is Chairman of Sherry Fitzgerald, one of the largest estate agents in the country. What was notable about the article was that it was written by an influential figure in the private sector. The following gives a flavour of it:

“The election result, coupled with the Covid pandemic, seems to me to have

shifted Ireland in a social democratic-type direction, towards a more just society.

...
Portraying Fine Gael and Fianna Fail as centre right parties is not actually a fair or accurate reflection of their entire history. Both Pascal Donohoe and Michael McGrath, in last week’s budget, put that misconception to bed” (*IT*, 19/10/2020).

It would be all too easy to dismiss these writings as convenient mood music to deceive the Greens and a swathe of the electorate into believing that the Government is serious about radical reform. Far better to take such opinion formers at their word, and draw attention to the growing demand for a deeper, more ideological change.

A paradigm shift towards social democracy would mean broadening the tax base, confronting the pressure groups that privilege vested interests at the expense of the national interest, and re-organising the machinery of government so that public policy is competently delivered. A mixed economy serving a cohesive society is what the electorate wants; why not press for it?

Dave Alvey

nine counties, was discouraged. Its birth pangs were bathed in the blood of 455 people, after thousands of Catholics (and ‘rotten prods’, Socialists and Trade Unionists who supported them) were expelled from their jobs, homes and businesses in 1920-22. Most of the victims were Catholics whose fate would, if included, have upset revisionist parameters.

Instead, historians mined an apparently rich seam of sectarianism in an Ulster County left out of Northern Ireland, Monaghan. Like Donegal and Cavan, it contained too many Catholics for unionists to successfully subdue.

All the sectarianism historians were interested in was this ‘Catholic’ variety.

A victim called Kate Carroll was foregrounded, one of three women executed by the IRA between 1919-21, from a currently estimated total of 196. Her end constituted enough of an exception from which historians could generalise. This putative sectarian victim was presented as a poor Protestant poitín distiller. Terence Dooley of NUI Maynooth said (four times) that the IRA targeted her in a ‘callous’ act of sectarian ‘revenge’, as a result of imagined ‘ancestral grievances’. The charge of spying against her was, said Fearghal McGarry of QUB, “a convenient rationale for the execution of an obvious and antisocial security risk”; a “middle aged Protestant spinster” of “no social consequence”. UCD’s Diarmaid Ferriter thought she might have been killed because she “had amorous intent towards an [unappreciative] IRA man”. Anne Dolan originated the claim, which Fearghal McGarry also repeated.

The various different, sometimes overlapping and contradictory arguments are paraphrased on the cover of the new pamphlet.

Dr. Niall Meehan examines historians’ claims. He demonstrates that their dissection of the sad fate of Kate Carroll is wanting in every respect, not least in the fictitious origin of the sectarianism argument. He presents in Ireland for the first time a detailed explanation of why the IRA executed Kate Carroll in April 1921.

Dr. Meehan explains how Irish revisionist historiography has produced a fantasy version of Irish history. He contrasts the imaginary sectarianism concocted in the case of Kate Carroll with the comparatively ignored real thing on the streets of Belfast and other parts of Northern Ireland.

This essay should be read by all interested in how history is written, as distinct from made.

‘She is a Protestant as well’

continued

in 1919-22, the victims were victorious. Mainly Roman Catholic Irish nationalists and republicans, despite espousing anti-sectarian sentiments, allegedly turned the tables on their now defenceless erstwhile Protestant overlords. The latter, it is said, in the guise of innocent Protestant civilians, were subjected in their homes, farmsteads and businesses to, as the late Peter Hart put it in 1996, “what might be termed ‘ethnic cleansing’”. This effort was concentrated, he said, in south Leinster and Munster, most particularly in Cork.

Hart’s multi-sourced and nuanced analysis was almost universally praised. Roy Foster and Lord (formerly merely Paul) Bew of Donigore heralded Hart as the foremost historian of the ‘Irish Revolution’. Journalists Kevin Myers and Eoghan Harris became his newspaper champions.

We in the AHS were first to assemble criticisms of Hart’s methodology, in a 1998 pamphlet on Hart’s treatment of the

November 1920 Kilmichael Ambush. Historians from outside the academic bubble began to pick further. Why did Hart omit clear evidence that some Protestants, said by Hart to be innocent IRA victims, were loyalist participants in the conflict? How did he manage to interview an anonymous elderly participant in the Kilmichael Ambush, six days after the last one died in November 1989?

Historians inside the bubble began questioning too. His figures on Protestant population decline were not simply wrong; he made them up!

The boy genius’s reputation became somewhat tarnished, despite valiant attempts to resuscitate it and to undermine his critics as cranks.

Young historians were meanwhile encouraged to search out examples of sectarianism in what became the 26-County Irish Free State. Looking at events within the confines of the new Six-County Northern Irish territory, made up of six of Ulster’s

Irish history students could consider it while their professors explain what transpired when historians happened upon the death of Kate Carroll. The Carroll execution could become a case study of, 'how not to write history'.

The essay accompanied a talk at *Féile an Phobail* in Belfast on 8th August 2020. (A recording is available on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdrpAi-Z3bk>.)

A Request to the Historians....

I wrote as follows to the historians that Niall Meehan took to task about their treatment of this execution and offered them an opportunity to respond by 10th September:

Subject:

KATE CARROLL AND THE HISTORIANS

Dear Historian,

I bring to your attention a recently published essay by the Aubane Historical Society. It looks at how historians considered the April 1921 IRA killing of Kate Carroll in County Monaghan during the War of Independence.

As you are one of the historians whose work is considered I offer you the opportunity of a 500-800 word response, which will be considered for publication in the monthly *Irish Political Review* (if you think the wordage insufficient, please let me know). If you could get it to me by 10 September, I would be most grateful.

The essay is available at the link below. It was summarised in a talk to Belfast's *Féile an Phobail* festival, also linked below.

You might also be interested in a recent presentation on the Kilmichael Ambush by Dr. Eve Morrison, for the West Cork History Festival. She is at odds with the approach the authors we publish have taken. I link, as well, a recent letter on that festival and on Kilmichael, which appeared in the *Southern Star* newspaper.

Yours sincerely,
Jack Lane

Encs.

Niall Meehan presentation and essay: 'She is a Protestant as well' - Distilling British propaganda in accounts of the 1921 IRA execution of Kate Carroll in County Monaghan, <https://www.academia.edu/43753997/>; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hdrpAi-Z3bk> Eve Morrison, 8 August 2020, on November 1920 Kilmichael Ambush: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=buVryG55kqs> Letter published in the *West Cork's Southern Star*: [Now at, <https://www.academia.edu/44049155/>]

Background: West Cork's War of Independence: Sectarianism, Tom Barry, Peter Hart and the Kilmichael Ambush: <https://www.academia.edu/34399025/>; 'Examining Peter Hart': <https://www.academia.edu/8348624/>

AND THEIR RESPONSE WAS ...

There was only one substantial response, from Tim Wilson in the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. He graciously acknowledged Niall Meehan's "*diligent digging*" and was glad that the error was now clarified.

Brian Hanley reported that he had nothing to say but, at some indeterminate point, might. In 2016 he, uniquely, had attempted a form of self-criticism. The others, all Ireland-based academic historians were not willing, despite a polite reminder, to engage in the courtesy of a reply. They are unable to explain how for 29 years Irish historians claimed that an unfortunate Roman Catholic informer was shot allegedly because she was a Protestant and for other reasons historians made up.

Avoiding engaging with critics is a longstanding revisionist practice. A one-time exception is Dr. Eve Morrison of Oxford (formerly of TCD). Speaking recently at the exclusive West Cork History Festival on Peter Hart and the Kilmichael Ambush, said she would no longer debate. She reasoned, "*People are interested in smearing people*". In response Niall Meehan referred to the allegation as, itself, a smear (see *Irish Political Review*, August 2020).

The reason for revisionist reticence is that revisionist mythology suffers in debate. That was Dr Morrison's experi-

ence discussing Hart and the Kilmichael Ambush in the *Southern Star* with Meehan and others in 2017, a debate collected in the Aubane Historical Society pamphlet, *West Cork's War of Independence*. 'Wiser' heads possibly advised Dr Morrison to join revisionism's safety-in-silence omerta club.

Dr. Morrison intends to vindicate Hart's *The IRA and its Enemies* (1998) in a new book about the Kilmichael Ambush. She defends Hart's anonymous interviews with two ambush veterans, including a ghost 'interviewed' six days after the last veteran died. In 2017 Morrison claimed that he was someone who, while the ambush was fought, enjoyed the gift of by-location. He simultaneously guarded a bridge 15 kilometres away. Ghost-like indeed.

In her 2020 talk Morrison conceded that Hart's other claimed interviewee, 96-year-old stroke-victim Ned Young, said little or nothing about the ambush or ambush commander Tom Barry (who Hart had defamed). The book, originally due to mark the ambush's 100th anniversary in November, is now delayed, state the publishers, to April 2021. We suggest April first as an appropriate publication date!

Revisionist history Irish style, to coin a phrase, reveals first a historical tragedy; secondly, in describing it, a farce.

Jack Lane

Book Review: *The Dead of the Irish Revolution*, 2020, Yale University Press,
Eunan O'Hallpin, Daithí Ó Corráin

DIRe account of Kilmichael Ambush

The Dead of the Irish Revolution (DIRe), a database of fatalities from 1916 to 1921, has been a long time coming. The research was initiated in 2003 by TCD's Professor Eunan O'Hallpin and, to 2007, by DCU's Daithí Ó Corráin. The research, taken over by O'Hallpin, was first promised in 2009.

Delay means that the work has lost its lustre. Andy Bielenberg and James Donnelly published an extensive Cork fatalities database online some years ago. Bielenberg and Pádraig Óg O'Ruairc listed conflict disappeared last August. Those interested in Cork deaths have a choice of going online or paying over €50 for this book. Criticism appears to have circumscribed claims Professor O'Hallpin made previously, supported by his protégé Gerard Murphy. They argued that the IRA disappeared British soldiers its army never lost and Protestants its community never missed.

The work comments on other matters in dispute. *Irish Political Review* readers are familiar with Peter Hart's contested 1998 work on Cork, in *The IRA and its Enemies*. The Aubane Historical Society was first to query his research, in a pamphlet questioning Hart's account of the 28th November 1920 Kilmichael Ambush. Three of 36 IRA attackers were killed, plus 16 British Auxiliaries. One more Auxiliary who escaped was later captured and killed, while another, severely wounded, was left for dead.

For Hart, ambush commander Tom Barry was a vainglorious lying 'serial killer'. He argued in parallel that the War of Independence was an ethno-sectarian squabble, with the ostensibly non-sectarian IRA doing most of it. What appeared to be robust evidence gave Hart hero status among revisionist historians. Eunan O'Hallpin wrote supportively in 1998 that Hart had raised the bar so much, those

defending the 'honour' of the Cork IRA would have their work cut out.

Quite the reverse has happened, hence a three-page DIR [*Dead of the Irish Revolution*] polemic in defence of Hart on Kilmichael. O'Halpin relies on Eve Morrison's defence of Hart. Her book on the ambush, due for the November centenary, is now slated to appear on 1st April 2021.

In what purports to be an objective database O'Halpin fails to suspend subjective revisionist understanding.

Controversy centres on Tom Barry's report that two of three IRA casualties occurred after British Auxiliaries attempted a 'false surrender'. It was then a fight to the finish, with no further IRA acceptance of surrender attempts. Hart, followed by O'Halpin and Morrison, attempted to undermine this account.

O'Halpin begins with a silly mistake, asserting that Barry claimed all three IRA casualties were false surrender victims. Barry indisputably stated that there were two, Pat Deasy and Jim O'Sullivan, with Michael McCarthy being killed prior to the false surrender event.

O'Halpin then gives a blow-by-blow account of who died when and where though he, unlike Tom Barry, was not at the ambush.

O'Halpin defends Hart's two anonymous late-1980s 'interviews' with elderly ambush participants. One took place six days after the last participant, Ned Young, died. Pettiness knows no bounds in one 'straw man' observation: "*the canard that [Hart's] claimed interview with Ned Young post dated Young's death remains in circulation*". O'Halpin resolves Hart's problem by citing Eve Morrison's claim that a Willie Chambers is the missing man. But, in the Southern Star in 2017, Morrison reported that Chambers, during the ambush, was guarding a bridge 15km away. At best, then, Hart confused Chambers with actual ambush participants.

An element of farce is enhanced by Eve Morrison's recent West Cork History Festival admission that, while speaking to Hart, Ned Young did not mention the ambush (or Tom Barry) at all. This should not surprise us. John Young pointed out in 2008 that his 95-year father suffered a debilitating stroke two years prior to Hart's claimed 'interview'.

Hart apparently therefore interviewed an ambush veteran who did not speak about it and someone not there, who did.

We descend further down the rabbit hole

with O'Halpin's reliance on unreferenced Bureau of Military History testimony by Timothy Keohane. Though never included in participant lists of ambush fighters, Keohane may have been at the camp to which ambush fighters afterwards retreated. In any case, O'Halpin dismisses his reference to a false surrender.

O'Halpin, like Hart, ignores participant descriptions of a false surrender. In the late 1960s Ned Young, who was away from the ambush proper, pursuing an escaping Auxiliary, reported a false surrender relayed to him immediately afterwards. His comrades also said that John Lordan killed an Auxiliary he accused of falsely surrendering. Sonny O'Neill, the first ambush fighter to publish on the subject, in 1937, is similarly ignored. Since Tom Barry's views are serially dismissed, it is hardly surprising that Hart, O'Halpin and Morrison misreport what he said.

To cap it all, the severely wounded (in the head) Auxiliary survivor, H.F. Forde, is reported thus: "*Although unable to give evidence, he afterwards provided a brief but graphic account of the ambush*".

All this goes to show that revisionist historians are still fighting the Kilmichael Ambush and the War of Independence generally. They will continue until they get the result they want.

A similar approach is evident in DIR commentary on the IRA killing of Kate Carroll, in Monaghan in April 1921. For many years She featured in revisionist histories of the IRA's supposed war on Protestants and other alleged 'social deviants'. Here, readers are spared knowledge that, for nearly 30 years, historians confidently stated that her killing was sectarian, until it was discovered she was Catholic! The saga and Eunan O'Halpin's part in it is relayed in my recent essay, '*She was a Protestant as well*'.

The book is, in part, an objective database, to the extent that its revisionist omissions and errors are identified and, like Hart's Kilmichael research, eroded.

Niall Meehan

(author of 'Examining Peter Hart',
Field Day, 2014)

Notes On The Role Of Ex-Servicemen In Derry: Part Three

Tony Martin, 19 December 1937 – 13 May 2004

Tony Martin was District Secretary of the Transport & General Workers' Union, in charge of the Carlisle Road Office in Derry, with responsibility for a large number of workers in Derry and the surrounding area, from about 1977 until his retirement around 1997.

With more members than any other Trade Union in Northern Ireland, the position taken by the T&G was a critical factor in the campaign to establish Labour politics in Northern Ireland. Tony's support for this work was therefore particularly important.

Tony was born in Salford in Greater Manchester; his father was a Yorkshireman of Spanish Jewish origins; his mother was second generation Irish immigrant from Mayo, related on her mother's side to John MacHale, the Mayo Bishop who played a leading role in Catholic Emancipation, Famine Relief, and in the education and land reform movements of the 19th century.

Tony's father died young and his mother and her five children found themselves in difficult circumstances. Tony had a wild streak, and his policeman brother was sometimes obliged to take him home from the police station to which he was occasionally taken. He left home at age 15 to join the Royal Navy, which provided Tony with further education.

Naval service took him round the world several times; he saw action as an able seaman gunner in the Cyprus and Suez conflicts; and he participated in NATO exercises monitoring Soviet submarines in the Atlantic during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. In less martial mode, he served as ship's electrician—and bugler in the ship's band—on HMS Crane, in a 1961-62 recreation of Captain Cook's voyage round the islands of the South Pacific, including a visit to the island of Nomuka, the first time a warship had visited that island since Captain Bligh went there in 1789.

In 1963 Tony's ship HMS Falmouth was stationed in Derry, where he met Jean. He left the Navy in 1964 to become first mate to his new captain on board the ship of life. Jean and Tony married one week later, on 25th November 1964, and they lived with Jean's mother in Fanad Drive, in Derry's Creggan area. The couple's housing application to Londonderry Corporation was never even acknowledged.

With an address in Creggan, Tony found it difficult to land a civilian job, and he became increasingly conscious of the social problems besetting Derry. Eventually he got a start in the Campsie scrap metal yard, owned by Jean's cousin's husband, Jimmy Corry, and he worked there for about three years before getting a job as steel erector with the American Navy in their Derry naval base, working as antennae rigger in the communications system on Benbradagh Mountain near Dungiven—the 5G of its time.

Tony became involved in the Civil Rights movement and was appointed Public Relations Officer for the local NICRA [Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association] Committee, and acted as Steward in Civil Rights rallies and demonstrations. He was present when the October 1968 rally in Duke Street was baton-charged and MPs bloodied, putting the situation here on the world's television screens.

