

IRISH POLITICAL REVIEW

May 2014

Vol.29, No.5 ISSN 0790-7672

and Northern Star incorporating Workers' Weekly Vol.28 No.5 ISSN 954-5891

North And South

Theresa Villiers, who exercises the powers of the State in Belfast, wants to change the system of devolved local institutions over which she presides. She wants to "evolve" that system into a Government/Opposition system. She quotes Edmund Burke irrelevantly. He said: "A state without the means of change is without means of preservation". The quotation is irrelevant because the 6 Counties is not a state. The state in the North is Villiers herself, the Secretary of State. That the state has the means of change is demonstrated by its frequent changes of Government. There will be a new Secretary of State next year.

The devolved system does not, properly speaking, have a Government at all. It has a number of Departments whose Ministers are elected to them directly, rather than being appointees of a Government. Political parties take it in turn to choose a Department to run, the order of choice depending on the number of votes gained in the devolved election. Every party of any electoral consequence therefore gets at least one Department to run autonomously.

This was the system which made it possible for the War to be ended. Many Government/Opposition systems were tried, but all failed. A Government/Opposition system could only be "evolved" from the present system by destroying it.

Whitehall academic patronage in the North has during the past few decades fostered the notion of "the Northern Ireland state". Northern Ireland is very much less of a state than Scotland is, but the Scottish system is never referred to as the *Scottish State*—even though there is a will to statehood within it, which there is not in Northern Ireland.

There is a real prospect of Scotland becoming a state, therefore Whitehall asserts British statehood in Scotland. There is no prospect of Northern Ireland asserting statehood, therefore Whitehall encourages propaganda use of the term "the Northern Ireland State" as a means of disclaiming responsibility for all that its creation of Northern Ireland led to.

But Villiers just now is using the power of State to check a small measure of consensus that has emerged in the North. There has been tacit agreement not to implement the social

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Guests of the Queen

One of the more predictable things about Martin McGuinness' visit to Windsor was that Anthony McIntyre would condemn it. He said that "Martin Mc Guinness isn't going there as a victorious general, he is going there as a compromised former chief of staff of a defeated army".

Now that must be a first—Her Majesty does not usually dine with losers. She dines with those whose armies her army fail to defeat and whom her State sees as centres of power that it would like to cultivate for the future. Whether these centres of power choose to be cultivated is another thing entirely as the example of Sir Robert Mugabe illustrates.

McIntyre has suffered too much education. He had fifteen years of it in Long Kesh and some years of it afterwards at Queen's University, Belfast. The first fifteen years probably did not do him much harm since others emerged from the experience better men. It seems that it was the Ivory Towers rather than the Watch Towers that disabled his mind.

Brian Feeney, who is much more representative of Northern Nationalists

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On the way to a new Social Partnership?

ICTU ponders the future

Only one conclusion can be drawn from the well-attended ICTU seminar, *A New Course for Better Times*, held in Dublin's Mansion House on 11th April. That is that achieving the aims of the Trade Union movement requires the restoration of the collaborative system known as "Social Partnership".

For several years, of course, no one said that. Are they beginning to say it now?

TRIPARTITE LIMBO

Say it in a whisper: Social Partnership is still standing in a substantial form, even in the private sector. When the world economic crisis caused by USUK's global financial sector hit in 2008, ICTU initially held to demanding a collaborative approach to weathering the storm. But the State wanted a free hand in financial policy and under the Cowan-Lenihan leadership

was determined to rid itself of ties that bind. ICTU brought over 150,000 Trade Unionists onto the streets demanding a collaborative "Better, Fairer Way". In the shake-out that followed in 2010, the State got its way and handed itself over to management by the Department of Finance.

The media was elated and proclaimed the end of the hated system—a corrupt cartel, they said, of "insiders" which, most outrageously of all, did not include them. No one contradicted them.

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"*British rights for British citizens*" was raised, without it being specified how these Rights might be achieved.

There was in fact only one way of achieving them and getting normal politics and that was through British political practice. Britain in those days knew little of 'rights' as distinct from practices, and it doesn't know very much more today. And, if British Rights were abstracted from political practices and were all conferred legally on Northern Ireland, that would have brought "*normal politics*" no nearer, because political normality lay in the activity of the system of party-politics through which the state functioned. Excluded from that system, politics in the North could only be a continuation of the communal antagonism on which Whitehall founded Stormont in 1921.

Politics 'on the mainland' was not cerebral but actual. In the North there might be efforts to imitate the politics of normality, but they could never be more than fringe activities. Professor Brendan O'Leary (then of the London School of Economics) in a pamphlet called *Oranges Or Lemons?*, written against the movement to extend the British party system to the 6 County region of the state, came up with the bold idea that there was no real difference between the imitation and the real thing. The imitation, he argued, was a "*facsimile*" of the real thing and was just as good as it. That was a properly cerebral thought. But the Northern imitations of 'mainland' politics always failed to have the effect that the real thing had, and they always withered.

The Dublin Government, judging by the Report by E. Gallagher, dated 6th November 1970, and produced for the Department of the Taoiseach, understood the difference between the imitations and the real thing. It wasn't bothered by the Northern Ireland Labour Party, but if the Labour Party decided to organise "*we should oppose it without reserve*".

The document (four closely-typed foolscap pages) will be published later. Its salient points are:

"historically there has never been a British political party in the North. [A whopping great lie. Ed.] The Unionist Party... is a strictly Irish party and always has been..."

"...the two major political parties here, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, have been careful not to organise themselves in the North although any Irish political party has a greater right to do so than any British party. Instead their policy has been to maintain a liaison with the major opposition party in the North... Insofar as Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have restrained themselves in this situation for

welfare cuts enacted in Westminster and applied to Britain. This does not mean that the Northern Executive is drawing extra funds from the (British) Exchequer. It is using its fixed Budget in a way that enables it to avoid welfare cuts. And Villiers is fining it a million pounds a month for doing so.

*

A document has come to light in the Dublin Government Archive, expressing strong opposition to a proposal by British Shadow Home Secretary James Callaghan, in November 1970, that a process of democratising the North as a region of the British state should be inaugurated. Callaghan came to the North in the aftermath of a pogrom of August 1960 and saw that the party-politics of the state (which was the core of its democratic life) was missing from Northern Ireland. He therefore floated the idea that the Labour Party should extend its organisation to the North and contest elections there against the Ulster Unionists, who at the time had a superficial connection with the Tory Party.

If that had been done, the subsequent course of events would certainly have been very different. The Civil Rights agitation had run out of perspective, disoriented by its own success. Its demands had been met but that had not produced any real feeling of achievement—because the demands had not been directed at the core of the matter. The concession of "*One Man, One Vote*" changed hardly anything. It only meant the ending of extra votes for businessmen in Local Government elections, as had been done 'on the mainland' some years earlier, and it changed hardly anything on the ground. An abstract grievance was remedied with little tangible effect.

The one real grievance in that area was the Derry City gerrymander. That was dealt with to the satisfaction of the Catholic majority. But overall the feeling was that, though the reform demands had been met, the nub of the matter had not been touched.

The yearning of the moderate reformers was for "*normal politics*"—which meant politics as on 'the mainland'. The slogan

the general good then it might be expected that Mr. Callaghan should also stay out of the situation."

The essential thing was to maintain the political isolation of the North as a political No-man's-land between the two states—legislated for in major respects, and paid for, by Britain, but excluded from British state politics. Dublin was establishing a party to serve its interests in the North, the SDLP. The SDLP policy was unity by consent, but the policy of the Labour Party would "*necessarily be pro-constitution*"—which, of course, provided for unity by consent! (Didn't Professor Nicholas Mansergh tell us long ago that the Partition Act was really a *Unity Act*.)

But the document insists that the difference between these two forms of unity by consent "*is more than one of verbiage*". And yet the leader of the SDLP ended up in the House of Lords!

The situation in November 1970, when Fianna Fail decided to use all its influence to prevent democratisation of the North through British politics, was that Taoiseach Lynch, who had adopted a policy of arming the Northern minority in August 1969 and continued it until April 1970, suddenly ended that policy and brought criminal proceedings against those who had been implementing it, including John Kelly of the Citizens Defence Committees. That betrayal of the Northern insurgency, instead of demoralising it, shocked it into a line of independent action, free from Dublin influence.

Lynch condemned violence, while at the same time declaring that Partition was the cause of it and that it could only be ended by the ending of Partition.

His pretend policy was to build bridges to the Unionist community and nurture it towards unity. But he categorically rejected the "*two nations*" view, which might have persuaded the Unionists to listen to him.