As the Northern political system became increasingly stressed, the Battle of the Bogside in August 1969 demonstrated the vulnerability of the Catholic population, which was practically unrepresented in the police and armed forces of the Stormont system. In the communal division, Tony's military background alerted him to a fact which became increasingly significant and troubling—that a massive preponderance of arms (legal, official and otherwise) and military capacity resided on one side of the community division. Undertakings by the Irish Prime Minister Jack Lynch to provide support to besieged Catholic areas were reneged on, throwing the northern Catholic population back on its own meagre resources.

The IRA had little military or political credibility at the time. As an ex-serviceman, Tony helped organise the large numbers of former members of the British armed services in Derry, and, in the absence of any other disciplined resources, these played a key role in area defence and in stewarding the Civil Rights campaign during the late sixties and early seventies. They were also a politically significant factor in the line-up of contending forces at that particular time. (Under

the name of "*Services Club*", what would have been known elsewhere as the British Legion, this group retained an unmolested presence on Derry's Cityside throughout the Troubles, and was a social amenity frequented by Tony and many other ex-Service people and their families.)

The loyalist B-Specials were disbanded in 1970. The ground seemed to be shifting. The Ulster Defence Regiment was formed. As a military-minded person, this appeared to Tony to be a golden opportunity to introduce some communal balance into the disposition of arms and military training, and, along with hundreds of other Derry people, he seized the opportunity and joined up. As did the former B-Specials.

Continuing aggression by state forces under the control of the Stormont Government culminated in the deaths of Séamus Cusack and Desmond Beattie at the hands of trigger-happy soldiers on 8th July 1971. Tony led a parade of ex-Servicemen to burn their medals and military honours. He resigned from the UDR at this point.

Recruitment to both Official and Provisional IRA surged, and the Stormont Government introduced Internment on 9th August 1971. Tony participated in the resulting Rent and Rates Strike against internment. As PRO of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, he helped to organise the anti-Internment March of Sunday, 30th January 1972, and he helped to secure commitments from both wings of the IRA to stay out of the march.

Tony's military background made him a particularly useful witness to what happened, and he gave evidence to the 1972 Widgery Tribunal of Enquiry, and to the Saville Enquiry into what has become known as Bloody Sunday.

His testimony to the latter includes:

"My role on the march was to act as a steward. I was working with Arthur Palmer, who was a war-time hero and had acted as a tail-gunner in the RAF. Me and Arthur were in touch by walkie-talkie. Arthur's role was to drive around ahead of the march and let me know where the army had set up barricades. I would then tell the lorry which was at the head of the march where to go and whether to expect any blockades."

Fourteen people were killed by the British Army.

It is likely that the Army expected a violent confrontation at the barricades it had erected against the marchers, and that this confrontation would provide cover for a massacre which had been authorised by the British Government, in support of the Unionist Government in Stormont.

In the event, the march was turned away from the army barricades by Tony and his fellow-stewards who sought to avoid confrontation.

So the Paratroopers actually followed the retreating marchers down Rossville Street towards the barricade near Free Derry Corner; where they opened fire without the excuse of the provocation they had sought to engineer. Here the marchers were trapped, with practically no cover from snipers strategically placed in surrounding high points overlooking Rossville Street. A turkey shoot.

In the ensuing slaughter, Tony helped people out of the line of fire, helped the wounded to safety, and helped to move the dead. It is likely that the careful planning, swift action, and discipline of Tony and the other stewards forestalled a much worse massacre.

Later he gave interviews to the media, including to Peter Pringle of the *Times* newspaper. Following this he received death threats from the "*Hooded Defenders*", with the result that he lost his US Navy job, because US Navy personnel travelling to work with him would also be in danger from the "*Hooded Defenders*".

His next job was with Hutchinson Yarns in Campsie, where he became Shop Steward and Convenor. He went on Trade Union courses in Newcastle and Dublin, going on to be appointed District Officer of the Transport and General Workers Union, with an office in Carlisle Road, Derry, to provide representation and support to Union members of all religious hues in Derry and surrounding districts.

This became his mature life's work, and Tony was notably successful at it. He had a gift for organisation, and attracted a talented and energetic group of local Trade Union activists around him. He attended to the more public face of Trade Unionism through his involvement in Derry Trades Council, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and in industrial & employment promotion and other forums. As Harbour Commissioner, and as recreational sailor, he continued his interest in things naval.

Tony played a leading role in various attempts to settle the NI conflict. It was notable that, on occasions when the Troubles were particularly fraught or bloody, the community as a whole often turned to the Trade Union movement to give public expression to common humanity and to civilised values, in a way which governments, churches or other organisations could not express. In those days the Trade Union and labour movement meant a lot more

than wages and conditions and contracts of employment. It was the common soul and conscience of the greater community.

In 1988 I asked Tony for his support for the campaign to get the British Labour Party to organise and take a committed and active part in Northern Irish representative electoral politics.

Seeing merit in this, and also a possibility of success, Tony applied his organising and political skills to the issue within his own Union, the largest and most influential in Northern Ireland, and at that time a powerful force within the British Labour Party itself. But it was a problematic issue within the T&G in Northern Ireland. The Union was already politicised. It was an open secret that the leading full-time officials of the Union in the Belfast area were affiliated to the Communist Party, whose policy was to oppose British Labour Party organisation in Northern Ireland.

Therefore, in effect, the political might of the T&G throughout Britain and Ireland was directed steadfastly against any serious effort to introduce cross-community Labour politics into N. Ireland. Discussion of this reform—almost trivially common-sensical and practical—was repeatedly stopped in its tracks when the representatives of the biggest organisation of labour in NI falsely declared that there was no support for it.

Tony's attitude to the Communist Party was somewhat complicated. He was a faithful Catholic. The Church was dogmatically anti-communist, and the CP in N. Ireland was dogmatically atheist. To make things worse, there was a sense that Orange attitudes carried over into some of the CP membership in Belfast. Whatever the truth of this, the CP got little support west of the Bann. But the party could be seen as a "hidden hand" wielding influence for or against this or that; for instance in advancement within the ranks of the Union.

Tony resented this influence, along with the subtle (sometimes unsubtle) attempts to draw Union members into the party, or to bring them under its control as "*fellow-travellers*", as the Cold War expression puts it. On the other hand, he thought that a Union as complex, as large and as powerful as the T&G had to have some political coherence, and this could only be supplied by some coherent political agency. Tony accepted that the CP performed this role in the Union. Perhaps part of his motivation for espousing the cause of Labour Party organisation was the hope that it would provide a more effective political

direction to the T&G Union to which he had committed his life's work.

This was a rather complicated perspective, and it had some surreal consequences. In the late 1980s, Tony set up the "*Ireland-Soviet Friendship Society*" in Derry, with some public flourish. If this sounds like a CP-type project, well, perhaps that's what it sounds like. If it drew down some funds from God-knows-where, for the enjoyment and entertainment of T&G members in the Derry area, well, maybe some hard-working Union activists got some well-earned recreation out of it.

As far as I know the mostly Republican left in Derry did not flock to join it. I can remember attending a meeting of the group addressed by—wait for it—a party of Bishops (probably Lutheran) from the Baltic states, at a moment when Gorbachev *glasnost* was giving the Baltic peoples hope of some reduction of Soviet "*friendship and intimacy*"! Somehow or other, Tony's endorsement and his enthusiastic high spirits made it all seem perfectly reasonable at the time.

Because of the strength of the CP in the T&GWU, it was going to be impossible to get any motion on Labour Party organisation passed—or even on the agenda—of any T&G forum east of the Bann. However Tony found a way of putting this proposal to the Annual Conference of the Union in England. Of course it couldn't be passed there without the unanimous support of the Northern Ireland delegates at the Conference, and there was no way this would be forthcoming in the circumstances.

But the mere fact that the motion was put, and that it came from west of the Bann, gave the lie to the CP dogma that British Labour would be unacceptable in Republican areas; that its entry would be divisive and potentially destructive to Union cross-community solidarity on economic issues; and that, despite its United Ireland policy, the introduction of Labour into Northern Ireland would be a one-sided measure which would only entrench Unionism.

All of a sudden it seemed that the effort to democratise Northern Ireland within the British constitution was no longer a headbanger fantasy. Tony's motion to Annual Conference (proposed, in fact, by his wife Jean, a T&G member herself) meant that a breach had been made in the dam. The CP leadership lies were exposed by direct evidence from within the Catholic community itself.

This momentous event had consequences, described below.

At that time the Labour Party spokesman on Irish policy was the SDLP-aligned MP for Hull, Kevin McNamara, who had T&G-sponsorship and was well known to Tony. They were very good friends, and, despite political differences, Kevin's frequent visits to Derry were often occasions for socialising and partying. No doubt, if the SDLP had an official and formal relationship with the Trade Union movement, Tony and other leaders would have endorsed such a link. Given the origins of the SDLP, I've never fully understood why it did not make more of an effort to be seen to be trying to develop these links. Of course, the inherent implausibility of this idea is at the heart of the problems of trying to generate non-confessional politics while staying within the bounds of the Stormont system—the so-called Northern Ireland constitution, whether in its pre- or post-Good Friday Agreement form.

Tony was also well-connected with Union activists across Ireland and Britain. A frequent high-profile visitor was former T&G leader Jack Jones, who, especially in his latter years, would travel the length and breadth of Ireland to visit fellow-veterans of the Spanish Civil War and the International Brigade. I don't know the extent to which Tony discussed the British Labour project with Jack Jones. But Tony put it to him that, in seeking to govern Northern Ireland without even attempting to obtain an electoral mandate there, the British Labour Party position was based on armed force, and its moral authority in this was less than those groups it condemned as terrorists, some of whom could claim at least some measure of electoral support in Northern Ireland.

Jack acknowledged that these were powerful arguments, but never engaged with the issue.

Tony himself was prepared to submit his case to the electorate and stood for election to Derry City Council in 1993. He polled better than could reasonably be expected. In the same elections Mark Langhammer won a seat on Newtownabbey District Council on a similar platform.

All of these developments produced, within sectarian Unionism, growing alarm at a credible non-sectarian move, powerfully supported from within the Catholic community, towards a form of politics which was not based on religious identity and national affiliation, and in which Catholics would have equal standing with Protestants.

In consequence there was a concerted push in 1993-94 to hijack the Labour

representation campaign, to bring it under the control of sectarian Unionism, and to reverse Labour's historic policy of "*Irish unity by consent*".

It proved impossible to prevent this.

But, by testing the proposition to destruction, the campaign had established beyond any reasonable doubt that the Six Counties had no democratic future within the United Kingdom.

It could be argued that we should have known this in advance. That was the view of the Provisionals who viewed the campaign as quixotic and doomed to failure, saying that Britain had higher strategic aims than the well-being of the Six Counties, and that it would never allow it.

The Provisionals were right. But we provided incontrovertible proof that this was so.

In parallel with these developments it also became clear that the Labour movement that Tony had grown up in—consisting of Trade Unions, the Labour Party, and an historic array of voluntary, self-help and co-operative groups which gave organisation, structure and purpose to society—had come to an end in Britain.

Though it dragged for a while in a kind of nostalgia or zombie condition, it finally disappeared. Almost like snow off a ditch, almost as if it had never existed.

"*New Labour*" entered the era of the blood-soaked war-mongers and mass murderers Blair and Brown.

A few years later Tony Martin retired from the position of District Officer of the Transport and General Workers Union. He continued to play a prominent role in the local Committee as a retired member. He pursued his many interests. Though he never stopped campaigning, he had time to spend with his extended family to whom he was devoted, and to enjoy his large circle of friends. He bore his final illness with the indomitable fortitude and cheerfulness which were his trademark.

NOTE

While he was in the UDR by day, Tony was also in Saor Éire by night. I don't know the details of his activities in either outfit. I think he rather resented that the Provisionals soon acquired ascendancy. Though he never became reconciled to them, it was fortunate for him and for everybody else that they did so.

1921: SOWING DRAGONS' TEETH

In 1921 the British State delegated powers in the Six Counties—including the power of policing the streets, homes and persons of a defenceless, unarmed Catholic minority—to what was, in effect, an irate, excitable crowd of red-hot Rangers supporters, after first arming them to the teeth.

When you reflect on it, this seems crazy. Especially as Britain had governed the place for centuries and knew exactly what the consequences would be. There were numerous ways of organising government and policing in the Six Counties, most of which could have produced a semi-civilised outcome. So why did Britain, in 1921, freely and for no good reason change the system which had been in operation there for decades previously? Why did it freely and for no good reason impose the worst possible system that anyone could possibly devise for the Six Counties?

Of course it was not crazy at all. Britain retained, and still retains, untrammelled freedom of action to do good or ill, as it chooses, in the Six Counties. When it suited it, it shut down its stooge parliament in Stormont overnight. Likewise its B-Specials and any other local organisation which had outlasted its usefulness.

What constantly and permanently serves Britain's purpose is to pose as the sane, rational, well-intentioned mediator between violent, malicious local factions who, if only they could get at each other, would destroy each other Balkans-style if Britain was not around to prevent it.

So—crazy like a fox. Why does Britain go to such lengths?

Measured instability and tension are Britain's lever of control and management of its historic Irish backyard. When it separated from Britain the southern Irish state proved to be unexpectedly stable and successful, ever more so as separation increased in scope and depth, from 1922 through to the present. This was diametrically opposite to what Britain anticipated, planned and arranged for, from 1922-23 and through each succeeding decade. Parallels can be found around the world in other countries which became independent from Britain.

The Irish Government laid claim to a form of authority in the Six Counties. With the prize of peace and stability in Northern Ireland at stake, the Irish could be lured into closer alignment whenever Britain could present itself as a benevolent actor in the Northern situation, while disguising its own fundamental role in poisoning and

aggravating historically fraught community relations there. Not to mention the worldwide international need to prettify the unpleasant actuality of British power in Northern Ireland.

THE PROVISIONALS

Despite his best efforts, the situation deteriorated over the next couple of years. Sean Keenan then oversaw the development of the Provisional movement in Derry, though he rejected the 1986 Provisional departure from traditional Republican orthodoxy.

It is almost beyond belief that the Catholics remained passive for several generations after 1921. Being unarmed and defenceless probably had something to do with it. Also, the Irish Government claimed authority in the Six Counties and posed as champion of 'the minority', an ultimately empty and bogus posture which proved illusory at the critical moment, causing an immeasurable amount of harm.

The latest Balkans catastrophe had not yet happened at that time. But a Balkans loomed in the Six Counties, and anybody who cared to know about it could see it coming. Britain had sown dragons' teeth in 1921. When would the armed men spring up out of this seed, and how far would the horror go?

Could this looming catastrophe be stopped in its tracks and reversed? Delegations of responsible individuals, such as Paddy "Bogside" Doherty of the Citizens' Defence Committee, ran in desperation to their defence of last resort, the Irish Government, led by Jack Lynch who had postured as the champion of the unarmed, defenceless minority.

But, when the Irish Government was challenged by Britain through its mouthpiece, Fine Gael leader Liam Cosgrave, it promptly turned tail, and instead of mustering its considerable legal and diplomatic resources to stabilise the situation into high-level prevarication, parleys, talks, mediation, negotiations—any one of a myriad ploys that a Government can use to cool things down—it panicked and made things immeasurably worse by effectively closing off all such peaceful avenues.

During the 1969-70 crisis, the Citizens' Defence Committee even went to the Dublin IRA, only to be regaled with juvenile fantasy. At best they were merely useless. At worst they threatened to add a Red Terror to the already toxic Balkans mix.

So by default, the Catholics were forced back on their own meagre resources, including Len Green's piles of rubble,

and such negligible armaments as could be improvised on the ground.

The primary cause of the catastrophe was the criminal machinations of the sovereign British power. But looking beyond the primary cause, the irresponsible conduct of the Irish Government makes it the most reprehensible of the secondary parties.

We are talking about grown-ups here, so there is no need to weigh up the Stormont

politicians, the fall guys who mindlessly accepted the poisoned cup handed to them by the sovereign power in 1921. Their leader Edward Carson, who as a lawyer had fought for the tenants against the landlords in the 1880's Land War in Leinster and Munster, washed his hands of his witless Ulster Unionist followers when they signed their own suicide note to accommodate the British Government in 1921 by accepting a devolved administration.

Pat Muldowney

Series Concluded

War And Peace In Northern Ireland

There is a functioning devolved Government in the Six Counties because a war was fought against the British State over the political system which it imposed on the region in 1921.

The 1921 system was changed radically in 1998. It was changed because the State was unable to win the War and had to negotiate a drastic alteration of the system in order to end it.

Sinn Féin is a major party in the new governing system because it was the political representative of the IRA in the War.

It was not because the IRA desisted from military action that the system was changed and Sinn Féin became a constitutionally-installed governing party. It was because the IRA engaged in sustained military action which the State forces were unable to suppress by force.

Everybody knows that.

Events in the War are commemorated by the community on whose behalf, and with whose active support, the War was fought. There is nothing at all unusual about that. The English still celebrate battles fought centuries ago.

One of the striking events in the Northern Ireland War was the IRA breakout from the Maze Prison. Gerry Kelly, who took part in the escape and published a book about it, went on to become a member of the Northern Ireland Assembly a Minister, and a member of the Policing Board.

There is nothing unusual about that either in the history of oppressed states. Nelson Mandela, an imprisoned terrorist, left his prison cell for the Prime Minister's Office under a negotiated settlement.

On the anniversary of the Maze Breakout Gerry Kelly published a tweet com-

memorating the Break-out as one of Bobby Storey's remarkable achievements. The incident would probably have passed unnoticed by the wider world if the BBC had not pounced on it for propaganda purposes.

It was brought to the attention of the Secretary of State, Brandon Lewis, the one who said that Britain would break the law over the Brexit arrangements. He condemned it as required. And the BBC broadcast an edited repeat of an interview with Gerry Kelly on the occasion of the publication of his book in 2003.

In the book Kelly describes the Break-out as an incident in a war. The book, *The Escape, is a War Memoir*. According to the Blurb on the back cover:

"The 1983 Escape from Long Kesh Prison Camp was the largest mass escape from a European Jail since the end of the Second World War. Gerry Kelly along with 37 of his comrades defied all probability using cunning, expertise and daring to smash out of what was at the time the most secure prison in Europe. This is the story..."

Kelly's credentials are given. He was born in Belfast in 1953, into a family of eleven children. In the late 1960s "*he joined in the resistance against the military forces of the British backed Orange State in the North of Ireland*".

He was imprisoned many times and escaped twice. He joined Sinn Féin in 1989 "*and became part of their negotiating team leading up to the Good Friday Agreement, followed by the St. Andrew's Agreement and the Hillsborough Agreement*".

In 1996 he became an MLA, a Member of the Legislative Assembly set up under the Good Friday Agreement and held his seat at successive elections.

"Between 2007 and 2011 he was a Junior Minister. He is now Sinn Féin policing spokesperson and a member of the Policing Board."

In other words, it was as a respectable and respected citizen that he wrote this memoir of a remarkable incident in his military career.

He did not become a respectable citizen by disavowing his activity in the War. If he had disavowed that activity, he would not now be the respected citizen that he is.

He made war until warfare brought about a situation in which his cause could be advanced through political negotiation. He then took part in negotiating a peace settlement, in minimising militarist discontent with the settlement, and in making the settlement functional by means of accommodations with elements of what he calls the Orange State.

Martin McGuinness met the Queen. In what capacity did he meet her? In that of a penitent and remorseful rebel accepting a pardon? Or as the commander of one Army meeting the commander of another Army after the relationship of war between them had been set aside.

The BBC in Belfast tried to get a diplomatically equivocal statement from Kelly while McGuinness was meeting the Queen in London. What he said, as I recall, was that, given a repeat of the situation as it was in 1970, they would do again what they did in 1970.

So who was giving an audience to whom? Well, the Queen did not go up the Falls Road for the meeting. But it was she who made the concessions that made the meeting possible with the Chief of Staff of the IRA that had become Sinn Féin, who was the Second First Minister in Northern Ireland.

Gerry Kelly made war. Then he made peace with the State against which he had made war—which was the British State in its Six County disguise of the Orange State. Then he became a statesman within the political settlement which he had helped to negotiate. He became what the blurb on the book calls "a Junior Minister". But the work of a Sinn Féin Junior Minister under the 1998 Agreement was not a matter of delivering speeches written by civil servants. What was required in the first instance was an orderly regrouping of the Army as a political force when the point on which war was declared had not been achieved.

It had not been achieved because it was unachievable. The war was declared in 1970 on anti-Treaty grounds by what was

essentially Southern Sinn Féin, which only saw the Border. But it was not the Border grievance that fuelled the IRA resurgence of 1970-71: it was the mode of government in "the Orange State", as experienced by the Nationalist/Catholic third of the population over two generations.

There was not enough substance in the issue of Partition to cause a war. That was demonstrated in 1956 when, as the outcome of an intensive Fine Gael Anti-Partition propaganda campaign, an IRA force crossed the Border and drove through to the Northern coast of County Antrim, and the Nationalist population of Northern Ireland remained calm.

The Border was essentially a Free State (ie, 26 County) issue. The Free State took no interest in the actual mode of government in the Six Counties, beyond the gross gerrymander of Derry City and the abolition of Proportional Representation. What mattered to it was that the Six Counties were in the British state instead of the Irish state. It was written into its Constitution that British rule in the Six Counties was a usurpation of Irish sovereignty and was illegitimate, but over the decades it did nothing about that British infringement of its sovereignty, and it condemned anybody who tried to do something about it.

The defensive insurrection of 1969 and the war of 1970-98 were not in any substantial sense a resumption of the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-21, or the so-called Civil War of 1922-23. Dublin tried to get in on the act when the settlement was made in 1998, as if it had been a party to the war, but while the war was in progress all that it did was condemn it.

That war was a war within the British state both in its causation and in its mode of settlement.

It was settled on terms which indicated that it was a war, rather than the outbreak of psychopathic criminality, which had been the Government description of it while it was in progress. There was a tacit admission by the charismatic Prime Minister of the time that the State, by means of its 'Orange State' device for the Six Counties, had given the Nationalist minority of the Six Counties sufficient reason for doing what it did.

But that view of the matter was not formalised. And the greatest resistance to it came from Dublin, which had got itself into an ideological tangle over the North in general, and particularly over Provisional Sinn Féin which was rapidly spreading outwards from the North.

The IRA as Sinn Féin quickly became

a major party in the restructured governing system of the North, but the major parties in the Dail held to the discarded British line that it was a kind of Mafia conducted by *Godfathers of crime* and therefore unfit to be in government. And Fianna Fáil, which has lost heavily to Sinn Féin, seems to imagine that, by refusing to acknowledge that a war was fought in the North for sufficient reason and brought to an orderly conclusion, it is resisting fascism. It seems to be content to wither away in a virtuous wonderland, if that is the price of denying the existence of Sinn Féin as a constitutional force with military origins—which is what Fianna Fáil itself was in its great days.

Denial that what happened in the North was a war has consequences for the peace that followed the war.

During the war, when the British Army acknowledged that it was in conflict with organised military force under effective command, as distinct from a gang of psychopaths.

But the war was often described from a certain viewpoint as tribal feuding, internal to Northern Ireland. If it was feuding, it could not have ended as it did.

But if there is not a public consensus that it was a war between the State and a coherent section of the population that the State was misgoverning, the feuding mentality is encouraged to persist. And Six County BBC ("*Radio Ulster*"), which is not an instrument of Six County politics, persists in treating it as having been tribal feuding, and encouraging it to continue.

Wars have their place in human affairs. The experience of human affairs says that perpetual peace is a wartime delusion. A well-conducted war resolves some issues for the time being. It is generally understood that individuals do things in war which they would not dream of doing in private life. When they return from war to private life, they are not held accountable for what they did in the war as if they had done it out of individual impulse in peacetime.

Gerry Kelly wrote a memoir about a great escape in wartime. The BBC, which is well used to the conventions under which wartime memoirs are discussed, invited him to a discussion of his war memoir, and ambushed him. The context of war was set aside. His statement that he would never have been at war with the State if the State had been democratically governed was ignored. It was put to him, not very obliquely, that he was a psychopath. He coped remarkably well with the ambush.

The full text of the interview, as given in an edited repeat broadcast on 29th September, seven years after its first broadcast, is given in the current issue of *Church & State* (No. 142).

The question of whether Northern Ireland was under democratic government has never been raised on the BBC. It never occurs to its investigative journalists to wonder how a 'political entity' which was excluded at birth from the political life of the state could be said to have been governed by the democracy of the state.

The region was placed under local sectarian rule by the Government of the state in 1921 and was kept there. The circumstances were such that local rule could only be sectarian.

The 'political entity' had no serious business of state to transact. All the major services of state were laid on by the Government of the state, except for policing. And policing was communalised. The old Royal Irish Constabulary was not a County Constabulary (as in the rest of the UK), but a state police force controlled by the central Government. The RUC was not the RIC confined to the Six Counties in 1921. It was a police force of a different kind: a locally-based and -controlled police force.

Intimate communal policing of the Catholic community by the Protestant community, and Protestant control of town planning, were what "*the Northern Ireland state*" consisted of. That was all the governing that the Unionist Government had to do. Its main business was to get out the Protestant vote at every election (and, as the only devolved region of the state, it had twice as many elections as any other region), in order to remain 'connected' with the state.

The system was accurately summed up as "*a factory of grievances*" by one historian—who backed away from the implications of it. [Reference to Patrick Buckland's book of 1980, ed.]

It is being said that there is no point in raking over old sores. The past has happened and cannot be changed and the future is what counts. But the future depends on the present, which is always with us. And the present carries the past along with it—very much so in Northern Ireland. That is not because the people in Northern Ireland have extravagantly long memories, and are obsessed with the past. It is because the people were put into a fixed structure detached from the flux of democracy in the state in 1921.

That structure had no internal prin-

ciple of change. It is only through actual change of circumstances that a present becomes the past. Time—the circuit of the Earth around the Sun—has nothing to do with it.

Northern Ireland was unchanging for two generations. It changed only because a war was raised up against it. And now the war must be acknowledged to have been a war before there can be further development.

What the notion that the past must be left behind, by an act of wilful forgetfulness, works out as is that the past must be misrepresented so that people can be freed from it and "*move on*".

But misrepresenting the past became a major industry when the War began. It was the fantasy alternative to the War. And that fantasy now includes denial that there ever was a War.

I opposed the War from the start, in a weekly publication produced within shooting range of Divis Tower in Belfast. I did not oppose it because I did not consider it a war. All too obviously it was a war. And, if it had not been a genuine war but a psychopathic murder campaign—as the BBC and Fianna Fail suggest—I doubt that I would have survived. But Rory Brady declared war and I took him at his word.

I opposed it on the, perhaps frivolous, ground that its declared object—the ending of Partition—could not be achieved. I did not oppose it on 'moral' grounds. I don't know what merely moral opposition to a war could be in the circumstances which had occasioned actual war. This is a matter on which morality waits on the fact.

I appealed to the Dublin Government to do something more useful than condemning violence. I suggested that it should take steps to revoke the de-legitimising sovereignty claim on the Six Counties and recognise the Ulster Protestances as something more than religious bigots and feudal dupes. When Dublin paid no heed I addressed the internal Northern Ireland arrangement that was obviously fuelling the War and proposed that Northern Ireland should be set aside and the Six Counties should be included in the democratic political life of the state, directly governed by the Government of the state.

I discussed this with Belfast correspondents of London papers, who were puzzled by what was happening. They took the point and made inquiries. They came back with the explanation the Six

Counties could not be included in the British democracy because the Republic would make war on Britain if that was attempted. At the time I dismissed that as mere nonsense, but Pat Walsh later discovered that Dublin had engaged in heavy lobbying of Whitehall against any more towards "*integration*".

There was of course no actual possibility of Dublin joining the IRA but there is little doubt that it was dedicated to preserving the Northern Ireland source of the War while condemning the War. Was that positive duplicity, or just evasive denialism?

The Dublin Establishment—political, literary, academic—never came to terms with the existence of Northern Ireland, or acknowledged the distinction between Partition as such and "*the Northern Ireland state*" by means of which Whitehall chose to implement it.

Right at the start Michael Collins thought that, having made peace with Britain on British terms, he could make war on Northern Ireland. In May 1922 he invaded Northern Ireland and brought out Northern Republicans in insurrection. He found out the hard way that the Northern Ireland 'state' was just a form of the British state. He was then obliged by Whitehall to leave the Northern Republicans in the lurch and make war on the main body of the IRA in the 26 Counties which he had failed to carry with him, as leader of the IRB, into the Treatyite camp. The "*Orange State*" then had a field day, putting down the Republicanism that Collins had brought out, while Collins himself made war on the IRA in the South.

The North was quiet for almost half a century after that chastening experience. When it rose again, it was on its own account, without asking permission of the Dublin regime, which still asserted sovereign right over it.

Was it necessary for the Nationalist North to make war in 1970? Is it ever necessary to make war? What Pascal said is undeniable: if everyone stayed quietly at home, there *would be much less trouble in the world*. But that is not advice that the human race is capable of taking. And, if it ever becomes capable of taking it, its history will be at an end.

The appropriate question is whether war was possible. And that question is answered by the fact that a War was fought and brought to an orderly conclusion by

the Provisionals of the North, unlike the War of Independence in the South.

But the force that conducted a successful war in the North, and brought it to an effective conclusion, is regarded as criminal by the Southern regime and its members are excluded from the possibility of being in government.

However, there are Northern Republicans who dissented from the peace, preferring war to the bitter end, who are lionised by the Southern media and given columns in the Sunday papers. Perversity still reigns in Southern relations with the North—the reason apparently being that the Southern regime is actively brainwashing itself out of its own history—or was doing so until it was brought up short by Brexit.

Brendan Clifford

VJ Day: *Seventy-Five Years Of Tommy Rot!*

It seems to me that VJ-Day has always been a load of Tommy-Rot. It should be no surprise that Boris Johnson sought the limelight this year, before crawling off before a sea of troubles, to rough it on a camping holiday amongst the midges of the Scottish Highlands.

British forces, (when they were fighting) in Asia were not doing so for the liberation of Asian people but for the continuation of their own murderous thieving Empire.

The British were responsible for the murder by famine of up to three million Indians in Bengal in 1942 -43, people supposedly living under the protection of "*their*" King-Emperor in London.

The British had not been invited by the natives to India, or Burma, Shanghai, or Hong Kong, and the British were not "*pro-democracy*" activists. The French were no less murderous and grasping in their overseas "*possessions*", nor were the Dutch.

It is gratifying to hear the King Willem of the Netherlands has recently "*fessed up*" to the crimes committed by the Dutch in Indonesia both before and AFTER the Second World War. Even the current King of the Belgians has fessed up to Belgian crimes in the Congo.

The British were smugly and snugly sat on their arses in Singapore, where they had done little to recommend themselves to the natives, when they surrendered without

much of a fight to a much less numerous force of Japanese.

The British were led by General Percival, who as a Major in the Essex Regiment had been responsible for the torture and murder of unarmed Irishmen in West Cork in 1921 and 1922. His Regiment was no more courageous when faced with armed Irishmen then, than he showed himself when faced with armed Japanese in 1942.

Percival was present at the surrender of the Japanese in Tokyo Bay in August 1945. As was Admiral Lord Mountbatten,

now recognised as a Great Gatsby, who crashed into High Society by marrying a millionairess in 1922 and apparently leap-frogged through the ranks with talents less nautical than naughty.

His protegee, the then young Prince Philip, was there to share the glory. Presiding over the surrender was Douglas MacArthur, who left his men in the lurch in the Phillipines in 1942, scuttled off to Australia, and arrived for photo-shoots with his corn-cob pipe to claim the credit for the suffering of better Americans.

Donal Kennedy

"In the course of conversation with Sheila and I the subject of Ireland cropped up. "I worked at one time with Admiral Hall" he said. "He was a very clever man indeed. Brilliant. But he was unscrupulous. Though in many ways I admired him, he shouldn't have fixed Casement in the way he did. He fabricated the Diaries, you know, and that was an evil thing to do." I expressed mild surprise and he said "Yes, he did it. Just a few of us knew about it. But do you know, it was a very funny thing, much later on in the last war Intelligence put me on the job of bringing a charge against Hall's son who was mixed up with a group of other young officers ----." He went on to tell us how he tapped the phones, etc, and how Hall's son was killed in a raid just before charges could be brought."

MacDonnell's letter does not say when this conversation took place but the content suggests sometime in 1965 and very probably the 'subject of Ireland' was in fact the State Funeral of Casement on March 1st that year in Dublin. The repatriation of his remains had received wide press coverage in both England and Ireland. MacDonnell confirms in a letter written 30 years later that "*The name Roger Casement cropped up in the course of casual conversation*". It is reasonable to infer that it was this recent historic event which focused Clipperton on Hall that day in 1965. The letter to Ó Snodaigh then reports that, when Clipperton realised MacDonnell had press connections and was Irish, he "*became very agitated indeed*" and declared that he had said too much. MacDonnell wrote that he had not seen Clipperton since that conversation. Later MacDonnell's friend who owned the weekend house told him that Clipperton had subsequently raised the matter with him and was very anxious that nothing should come of it. (2)

2

This writer has with considerable difficulty identified Commander Clipperton. *Sydney Robert Clipperton* was born on 28th December, 1898 in Stalham, Norfolk, the youngest son of Robert John Clipperton, a police officer who rose to the rank of inspector with the Norfolk Police. Young Sydney joined the Royal Navy in 1914 at age 16 and served some twenty-four years until his retirement from the Navy in 1938. On the outbreak of WW2, he joined the Home Guard with the rank of major and in 1940 married Evelyn M. King in Kent. By 1958 Clipperton had retired and taken up residence with his wife in Fairlight, near Hastings on the Sussex coast. Photographs show a substantial detached house built in the 1920s in its own grounds; the address is The Thatch, Cliff End, Pett Level Road, Fairlight, near Hastings. It was a residen-

Insider Knowledge

**'Everything secret degenerates ... nothing is safe
that does not show how it can bear discussion and publicity.' Lord Acton**

1

On 10th January, 1966, President De Valera received an envelope postmarked Hampstead, London. The typed letter within was read to him by his secretary, Máire Ni Cheallaigh, since De Valera was at age 84 almost blind. The writer was a freelance photographer whom De Valera had met some nine months earlier on the historic occasion of the state funeral for Roger Casement. His name was Kevin MacDonnell, a native of Mayo, who wrote as follows:

"I was informed by an ex- British Naval Intelligence source, whose name I cannot reveal, that the Casement Diaries were fabricated by his chief, Admiral Hall. He has had the matter on his conscience ever since and though he has great respect for Hall in all other ways he feels this was an evil piece of work.