Thus Fianna Fail, in November 1970, had ruled every practical option off the agenda. So a War was fought. And politicians who developed out of the War brought it to a conclusion by means of the present transitional arrangement. And Lynch's successors—who kept up his policy of isolating the North—finding that the military/political force that developed in the isolated North is not content to remain bottled up there and is developing a strong presence in the all-too-virtuous South, can think of nothing better to do than carry on treating the War as an outbreak of criminality which should be subject to ongoing prosecution.

Royals At 1916 Commemoration?

Some have been surprised at Diarmaid Ferriter's description (in his *Irish Independent* article, 17 April) of an invitation to the British Royals to participate in the Irish State's 1916 centenary commemorations in 2016 as a "*historical contrivance*." Ferriter should be praised for his stand, especially in view of the positions being taken by others. It was particularly sad to listen to a discussion of Ferriter's views on RTE Radio's *Saturday with Claire Byrne* (19 April). A panel that should have supported him left him on his own to defend his brave position. That panel included Jack O'Connor of SIPTU (for whom I have the greatest respect), Minister Joe Costello (Labour, who had previously voiced criticism of the invitation) and Sinn Féin Deputy Leader and TD, Mary Lou McDonald. Jack didn't mention the invitation but argued that attention at 2016 should instead be on poverty etc. etc., Joe retreated from his previous public "*concern*" about the invitation, and Mary Lou was most disappointing of all. She said we didn't live in a Republic at all but had to now set about establishing one and that there were "*various views*" on the invitation as we had all "*moved on*". It was terrible! My respect for Ferriter—with whom I often disagree—grew considerably.

Another point about the now infamous invitation that might be mentioned is the question why the representatives of those who opposed the Irish Republic with military force are to be invited to celebrate the quintessential act leading to its foundation, while no-one in Government has even hinted at an invitation to the heads of those states which had actually and substantially supported it—our then "*gallant Allies in Europe*"—as opposed to our then enemies. I refer to the Presidents of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Turkey.

Philip O'Connor

The "White Nigger" Affair

How the journal of record records itself

The *Irish Times* had a report by Dan Keenan on Douglas Gageby's early relationship with John Hume on the theme that this relationship changed the course of history in Northern Ireland. *Inter alia*, he says that:

"Gageby's decision to grant Hume a platform appeared to run counter to the politics if not the ethos of The Irish Times itself and was among a series of articles and news reports between 1964 and 1969 which prompted Major Tom McDowell, a director and later chairman of the newspaper, to seek advice from a senior British diplomatic figure. Their contacts prompted the so-called "white nigger" controversy—the term originating in McDowell's reported description of his editor to Sir Andrew Gilchrist, British ambassador to Ireland. Gilchrist wrote to his superiors in London: "McDowell is one of the five (Protestant) owners of The Irish Times, and he and his associates are increasingly concerned about the line the paper is taking under its present (Protestant, Belfast-born) [sic] editor, Gageby, whom he described as a very fine journalist, an excellent man, but on the northern question a renegade or white nigger. The controversy became public in 2003 with the release of State papers. Despite McDowell's concerns, he took no action against Gageby." (28 April 2014)

The author should check some facts. McDowell contacted his Government in Downing Street directly for assistance and

to take advice on its problem in Northern Ireland. Downing St. arranged for its Ambassador to Dublin to meet him. This information became public in 2000, not 2003, with the release of the relevant State Papers at Kew that year. It was the publication of the document in this magazine in 2003 that drew the matter to the attention of the public to it and made it "*the controversy*". The *Irish Times* reported on the release of the State Papers in 2000 but took good care not to report on this matter. Such is the way with the journal of record when recording itself. Mr Keenan might care to find out why this was the case and let us know if he believes it conforms to the 'ethos' of the paper. Neither did any other paper report on this in their coverage of those State Papers.

McDowell went on to become the all-powerful figure in the *Irish Times* in all its guises. He saw to it that Editors came and went—and he did act against Gageby. But the author of this piece is probably not an Oath-bound member of the inner circle and is not aware of the Major's actions in this regard and believes that if he does not know about them they did not happen. He could go far in the paper.

And we are still awaiting publication of Geraldine Kennedy's interview with McDowell, which he did not let her publish at the time. It might shed more light on the matter—though we doubt it. But it would be interesting nevertheless.

Jack Lane

Guests of the Queen

continued

than Anthony McIntyre, had a realistic view of what was happening at Windsor (Irish News, 8.4.14):

"During her long reign Queen Elizabeth has sat down with a long list of men and women successive British governments have pursued or jailed because of their struggle for independence. Since the British have been booted out of most of the countries they invaded (and we're told there were only 22 on earth they didn't invade) McGuinness is likely to be the last of the line."

The *Irish News*, for which Feeney writes, was itself rather underwhelmed by the whole affair. In its editorial '*Visit a natural and wise step*', it called McGuinness's decision to take dinner with Her Majesty "*a logical progression of the journey republicans have been on in recent times. After all, he has already met Queen Elizabeth in Belfast—an event which, while important did not cause the world to stop.*" The editorial continued:

"Indeed, in many ways it would have seemed churlish for the deputy first minister not to accept an invitation to Windsor, although there are undoubtedly some republicans who preferred he stayed away."

Oh yes—and then there is the other fella: "*While the focus has been on Sinn Fein's participation, it must be remembered that this is a historic occasion for President Higgins...*" (8.4.14).

But the *Irish News* columnist Brian Feeney was of the opinion that the Windsor event was a much more important event than the paper he writes for indicated. It was, in fact, a great indicator of power changes on the island—firstly within the Six Counties, between Nationalism (or Republicanism) and Unionism. Feeney wrote:

"There was no symbolic nod towards the diminishing minority on the island that Robinson represents. It would have been of great interest if there had been for perhaps we would all have got a sample of what 'Ar Kulchur' {our culture: Ulster Scots} is, as opposed to the insanitary dump at the top of Twaddell Avenue. A kick the pope band maybe? The flags were already in plentiful supply at Windsor festooned with Union Jacks and Tricolours side by side. Stormont's future? Robinson was a gooseberry... The hard fact is that he was the stranger at a British-Irish occasion. All the talk is of McGuinness's attendance but at least he would have felt comfortable and at home

making an important gesture whereas Robinson was a spectator making up the numbers listening to speeches which dwelt heavily on the connections between Britain and Ireland... You will notice Robinson has had absolutely nothing to say about the events. No chance of rising to the occasion with a big speech before he headed to London, no analysis of unionism's new much-reduced position in these islands as evidenced by the close relations between Britain and Ireland north and south."

Some of Feeney's Prod-bashing grates in the way it expresses the harshness of the communal grind. The pathetic Loyalist camp at Twaddell Avenue is the latest whipping boy of Nationalists. But it must be remembered that Feeney is ex-SDLP and has something of the Hibernian spirit in him still.

But he is dead-on when he notes the decline and sidelining of Ulster Unionism—a process that began long ago, back in 1920 when it made the "*supreme sacrifice*" of accepting semi-detachment from the UK State in the Imperial interest of using the new construction of 'Northern Ireland' as a lever over that which was being lost in the greater part of the island.

The Ulster Unionists were told privately by Whitehall that they must have a Home Rule set-up of their own so that a deal could be made with some elements in Sinn Fein in order to divide the Republican forces. These elements in Sinn Fein, Ulster Unionists were assured, would be forced to accept the Crown on the basis that, if they did, the concoction in 'Northern Ireland', established in 1921, would be made unviable.

In strategic terms Ulster Unionism agreed to make the 'supreme sacrifice' and accept semi-detachment from Britain so that the Imperial Government could make a Treaty with the rebels, in order that the Independence movement could be disorganised and weakened, enabling Britain to retain its hegemony over the whole island.

But the settlement of 1920-1 had a disastrous effect on the Ulster Protestants, because it made their link with the Motherland was largely Imperial rather than British: by cutting them out of British politics, it brought out the worst of them. And the descent from British to Ulsterish has led to Twaddell.

But enough of the communal war of attrition, Sinn Fein has more important matters to attend to.

Feeney also noted that the Windsor event was also a great indicator of power changes on the island between North and

South, between Northern Nationalism (or Republicanism) and Dublin.

"...as far as Northern nationalists are concerned it was McGuinness's moment. A historic moment because it was the first time since partition that northern nationalists have been included and given an equal place at the table with the rest of the Irish people here and in Britain. It was formal recognition that northern nationalists administer the north on a par with unionists, that the north is no longer a unionist state" (9.4.14).