I feel you should be the first person to be given this information. I will never forget your kindness and hospitality when I came across last year with Mr Angeloglou, the Picture Editor of The Sunday Times, to photograph you."

De Valera responded on 18th January:

"With regard to the other matter, the important thing is to get some positive proof. Nothing else will suffice. I understand you intend visiting Dublin again soon ... I would like to see you."

MacDonnell responded on 22nd January:

"Regarding the Diaries, I am trying hard to obtain names, dates, in short, proof, but my source of information fears he has told me too much already. However, he may put me in touch with other people who worked with Hall and they may be willing

to talk. I shall be in Dublin on the 27th, 28th and 29th of this month ... and I hope you will be able to see me ..."

Attached to that letter in De Valera's file is an A4 page with the following typewritten: "*Casement's Diaries. Commander Clipperton - special friend of journalist Kevin McDonald - can give information. He worked under Hall.*" Since De Valera could not type, the spelling error of McDonald for MacDonnell is probably a mishearing by his secretary in dictation. At the top of the letter from MacDonnell the words "*Commander Clipperton*" are handwritten in what might be a woman's hand. From these facts, it is reasonable to infer that MacDonnell did meet De Valera and revealed the name Clipperton to him at that meeting. It cannot be determined if De Valera made further enquiries or if he requested such enquiries. (1)

On 17th January MacDonnell had dispatched another letter to a close friend in Dublin, Padraig Ó Snodaigh. He explained how, on a visit to a friend's weekend house on the Sussex coast, he had met a neighbour there, an elderly retired naval officer, Commander Clipperton:

"Obviously a bit lonely, he drops in now and then, usually without phoning first, to have a beer and talk endlessly about his days in the Navy. Most people look on him as a deadly bore, but I am fascinated by the animal brutality of life in the Navy even as late as the twenties and thirties as revealed by him. He really has been all over the place and knows a hell of a lot.

tial area close to the coast favoured by retired business people, ex-service personnel, returned expats. Clipperton was listed in the East Sussex telephone directory of the period. He died in Hastings in October 1969 aged 71.

Clipperton's Navy record shows his service number as J.31169 and records him as 'School boy' from May 1914. Unfortunately the official record seems incomplete and is very difficult to decipher and interpret. However, it is clear from his record that he was a telegraphist and that he was awarded two medals; the S. G. C. (?) and gratuity on 23.3.1932 and the Royal Victoria Medal (silver) on 1.11.1934. Among the ships he served on in the 1930s were HMS Canterbury, HMS Frobisher, HMS Sussex. (3) Evidence from two distinct sources confirms that he became a commander later in his career.

In the early decades of the 20th century radio-telegraphy was a 'hi-tech' profession in both military and commercial contexts. It required above average intelligence and was accordingly highly paid. Indeed, Navy telegraphists were petty officers and enjoyed various privileges. It also required considerable discretion since they transmitted and received confidential and often top secret information. The British were at the forefront of perceiving the vital importance of and then developing what became known as signals intelligence — SIGINT — especially in military and diplomatic contexts. The new communications technologies of telegraphy and radio were vitally important and those trained specialists were an élite. During WW1 they were an essential asset. In 1914, the very distinguished Sir Alfred Ewing who had scientific expertise in this field was recruited into Naval Intelligence by his friend Admiral Oliver. His remit was to establish an elaborate nationwide signal interception system and a decrypting unit in Admiralty Old Building. Thus Room 40 was born two months before the arrival of Captain Hall. (4)

The legend of Room 40 grew long after the war during which it was a top secret operation. The legend is largely journalistic and is somewhat misleading. In fact, Room 40 refers to a number of offices within Admiralty Old Building which occupied several hundred employees. Forty-four year old Captain Hall (later Admiral) was Director of Naval Intelligence Division from October 1914 to 1919. An eclectic group of mostly civilians was recruited to Ewing's decrypting operation. They included linguists, academics, lawyers and an actor, a wine merchant, a future

clergyman and a stockbroker. Hall's deputy from 1917 was another naval man, Commander William James who later became an admiral and much later Hall's biographer.

Hall was a remarkable man with a facility for "bold, unconventional" thinking. Charismatic and sociable, he was also an ingenious master of deception, a devout imperialist of "strong convictions", with a suitably uncomplicated moral mentality.

He was universally known as 'Blinker' Hall because of the intensity of his eye nictitation, which had a semi-hypnotic effect in conversation. He became a Conservative MP in 1919 and was the mastermind behind the 1924 forgery of the so-called Zinoviev letter which purported to call on British communists to influence the Labour Party to sign a treaty with Russia. With industrial leaders he founded the shadowy National Propaganda organisation which countered suspected communism in British industry. (5)

Professor Eunan O'Halpin writes of Hall:

"Doubts about his reputation arise in three respects: his propensity to take unilateral initiatives on foot of diplomatic and political intelligence produced by Room 40; his frequent disinclination to place intelligence in the hands of those departments best placed to judge it; and his involvement while a post-war politician in anti-government intrigues drawing on his old intelligence connections. Like many able intelligence officers, he sometimes succumbed to the professional temptation of manipulating good intelligence in order to influence the decisions and actions of the government which he served". (6)

Hall was both a maverick and a Machiavelli, utterly fearless and determined in all he undertook. Admiral James, his biographer and former colleague, confirms the extent of Hall's influence: "... a man whose name and fame spread to every seat of government in both hemispheres... a man to whom Cabinet Ministers turned when in difficulty...", capable of "exercising a decisive influence on political affairs", including "affairs that were the sole concern of the Foreign Secretary". What Admiral James calls "his unorthodox methods" and his constant personal control over information and secrets made many apprehensive of him so that, upon his retirement in 1919, "Inside the Admiralty there were many who would not mourn his departure." (7)

Ruth Skrine, Hall's personal secretary later wrote; "the Machiavelli in him could be cruel, and the 'means' he used often

'justified the end' in many a battle he fought in the murky world of Intelligence."

Hall had friends in business and politics, in the press and in gentlemen's clubs and he enjoyed access to the highest in political power including the monarch. (8) Often described as a genius, his was a genius with a distinctly sinister cast. US attaché Edward Bell said he was "a perfectly marvellous person but the coldest-hearted proposition that ever was—he'd eat a man's heart out..."

An anecdote related by Hall himself testifies to his ruthless audacity. Angered by a lenient sentence imposed on a captured German spy, Hall treacherously fed the judge's home address back to German Intelligence, alleging it was a military target. The house was bombed soon after but the elderly judge survived and later innocently related his narrow escape at a dinner with Hall present. (9)

Hall was seen to be on the side of the angels but was not himself of their number. His determination to capture and destroy Casement was evident from 1914 onwards and was relentless. That he was deeply involved in the diaries scandal is confirmed by his biographer Admiral James: "Though at that time there were not more than a dozen men who knew, or guessed, that Hall had circulated the Casement diary, they included men holding prominent positions who had sworn vengeance against him for making the disclosure." (10) Admiral James did not know that what was in fact shown (not circulated) were police typescripts allegedly copies of unseen diaries.

3

Some misunderstandings must be cleared up. Kevin MacDonnell was not, as described in the De Valera Papers, a journalist. He was a freelance photographer who worked for the press, not a reporter. Secondly, his description of Clipperton as a Naval Intelligence source is misleading. Clipperton did not serve with Naval Intelligence; he was a naval telegraphist, not an intelligence officer. Thirdly, the expression reported by MacDonnell that Clipperton "worked with Hall at one time" is misleading in as much as it suggests a close, regular working relationship. There is no documentary evidence for such a relationship between Hall and Clipperton. It is probable that in claiming this, Clipperton was enjoying some reflected glory in his retirement years. In the year of the diaries scandal, 1916, he was an eighteen year old radio telegraphist.

Kevin MacDonnell was born in Mayo

in 1919 but his family transferred to London in 1922. He was educated in England and became a well-known and successful freelance press photographer. He also wrote for many years regular articles on photography for the popular Photography magazine. He also worked in theatre photography and advertising and in addition he published a number of photography books and manuals. He was known to be affable and was well liked. Further information on his personality and career can be found at onlinedarkroom.blogspot.com/p/kevin-macdonnell.

There is strong evidence to show that in 1965 MacDonnell was not especially interested in the Casement controversy and was poorly informed. His letter to Ó Snodaigh indicates a superficial familiarity gained from René MacColl's unsympathetic biography which was reissued as a mass market paperback in 1960 and again in 1965. (11) Moreover, MacDonnell was not an admirer of Casement, writing of him, "*He is not my favourite character and must have been a hell of a handicap to the revolution, poor devil.*" Indeed MacDonnell's interest at that time was in Michael Collins, about whom it appears he had hoped to write a biography. Although the Black Diaries had been available for inspection (with Home Office permission) since 1959, it is clear that, after six years, MacDonnell had not seen them or even requested to see them. He also seems unaware of Alfred Noyes' 1957 study, *The Accusing Ghost*. (12) His antipathy towards Casement was inevitably coloured by his reading of MacColl's book and by the disturbing shadow of the diaries scandal upon a traditional practising Catholic. (13) This evidence indicates that in 1965, when he heard Clipperton's remarks about Hall and the diaries, MacDonnell had minimal interest in Casement and felt uncertain and uneasy about him. (14)

4

In late February, 1998, Kevin MacDonnell by then aged 78 took a number 24 bus from Hampstead into central London. After a journey of just over an hour, he alighted in Pimlico and made his way to the house of historian Angus Mitchell, the Casement scholar who had recently edited *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*. In the introduction to this book Mitchell had stated his conviction that the Black Diaries were forged. (15)

MacDonnell was talkative and affable and the meeting lasted about an hour during which he related his encounter with Clipperton almost thirty-three years before. Mitchell was familiar with the names

MacDonnell and Clipperton which he had earlier seen in the De Valera papers.

Some days later MacDonnell wrote to Mitchell to say that he had found, after a long search through old files, a notebook he had kept after meeting Clipperton in 1965. MacDonnell enclosed a typed copy of some notes from this notebook. This copy is an undated A4 page with the following text typed at the top: "*B. R. Clipperton, MVO, DSC, RA eventually commanded HMS Violent.*" (16) Below this header there is a list of Hall's staff in two parts comprising his "*assistants*" and his "*helpers*", eighteen names in all. Curiously, some of these names are followed by familiar details. James Randall is described as "*a wine merchant*", Ralph Nevill is described as "*Club man*", H.B. Irving is described as "*son of Henry*", Claude Serocold is described as "*city man and yachtsman*". Perhaps most significantly, Hall's personal secretary Ruth Skrine is also referred to as "*Mrs Hotblack*", her later name by marriage. These added details strongly indicate that the source of these names had personal experience of these people. MacDonnell wrote in his letter to Mitchell that he could no longer recall the source of this list but that he was sure it was not Clipperton. (17)

If the source of these eighteen names and details had known the individuals personally, it could only be someone who had worked in the 'Room 40' operation since that operation was top secret and remained so for many years. And since MacDonnell obtained the information copied to Mitchell after his encounter with Clipperton, he obtained it from a living source in 1965 or 1966. The principal living source at that time was Admiral William James who had indeed worked with Hall and had at times deputised for him. In 1955 Admiral James published the only biography of Hall, *The Eyes of the Navy*. (18)

All eighteen names cited in the list copy-typed by MacDonnell are mentioned in the James biography of Hall and many are cited with the details given in that list. This fact cannot be a coincidence if the term is to retain any semblance of meaning. However, in the biography those names are cited randomly in the text whereas in the typed list nine are categorised as 'assistants' and nine as 'helpers'. This distinction between two categories of those close to Hall cannot be derived from the biography. There can be no doubt that the source of MacDonnell's list was Admiral James himself and not his biography. Having determined that James was the direct source of the information typed on that single page by MacDonnell, we have

also determined that James was the source of the header referring to Clipperton and his medals and to his command of HMS Violent.

Research into the history of this ship confirms that it was launched in 1917 and was scrapped in 1937. In the period up to 1929, no less than twelve commanders were appointed and Clipperton does not appear in that list. Of these twelve commands, the first lasted only two weeks, another two lasted only four or five weeks, and another two lasted around four months. This writer has attempted to find an explanation for such brief appointments. Research reveals that the post of lieutenant commander is considered a junior rank and such officers are not considered to be commanders. Eleven of the twelve commanders of the HMS Violent up to 1929 were in fact lieutenant commanders. There is also evidence that the post of lieutenant commander was often nominal and was related to prestige and/or promotion and historically this was the case for non-commissioned officers such as Clipperton. This suggests that a deserving officer might be given a command for a period merely in order to upgrade his curriculum. He might never step on board the vessel in his command. The anthropology of the Royal Navy in the past shows evidence of both a growing meritocracy and more traditional class-influenced factors. It is therefore possible that Clipperton in the late 1930s was promoted to lieutenant commander as a short-term nominal post in recognition of his service medals and approaching retirement. (Captain Hall himself became admiral only upon his retirement. His elder son became a lieutenant commander five years after his retirement.)

Forces War Records online provides the following information:

"HYPERLINK "<https://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/records/7033242/leading-telegraphist-sydney-r-clipperton-hms-violent/>" \t "_blank" Sydney R HYPERLINK "<https://www.forces-war-records.co.uk/records/7033242/leading-telegraphist-sydney-r-clipperton-hms-violent/>" \t "_blank" Clipperton J.31169 1914 Royal Navy Leading Telegraphist 1918 Hms Violent".

The year 1918 here refers to his role as telegraphist as verified by his official service record. The reference to HMS Violent refers to his command of that vessel, albeit perhaps nominal, as confirmed in the copy list obtained from Admiral James. Further confirmation of his rank as commander comes from his rank as major in the WW2 Home Guard; an army major is the exact equivalent of a navy lieutenant commander.

At this point a scrupulous and impartial analysis requires an examination of the following possibility; that Kevin MacDonnell invented his report of the crucial conversation with Clipperton. If this is the case, then Clipperton did not state that Hall had "*fabricated the Diaries*" and did not state that Hall's son had been under investigation and had been killed in a raid. By this hypothesis, these aspects were invented by MacDonnell. However, it cannot reasonably be doubted that MacDonnell did meet Clipperton in Sussex on a number of occasions. If the content of the conversation was invented, such an invention would have a motive which ought to become evident from MacDonnell's behaviour following the invention, from how he exploited the story.

However, it is difficult to determine a plausible motive if only because MacDonnell's correspondence reveals both a lack of prior interest in and sympathy for Casement. As explained above, he was at this time poorly informed about the controversy which fact indicates an absence of prior motivation. Logically, motive precedes action; voluntary action requires prior motivation. Furthermore, his behaviour indicates that he did not know how to verify the story and he certainly failed to do so.

Without a credible motive there are sound reasons for excluding the hypothesis that MacDonnell invented the Clipperton story partly or wholly. These are

- 1 – He related the encounter and the revelation in a three-page letter to a close friend in Dublin asking for advice. It is improbable that he would seek to deceive a trusted friend.
- 2 – He related the revelation in a letter to and at a meeting with President De Valera. It is improbable that he would seek to deceive a head of state whom he obviously respected.
- 3 – He made efforts to investigate Clipperton and discovered his command of HMS Violent and his father's police profession. It is not credible that he tried to externally verify a story which he himself had invented.
- 4 – Some 32 years after his correspondence with Ó Snodaigh and De Valera, at the age of 78 MacDonnell travelled across London in 1998 to inform Angus Mitchell of the Clipperton conversation. It is not credible that he would persist after such a long time with a story he knew to be invented.
- 5 – The antipathy he felt towards Casement is incompatible with the invention of a story favourable to Casement's reputation.

The invention of the Clipperton story would require experience of unscrupulous and professional deviousness which intelligence services excel at—indeed, they have given ample evidence of such activities. MacDonnell had neither motive nor such capability. The above grounds and his reactions recorded in his correspondence support the definitive conclusion that MacDonnell is not a weak link in this history

6

Having documented the real existence of Clipperton and his residence on the Sussex coast in 1965, it is necessary to scrutinize the statements about Hall attributed to him by MacDonnell which he reported to De Valera and to Ó Snodaigh. Verification proceeds by seeking to falsify what is said to be true. In this case MacDonnell stated that a conversation about Hall took place with Clipperton. It is vital therefore to first verify or falsify this assertion. The conversation as reported had two aspects; the reference to Hall and the Diaries followed by the reference to the sudden death of Hall's un-named son during WW2. Verification of either aspect would demonstrate that a conversation with Clipperton about Hall took place. Since the purported death ought to be independently verifiable, this aspect can be examined first.

Incontrovertible evidence for the sudden death in WW2 of Hall's elder son, Jack, comes from Admiral Hall himself. Hall had two sons both navy officers. In 1974 Richard, the younger, deposited family papers in *The Churchill Archives* at Cambridge University. Among those papers there is an undated letter by Admiral Hall:

"Dick just rung me up to tell me that Jack has been killed at Aberdeen; apparently in an air raid he in to try and rescue some one and was killed by falling masonry; Dick is now getting full details and I have to told him that our Jack has no wife, I should like him buried up there; as you know I don't like funeral bake meats; legally speaking I suppose I am his nearest relative as Mary has control of Pt. I like to think the lad may now be with Essie again".