Feeney chose not to mention that the Northern Catholic resurgence from the political predicament they had found themselves in 1920-1, within the communal system that had been imposed upon them, came about through the 28 Year War and the transference of the momentum built up in that War into politics.

This resulted in an alteration in power relations between the Northern Catholics and the South. Despite being badly let down by Dublin, between the Collins Northern offensive of early 1922 and the Boundary Commission of 1925 the Northern Catholics had kept faith for generations, in the expectation of deliverance from Dublin. And they were sorely disappointed in their waiting—first by the Free Staters after Collins' death and then by De Valera's insistence that they remain in quarantine until the day of deliverance, lest they should compromise the politics of the South and the movement toward national independence. And the last straw came in Spring 1970, with the Lynch Government's retreat from the active policy on the North adopted in August 1969, under pressure from Whitehall.

The Northern Catholics were left with no choice but to assert themselves in independent substance and transfer the momentum they had developed in the civil rights struggle into something else. What else and where it was leading was not at all clear. But the general destination was; a road out of the political prison they had been confined to in 'Northern Ireland'.

And they were confident enough to no longer take orders from Dublin, as Nationalists had done in the past. What other choice had they but to construct a power centre among themselves and to maintain it for nearly three decades until it had to be taken account of. And, having proved impervious to pressure for 28 years, they began to direct their momentum Southward, much to the alarm of the political Establishment there.

Eoghan Harris perceived a boost for Sinn Fein down South from the Windsor

event in his *Sunday Independent* column (13.14.14). Harris has never forgiven the Northern Catholics for not going along with his fantasy 'lost revolution' in 1970—a revolution he gave up on himself a few years later as his childhood Imperial longings re-emerged to call him up.

The Northern Catholic resurgence of August 1969 after the catastrophe of 1920-1 did not fit into Harris' scheme and it resulted, instead, in them tending to their own interests by producing something that would make life liveable in the situation that was imposed upon them. The Windsor event is another illustration that they are continuing to do that rather well.

During the 28 Year War the most significant attribute of what the Northern Catholics produced was tactical flexibility. When the Provos found themselves checked in one direction, they went in another and broadened the battlefield. And it was this ability to improvise and to shift position that made post-1969 Republicanism different from what went before.

That skill has been transferred from the military to the political. As the Stormont set-up goes increasing nowhere, Sinn Fein have taken up new positions and advanced into areas where no one believed they could make an appearance, like Windsor Castle.

Ruth Dudley Edwards, in her *Sunday Independent* column, was amused by the joke of an unnamed Derryman that envisaged McGuinness being asked at Windsor Castle if he cared to "take the soup?"

What Marty had for his starter at Windsor is of no great concern to us, but he was

REPORT

"Martin McGuinness Denies Writing 'Up The Ra' In The Queens Jacks

April 9, 2014

Waterford Whispers News

The historic accord reached when Irish President Michael D. Higgins made his first official visit to the United Kingdom for a banquet meeting with British monarch Elizabeth II: Elizabeth Harder has been thrown into chaos after Northern Irish First Minister Martin McGuinness has been accused of writing "Up The Ra" in the toilets of Windsor Castle.

Mr. McGuinness denies the accusation and claimed that he only used the toilet for "a quick shite" but was rudely interrupted by Michael D. who Mr. McGuinness claims was responsible for scrawling the xenophobic graffiti..."

Whole story can be read at: <http://waterfordwhispersnews.com/2014/04/09/martin-mcguinness-denies-writing-up-the-ra-in-the-queens-jacks/>

not the first from Derry to "take the soup".

In 1958 the future Leader of the Six County Nationalists, Eddie McAteer, told some proposers of a Catholic reform movement who urged recognition of 'Northern Ireland' in order to undermine it, that this was tantamount to "taking the soup". And he would have none of it.

A few years later, on the orders of Taoiseach Sean Lemass, McAteer took his place as Leader of Her Majesty's Opposition at Stormont, gave recognition to 'Northern Ireland' and began a sequence of events that would end in the explosion of August 1969. This year is the fiftieth anniversary of the start of that chain of events that blew Northern Ireland apart. It was begun by Lemass, the Taoiseach that the anti-national element in Irish academia and journalism most admire. And Harris still quotes him with approval against the traditional view, without for a moment understanding the revolutionary road he mapped out for Northern Nationalists.

Northern Nationalists responded to the new departure Lemass had in mind for them and took on the policy of recognition of the Stormont system, even though their leaders did not agree with it. The North, cut off from the rest of the Nation in 1920-1 and removed from its political developments, acted as a dependent part of the Irish Nation under orders from its predominant element and went along with the new policy while knowing, from the outset, that no good would come of it.

The new policy with regard to Stormont was based on a number of fatal misconceptions about the nature of 'Northern Ireland', chief of which was a fundamental misunderstanding about it being a 'state', which was reformable to something that resembled a democracy.

The way it responded to this test—the new departure in Catholic politics—confirmed that this conception was an idealist fantasy of outsiders—although those who acted within it began to take on the same fatal assumptions.

The Republican movement, of which Harris was a part, itself came under the influence of outsiders and went along with them into irrelevancy. And the new young 'constitutionalists' that became the SDLP and the revolutionaries of the People's Democracy alike also succumbed.

But 'Northern Ireland' proved to be a façade, or a kind of 'False Front' of the remaining British State in Ireland, that could not cope with the political activism that was predicated on a view of it being a 'state' that could be reformed.

The taking up of the role of Constitution-

al Opposition by Nationalists had the effect of prolonging the façade and giving legitimacy to the notion that 'Northern Ireland' was a democracy that could be let rest in peace by Whitehall and it had momentous consequences.

The new departure, which had constituted itself into a Civil Rights Movement, reacted with the perverse political entity that Britain had established in the Six Counties in 1920-1 and the conjunction of these two elements blew everything apart in 1969 producing a defensive Insurrection within the Catholic community in response to the going berserk of the Unionist repressive apparatus.

After the August explosion the arm's length policy of Westminster, and the withdrawal of Dublin under pressure from British diplomacy, facilitated the emergence of a new force in the political vacuum in the North. That force, starting from a small nucleus, went from strength to strength and there is little doubt that it was politically the most effective thing that was ever produced by the Northern Catholic community—at least since 1921.

And now it dines with the Queen at Windsor Castle.

Pat Walsh

Pat Walsh's new book, **The Catholic Predicament In 'Northern Ireland', Catastrophe And Resurgence**, Vol. One: **Catastrophe, 1914-1968** appears in April 2014

BRAGING NEWS

He talks about the boy,
the boy buried in the rubble,
this *trompe l'oeil*
with the designer stubble
surveying the ruins of Aleppo.
Isn't war terrible he says
it's brought this boy's family woe
but thankfully the boy's alive he bays
in his public school accent.
Assad did this says he,
this is civilisation's descent.
A video you are about to see
was made by a fight-for-democracy group.
(their faces obscured by a copy of the Guardian)
They dust down the boy and whoop:
He's alive!
Like playing an accordion
he stretches and squeezes the truth.
(his friends are here in Syria to kill, destroy
and skive)
Gone Aleppo's ancient souk.
And who sent them here,
indirectly or not.
Ask Whitehall,
ask the EU, ask the USA—they who call
the shots.
Now they sound appalled?

Wilson John Haire

30 April 2014

Social Partnership

continued

But in 2009 the Government only suspended the pay terms of the last Agreement, *Towards 2016 (T16)*, concluded in 2006 for a ten year period. All other aspects of that detailed Agreement, which included strategies on infrastructure development, the "*development welfare state*", health and education reform, vocational training, industrial policy, disability services etc. etc., remain in place. Despite all that has happened since, these aspects continue to be implemented, however much the public service has been reduced to operating on a shoestring.

Also, and out of the sight and mind of the media, many *structures* of Social Partnership have remained in place, even if now overshadowed by the organs of the new Finance regime, especially the new "Department of Public Expenditure and Reform" (DPER) presided over by Labour's Brendan Howlin. As *Irish Political Review* has commented extensively on the financial policy aspects of the crisis and recovery, and our columnist, *The Long Fella*, has provided a relentless critique of these aspects, there is no need to repeat them here. Suffice it to say that Employers, Government and Unions still collaborate regularly on a wide range of policy formation and implementation matters, through bodies such as the NESC, the Health and Safety Executive and others. At every level of the public service, down to individual hospitals, agencies and schools, Partnership governance bodies established during the Golden Era remain in place and continue to resolve local and workplace conflicts and to function as organs of participative management.