It is not clear to whom this is addressed but the addressee is someone in or close to the family. This is followed by a letter to Hall from Admiral Robert Raikes (Flag Officer in Aberdeen) expressing sympathy for the loss of his son. Dick is Richard, Mary is unidentified and Essie might be a pet-name for Hall's wife Ethel who died in 1932. (19)

While this is sufficient independent

verification of the death, it does not demonstrate that Clipperton was MacDonnell's source of this fact in 1965. However, the death of his older son is not mentioned in Hall's 1955 biography by his former colleague Admiral James. Therefore this book, available to MacDonnell, was not the source. Likewise, the family papers were not the source since these were private until 1974. Two 1942 Aberdeen newspaper reports of the death and funeral cannot have been the source either since discovery of these required prior knowledge of the death of Hall's son in WW2. There is no reference to Hall's family in his *The Times* obituary of 23rd October 1943.

All possible sources being eliminated it follows that MacDonnell learned about the death from Clipperton. This is sufficient to demonstrate that the conversation with Clipperton was about Hall. It also verifies MacDonnell's report that he was told about the death by Clipperton.

Therefore to the five reasons listed above this externally verified fact can now be added as number 6: his report of the death of Hall's son after a raid in 1942 as related by Clipperton is verified.

That the preceding conversation was about Hall cannot reasonably be doubted since Clipperton had no cause to relate the death of Hall's son apropos of nothing at all. The remark about the death of Hall's son was made in the context of prior remarks about Hall. There is no independent documentary evidence to verify that Clipperton worked "*at one time*" with Hall, which is the premiss of MacDonnell's report of the conversation. That the latter aspect concerning Hall's son has been demonstrated as true does not demonstrate the truth or falsity of what was purportedly said before about the diaries. At best it contributes to the probability that the prior diaries remarks are also true.

The immediate context of Clipperton's statement about the death was his role in an investigation into unspecified activities involving Hall's son. This demonstrates that some four years after he had retired from naval service, Naval Intelligence contacted the then Major Clipperton in 1942 with a commission to carry out secret interception relating to Hall's son. This is a remarkable fact with highly significant implications. That an obscure forty-four year old retired officer who might have been forgotten was entrusted with such a task indicates that he had not been forgotten by Naval Intelligence. It further indicates that in 1942 Naval Intelligence knew Clipperton had the technical expertise necessary for such interception work and

that they could rely on his discretion. It is a fact that telecommunications technology had considerably advanced in the quarter century since the First World War. Nonetheless, Intelligence knew that Clipperton was both technically up to date and experienced in such work. This indicates that Intelligence knew Clipperton had accumulated interception experience during his career in which case Clipperton's name was recorded in Intelligence files. He had not been forgotten. Nonetheless this interception experience cannot be found in his official service record.

Scrutiny of that record reveals further anomalies; it shows that he was allocated to onshore training establishments: HMS Ganges, HMS Impregnable, HMS Vernon and HMS Pembroke 1. It appears that his first sea-going experience was on the HMS Iron Duke from 29th June 1916 until 15th February 1917. According to the record he was in continuous service onshore and at sea from 29th May 1914 until 16th January 1923, a period of eight and a half years, without any break recorded for shore or home leave. Clearly this interpretation of the record cannot be correct. Yet another interpretation produces three gaps between allocations which amount to some thirty months before 1st March 1918. The record does not show where he was during these gaps. In particular there appears to be a gap from 3 May, 1915 to 29th June, 1916, a period of circa fourteen months which might have included a secondment elsewhere. The official record is of very limited use for determining Clipperton's movements during the period.

Since the reference to the 1942 death of Hall's elder son has been demonstrated to be true, the earlier part referring to MacDonnell being told that the diaries were fabricated by Hall remains to be examined for truth or falsity. It remains to be seen if external verification can be found for this. To this end, eight words cited by MacDonnell deserve particular scrutiny because of what they imply. "*Just a few of us knew about it.*" This indicates that the knowledge – 'it' – was at that time shared between a small group of persons and was not exclusive to the speaker. The 'us' referred to in that brief sentence indicates a shared identity and can only refer to a category of colleagues rather than an indiscriminate group of persons. Of that unidentified category, only a small number shared the 'insider knowledge'. Research has demonstrated that Clipperton was a telegraphist, a communications technician. The category which 'us' refers to is therefore the category of telegraphists. At the time of the conversation in 1965,

MacDonnell certainly did not know this. Indeed, there is no evidence in his correspondence that he ever knew Clipperton had been a telegraphist. That sentence does not indicate that Clipperton communicated the knowledge to a few colleagues but rather he was aware that the knowledge was shared by some colleagues. Either they discovered the knowledge independently of each other or they were informed of the discovery and shown the evidence.

MacDonnell reported in his letter of 17th January 1966 that Clipperton's knowledge was shared by others whom MacDonnell assumed to be Room 40 intelligence staff. This spurred him to contact Admiral James, a known authority and author of Hall's biography, with hopes of learning the identities of Clipperton's colleagues. Obviously he could not ask the Admiral to confirm that Hall had "*fabricated the Diaries*"; there would have been no response. On 22nd January, MacDonnell wrote to De Valera: "*Regarding the Diaries, I am trying hard to obtain names, dates, in short, proof ... he [Clipperton] may put me in touch with other people who worked with Hall ...*" James supplied him with a list of eighteen names of those close to Hall and Clipperton's name was not listed. It is this attempt to externally verify the identities of his colleagues which demonstrates that MacDonnell was indeed told by Clipperton that "*Just a few of us knew about it*" where 'it' refers to Hall and the Diaries. If MacDonnell had not been told by Clipperton that he had "*worked with Hall*" and "*a few of us knew*" that Hall had "*fabricated the Diaries*", he had nothing to research and no questions to ask Admiral James or anyone else. It is untenable to propose that MacDonnell invented "the few of us" *ex nihilo* and then, knowing this was false, hoped that Admiral James would verify his invention.

It is clear that MacDonnell's question to Admiral James mentioned Clipperton's name otherwise James would not have identified Clipperton as he did. It is also clear that MacDonnell asked for the names of Hall's colleagues otherwise James would not have given the list of names in Hall's circle.

Thus also the first aspect of MacDonnell's report of the conversation is logically and definitively demonstrated as true—he was told by Clipperton that Hall had "*fabricated the Diaries*".

This confirms that MacDonnell was told by Clipperton as reported but that fact does not confirm the truth of what he was told; Clipperton might have been lying. Against this, however, there is Clipperton's stated

admiration of Hall which conflicts with such a malignant lie. Although there are no grounds for holding that Clipperton was lying, this possibility must nonetheless be examined.

Independent corroboration from his colleagues—the '*few of us*'—would suffice to prove he was not lying but they remain unidentified. However, MacDonnell reports that after revealing the fabrication "*He [Clipperton] ... became very agitated indeed. He said he had told me much more than he should have done ... I quietened him down and I haven't seen him since ...*" Therefore, if Clipperton was lying, his agitation would be feigned. It is not credible that he would choose to feign agitation rather than simply deny or even revise his statement and describe it as mere opinion or hearsay. His agitation serves to confirm that he was telling the truth. Moreover, if feigned, his theatrical agitation was a futile and counter-productive charade which served only to demonstrate to MacDonnell that he had indeed told the truth. Further confirmation that his agitation was genuine and spontaneous comes from the fact that MacDonnell never saw him again after the revelation. Therefore no grounds can be found to support the hypothesis that Clipperton was lying.

The following aspects have now been verified; 1 – that Clipperton was a telegraphist and later a naval commander; 2 – that he spoke about Hall with MacDonnell; 3 – that he told MacDonnell about the death of Hall's son; 4 – that he told MacDonnell that others knew of Hall's fabrication; 5 – that MacDonnell later received a list of Hall's close colleagues from Admiral James; 6 – that Clipperton told MacDonnell the truth.

7

That Clipperton existed has been demonstrated and that he reached the rank of lieutenant commander has been demonstrated. MacDonnell did not publish anything about the Clipperton story and his rudimentary research failed to clarify the link between Clipperton and Hall during WW1. Nonetheless MacDonnell remained convinced of its truth over thirty years later in 1998, shortly before his death in 2001.

This writer has been unable to find documentary evidence of Clipperton's service with Hall. It is quite possible that such evidence does not exist. Clipperton's reported claim that he "*worked with Hall*" is misleading; many scores of people in Admiralty Building "*worked with Hall*", if only in the sense that he was Director of Naval Intelligence. Clipperton was merely

a young telegraphist during WW1, not a naval commander. A secondment to Admiralty Old Building as a telegraphist during an unexplained gap in his service record would not have been registered as intelligence work within the ambit of Room 40. (The fact that he did later become a lieutenant commander is not recorded in his service record.)

MacDonnell's report of the conversation shows that Clipperton did not say how he learned of the plot. It is wise to avoid speculation however tempting. That MacDonnell himself did not speculate later on this aspect indicates that he did not know that Clipperton had worked as a telegraphist. Thus MacDonnell remained under the misguided impression that Clipperton had been an intelligence officer close to the inner circle of the Room 40 operation. This erroneous impression explains also why his attempts to corroborate failed. The pool of telegraphists in the basement of Admiralty Old Building was the nerve centre whose role was to send and receive telegrams both coded and in English, to receive radio intercepts from the hundreds of Y stations throughout the UK, to intercept encrypted communications from German and neutral sources, in short to deal with all telecommunications. (20)

This author has spent five months stress-testing MacDonnell's report of what was said, for veracity. This is the first and only analysis of the almost unknown Clipperton story. It has been conducted with the maximum rigour and impartiality and the conclusion is reached by process of natural deduction. This article is as much about the methodology of this analysis as it is about the conclusion. The author presents this analysis as comprehending historical inference to the requisite standard which is that it leaves no reasonable doubt of its truth.

(This is a different standard from that of proof beyond all reasonable doubt, or proof on the balance of probabilities – favoured by lawyers; or proof by deduction and induction favoured by philosophers, scientists and mathematicians.)

This truth is wholly corroborated by the fact, first published as *Dis-covering Casement in Village*, October 2016, where it was demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that there is no evidence for the material existence of the bound diaries in 1916 since only police typescripts were shown.

These two demonstrations taken together leave no reasonable doubt that the Black Diaries were fabricated and that Captain Hall was the mastermind behind the plot. In plain words, MacDonnell, a

man with no interest in and little time for Casement, found himself by chance listening to insider knowledge spontaneously related to him by a man who otherwise admired and esteemed Hall, but who, after almost fifty years, felt that "*this was an evil piece of work*". Indeed this was the crime of an 'honest Iago'.

There are many events in the womb of time which will be delivered. (Othello, Act 1, Sc. iii.)

POST-SCRIPT: A 'SMOKING GUN'

Those who require what is commonly called a 'smoking gun' to overcome their belief in authenticity (which usually poses as uncertainty), do so knowing full well that their request can never be met. The 'smoking gun' is conceived to be sufficient and no further evidence or testimony is needed for judgment. But this is a misconception deriving from confusion between circumstantial evidence and direct evidence. The ever-popular 'smoking gun' is itself a proof from circumstantial evidence and is not a direct proof. It is a common misconception that it constitutes the strongest proof. It is also a common misconception that circumstantial evidence is qualitatively inferior to direct evidence. It is a fact that in the absence of direct witness evidence, the vast majority of cases are judged on the quality of circumstantial evidence.

We must presume that a satisfactory 'smoking gun' would have to be a written, signed confession from Admiral Hall of his guilt. No other document would suffice. While confessions can be extorted, forged or made to protect the true culprit, there is no such document and there never was. It is axiomatic that intelligence services do not provide smoking guns in the form of written confessions. It is therefore irrational to require one in this case. However, the request is made in bad faith in order to conceal that it is a strategy intended to declassify the accumulated evidence against authenticity as permanently insufficient and to set it aside. To ask for evidence which is known to be non-existent is therefore an evasive tactic intended to exclude due consideration of the evidence presented; as such it is a motivated refusal to examine the merits of the case. No evidence will be sufficient, none save the non-existent but misunderstood 'smoking gun'.

The motive for the evasion can be found in the fact that the evidence against authenticity is vastly superior in quality and quantity to the evidence for authenticity, much of which has been demonstrated to be false, therefore inadmissible.

Notes

- 1 – The MacDonnell-De Valera correspondence is in the De Valera Papers at UCD. Ref P150/3608
- 2 – MacDonnell's letter to Ó Snodaigh is in NLI. Ref Ms. 18776.
- 3 – Clipperton's naval record is held by The National Archives UK. Ref ADM 363/50/115; ADM 188/709/31169.
- 4 – The legend of Room 40 largely ignores the founding role of Professor Sir Alfred Ewing who was appointed on August 4, 1914 on account of his knowledge of codes and decrypting. Ewing was the principal recruiting officer for Room 40 which was under his leadership until 1917 when he 'handed over command to Admiral Hall'. In 1927 the 72-year-old Ewing broke the tacit secrecy rules and gave a public lecture on his Room 40 experience. He was at once rebuked by the Admiralty; only the fear of negative publicity prevented his criminal prosecution. Publication of his lecture was banned until 1979. The text is now online. His son's biography, *The Man of Room 40, The Life of Sir Alfred Ewing* (1939) tells the complete story.
- 5 – Spies at work by Mike Hughes. lulu.com. 2012. Hall's leading conspiratorial role in National Propaganda with prominent industrialists aimed to combat the post war 'socialist infection'. A complex little known story of right-wing plotting against the entire labour movement in which Hall was a founder and key figure. These organizations were to replace Hall's failed plan to set up with Basil Thomson a single super intelligence service unaccountable to government or parliament – a secret state within the state financed by the state. Lloyd George objected and summarily dismissed Thomson at the end of 1921.
- 6 – *The Missing Dimension*, pp 54-77. British Intelligence in Ireland, 1914-1921. Eunan O'Hallpin. Andrew C., Dilks D. (eds) Palgrave, London, 1984.
- 7 – *The Eyes of the Navy*, Admiral William M. James. 1955, Methuen.
- 8 – *ibid*.
- 9 – Cited in Aaronsohn's Maps by Patricia Goldstone. Counterpoint. 2015. Also cited in Room 40 by Patrick Beesly, 1983.
- 10 – *The Eyes of the Navy*, Admiral William M. James. 1955, Methuen.
- 11 – *Roger Casement: A New Judgment*. René MacColl. Hamish Hamilton, 1956.
- 12 – *The Accusing Ghost or Justice for Casement*, Alfred Noyes. 1957, Victor Gollancz.
- 13 – Evidence that MacDonnell was a life-long practicing Catholic is found in his letter to Angus Mitchell of March 1998 where he indicates that he still, at age 78, observes Lenten abstinence.
- 14 – Evidence of disinterest is found in MacDonnell's letter to Ó Snodaigh which indicates that he held to the long discredited Normand translation theory of the origin of the diaries. Moreover, MacDonnell reveals his poor opinion of Casement with 'he got a kick out of reading it [the translation]. He

The Supply of Money

Since money has no intrinsic value, increasing the supply of it does not increase the purchasing power of the economy. Money is merely a title deed to a share of the overall amount of commodities in the economy.

If the State prints money to finance its expenditure, it is appropriating to itself extra purchasing power. But since printing money in itself does not increase the overall purchasing power, the increase in the State's purchasing power must be at the expense of the purchasing power of the rest of the economy.

The advocates of Modern Monetary Theory (MMT) tend to assume that the increase in economic activity induced by the State Expenditure will obviate the risk of inflation.

But this will only happen if the percentage increase in national income as a result of the State expenditure at least equals the percentage increase in the amount of money.

This is not an easy condition to satisfy, since the stimulus induced by the State must be able to counteract the diminution in purchasing power in the rest of the economy as a result of the State printing money.

Of course, there are less benign outcomes possible. If the increase in State expenditure equals the diminution of expenditure in the rest of the economy, national income won't change but the

inflation rate will equal the percentage increase in the volume of money.

An even less benign possibility is if the increase in State purchasing power is counteracted by a greater contraction of economic activity in the rest of the economy. In that event the inflation rate will be greater than the percentage increase in the amount of money.

Following the Financial Crisis of ten years ago the Irish State implemented austerity policies: freezing public sector pay; increasing taxes; tightening of credit. And yet, before the pandemic, the economy had reached full employment. This should not have happened if the solution to economic crises was to stimulate demand.

The policies worked because the austerity policies facilitated a restructuring of the economy away from relatively unproductive sectors (building and its ancillary service sectors) towards manufacturing.

Chris Winch in his reply (*Irish Political Review*, October 2020) says: "We in the UK understand by 'austerity' the restriction of public expenditure to reduce the budgetary deficit". Well, we in Ireland do not find that a helpful definition of austerity. Prior to the financial crisis ten years ago, the State appeared to be adopting a prudent fiscal policy. The budget deficit was close to zero and the State was even putting aside substantial amounts in a pension reserve fund. The problem was that spending in the private sector was out of control, which eventually had a cata-

strophic impact on the State's finances.