DEBILITATING LEFT

The Right, of course, thought they would 'make hay in the crisis'. In their exuberance, reactionaries saw the 'opportunity' to dismantle the Joint Labour Committee (JLC) system both through the courts and with their man, Richard Bruton (Fine Gael), in Government. But it was not to be. In fact, the JLC system has been reinstated and the Unions are seeking its expansion. Employers too were in no mood for a counter-revolution in social relations. Within months of the suspension of *Towards 2016*, IBEC and ICTU quietly concluded a Memorandum of Understanding and guidelines for wage movement in the private sector. A year later

Government and Unions concluded Croke Park II and then Haddington Road for the public sector. One Union leader, Shay Cody of IMPACT, caught the real mood of members when he spoke of a strategic retreat before a return in recovery conditions. With the onset of that recovery there is talk again of restoring real wage growth.

The ICTU demonstrations of 2009-10 for the maintenance of Social Partnership were never articulated clearly for what they were, and petered out once the public sector agreements were passed by the members. Instead of articulating a strategy, a type of left wing cant took hold, denouncing all and sundry—except Trade Unionists of course—for the bubble and crash. The 'left' demagoguery of the *New York Times* and *Financial Times*, the only discernible purpose of which was to destabilise the consolidation of the Euro, was adopted uncritically by would be revolutionaries. The problem was "*endemic corruption*" and a "*failed state*", and the policy of financial consolidation ("*austerity*") represented a "*counter-revolution*" by capital. Obama was the hero of "*financial stimulus*" and the Germans the demons of austerity. Thus spake Fintan O'Toole from Trade Union platforms during his brief foray into revolutionary politics.

THE END OF "ANTI-AUSTERITY"

The conference *A New Course for Better Times* was given its official message by an "*opinion*" piece the same morning in *The Irish Times* by ICTU General Secretary, David Begg. This is that the major part of the economy (in employment and enterprise terms) is the domestic economy. Instead of "*austerity*", what is needed is a massive stimulus to private consumption, driven by higher wages and public investment.

In the event this was not the message that dominated the Conference. In fact it hardly got a hearing. Instead, more interesting things caught the attention of the unusually attentive and engaged audience of Trade Unionists in the Mansion House.

GERMAN LOGIC

Reiner Hoffmann, President of the German Union Federation, DGB, repeated the mantras of the problems of austerity, especially that it had caused record levels of unemployment. As *Irish Political Review* has pointed out, however, even if "*austerity*" can be said to slow the rate of the recovery, in that private consumption is not promoted, it cannot be blamed for high unemployment, which occurred as a result of the bust and hence pre-dated the

policies of prudent finances. Since its introduction, unemployment has in fact fallen considerably. But Hoffmann got into his stride in laying out the far more substantive DGB policy of a "*Marshall Plan for Europe*" and the European Trade Union Federation's (ETUC) "*Investment Plan for Europe*".

Contrary to the prescriptions of O'Toole, the DGB position on austerity is not to advocate quantitative easing to boost mass consumption. On the contrary, as Hoffmann explained, it proposes the tightening of controls and curtailment of finance sector-driven development, with the State channelling of investment to the real economy—the making of goods, expansion of employment, development of infrastructure and widening of public services. Well-directed financial services would serve sustainable industrial growth and an expanding welfare state, with real production the driver.

An economic and social transformation was being driven by the energy and technological revolution, and the resultant infrastructure and welfare investment needs. Control of the credit system—which outsiders see already largely in place in Germany in the dominance of the State investment bank, KfW, in funding SME start-ups and development—was a model for an all-Europe approach. The KfW is 80% owned by the German State and 20% by the Federal States and has assets of half a trillion euro.

Taxing wealth would require a common European taxation policy. It, together with the Financial Transaction Tax, would be key levers in directing the flow of investment capital. Special financial tools and planning approaches would ensure industrial development in poorer regions driven by this agenda.

On Trade Unionism, Hoffmann commented on the role of the DGB in turning German industry around, noting that German Unions had grown by over a third of a million members in 2013 alone.

DUTCH AND DANISH WISDOM

Niels Pultz, Social Democratic economist and current Danish Ambassador to Ireland, described the Danish system of tripartite economic planning and employment service management. Its most innovative aspect is known as "*flexicurity*": workers can be laid off more easily than elsewhere but this combines with high-grade systems of retraining, social benefits (85%) and employment placement. The Danish collective bargaining system is based on an agreement reached outside government by Employers and Unions after what he called "*our big strike and lockout*" of 1899.

Attendees were particularly impressed by Catelene Passchier, Vice-President of the Dutch Confederation FNV and a former senior ETUC official. She said the Right declares the death of the "Dutch model" every ten years, but it always comes back stronger than ever. Social Partnership had been restored in 2013, as Employers also sought it, having learned the limitations of parliamentary politics, "*when politics can no longer deliver what employers think needs to be done*". The key is productivity-based agreements, i.e. worker involvement through such agreements in investment decisions at plant and national level, and also involving Government as the director of financial and training policy. She perceptively identified the weakness in the Irish Social Partnership model—that it had not become embedded enough as the normal way of doing real business. After her talk, a senior Union leader commented to me that Social Partnership was really the only way forward again.

IRISH COMMENTARY

The responses from Irish speakers can be summed up as a call to bring back the old ICC—the State *Industrial Credit Corporation* created by Lemass to fuel development and abolished by Charlie McCreevy of Fianna Fail and Mary Harney of the Progressive Democrats, political criminals about whom the media maintain an inexplicable silence. Tom Healy, head of the ICTU Nevin Economic Research Institute, made the point that the current debtor position of the commercial banks provided a golden opportunity to establish a State Investment Bank dedicated to industrial development. David Jacobson of Dublin City University as usual took a largely cynical, pessimistic view of matters, dwelling at length on the inordinate subsidisation of enterprise by the State. But he had substantial points to make—the Government's credit guarantee scheme had predicted that it would assist over 5,000 companies, but had only reached 72. He too proposed a State Investment Bank as the solution, financing innovation to create competitive advantage. He also argued that Ireland had not lost competitiveness in 2000-08 but, despite his displays of figures, this writer was left unconvinced. He ended with a bit of innovation himself: a rap lyric about taxing wealth and corporations.

JOAN BURTON'S

"JOBS GUARANTEE FOR ALL"

There were inputs from several politicians, few of which were of note. Aengus Ó Snodaigh TD (Sinn Féin), however, admitted that many past SF economic

policies had been "*pie in the sky*" but now all its proposals were costed, i.e. should be taken seriously. He went on to make the "*anti-austerity*" case which, given falling unemployment and economic growth, lacked conviction. The political contributions engaged little with the new ideas presented at the Conference. An exception was Joan Burton, Minister for Social Protection, who made a strong impression. Cynics saw it as courting the Trade Union vote for the Labour leadership (should it fall vacant), and if so, well, fair play to her.

She referred extensively to work by the French economist, Thomas Piketty, who has become flavour of the month in chattering circles, *The Economist* and elsewhere. Piketty has demonstrated that the post-war Keynesian period of redistributive capitalism, welfare state building and narrowing wealth differentials was a historical anomaly in the story of capitalism. The trend over 300 years in fact was towards a hollowing out of the middle, with a relentless process of wealth concentration at the top and wealth loss for everyone else. In the *Irish Political Review*, of course, we all know that Kautsky and Hilferding—though derided by the revisionists—argued exactly the same 100 years ago, and that the natural trend of capitalism could only be overturned by a "*socialisation*" of finance capital.

Burton called for a "*new social democratic settlement*" in Europe and launched her programme of a "*Jobs Guarantee with a basic living wage*". This would involve State direction of the employment market and training systems, with the State itself as the employer of last resort. With the crisis now passed, she said it was time for a return to increasing public sector employment. As in previous initiatives reported exclusively in *Irish Political Review*, she again argued for a great expansion of "*practical, work based training*" and the adoption of the "*dual system*" of schooling/training as administered by the Social Partners in low-unemployment Germany, Austria, Scandinavia and Holland. She set 2020 as the date for the introduction of her "*Jobs Guarantee*".

O'DONNELL AND Ó RIAIN

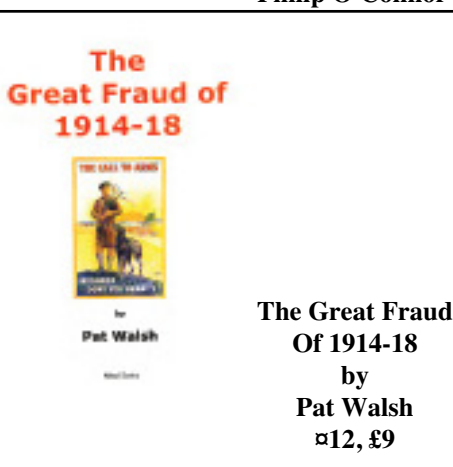
Rory O'Donnell of NESC focused on that Social Partner institution's sober—and correct—analysis of the crisis produced in 2010 while the media were still obsessed with now faded celebrity catastrophists like Morgan Kelly. O'Donnell showed that the Partnership agenda for a "*development welfare state*" and the Government programme for a re-

formation of the financial system were proceeding, even if slower than needed. He also endorsed the Hoffmann proposition of State targeting of investment through financial regulation and direction and argued for retaining the stringent State direction of banking put in place to deal with the crisis, developing a strategy not just of low unemployment, but high levels of employment participation as achieved in the Nordic countries through "*flexicurity*", which replaces welfarism with real *social security*. This, rather than fiscal adjustment alone, is what should shape the agenda for public sector reform.

Seán Ó Riain of NUI Maynooth cut through much nonsense and was the star performer of the day. He presented his ideas for a high-public-investment model and argued that Ireland should break from its inherited British approaches in economic policy. The British liberal model combined Keynesian monetary policy with a "*confidence*"-based agenda for business growth driven by private investment, which contrasted with the Social Market capitalist variety of Northern Europe, which combined fiscal conservatism with State-led investment. The result at EU level was a combination of the worst of both worlds. Ó Riain—who throughout the crisis has been one of the few voices of sanity—presented a model he called the "*investment diamond*", whereby fiscal strategy provided a stable framework for investment through a State investment bank stimulating active labour market and enterprise policy, guided by an "*investment centred social partnership*". He went into the practical details of achieving this, with productivity the main bargaining chip of the Social Partnership, very much in tune with the ideas of Hoffmann and Passchier.

Some of the presentations and other materials from the conference are available at www.ictu.ie/press/diary/2014/04/11/.

Philip O'Connor



Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

EXCHEQUER RETURNS

The Exchequer returns for the first three months were encouraging. Tax Revenue of 9.23 billion was up 415 million euro on last year (4.7%) and 257 million on forecast (2.9%). The main revenue sources were up on last year. The amounts (in billions of euro) raised in the main categories were:

Income Tax:	3.8 (up 3.5%)
VAT:	3.5 (up 6.4%)
Excise Duty	1.1 (up 11.5%)

There was more good news on the spending side. Total net voted expenditure of 10.26 billion was down 670 million or 6.1% on the same period last year and 261 million less than forecast. While current health spending at 3.2 billion was 49 million over target, Social Welfare spending of 3 billion was 441 million or 12.8 per cent lower than in the first three months of last year and 156 million or almost 5 per cent less than forecast.

Interestingly, interest payments on the debt seem to have stabilised (1,947 million versus 1,892 million for the first three months of last year).

A total Exchequer deficit of 2.3 billion (including capital and non voted current expenditure) was recorded for the period—an improvement of 1.4 billion on last year.

The encouraging figures for revenue and expenditure were driven by the increase in employment (up 3% on last year). Unemployment at the end of March was at 11.8%, which is marginally below the Eurozone average and down from the peak of about 15%.

The prognosis for the Irish economy looks reasonably good. At the peak of the boom about one quarter of employment was in the building industry. At present the figure is at about 6%. The population continues to rise and the demand for housing has not abated (rents are rising). There is scope for a doubling of employment in construction.

MORGAN KELLY

The optimism on the economy has been tempered by concerns over the banking system. Past predictions don't give much reassurance.

Following a freedom of information

request from Pearse Doherty (Sinn Féin TD), a Merrill Lynch report to the Department of Finance in November 2008 was made public. The detailed 45 page report predicted the banking crisis would require funding of just over 16 billion. The actual funding ended up at 64 billion (latest estimates suggest about a third of which will be repaid).

How could the American consultants with their access to such detailed information have got it so wrong? Actually, they were less wrong than most people. Morgan Kelly predicted on *Prime Time* in September 2008 that losses would be "between 10 and 20 billion". (Incidentally, his solution to the banking crisis at that time was for the State to inject more capital into the banks. In other words, take the pain immediately. It is doubtful that this would have given a more favourable outcome for the taxpayer.) Most other commentators were predicting that the cheque that Lenihan wrote on the night of the Guarantee would never have to be cashed.

Morgan Kelly, in his long and rambling article in *The Irish Times* (14.3.14) admits that some of the dire consequences for the economy that he predicted following the banking crisis have not come to pass. He attributes this to the policies of Mario Draghi. It is difficult to know whether he approves of Draghi or not. The impression that is conveyed in the following extract is that all the head of the ECB has achieved is a postponement of the evil day by extending credit to our banks. He argues:

"However, behind the narratives of redemption and a triumphant return to the markets, with international financiers vying to lend to a newly creditworthy Ireland, the dismal reality is that these bonds were bought entirely by the State-controlled (or effectively controlled) banks AIB and Bank of Ireland with money slipped into their pockets by the ECB."

But he is quite simply wrong on this. Brian O'Neill of the *National Treasury Management Agency* pointed out:

"...neither the treasury bills issued in September 2013 nor the bonds issued this year following Ireland's exit from the EU/IMF programme were "bought entirely by the State-controlled (or effectively controlled) banks AIB and Bank of Ireland". In fact, the majority of the issuance (approximately 80 per cent) was acquired internationally (*The Irish Times*, 24.3.14).

Kelly's article is largely impressionistic. He thinks that the ECB is going to "clean up" Irish banks which will be a "rude awakening" for small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), many of whom would

go into liquidation. It will do this before it tackles the banks in the large economies. Kelly, of course, is entitled to his opinion. But this is a political as distinct from an economic prediction: a subject that he has no particular expertise.

SEAMUS COFFEY

UCC economist Seamus Coffey's article (*Sunday Business Post*, 16.3.14) by contrast is much more evidence-based on the subject of a possible SME loan meltdown. Here are some relevant statistics for the Republic of Ireland:

Total employment:	1.9 million
Self Employed:	350,000
Public Sector:	350,000
Large Enterprises:	400,000
SMEs:	800,000

So, employment in SMEs represents over 40% of the total.

The total credit extended to SMEs is 56 billion euro. Of this 56 billion, 31 billion is property-related and 26 billion roughly relates to the following (rounded to the nearest billion):

Agriculture:	4
Manufacturing:	2
Wholesale and retail:	8
Hotel, pubs, restaurants:	5
Business services:	2
Health:	1
Transport and storage:	2

Interestingly, of the 26 billion in non property loans to the SMEs, 19 billion was extended by the two Irish banks (Bank of Ireland and AIB). It could be said that the 7 billion lent by the foreign banks has less of an implication for the tax-payer although, if these banks pull the plug, there will be an increase in unemployment.

So, how vulnerable is the economy to a new banking crisis? Coffey's figures suggest that our banks are well capitalised. The total amount of loans outstanding to the Irish banks (Bank of Ireland, AIB, PTSB) across all areas (mortgages, SMEs, corporate etc) is about 150 billion. Of this about 60 billion are non performing loans. This includes about 6.5 billion relating to non property SME loans. However, 30 billion is already provided for and more was provided for following the recent bank stress tests. This seems very prudent. The capital ratios of the banks are over 11%, which is comfortably above the ECB requirement of 8%. It is possible that in the next few years the banks will reverse some of these provisions as losses fail to materialise.

An analysis of the figures seems to

suggest that the Irish banks will pass the stress tests.

IRELAND AND ICELAND

At the outset of the crisis there was a plethora of articles comparing our situation to that of Iceland. Most of the articles suggested that, if only we had burned the bondholders like Iceland, we would have been far better off. But Iceland suffered a dramatic reduction in her standard of living. Her currency was devalued by 77%. She also has had to implement currency controls to preserve some semblance of a functioning banking system, with damaging consequences for foreign investment.

The "burn the bondholders" brigade point to the low level of unemployment in Iceland, but this was not because of the decisions that she made in response to the crisis, but the nature of her boom compared to Ireland's.

Michael Lewis, in an article in *Vanity Fair*, famously said that the Irish bought Ireland, whereas the Icelanders bought the world. That's a slight simplification.

Nevertheless, the boom created employment in Ireland and produced a lopsided economy in which 25% of the workforce was employed in the building industry (twice the percentage appropriate for the economy). When the bust occurred, there was a massive increase in unemployment in this sector. Currently there are about 6% of the workforce employed in the building industry (half the appropriate rate).