With the benefit of hindsight, the Government should have considered the country's balance with the rest of the world in order to evaluate whether it was "profligate" or "austere". At the time, the balance of payments deficit on the current account was running at about 7% of GDP. The State should have either run substantial budgetary surpluses or reined in private sector spending by imposing restrictions on credit.

In Martin Dolphin's article (*Irish Political Review*, October 2020) he says that David McWilliams ignores the elephant in the room; namely that we don't have our own currency. But, if McWilliams ignores it, it is not because he is unaware of it. Following the financial crisis ten years ago he advocated breaking with the Euro and reneging on our debts. But there were no takers. Neither for that matter did Greece decide to leave the euro, despite having a radical government and an even larger debt to GDP ratio.

There is no substantial economic or political interest in this country that wants to return to the currency and interest rate fluctuations that the country experienced in the 1980s and 1990s.

For a small open economy dependent on trade with the outside world the 'freedom' gained by having our own currency is illusory.

John Martin

Casement

concluded

carried it around with him for this reason.' In his letter to Ó Snodaigh, MacDonnell refers to the farmer and the holy well, a detail mentioned only in MacColl's biography.

15 - Amazon Journal, foreword by editor Angus Mitchell. Lilliput Press, 1997. This is the only publication of Casement's 1910 diary relating in detail his experience in the Putumayo. It contains no compromising references. The very long handwritten original is held in NLI.

16 - The error in the initial B for S is in the header of the page typed by MacDonnell. It is possible that the error was made in a handwritten original by Admiral James who

was about 84 years old in 1965. It is also possible that the error of transcription was made by MacDonnell.

17 - MacDonnell's letters to Mitchell are held by the recipient and were generously copied by him to this author. Details of the 1998 meeting in London were also provided by Mitchell to whom the author is indebted.

18 - The Eyes of the Navy, Admiral William M. James. 1955, Methuen. The only biography of Hall revealed that he was responsible for the showing of the police typescripts purporting to be official copies of the Black Diaries.

19 - Churchill Archives reference is HALL 7/4 7/133. The text is cited verbatim; the small errors were made by Hall.

20 - The British built up great expertise in

the new field of signals intelligence and codebreaking. On the outbreak of war, Britain cut all German undersea cables. This forced the Germans to use either a telegraph line that connected through the British network and could be tapped, or through radio which the British could then intercept. An interception service known as HYPERLINK "<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y-stations>" \o "Y-stations" "Y" service, together with the HYPERLINK "https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/General_Post_Office" \o "General Post Office" post office and HYPERLINK "<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marconi>" \o "Marconi" Marconi stations grew rapidly to the point where the British could intercept almost all official German messages.

Paul Hyde

The Human History Of A Shipyard

Last month I described the week's annual holiday. The Isle-of-Man ferries also left Belfast on the 11th of July, filled with those Catholics, and plenty of nuns with children, who wanted to avoid the 12th of July, Orange Day, and come back on the 13th when it was all over. It was termed an excursion and the fares were low.

The amiable WW2 soldier, and now B'Special, who was teaching me my trade was the only one, besides the Black & Tan, who mentioned any area south of the border. He seemed obsessed with Mullingar. When in Crete he had been wounded while firing at German paratroopers jumping out of planes. It was a turkey-shoot and a disaster for the German army but they still managed to occupy Crete. Wounded and lying on the ground he heard, what he thought were two Germans mocking one another in English with the name Paddy being bandied around. It turned out one of the Germans was Irish and from Mullingar, when asked where he came from. The NI soldier admitted to flying into a rage and saying, if he was able, he'd be up on his feet to give Mullingar a kick in the balls. The answer to that was:

"You fight for the British Army, as an Irishman, and I fight for the German Army as an Irishman. Maybe we are both fools."

Mullingar deliberately dropping his end of the stretcher put an end to the NI man's rage, as he admitted. He was well-treated as a POW in Germany and ignored the officer-class who were always thinking up escape plans. He had a grudge against the British Army when in one episode in France he had been given a crowbar for pulling off tank tracks when they had run out of anti-tank weapons. Apprentices who wanted to join the British Army, when they came out of their apprenticeships at the age of 21, he advised—if they felt they had had to—join the catering corp.

One day he would go down to Mullingar to try and find this eejit who had joined the German Army. I doubt if he ever did. He was more familiar with France, the Libyan Desert, Crete and Germany.

Work in the Joiner's Shop was leisurely. Two men, or a man and his apprentice would be given a week to construct a chest of drawers, when the both of you could

probably finish it in a day, when getting a move on. Finish it before a week and you stood there for the remainder of that week with nothing to do, the worse thing, when you are under constant surveillance from the glass-huts. This was good for the apprentice who was able to become more skilled in the details like cutting a keyhole, dovetailing, fitting drawers properly.

An apprentice who didn't behave himself would be sent to a bench alone and given nothing to do for a week. He would be constantly under surveillance and timed if he went to the urinal. Three minutes were allowed for that. It was seven minutes in all to go to the lavatory block across the yard. Any rebellion about this and you were sent home for a month without pay. That month you would have to make up if you were to come out of your apprenticeship. The apprenticeship was an indentured on which you had to stay at until you were 21. If you wanted to leave you needed your father's signature. It was very unlikely he would give his consent. He wouldn't want you to lose a trade and the deposit of £5 which was near a week's wage then.

At the beginning of the Korean War in 1950 I witnessed fathers chasing sons through the Joiner's Shop as they tried to pacify sons who wanted to join the army and go to Korea. It seemed the ultimate adventure. Luckily none got that far as fathers were prone to violence against such rebellious sons. My own father knocked the hell out of me until I was 18 years. Regretfully, I had to knock him down to stop feeling so humiliated as a young man. When some of the neighbours heard what I had done I became a pariah for a while.

The shipyard was a great recruiting ground for the colonies. There were many young men, now free at 21, joining the colonial police for service in Africa, Hong Kong and Burma. Bermuda was thought of as a choice location. Even with India, more or less free from British Colonialism an agency in Belfast was still recruiting for supervisors over tea-pickers. Someone I knew, who had just finished his apprenticeship, wanted me to join him in going to India. He said it was a simple enough job. Should the pickers slow down you just showed them your fist and if they didn't heed that that:

"You bate them."

Working on ships could be even more relaxing for the finishing trades. The black trades like riveters, caulkers and welders were on piece-work, so they worked like the devil as they had the opportunity to make more money. An uncle of mine was able to buy himself a holiday cottage at a seaside resort. We finishing trades did a good job. You had to for there was strict quality control in the shops and on the ships. It's was very hard to control a workforce aboard as large ship like a passenger liner, for example. You did have a chargehand but his job was mainly to show you what had to be done. It just wasn't possible to put a person under surveillance for long.

The ship was also full of trade union shop stewards. Too much harassment and you made a report to one of them. That chargehand could then be made to appear before a trade union type of court in union headquarters. Severe cases could see the loss of your card. That would be the end for the Belfast industrial scene, which was 100% trade union. East Belfast, where the shipyard and other industrial complexes like the Sirocco Works were had a leftist tinge as well.

But before the One Nation-One People get excited this was Protestant socialism. It was what the deadly UVF had adopted from the old CPNI. To talk to the late David Irvine, head of the Progressive Unionist Party, the political wing of the UVF, as I did once, was like talking to a socialist, only, there was no room for Catholics in it.

A Catholic socialist West Belfast and a Protestant socialist East Belfast could easily clash. The tiny Catholic enclave of Short Strand in East Belfast has seen a number of Protestant attacks over generations, so the socialism of nationalities has its limits, for the defenders of the Short Strand had a history when some of its people fought on the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War. A few also fought for Franco after anarchists attacked Catholic churches and killed priests and nuns.

"The last time I was in church I saddled my horse"—didn't go down well with some Irish Catholics.

Though it was the Short Strand, and it was in the industrial East Belfast within shouting distance of the shipyard and other industries very few from the Short Strand got to work in this industrial complex. The most lowly jobs like rag-sorters in a warehouse, for example, were advertised in the Belfast Telegraph which boldly stated:

"Protestants only need apply."

In the meanwhile, we who worked on the ships, were able to slip away down the gangway, under the pretext of going to the stores or the first-aid stations, but mostly saying nothing, and getting the tram, which ran into the shipyard, to central Belfast and go to the cinema. I had myself slipped away on one occasion to the cinema to watch a film set in a prison. At the end as the prisoners were rounded up after an escape a voice at the back said: "*That's us. Time to go.*"

About six men stood up and marched mockingly to the tram-stop. They got the same tram back to the shipyard as I was on.

Every ship had a manager over every other authority. He was the one to watch. He usually wore a tailored suit and a bowler hat. He was simply known as "*The Hat*". He used to occasionally raid the ship with his naval architect. Each ship had temporary lights, half the voltage of the usually 240 for safety while the ship was being constructed, finished or repaired. The temporary lights man always kept a lookout for the manager's visit. If he saw him some distance on the road to the ship he would turn off the temporary lights in rapid succession a number of times throughout the ship as a warning. Everyone knew what that meant. No smoking of cigarettes and pipes because that wasn't allowed. He was the ultimate authority and sacking on the spot was a possibility, union or no union. That could mean a shipyard-wide strike. When you were ordered out on strike you went even though you may not know the person sacked, or what he did to deserve it. Rapid strikes did bring compromises in the end with a sacked person's case going into review for months sometimes until it was forgotten.

In Kevin Johnston's book: *In The Shadow of Giants*, I wasn't surprised to read that Harland & Wolff was constantly in the red with borrowing huge amounts from the banks. Pilfering was endemic. Nobody thought of it as stealing. Basically it was firewood. Coal fires needed wood and paper to fire the coals. Every house in Belfast and the surrounding rural areas had a coal fire that needed firewood. Think of 35,000 men, at one time, every day, carrying home firewood. Mostly you filled your lunch box. Some carried it in their pockets. But the lunch box was better. If you saw the harbour policeman suddenly beginning to search people in the distance outside his hut, you simply dropped the lunch box. The box could also contain industrial gloves, screws, nails, bolts and just about anything that would fit in. You

could do this daily in order to stock up. Firewood was a daily appropriation. It cost money to buy a bundle in a shop.

My father had a friend in Belfast whom we visited regularly. He was also a shipyard joiner. He had a three-bedroom parlour house. With no children he had plenty of room. One of the bedrooms he had turned into a workshop with a lot of screws, nails and bolts and various fittings in clear jars, all taken from the shipyard. His pride of place was a full length joiner's bench with a heavy vice, also from the shipyard. He also had a good supply of timber of all kinds like oak, beech, mahogany and birch. It was easy to guess how he took out the timber lengths which were mostly about four feet long – secret long pockets inside an overcoat. My mother had sewn in a couple of the full length pockets of the overcoat that could take lengths of timber, for my father, for it wasn't stealing. The dark winter evenings were the best time for this kind of work when you usually wore an overcoat. Loaded up it was best to stand up in the tram going home. They were always crowded anyway. Daring to sit down was like having rigor mortis. Also, a large mirror tied to the chest under a pullover wasn't the time to sit down unless you wanted a sharp blow under the chin in sitting.

So how did my father's friend get the heavy bench out of the shipyard and past the harbour police, nicknamed the bulkies. A forensic examination at close quarters by my father revealed it had been taken it out in pieces and then cleverly dowed with the joints so good they were almost invisible. But how did his friend get the heavy wood-vice out? He had carried it out on a bicycle he had borrowed. Back then you wore a cape, usually yellow, which had plenty of room and was meant to get over the handlebars, when it was raining. He had strapped it to the handlebars, after waiting for a rainy evening. It had entailed heavy cycling and few falls upon the greasy square-sets of the road from the shipyard, as the steering was poor with the heavy object. With the cape you also wore a large fisherman's type rain-hat. You could get a few items under that as well.

The amount of timber for firewood was probably the biggest loss for H&W. It was supposed to be off-cuts, and it was that when was possible to produce them but mainly it was timber used in the internal finishing of the ship. You just sawed it up. Other trades who didn't have a wood-saw would come around and ask you to saw some. You did them a favour because you

might want a pair of new welder's gloves from the welder or some extra long bolts from the fitter. If you wanted red-lead when repainting your rusty bile then you sawed for the red-leaders. But then we knew that was nothing compared to what was going on in the top echelons of the shipyard.

A shipyard ambulance was stopped one day by the harbour police despite having its bells ringing (before sirens and blue lights) as if bringing a severely injured man to hospital in the city. When the doors were opened it was found to be piled high with timber and a huge amount of fittings and mirrors. It had come from the Joiner's Shop I worked in. The head storekeeper was arrested, tried and go 18 months in the Crumlin Road jail. It had been heading for the house of the manager. It was an open secret that he was having his house refurbished. He was also using shipyard joiners and painters to work on it. Some said he was lucky his house didn't have a ship's siren or it would have slipped down the road to the Lough when it sounded.

The head storekeeper took the rap for the manager and got 18 months in the notorious Crumlin Road jail. He was only out of prison a few days, looking ghostly from being inside so long, when he reappeared as head storekeeper in the Joiner's Shop. He spent the first day being congratulated by all and sundry. He and the manager, and the head-foreman, spent that day sharing a bottle of whiskey. Everyone could see what was going on but if you valued your job you said nothing, and that went for the unions as well. We can only guess the storekeeper's family were kept going through funding, most likely acquired Harland & Wolff money through more thieving.

This sort of thing was endemic in Belfast during monopoly Unionist rule. It was going on with most of the Unionist lord mayors of Belfast. They had their homes done up with Belfast Corporation materials and labour. Even whisper about it and you were out of a job. Nationalist figures like Harry Diamond (his answer to sectarianism when making a speech in Stormont: 'Lets us all get on our knees and pray.) got quite wealthy going the Unionist way.

So what's a few bits of firewood matter anyway. My father only made a cabinet, a bookcase, a couple of tables, a chair and two stools, besides a lot of wooden toys, during WW2 when toys couldn't be bought, things like large tanks, camouflaged with paint taken out of the shipyard

or warships painted battle-ship grey, used on a real warship being built. These toys were Christmas presents. My cousin, living in the married quarters of the RUC police barracks was a recipient.

My father also took home firewood every day. it was the natural thing to do. Even the highly-religious born-again did the same. So, how could it be thieving? He was never caught. I took home firewood every day and was caught by the harbour police. I pleaded off-cuts (as if I was allowed to take it home) They put the pieces of firewood together, measured it and said I had stolen three feet of timber. How dare they! When I put a saw to wood it's firewood.

I told them I couldn't I go home and face my family if I were charged with theft. I would lose my apprenticeship. They thought a moment. Family values were rife in N.I. They had sons of my age. One of them said:

"You could always join the harbour police, when you get out prison."

That brought a laugh all round. And I was free. I stopped bringing home firewood for a time, but, as it wasn't stealing I started again a few weeks later. I had made the mistake of carrying it in my pockets so, I carried a lunch tin, which I could drop it and disown it if I ever again saw harbour police activity in the distance.

I never did get around to having my mother sew extra-long pockets inside my overcoat. I wasn't ready to settle down to family life.

As time progressed into the 1970s and with war intervening, the shipyard started to modernise. In 1969 and 1974 the German company Krupp was contracted to build two giant cranes nicknamed Samson and Goliath. They had previously built the 19th Century gantries. The shipyard was now reduced in numbers and the pilfering was most likely down to a minimum with all the modern security. There was one sectarian killing but it was said to have been by someone who had managed to get into the shipyard from outside to do the killing of a Catholic welder. But someone, in the shipyard, must have given the killer inside information in order to find him. The shipyard management then threatened to sack any of the workforce who went in for sectarianism. That seemed to settle the matter. Shop stewards were then licensed to carry guns, if they wished. The new rule was to oppose sectarianism in the workplace. Only one found it necessary to carry a gun, as far as I know.

After the ship, the Anvil Point, was completed Harland and Wolff closed down on the 17th of June, 2003. What happened to its highly skilled workforce no one knows.

The shipyard does quiver at times as if it's still alive and that raises hope. Those, descended from a kin who once designated the shipyard men as:

"A yellow-faced mob rampaging out of the shipyard in the evening like a huge leak from a sewage farm."

—and whose daughters stopped dancing in ballrooms with the shipyard youth in the 1950s, when they felt their un-genteel hardened hands, now suggested a first class restaurant on the top of both Samson and Goliath.

We were pariahs among the Protestant middle-class who thought us crude and uncouth. And within the shipyard workforce there were the so-called elitist trades who wore a collar and tie, headed by electricians who scarcely got their hands dirty and wore brown overalls to distinguish themselves from everyone else and, followed by joiners, who in the joiner's shop, could wear suits or sports jackets with a white carpenter's apron while working. Some wore armbands on their shirt-sleeves of various kinds from silver to fine expanding metal to keep the cuffs from touching the timber or glue. The suits or sports jackets they wore had replaced new ones.

It was always polished shoes and no one went unshaven.

The electricians and joiners prided themselves on being more knowledgeable on the world around them. Because their trades weren't specialised like heavy riveteting or caulking they could work in the urban cities of the US, Canada and Australia and not forgetting the cities of South Africa. So many had done this in their youth and the majority seemed to have come home. The 1930s and the fall in the economies had driven them from these countries and they felt it better to be back in Belfast and other parts of NI, where they had relatives.