Since most of the investment in Iceland was outside the country, creating very little employment within the country, the effect on employment of the bust was not so dramatic.

WHISTLEBLOWERS

Whistleblowers come in various guises. Some are motivated by the highest motives. Others have less worthy objectives. The most famous whistleblower of them all was "Deep Throat" whose real name was Mark Felt. He was motivated by hatred of Nixon who passed him over for promotion.

Nevertheless Garda whistleblower John Wilson's performance on the *Late Late Show* (4.4.14) was plausible. He leaked details of wrongdoing to Dáil representatives, as he was entitled to, rather than the media.

There are two facts, which seem to vindicate the Garda whistleblowers. Firstly, the practice of wiping penalty points has been discontinued. Secondly, the Garda Commissioner could not sustain his allegation that the whistleblowers' behaviour was "disgusting". He was forced

to resign over this issue even though the Government pretended (disgracefully) that it was over Garda recordings, which had already been stopped.

TOM GILMARTIN

Tom Gilmartin died last November, but his son is determined that his memory will not rest in peace. He is a prolific poster on politics.ie on the subject of his father and has been actively promoting Frank Connolly's biography of him.

The Long Fellow has heard two recent interviews of Connolly and Tom Junior. Pat Kenny on *Newstalk* introduced his piece by saying that Tom Senior had "done the State some service". Only Matt Cooper in his *TodayFM* interview had the temerity to ask about the IR£50,000 payment that Gilmartin senior gave to Pdraig Flynn in May or June of 1989.

The cheque left the payee section blank. So Flynn was free to dispose of it in any way he saw fit. Gilmartin claimed that he had "intended" the cheque for Fianna Fáil, but he also claimed that he had refused to pay Fianna Fáil IR£500,000 earlier that year and accused it of "making the mafia look like monks". So he had no allegiance to that political party.

Gilmartin could hardly claim to be innocent in the ways of the world. In 1988 he was writing cheques amounting to IR£3,500 a month to Liam Lawlor. These cheques also had the payee section left blank.

There is no documentary evidence of Gilmartin having any difficulties with payments to politicians until 1996 when, in the course of a dispute with his business partner Owen O'Callaghan, he threatened to bring the house down if he didn't receive what he thought was his fair share of the proceeds of the Quarryvale sale.

Gilmartin is unique in obtaining criminal immunity for evidence he gave to the Tribunal. This gave him licence to make accusations against people in business and politics with impunity.

RWANDA

It is amazing how gullible journalists are in relation to Rwanda. On the twentieth anniversary of the massacres they faithfully and uncritically parrot the regime's line. That line is that the Hutu tribe committed an act of genocide against the minority Tutsi tribe. 800,000 Tutsis were killed in 1994, or so the story goes. 20 years later the journalists are taken to the gruesome shrines to the 'genocide' which have been preserved for propaganda purposes.

Apparently, none of the journalists considered asking themselves how the victims of the 'genocide' happened to end up

holding power. The leader of the Tutsi tribe, Paul Kagame, has been the dictator of that country for the last 20 years. It is almost impossible to find a critique of this American-backed dictator in the Anglo-phone media.

However, the distinguished French journalist Pierre Péan gave an alternative narrative in his definitive book on the Rwandan catastrophe published in 2005 (*Noires Fureurs, Blancs Menteurs*).

The war was sparked by the assassination of Juvenal Habyarimana, the President of Rwanda, and Cyprien Ntaryamira the President of Burundi. These democratically-elected leaders were from the Hutu Tribe. There is no doubt that the Tutsi-led *Front Patriotique Rwandais* (FPR) was responsible for the assassination with help from the American-backed regime of Uganda under President Museveni.

Pierre Péan estimates that in the subsequent Civil War 1 million Hutus were killed and 280,000 Tutsis perished, which gives a completely different picture of who were the perpetrators and who were the victims in this humanitarian disaster.

Report:

No room for Auxiliaries at Kilmichael

In November 2013 the committee of the National Graves Association reported the on-going situation with the historic Kilmichael ambush site in Co Cork.

Two local committees, The Kilmichael and Crossbarry Commemoration Committee and The Kilmichael Historical Society, sought and received planning permission from Cork County Council to build major additions to the site. The NGA objected on the grounds that this site is of such obvious importance nationally that major additions or alterations should not be the sole prerogative of local committees and Cork County Council.

It was particularly concerned with the intention in the planning application (which was approved by Cork County Council) to build a commemorative area dedicated to the Auxiliaries who died in the ambush. Despite the briefness of the deployment in Ireland their litany of atrocities and abuse of the civilian population is legendary. From Bloody Sunday to the sacking of Cork, from the burning of homes in Clare to the destruction in Trim. So bad was their behaviour that their commanding officer, General Crozier, resigned his commission.

NGA declared that it was ludicrous to attempt to create a parity of esteem between the Volunteers and the Auxiliaries. Tom

Barry's men went out to defend Dáil Eireann and the sovereignty of Ireland. Against this is the background of the highly paid mercenary Auxiliaries who opposed our Volunteers with a campaign of murder, looting, and destruction. Considering the fact that the British authorities have never seen fit (as far as is known) to build any form of commemorative structure to the Auxiliaries or the Black and Tans, the NGA believes that it is an appalling affront to do so in Ireland, particularly at a site like Kilmichael.

The Auxiliaries at Kilmichael broke battlefield honour, with a false surrender which led to the murder of three Volunteers that rose to accept it.

The NGA noted that the Kilmichael/Crossbarry Committee state that they will not build a commemorative structure to

the Auxiliaries as per their planning permission. But, when asked if there will be a commemorative area to the Auxiliaries the chairman, Seán Kelleher, is reported to have said "not as such". NGA believes that this sort of vague response is wholly inadequate considering the national importance of the issue and the controversy surrounding the proposals.

The works at Kilmichael are now in train. The *Irish Volunteers* organisation has put out a short video made by Kevin Cross on Easter Weekend 2014, showing the way this Cork Ambush site is being marred by works. This video can be seen at—

[Kilmichael ambush site](#)

Any responses can be made to the following email address: info@irishvolunteers.org

presented this for the reader to decide. I deliberately replaced the categorical certainty of Hart and Ryan with doubt and uncertainty because that is all the evidence will truly bear. I have made it as easy as I can for anyone to go back over my research and check for themselves. Anyone who wants a copy of any of the evidence can get it from me or the Cork City and County Archives (where it will all be lodged in due course). If I speculate, I tell the reader that I am speculating (*Massacre* p.173). What more would you suggest I do?

Peter Hart set off sixteen years of detailed analysis by historians from all sides what was most shocking is how little they had found. How did I find the Dunmanway Diary when other historians sat for months in the Military Archives and missed it? How was I the only person to understand the significance of the 1921 enemy agents list in the Florence O'Donoghue papers in the National Library when hundreds of people had read through the file? How was I the first person to come across the Mark Sturgis list in the House of Commons archive which shows the attacks were selective and by implication disproves the random sectarian claims of Hart? How did I discover that half the previously mentioned spy lists are missing—presumed stolen? How did I find out that the descendants of most of those who were driven out according to Hart were (and are) still there? Where did I find the court cases in relation to what happened to the Hornibrooks? How did I make all the connections between the men who were shot? The answer is hard work and careful research. The reason I do not come to a conclusion is precisely because the evidence will not allow it and that is the correct position to adopt.

Furthermore, I am criticised for being overly legalistic in my analysis of the Hornibrook and Woods disappearance. Herbert Woods shot an unarmed Michael O'Neill. In British, Republican, and Free State law what Herbert Woods did was illegal. If a Truce was in force he should have been tried in court. It is a fact that Barton and Duggan signed the terms of Truce of 11th July 1921 on behalf of the IRA. In it they agreed that attacks on 'Crown forces and civilians would cease'. We know for a fact that senior Bandon IRA Officer Charlie O'Donoghue arrested Herbert Woods and the Hornibrooks because he tells us so. They were in his custody and he knew the terms of truce. They disappeared and by definition he is responsible. Those are facts, are they not?

Let there be no doubt I value greatly much of the 8,000 word review but in such

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR · LETTERS TO THE EDITOR · LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Massacre In West Cork

I wish to comment on the review of my book *Massacre in West Cork (Irish Political Review, April 2014)*. At the end of the long review I was bemused. I do not know whether you recommend or reject my work.