New York, were so many had worked: some numbers of them were reduced to sleeping in Central Park when they lost their lodgings through unemployment. My father still kept his room by his brother giving him the money, but he couldn't give him any for food. That meant working in hotels for food only. Getting home was hanging around the docks hoping to be signed on as a ship's stoker on a returning cattle-boat to Belfast. It being a free ride you didn't get paid. New York to Belfast was back then a journey of nine days on the average ship.

One joiner stuck in a small town in Australia was reduced to eating raw corn growing in the outback or catching birds to cook. His recipe was: *Take one dead and un-feathered cockatoo and a horseshoe. Boil the water. Put in said cockatoo and horseshoe. When the horseshoe has melted the cockatoo is done.*

He managed to come home as stoker on a passenger ship to Southampton. From there he walked and hitch-hiked to Liverpool, feeding from the fields and sleeping in them, on the way. He eventually slipped aboard a ship as a stowaway to Belfast.

Stoking on the way from Sydney did something to his sweat glands in the hot engine room which caused him to constantly stick out his tongue like a dog panting from the heat. In the shipyard he became known as the *wee lizard-man*.

I was never again to encounter such humour and metaphorical descriptions in a work situation ever again. Most people had a nickname. One young joiner had an Indian father and was known as *Midnight*. The person who coined that nickname was himself, what they called swarthy then. He had a French name and was probably descended for the Huguenots, whose old cemetery is in the Protestant Shankill Road. So Midnight named him *Five-to-Twelve*, all in good humour.

There wasn't enough people of other races around to cause racism. Any racism that existed was most likely unconscious. Conscious racism came from the British Empire influence with shops in Belfast selling clothes and wool as the colour *nigger-brown*. Some people called their black dogs *Nigger*. In the Glasgow shipyards individuals with slightly darker skins (maybe descendants of the Picts) were called *Nigger*.

The worse example of that I have ever seen was a notice in the window of a tailor's shop in Belfast that said: *"You have the figure of a nigger, maybe bigger, but we still can fit you."*

So the Protestant middle-class thought us uncouth as shipyardmen while the Catholic working-class decided we were all Prods and Orangemen. If I were on the Falls Road I would never mention the shipyard. There was sort of a celebration there when H&W closed down. I had a spat with the late Father Des Wilson through the columns of the *Andersonstown News* about his celebration of the shutdown of the shipyard. I was mostly saying, with changed times, the shipyard would be forced to open up to young Catholics wishing to serve apprenticeships.

Wilson John Haire

TO BE CONTINUED

Pearse, A Prussian Prince, Connolly, And The Kaiser

Desmond FitzGerald was the father of the 1980s Fine Gael Taoiseach, Garret FitzGerald. During the 1919-21 War of Independence, 1916 Volunteer Desmond FitzGerald had been Dáil Éireann's Director of Publicity, working alongside Erskine Childers and *Irish Bulletin* Editor Frank Gallagher. In the Cumann na nGaedheal post-Treaty Free State Governments, he was, successively, Minister for Publicity, Minister for External Affairs, and Minister for Defence, 1922-32. A self-described anti-Semite, Desmond FitzGerald would become, when in opposition to the de Valera Fianna Fáil Governments of the 1930s, the Fine Gael Party's most intellectually impressive clerico-Fascist ideologue. In the September 2011 issue of *Irish Foreign Affairs*, published by the *Irish Political Review Group*, I related the following:

"Following Garret FitzGerald's death this 19 May, RTE re-showed an interview with him where he was asked about his father's extreme right-wing politics, which he freely acknowledged, but then hastened to add that his father had condemned *Kristallnacht*, the Nazi German pogrom of 9 November 1938. It is only now that I have definitely established that Desmond FitzGerald had issued no such condemnation, but I must also put my hand up and blame my own faulty recall for misleading his son on that score. Two decades ago, during the 1990s, I made a point of reading all the 1930s Oireachtas Debates—both Dáil and Seanad—on Irish foreign policy. I was indeed particularly interested in the Fine Gael Opposition contributions of Desmond FitzGerald, who had been a Cumann na nGaedheal Minister for External Affairs. It is, however, unfortunate that I took no notes whatsoever on the occasion of such reading.

Since the late 1960s, when he lectured me on economic statistical sources at University College Dublin, I had maintained a politically combative but personally friendly relationship with Garret FitzGerald. About a decade ago we had our one and only conversation about his father. We both knew and acknowledged that not alone had he been a Fascist ideologue, but he had also been a self-described anti-Semite. Garret worried that his father might therefore have been uncritically pro-Nazi. But I argued that the two previous elements did not necessarily add up and result in the third. Indeed, I told him that I seemed to recall reading, a decade previously again, a statement from his

father condemning *Kristallnacht*. He was much relieved and asked me to retrieve it for him, but I failed to find it. His father had lost his Dáil seat in the 1938 General Election, but had then been elected a Senator. I searched every Seanad Debate from November 1938 to 1943 for a FitzGerald condemnation of *Kristallnacht*, but there was none. It was only in 2011 itself, when revisiting the February 1937 Dáil Debates on the Spanish Civil War, that I realised just how my faulty memory had played tricks on me. Desmond FitzGerald had attacked de Valera for criticising anti-Semitism in Germany, when not a single rabbi had (yet) been killed, nor any synagogue burned, while Dev was remaining silent on the priests who were actually being killed, and churches that were being burned, in the Spanish Republic. I believed that the logic of such a FitzGerald statement would be for him to condemn *Kristallnacht* when it would occur 21 months later. But he did not. So it is I who am to blame for Garret FitzGerald having been too kind to his father's memory in that regard."

See http://free-magazines.atholbooks.org/irishforeignaffairs/ifa_11.pdf—pages 13 to 20—for the full article, "Desmond FitzGerald v de Valera on Spain".

None of this record can, however, serve to invalidate the authenticity of his eyewitness account of the Easter Rising. 1968 saw the first publication of *The Memoirs of Desmond FitzGerald* by his son Garret. In his review in the *Irish Times* on 4th January 1969, F.S.L. Lyons, Professor of History at Trinity College Dublin, wrote:

"Rather more than two years ago the appearance of a fragment of Desmond FitzGerald's memoirs in *The Irish Times*'s 1916 Supplement aroused a great deal of interest. Dealing as it briefly did with his experiences in the G.P.O., it whetted the appetites of readers for more. Historians, certainly, have been eagerly awaiting further revelations ever since, for the whole document has so far not been generally available... Now that we have it entire, it may seem ungracious to begin by commenting that while it will undoubtedly take its place as a valuable source for the history of the Rising, its wider significance is limited by two restrictions FitzGerald himself imposed upon his work. One was that he would write about nothing that he had not personally taken part in or witnessed. And the other was that he refused to write anything hurtful about people who could be identified—a self-denying ordinance that immediately put out of bounds the whole period lead-

ing up to the Treaty negotiations and the Civil War, as well as his own subsequent ministerial career..."

But none of these comments invalidated the importance of FitzGerald's 1916 account:

"Historically, the most important part of these memoirs are the chapters on the preparations for the Rising and on FitzGerald's own experiences in the G.P.O... Whenever there was a lull (in the fighting), there was endless, fascinating talk—talk about literature, about the German arms that went astray, about what might have been the effect of the Rising on the mind and heart of Ireland. There was even talk—strange talk it was too among men who had just proclaimed the Republic—that had Germany won the war, an independent Ireland under a German king might have been an acceptable solution. (That this was just not some byproduct of battle fatigue seems evident from the article relating to events of 1915 published by Mr. Ernest Blythe in *The Irish Times*, April 15, 1966.)"

Ernest Blythe, the former Cumann na nGaedheal Vice-President of the Executive Council of the Irish Free State, was to address, for the second time, the theme of "*the willingness of some of the signatories of the Republican Proclamation of 1916 to settle for an Irish monarchy with a German prince on the throne*", in an article under the heading of "*Realities of 1916*", which was published in the *Irish Times* on 3rd April 1969:

"In January 1915, when Liam Mellows, 'Ginger' O'Connell and I were appointed organisers by the Irish Volunteer Executive, we spent the whole day at headquarters in a briefing session with Pearse, Plunkett, MacDonagh and Hobson... At the time, of course, we had high hopes that Britain had at last met her match and that she would be defeated, or at least fought to a draw, by Germany. Late in the afternoon, Joseph Plunkett raised the question of the type of government which it would be best for us to have when the British Army was forced to get out of Ireland. He suggested that from the point of view of insurance against any future British aggression or pressure, it would be best for us to make Ireland a kingdom and bestow the crown on a German Catholic prince. Several of us were enthusiastically in favour of the idea and no one spoke against it... That the talk which took place that afternoon, though informal, was not mere casual gossip is shown by the fact that in the General Post Office during Easter Week 1916, Pearse and Plunkett spoke to Desmond FitzGerald about the plan or idea in question, naming a certain Prince Joachim as the man they would have liked for King of Ireland."

"Pro-German. I do not know if other members of the Provisional Government,

as subsequently constituted, beyond the three mentioned, had been thinking that their declarations of a Republic might be a prelude to the establishment of an Irish monarchy. I suspect, however, that Seán McDermott was at one with them. A day or two after Christmas 1914, when Seán was on a visit to the North, I was at a little party in Fitzsimons' tea-shop in Lisburn at which McDermott and Denis McCullough (President of the Irish Republican Brotherhood 1915-16—MO'R) and five or six others were present... Seán was enthusiastically pro-German—more so than I was—and invited us to sing Deutschland Ueber Alles. After a couple of minutes, however, the proprietor rushed into the room and begged us to desist. He said that people were already beginning to stop on the footpath outside and if the singing did not cease instantly, we should have stones coming through the windows. I should not think that Connolly would have readily agreed to the establishment of an Irish monarchy—but it is probable that neither of the other signatories of the Proclamation would have objected."

Some months before his death, Blythe was to be given a third bite of the cherry. In "*Ernest Blythe—a public profile*", Michael McNerney wrote in the *Irish Times* on 30th December 1974:

"Organisers were assembled for briefing meetings and at one of these meetings (January 1915), he, Mellows and Ginger O'Connell—later the innocent cause of the Four Courts attack (by Free State troops, initiating the Treaty War, in June 1922—MO'R)—were to learn from Joseph Plunkett of the idea of an Independent Irish Kingdom... At the meeting were Bulmer Hobson, MacDonagh and other Volunteer leaders. All present knew that Plunkett had recently visited Germany, and they seemed to go along with the 'Prince' idea—except perhaps Liam Mellows."

In December 1922, Free State Government Minister Blythe would vote for the extra-judicial execution of Mellows and three other Republican prisoners. But the reservations regarding what might have been Mellows' World War viewpoint were McNerney's own, not Blythe's. McNerney's narrative of the January 1915 meeting continued:

"According to Blythe they all agreed that this was the safest and best way for a future independent Ireland to avert any future aggression from Britain, and at that time they all had great hopes that Germany would defeat Britain. It is now generally known also that this was discussed in the G.P.O. by Pearse, Plunkett, Desmond FitzGerald and others in Easter Week, 1916, when a Prince Joachim was thought of as the best choice, the brave

Proclamation of the Republic becoming seemingly irrelevant."

Decades later, there would, however, be a determined effort to rubbish *The Memoirs Of Desmond FitzGerald*. In his 2003 book, *The Legacy Of History For Making Peace In Ireland: Lectures And Commemorative Addresses*, with a Foreword by the then Fianna Fáil, Taoiseach Bertie Ahern, it was Martin Mansergh who did so. That book also reproduced Mansergh's well-argued *Erskine Childers Memorial Lecture* of February 1998, wherein he had pointed out:

"Childers' argument against the (December 1921) Treaty, apart from his objection to the manner of its imposition, and his sense of shock that a declared independence would be formally surrendered, was that it fell well short of full freedom, even for the twenty-six counties, and that Britain was not in practice according to the Free State the same independence and respect it accorded to a Dominion like Canada. He was also dissatisfied with the defence clauses... (which) established an absolute inequality between Ireland and Britain... Those who take it for granted that Collins was right in his stepping-stone argument are apt to overlook that an economic war was required to get rid of the restrictions of the Treaty, and that Irish neutrality was strongly opposed by Churchill, who as late as 1941 maintained that 'we have never recognised Ireland as a sovereign independent State'. By making a very coherent argument against the Treaty, Childers made himself enemies for what followed... Childers worked with de Valera to try and prevent a Civil War, but they only succeeded in postponing it. The Civil War certainly did not take place because of the influence of Childers, even though he was depicted as one of those mainly responsible... He was captured with a personal gun in his possession, and executed along with others in one of the most controversial episodes of the Civil War. In the Dáil debates, Cosgrave inveighed against the malign influence of intellectuals... Churchill with a typical lack grace gloated at the extinction of a traitor" (p 297).

"*Pádraic Pearse (sic) and the Creation of an Irish National Democracy*" was the title of a subsequent lecture by Martin Mansergh, delivered in November 1998, and also included in his 2003 book. (Pearse either signed his name as Patrick or P. H. Pearse in English, or Pádraic Mac Piarais in Irish, but never in a mixture of the two languages.) Mansergh got off to a promising start:

"The 1916 Proclamation... declared the right of the people of Ireland to be sovereign, and the Irish Republic as a sovereign independent State... After the Treaty debate, de Valera moved to form

what he certainly intended to be a constitutional opposition, though constitutional in the line of 1919 rather than the Treaty. After the Republican defeat in 1923, that was what he re-established, though until the Treaty was dismantled in the 1930s Fianna Fáil could fairly be described as 'slightly constitutional' in Lemass' famous phrase" (p 230).

Thereafter, however, this lecture of Mansergh's proceeded to spiral downwards, as he went on to decry and "pity" Pearse's "*pro-German sympathies*" during Britain's "*War Upon The German Nation*"—if I might borrow Connolly's categorisation of that War. Mansergh continued:

"Even before the war, Yeats did not agree with Pearse's pro-German sympathies... Pearse is seen as the fount of modern Republicanism. Yet 'Republicanism' is a concept that he almost never deployed prior to the Proclamation. 'Separatist' is how he described his own philosophy. The substance was more important than the form. Some historians have picked out a fleeting passage from the memoirs of Desmond FitzGerald, concerning discussion amongst those occupying the GPO about the possible interest of a Hohenzollern prince in the throne of Ireland. It was speculative banter about possible German designs not Irish designs... Weighed against the solemnity of the Proclamation, this piece of distraction has been invested with a ludicrously exaggerated importance by some historians and commentators mostly unsupportive of the 1916 Rising and the Republican tradition..."

Mansergh further continued:

"I have always felt that the alignment with the Kaiser's Germany was a pity. Pearse would have related to the fine humane Celtic scholarship of German scholars, like Kuno Meyer. But there was nothing particularly more gallant about the Germans than other participants in the First World War. The earlier Connolly-inspired slogan, 'We fight for neither King nor Kaiser', was more principled. As we know, the Germans provided arms impartially for the Ulster and the Irish Volunteers, probably hoping to keep Britain fully occupied away from Europe, and before the war some Unionists had said that perhaps another William was needed to come and save them. As in 1798, but with even less practical assistance, alignment with Germany immediately invoked Britain's strategic interest. It provided a colour of justification in British terms for the execution of leaders Ireland could ill afford to lose. But it also put those who took part in the Rising on the opposite side to those, who for many different motives were fighting on the western front. Post-Famine, Ireland's real ally was the Irish in the United States. It was that alignment that Britain was not able

to deal with, and that helped bring about independence within five years, and it has influenced developments in much more recent times" (pp 235-236).

In the souvenir brochure character study produced for the 1915 funeral of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, it was, in fact, the then very much alive leader of Irish Republicanism in the USA, John Devoy, whom Pearse had gone out of his way to hail as "*the greatest Fenian*". And it was that same Devoy who was also the most active pro-German conspirator during the War. But, following the War of Independence, Devoy had been reduced to very much a minority faction of Irish American Republicanism when, in no small part due to his personal loathing of de Valera, he hailed the Free State, and the December 1921 Anglo-Irish 'Treaty' which had set it up, as having achieved "*independence within five years*" of the 1916 Rising.

When it was Mansergh himself who described the "*achievement*" of the 1921 'Treaty' as "*independence within five years*", he was contradicting his earlier statement in this same Pearse lecture, and again in his Childers lecture, that the achievement of 26 County independence and sovereignty required the dismantling of that 'Treaty' by Fianna Fáil, the waging of the Economic War, and the securing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1938.

Elsewhere in his book, recording his contribution to a 1997 Conference on Michael Collins, Mansergh contrasted de Valera's alternative to the 'Treaty' with what Britain insisted on imposing under it. As against "*Dominion Status, involving some form of allegiance to the Crown and membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations; De Valera's compromise of External Association, which involved retention of a Republican form of government associated with the Commonwealth, recognising the king as head of the Association*" (p 271).

But the 'Treaty' had not even conceded Dominion Status. As Mansergh pointed out: "*The British made it worse in the revived Free State Constitution of June 1922 (when Collins was also directed to launch the 'Treaty' War—MO'R) by ramming the king down people's throats, describing him as the source of executive power in the Free State*" (p 273).

Mansergh further related:

"When Dev lead his followers out of the Dáil on 19 January (1922) on the election, as President of the Republic, of Arthur Griffith, who was bound by the Treaty to subvert it, Collins shouted after them:

· Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback · Biteback

Taking The Michael?

I wonder what was the point of Samuel Kingston's "Tale of Two Michaels" (Southern Star Oct 3, 2020).

Hundreds of thousands of Irish people enlisted in the British Army over the centuries. They invaded and killed around the globe, mostly just for the money they were paid. Some of them received Imperial honours for their butchering skills.

This year we are celebrating our War of Independence which finally put a stop to this.

Mr. Kingston would have us believe that there was no essential difference between Michael O'Leary, VC, British Army soldier of the Great War, and Michael Collins, Republican leader and Irish Government Minister in our War of Independence.

"Their lives tell juxtaposing stories, different shades of green", says Mr. Kingston.

What shade of Green did the British Army and its soldiers ever fight for?

The reality is that the two Michaels were soldiers in armies that were at war with each other as became more than perfectly clear when the same British soldiers became Auxiliaries here during the war of independence. The only way their lives were juxtaposed was that one would kill the other if they had met in battle.

One is reminded of Michael O'Leary's father speaking at a British Army recruiting drive in the Inchigeela, when he stated: "If you don't join up, the Germans will come here and will do to you what the English have been doing for the last seven hundred years."

O'Leary senior was clearly under no illusion that British soldiers had ever fought for any 'shade of green.'

Jack Lane,

Aubane, Millstreet, Co. Cork
Letter to *Southern Star*, 11.10.20

'Foreigners—American—English'. Griffith's animus against Erskine Childers, as the supposed brains behind the Republic, who had been introduced to its service by Collins, displayed a streak of intolerance and xenophobia, which was to contribute to Childers being shot twelve months later" (p 280).

I have never regarded Martin Mansergh as a West British ideologue. While the unequivocal allegiance of his father, Nicholas Mansergh, had been to a British Empire whose 'reform' he hoped for, the patriotic allegiance of Martin Mansergh himself has always been to this Republic, where he has variously served in the past as Head of Research with the Fianna Fáil Party in Opposition, as a Fianna Fáil Minister of State, and as political adviser on Northern Ireland affairs to three successive Fianna Fáil Taoisigh—Haughey, Reynolds and Ahern—going on to play a key role in the 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement. His anti-Kaiser Germany critique of Pearse was Atlanticist rather than West British,

but no less misconstrued for all that, not least in the plaudits he awarded to US President Woodrow Wilson. But all the more strongly do I find his attempt to counterpose Connolly to Pearse to be thoroughly beyond belief.

Martin Mansergh became a Third Secretary in Ireland's Department of Foreign Affairs in 1974. Apart from any personal preference for the *Irish Times*, the professional requirements of his position would have required him to keep up to speed with the contents of that self-styled "*paper of record*", not least in respect of a controversy regarding Connolly's pro-German stance and propaganda during the First World War, which carried on over several months of 1976 in that paper's letters columns. In the *Irish Times* of 27th May 1976, I was to highlight Connolly's October 1914 statement: "*I believe that the German nation is fighting a necessary fight for the saving of civilisation in Europe.*" I continued:

"This line of propaganda was pursued by Connolly for the remainder of his life, with such headlines as 'Warsaw Welcomes Ger-

COVID continued

the luxury of debating when they should go back to work.

Others in lower-paid, less secure jobs know they cannot stay cocooned indefinitely until all risk is eliminated, even if such a thing was possible, because they won't have jobs waiting for them on the other side of this crisis.

The clusters of infection which have broken out in meat processing plants are stark evidence of that class divide. Those demanding the right to stay at home indefinitely, and who criticise anybody who says its time they went back to work, still expect food to be on their plates each dinner time. They are essentially relying on other workers, such as those in meat processing plants—up to 90pc of whom are migrants living in crowded accommodation with no job security on €10.10 an hour—to keep working while insisting on their own right to stay safe at home.

Likewise, they expect supermarkets to stay open and gas, electricity and water workers to keep getting up each morning and heading to work. What would happen if they too decided the risks were too great and downed tools?

No one is suggesting the lockdown should be ended in one fell swoop, but throughout this crisis the mantra has been that we're all in it together. If there is now to be a gradual return to normal, then surely we must all share the risks equally, not ask certain groups of workers to bear them unilaterally?

IN CONCLUSION

"Ireland's Bovine TB (bTB) Eradication Scheme started in 1954. In 2017, the bTB Eradication Programme cost €84 million... if we use expenditure in 2017 as a 'standard' year, total expenditure on the bTB Programme in today's prices would amount to over €5.5 billion... The plan is to have it eradicated by 2030 and by this

time another €1 billion will have been spent if current trends continue"

(An Roinn Talmhaíochta-Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine, 2018).

76 years in all! Pray that the Covid-19 doesn't take that long to eradicate!

To be Continued next issue.

Constitutional Aspects of the Irish Beef Tribunal—Angela Clifford, Athol Books, 1994, 28pp. €10 plus postage.

"Statecraft is at a low ebb in the Republic at present. The Opposition parties either do not understand it, or are misleading the public about political developments for short-term political ends, and the Reynolds Cabinet for the most part appears to lack it."

Pearse, A Prussian Prince . . .

continued

man Troops' in August 1915 and 'Secret of Germany's Success—State Socialism' in October 1915."

On 4th December 1915, "*Kaiser And Socialists*" had been the lead news item that Connolly carried in *The Workers' Republic*, which he reprinted from the San Francisco Call. It began:

"BERLIN, Oct. 15—A sensation is being caused by the book, 'At the Front in an Auto', published by the South German Socialist, Anton Fendrich. The author is the first Social Democrat who obtained an interview with the Kaiser and he shows the ruler in a new light. The author says the monarch has completely changed his views in regard to the Socialists, and now considers them 'splendid fellows', at least most of them."

Anybody who had been reading the *Irish Times* as a 'paper of record' in 1976 was made perfectly aware of the fact that Connolly had enthusiastically published that Kaiser interview. For, on the letters page of 25th June 1976, I had quoted from it exactly as follows:

"The monarch has completely changed his views as views in regard to the Socialists and now considers them 'splendid fellows', at least most of them—The strongest impression I received was that of the sincerity of the Kaiser's love for peace—I

also noticed his bitter disappointment at the actions of his relatives in England and Russia, who turned against him when he expected their help: to maintain peace. Nobody can expect that the views of the Kaiser are those of a Radical or Socialist, but there is no doubt that he understands the aims of the Radical Left in Parliament far better and has more sympathies for them than the world knows."

I find it hard to credit that Martin Mansergh remained blissfully unaware of that 1976 *Irish Times* controversy concerning Ireland, Germany, and World War One, not least for the reason that, from Autumn 1975 until 1977, he was then based in Bonn, serving as a Department of Foreign Affairs Second Secretary at Ireland's Embassy to the Federal Republic of Germany!

I should at this juncture acknowledge that those 1976 letters had expressed my then strong antipathy towards Kaiser Germany. My critique of Connolly's pro-German stance, and his propaganda regarding same, was from an anti-revisionist, orthodox Leninist/Stalinist commitment. (Leninism and Stalinism were one and the same thing. You could not have one without the other.) In October 2016 I spoke at Cable Street, in London's East End, at celebrations marking the 80th anniversary of the defeat of the British Union of Fascists in the Battle of Cable Street. I was privileged to share a platform with my fellow-Dubliners, comrade, friend and veteran Communist, Max Levitas (1915-2018) of the Communist Party of Britain, and I also paid tribute to

the memory of his brother, Maurice Levitas (1917-2001) of the New Communist Party. During the course of my speech, I said:

"Thirty years ago, Maurice Levitas told me of the political choices that had faced him as a teenager here in Whitechapel: 'I could choose to be either a Communist or a Zionist. I chose to become a Communist.' Now, comrades and friends, I myself am not a Communist. I have not been one for 35 years. But, as an ex-Communist, I am also immensely proud of having been one! We would not be here celebrating the 80th anniversary of the defeat of Mosley's Fascists, were it not for the leadership given on that day by Britain's Communist Party, and the likes of Max Levitas, Secretary of the Young Communist League's Stepney Branch, and Maurice Levitas, Secretary of its Bethnal Green Branch."

But, if I myself had not been a Communist for the best part of four decades, I had surely also been obliged to re-examine my 1976 Communist criticism of Connolly for having been a partisan of Kaiser Germany. James Connolly Re-assessed: The Irish and European Context was the title of a paper I delivered at *Comhdháil an Chraoibhín*—the Dr Douglas Hyde Conference—in July 2001, held in honour of the founding President of Conradh na Gaeilge—the Gaelic League—in 1893, who had gone on to become the first President of Ireland, 1938-1945. In that paper, I reassessed my own earlier views of Connolly's wartime championing of Kaiser Germany.

Manus O'Riordan

TO BE CONTINUED

COVID continued

CONDITIONS

Risk factors in Meat plants include: Poor language skills; crowded accommodation; and the potential for disease spread to spouses or housemates who are often similarly vulnerable workers in nursing homes, supermarkets, etc.

These working conditions have created the perfect storm for the spread of the Covid virus. The nub of all this is the fact that 95% of workers—who earn little more than the minimum wage of €10.10 an hour—do not have a sick pay scheme. The upshot of this is that even if they don't feel well, they cannot afford not to turn up for work.

This is compounded by carpooling, and, in a substantial number of cases, sharing accommodation and rooms.

Apart from the above, many employees are working close to the Boning Halls and Production lines in factories designed in the 1960s and 70s with narrow corridors abreast of canteens and toilets.

Noise pollution, as production line staff use their saws, forces workmates to shout, spewing out droplets that will be pumped around by air-cooling systems.

Communication difficulties represent a significant threat to outbreak control. This is driven by language barriers. It was also noted that, in at least one plant, levels of literacy in some workers' own principal language were low.

Union officials, led by Ms Patricia King, General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions representing workers, portrayed the difficulties of a day in the life of a meat worker, during a hearing at the debate of the Dail *Special Committee on Covid-19 Response* on Thursday, 6th August of *'The Situation in Meat Processing Plants'* in Dail Eireann.

SIPTU Manufacturing Division Organiser, Greg Ennis states that Government needs to establish a *"farm to fork"* meat industry taskforce, given that more than 600 cases of the virus have been reported in plants.

"There is an urgent need for a taskforce involving all meat industry stakeholders to be set up—we need a specific strategy because we don't want this to turn into a scenario like what happened with the nursing homes", he said.

Mr. Ennis, appearing before the Committee, outlined how the Union has been warning since March that meat plants contain *"unrivalled vectors for the transmission of Covid-19"*.

He also highlighted the case of one Offaly town where 40 staff are living together.

"Should this prove to be the case, and if we are truly serious about defeating Covid transmission within the meat industry, this 'hot bedding' of workers has to stop. Surely, it's not an Ireland that anyone would want to be proud of or indeed be associated with?"

"Very recent commentary has emerged of workers being redeployed from one meat plant to another to finish production at weekends, causing so much concern about contagion, that existing regular employees refused to go back to work until their safety concerns were addressed" (Irish Examiner, 13.8.2020).

H.S.A. INSPECTIONS

Meat plants sometimes get advance notice of inspections by the Health and Safety Authority (HSA) and inspectors have found a *"high level of compliance"* with measures to combat Covid-19 at meat plants during the pandemic. Allegations from workers include that there is taking of Panadol prior to inspections to keep temperatures low.

"Siptu officials have called for unannounced inspections and mandatory testing of workers to combat Covid-19" (Irish Independent, 13.8.2020).

DATA PRIVACY

Strict personal privacy laws sparked fears in Government over the potential for meat-factory workers to hide positive Covid-19 test results from their employers. A Cabinet Sub-committee on the pandemic heard concerns about how data privacy legislation means employees are not required to alert employers to their test results (Irish Independent, 12.08.20).

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Ms. Nora Labo, Cork Operative Butchers Society (representing the Independent Workers' Union) said,

"We are convinced that the reason Ireland has witnessed so many worrying outbreaks in meat plants in the past months is due to the workers' substandard employment and living conditions which are the result of the industry's long-term disregard for the well-being of its staff."

"These problems are aggravated by the unscrupulous practices of the work place-

ment agencies through which many of the workers in this sector are employed.

"Based on our membership, a high percentage, perhaps 40% or 50% of these workers are employed through agencies."

Miss Labo said,

"Many workers we know are being housed by their employment agencies which, seeking to maximise profit from the accommodation they provide to their employees, crowd as many people as possible into each house they let" (ibid).

TRADE UNIONS

SIPTU represents up to 6,000 workers in the industry. The Independent Workers' Union (inc. Cork Operative Butchers Society) covers members throughout Munster and beyond.

The present writer was involved in the 1970s as an Assistant by the ITGWU (SIPTU), and covered most of the meat factories in Leinster and Munster, of course things were very different from to-day's industry, i.e., almost entirely a native work-force, a trade whose exports relied mainly on the UK.

But a tight and well organised labour force existed, with active shop engagement, and extensive worker involvement, despite the seasonality of the industry, and industry deadlines.

"In 1976 Ken Quinn* called for a national investigation into the 'state of the meat industry' to safeguard and expand employment. Eoghan Harris saw the solution as nationalisation, something the Meat Federation had not called for. Harris cited Comhlucht Siuicre Eireann: 'They now have to grow their own beet to guarantee a certain minimum level of supply.' In the long run, if that avaricious class is to be dealt with, the means of production, as Michael Davitt said, the land, has got to be taken from them and put into the hands of state companies so that a guaranteed supply of cheap food and downstream processing of meat, dairy products, etc., can be arranged" (Organising History, A Centenary of SIPTU, 1909-2009, Francis Devine-Gill & Macmillan2009).

* (No. 14, Workers' Union of Ireland now S.I.P.T.U.)

* (No. 15, Workers' Union of Ireland)

CLASS ELEMENT

There's a class element to this which shouldn't be overlooked. Those in middle class or public sector employment have

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**LABOUR**

Comment

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“The number of people willing to move here to work is not going to hit levels seen during the last boom and will not keep wages down, economists at the Central Bank are forecasting” (Irish Independent 30.7.2019).

Thoughts on Covid-19

Upton Sinclair (1878-1968) became famous as the author of *The Jungle* (1906), a novel which made so scathing attack on the American canning trade that a Federal Committee was appointed to investigate the conditions in the Chicago stockyards. By the start of the 20th century, the stockyards employed 25,000 people and produced 82% of the domestic meat consumed nationally. In 1921, the stockyards employed 40,000 people. Initially, the majority were Irish, with a substantial number of German workers.

The book cast in fictional form, tells the story of a family of Lithuanian immigrants employed in the stockyards, the chief character, Jurgis Rudkus, the sole member of the family not completely destroyed by the environment, eventually finds some hope for a better life through involvement in the labour movement

Ironically, many of the immigrant workers in to-days multi-million meat industry in Ireland are from Lithuania. The book itself helped bring about substantial food inspection laws in the US, as well as widespread Trade Union membership in the yards.

Sinclair maintained “*that condemned carcasses, [were] thrown into the tanks and then sold in Chicago for meat*”. But worse:

“...I was not able to produce legal proof of men falling into vats and being rendered into pure beef lard ... but always the packers had seen to it that the widows were returned to the old country” (p129).

Sinclair claimed: “*I aimed at the public’s heart, and by accident I hit it in the*

stomach” (*The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair*, W. H. Allen, London, 1963).

He was highly popular in Russia, though Lenin commented that Sinclair was “*an emotional rather than an intellectual Socialist*”.

IRISH MEAT INDUSTRY

Looking at the top ten companies operating in the sector, the top company had a turnover of €2.3bn in 2019, and the second company had a turnover of €2.2bn.

The industry accounts for almost €4bn of food exports to the UK, EU and world markets, and employs 16,000 people at 50 major processing sites and was one of the few sectors to remain open during the lockdown.

In 2018, Ireland’s top 10 beef companies combined had a turnover of €7.6 billion in 2018.

Ireland’s livestock sector plays a key role in the national economy, with over

100,000 farms involved in cattle production. From a supply base of approximately 1 million beef suckler cows and 1.3 million dairy cows, the industry produces over 550,000 tonnes of beef annually, of which almost 90% is exported.

The 2018 *Teagasc National Farm Survey* outlined that the average farm income of beef farmers in 2018 fell 21% to €8,318—80% below Ireland’s average industrial wage. The latest figures show average annual earnings rose 3.6 per cent to €40,283 in 2019.

GOODMAN GROUP

“Nine companies in the Goodman Group made a profit of €170 million last year and had assets worth more than €3.45 billion, accounts filed in Luxembourg indicate. The bulk of the profits were booked in Luxembourg and were largely untaxed” (Irish Times 2.7.2019).

The core business of the group, ABP, is headquartered in Ardee, Co Louth, and is one of Europe’s largest meat processors.

As well as its meat business, the Goodman group also has interests in commercial property in Dublin, as well as in the Blackrock and Hermitage Clinics in the capital, and Galway Clinic.

Four Goodman companies based in Luxembourg—which have no employees—between them produced profits of €123 million in their most recent financial year. They paid almost no tax, and had approximately €2.5 billion in assets at the end of March 2018.

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