Whatever about bemusement I am incredulous that the review states my book is Treatyite. I do not usually respond to reviews other than to thank the reviewer but I cannot allow anyone to distort my views without challenge and a right of reply. On page 200 I wrote,

"What was conceded by the greatest empire the world has ever known was messy and incomplete but grudgingly accepted. Those who believed in the republic above all else took up arms against the settlement and quickly realised that the Irish people had made up their minds that the settlement would have to do for now. As it turned out, the Treaty was 'a stepping stone' to real freedom, but at the time nobody was certain of this."

Throughout the book I state the Anti-Treaty rejection was logical but point out that they quickly lost popular support. That is my view. By no stretch could it be suggested that this is pro-treaty (or anti-treaty for that matter) despite the fact that I am a member of Fine Gael. The Dáil ratified the Treaty and while you might wish it were not so, or question the motives of those who ratified it, the fact is it was ratified. My view is clearly stated on page 98 of *Massacre* where I say that once Michael O'Neill was killed discipline collapsed. Tom Hales returned and

restored order. What that has to do with apologising for the civil war I am at a loss to understand?

The review further states,

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

I make no such claim and this is a complete misunderstanding of what my book is about. I advance **no motive for the massacre**. I gathered all the available evidence and I state that the circumstantial evidence (including that of Michael O'Donoghue) points in a particular direction but it would never be sufficient to convict anyone beyond reasonable doubt. Rather than announce that I had solved the riddle and named six members of the Bandon IRA as the killers (like some latter day Myers or Hart) I deliberately hung back from making judgement and **invited the reader to decide**. True I suggest that the most likely scenario is that members of the Anti-Treaty IRA at Bandon were responsible but I am at pains to ask the reader to make up their own mind. I did exactly the same in relation to the 'spies and informers' theory. I didn't go scrabbling around looking for evidence to replace Meda Ryan's list of 'helpful citizens' (which by the way Ms. Ryan concedes does not exist: Ryan, 2005 p. 450 n.72). Instead I found a wealth of new evidence to explain why these men might be targeted and

a sensitive and controversial topic that I simply cannot allow my views to be misrepresented by anyone. I very deliberately wrote (page 202) that,

"It seems that there was an unauthorised and illegal attempt between 26 and 29 April 1922 to punish and drive out mostly Protestant unionists (a political group) by some members of the IRA for the murder of Michael O'Neill".

This is changed to,

"Keane's concluding speculation—on the definite side of tentative—is that 'there was an unauthorised and illegal attempt... to punish and drive out mostly Protestant unionists... by some members of the IRA for the murder of Michael O'Neill'.

'It seems' is extremely important in that sentence yet it is removed. Why? It is precisely that sort of selective editing that

caused so much damage to Peter Hart's reputation and I doubt if you intentionally followed the same path. At least I hope I'm wrong. Finally, in relation to the word Massacre- there are many more dictionaries than *Chambers*.

Much of the review is valuable and worthwhile; many legitimate questions are asked. Some were dealt with in the *Introduction* of the book and others are the result of an edit (pp 204-206) that was inexplicably not included in the final text but I believe the review does me an injustice and I ask that my response be published. As a human project there will always be mistakes despite our best efforts and I am more than happy to correct them, but I will not allow my work to be misconstrued.

Barry Keane

The Anglo Three Trial

After many years of investigation three former Directors of *Anglo-Irish Bank* were finally brought to trial. The bank, along with *Irish Nationwide*, cost the taxpayer about 30 billion euro. Somebody must have been to blame! This was to be the cathartic moment when finally those responsible would be brought to justice. A judge, famous for sentencing a businessman to 6 years in prison for not paying import duty on Chinese garlic, was to preside over the case. The stage was set to prove that the Irish legal system was tough on white-collar crime.

But the best laid plans of mice and men often go awry. This was unlike a Tribunal of Inquiry in which a judge can express an opinion on the basis of what he thinks is the balance of probabilities and journalists can report those opinions with impunity. The rigour of the law was applied to the evidence against the defendants and very soon it became clear that the case for the prosecution was found wanting. A number of charges had to be dropped and in some instances witnesses for the prosecution ended up bolstering the case for the defence.

As the case wore on coverage diminished. There were no dramatic revelations of corruption. Nothing emerged which was likely to excite the indignation of the media moralists. The case was about a highly technical matter. Section 60 of the Companies' Act 1963 forbids a company from lending to support its share price. However since Anglo-Irish Bank was a bank, the prosecution also had to prove that the loans were not in the "normal

course of business".

An expert witness for the prosecution stated that loans with a 25% recourse (i.e. the bank could only claim 25% of the value of the loan in the event of the share price dropping to zero) were not in the normal course of business. From this Patrick Gageby, the barrister for Willie McAteer, deduced that the loans with 100% recourse *were* in the normal course of business and were therefore legal. This was of profound significance, not only for the defendants, but also for the State. The Quinn family is suing the IBRC (in effect the State) on the grounds that the loans were illegal. But their loans had 100% recourse. It was only the loans to the so-called "Maple Ten"—a group of high net worth individuals—which had the 25% recourse.

Judge Martin Nolan did the defendants no favours. In particular, he deemed that the evidence that reputable legal and investment firms had advised that the loans were legal was irrelevant. He also considered that the support of the Financial Regulator was irrelevant. After the trial, Professor Finbarr McAuley of UCD expressed the opinion on RTE's *Prime Time* that this was not correct. While ignorance of the law was no defence, ignorance of the facts was admissible. He gave the example of a person charged with bigamy. It was no defence that he did not know there was a law against bigamy, but if the bigamist thought his divorce papers had come through, that would be admissible as it

was an error of fact.

The Judge also ruled that that the fact that other individuals should be facing charges was irrelevant.

In his summing up he told the jury:

"You are the judges of fact. But you must accept the law from me. If the application of the law leads to unfairness, you must accept it. The law binds us all" (*Sunday Business Post*, 13/4/14).

He also commented:

"It is very difficult to see how these monies could ever be in the ordinary course of business since the main purpose of the share purchase was to stabilise the share price" (*The Irish Times*, 18.4.14).

It was only later that he added that the jury was free to disregard his observation.

The judge's summing up reflected the prosecution's failure to stigmatise the defendants. Indeed, it was possible to have sympathy for their predicament.

Michael O'Higgins for Sean FitzPatrick presented the analogy of a driver breaking a red light on the way to bringing a seriously ill patient to hospital. There is no doubt that he has broken the law but most people would regard it as absurd for him to be put on trial.

The defendants believed that their bank and indeed the whole banking system in the country was in peril. The breach of Section 60, dating back to 1963, which had never before been invoked, was not of immediate concern to them. They did not know at the time that Anglo was doomed in any case.

Patrick Gageby for Willie McAteer noted that the defendants were trying to rescue a situation brought about by the reckless gambling of Sean Quinn, who was not on trial here. While one arm of the State had supported their actions, another arm of the State had brought criminal charges against them.

Sean FitzPatrick was found not guilty of all charges. It appears the Jury decided that as a non-executive director at the time, he did not instigate the loan deal, but was presented with it as a *fait accompli*.

As expected Pat Whelan (former Director of Lending) and Willie McAteer (former Financial Director) were found not guilty of making illegal loans to the Quinn family, which is good news for the State. A spokesman for the Quinn family said that they would be studying the trial to help their own case against the IBRC, but it is not clear that the outcome will be of any assistance to them.

The jury decided that the recourse of 25% meant that the loans to the Maple 10

were “not in the normal course of business” and therefore McAteer and Whelan were found guilty for making these loans.

There can be little sense of satisfaction at the result. There is a massive imbalance between the billions of euros lost by Anglo-Irish Bank and the relatively trivial nature of the crime that was eventually brought before the court. Indeed, the crime had nothing to do with the losses. It is unlikely that either of the guilty men will be sentenced to the maximum term of five years. Even Judge Nolan will have to take

account of the considerable mitigating evidence.

It seems that the Banking crisis cannot be reduced to a simple morality play in which the 'baddies' receive their just desserts. It goes much deeper than the actions of individuals. The crisis was caused by unfettered capital flows facilitating the massive expansion of credit. It is unrealistic to expect the legal system to provide either catharsis or a remedy. The crisis requires a political response.

John Martin

Dennis Dennehy, Joe Clarke And The Heckling Of Dev

The following appeared in the March-April issue of History Ireland:

In his article "Angry Protests Greet de Valera's Last Address to the Oireachtas" (*History Ireland*, January-February 2014), Brian Murphy of UCD has provided a welcome recall of the January 1969 occasion when Joe Clarke heckled President de Valera at the State's 50th anniversary commemoration of the First Dáil, demanding the release of the imprisoned housing activist Dennis Dennehy, then on hunger strike in Mountjoy Jail. He, however, underestimates both Dennehy and Clarke. Dennis was not just "also a member of the Irish Communist Organisation". He was a driving force behind its impact on Dublin politics, a working class theoretician who had not only published a detailed Marxist analysis of the housing crisis, but who put theory into practice by his direct action of squatting, and was prepared to sacrifice his life, if necessary, in that struggle. No wonder Dennis attracted the enthusiastic support of the veteran French Communist Party activist Muriel Mac Swiney, widow of Terence MacSwiney, the imprisoned Lord Mayor of Cork who had died on hunger strike during the War of Independence!

As Murphy notes, Joe Clarke, a veteran of the 1916 battle of Mount Street Bridge, had been usher-in-charge in the First Dáil. It was not, however, the case that Clarke "had managed to secure an invitation" to the Mansion House ceremonies. It came to him unsolicited, and as-of-right. The obstacle to be overcome was to persuade Joe to make strategic use of it, after a lifetime spent rejecting all such State commemoration invitations. I should know, for I was a participant in the meeting

held for that precise purpose, only days beforehand, in my family home. Present were the Sinn Féin Vice-President, Joe Clarke himself, the IRA Chief-of-Staff Cathal Goulding, the IRA Adjutant-General Séamus Costello, the Irish Workers' Party General Secretary, my father Micheál O'Riordan, and myself as an Executive Committee member of the Connolly Youth Movement. One characteristic that both Goulding and Costello shared in common was a powerful sense of humour, and they initially adopted the "good cop" approach of joking and teasing Clarke about the youthful crush he had on a young Sinéad Bean de Valera, when he had attended her Irish language classes. Judging from his bemused, yet bashful, response, the attraction still persisted half a century later, but Joe did not consider that a good enough reason to compromise his principles in order to heckle his heart throb's husband!

The serious political argument was put by my father: that Dennehy's hunger strike was central to the exposure of how the State had reneged on the principles of the First Dáil's Democratic Programme, and that here was a golden opportunity for Clarke to secure Dennis's unconditional release by publicly shaming the State on live television. Clarke was impressed, but remained unyielding. It was only a resort to the military discipline exerted by Goulding that finally twisted Clarke's arm. In 1938 the seven remaining no-compromise -with-Leinster-House members of the Second Dáil, constituting themselves "*the Irish Republic's Executive Council*", had transferred what they regarded as their

legitimate authority to the IRA Army Council. Clarke took it that he was now receiving an order from the man he held to be *de jure* Chief Executive of the Irish Republic, Cathal Goulding, to heckle Dev the "usurper".

Once agreed, Clarke could not have been more impressive in the self-control and discipline he exercised, no matter how stomach-churning he felt the etiquette he had to observe *en route* to his objective. "I even had to accept a handshake from Dirty Dick", he complained, referring to Dick Mulcahy, the IRA Chief-of-Staff during the War of Independence, who went on to become the Free State Army Chief-of-Staff during the Civil War, and Minister for Defence in the Government that would execute 77 Republican prisoners, Clarke's own comrades-in-arms. But Joe achieved his objective, and I vividly recall the thrill of seeing him on TV interrupt a surprised de Valera and shout out "**Release Dennis Dennehy!**" before next seeing the crippled Clarke being bundled out of the Mansion House, along with his pair of crutches.

Brian Murphy rightly refers to the "broad church of left-wing activists" that had combined on this issue, and the joyful recall of the camaraderie of that January 1969 night in the O'Riordan home is not diminished by the fact that, within the year, the eruption of the national conflict into war would send those gathered in contrary political directions. Costello forced the pace of a Sinn Féin decision to tactically take seats in the Leinster House Dáil, which led Clarke to break with the Goulding-Costello Officials and become Vice-President of Provisional Sinn Féin. Costello's own break with the Official IRA in 1974, becoming Chief-of-Staff of the INLA, resulted in such blood-letting that would include his own 1977 assassination. In 1973, as Dennis Dennehy's comrade in the British & Irish Communist Organisation, I would be asked to be a witness, along with my late wife Annette, at his marriage to Mary, his partner and comrade-in-struggle in that historic housing agitation. After the four of us held a wedding lunch, the Dennehy's departed on their honeymoon — a van tour of Northern Ireland in order to engage in dialogue with Ulster loyalists. For we had acknowledged the reality of two nations in Ireland, as had our fellow-member of the Workers' Association for the Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland, the aforementioned Muriel MacSwiney, widow of Cork's martyred Lord Mayor.

Manus O'Riordan

es ahora *

Bowen's Court and the TLS

"5th March 1992. Went to Buckingham Palace to receive my CBE. It was pure Ruritania; the English are in the grip of the religious passion of monarchy. How can it change? It can't if people like me go on accepting honours.

HMQ: Is the National in an up or down phase? Theatres do go up and down, don't they?

ME: Up, I think, Ma'am.

National Service. Diary of a Decade.
Richard Eyre. Bloomsbury. 2003.

"In 1940 I was sent to a prep school on the north side of Dublin attended by sixty-odd boys, all of whom were Protestants to the core. Most of them came from old Loyalist families and many of their fathers, like mine, had joined the British forces. ...In all of Ireland you could not find a more English-oriented group of boys. We knitted scarves for the troops and collected silver paper with which to make Spitfires. We sang 'Run Adolf, Run Adolf, Run, Run, Run'. We jeered at dwarf-sized Goebbels and Field Marshal Goering with his chest full of medals. When we were driven past the German legation in Northumberland Road, outside which hung the flag emblazoned with the swastika, we booed. No wonder the IRA sought to attack us when we walked in crocodile for our Sunday service at Raheny; that was who those rough-looking men were, we were told. Perhaps they wanted money, not guns, from little boys with skinny legs showing beneath their shorts. Our headmaster, with his experience of quelling tribesmen on the North-west Frontier, sent them packing."

Irish Voices. An informal History. 1916-1966. Peter Somerville-Large.
Pimlico, London. 2000.

The *Times Literary Supplement* (TLS) in its 21st February 2014 issue published in its 'Then and Now' section a reprint of its review of Bowen's *Court* by Elizabeth Bowen from its archives of 27th June 1942 under the heading: *The Bowen Family Home*.

The reviewer was E. St. John Brooks. But it is the candidness of his first sentence that hit me more than anything else. He wrote: "*This history of an Anglo-Irish family will be of interest mainly to Irishmen, and in particular to those who know County Cork.*"

There has always been speculation about Bowen's intentions regarding writing this book and quite why it was publish-

ed during the Second World War, when paper rationing was at its highest. In the *Afterword* to that first edition, she wrote:

"I began to write *Bowen's Court* in the early summer of 1939. The first two chapters were, thus, completed before the outbreak of the present war... These days, either everything matters or nothing matters... Nothing that ever happened, nothing that was ever even willed, planned or envisaged remains irrelevant to today. War is not an accident; it is an outcome. One cannot look back too far to ask—of what?"

(Gerry White's insistence on "*war breaking out*" in his *Evening Echo* letters would have to answer to Elizabeth Bowen on the falsity of that canard!)

Bowen went on to write:

"The war, attacking every habit of life, keeps us in London. Looking out of the window over my desk I see not the Bowen's Court but the Regent's Park trees. So, I shall finish in London this book that I had hoped to finish at Bowen's Court. About half of it has been written at my father's desk, when I was in Ireland. The other half was written in London... Frightened of losing the manuscript in an air raid, I have lodged it about in my friends' homes; one draft went ahead to America. The current chapter was always in my overcoat pocket when we waited about on disturbed nights... The experience of writing this book has been cumulative—the experience of living more than my own life. By the end, I am tied in a double way to the house that Henry 111 built."

She finished the book in 1941. The theory that I have come to after reading it, and considering other critics' opinions about it, is that it furnished Bowen with a background in Ireland and thus gave her a hinterland from which she could engage as an "*Irish novelist*"—as she told *The Bell* in that infamous interview with 'The Bellman' alias H. L. 'Larry' Morrow in 1942. The magazine, which had been founded by Séan O'Faoláin two years earlier, and to which Bowen had contributed an essay called '*The Big House*', also gave her a much-valued spring-board from which to assai forth "*on her activities*", as her early biographer Victoria Glendinning coyly put it on one occasion. Morrow met her for the interview in 'The Shelbourne' and was so lavish in his praise of his interviewee and so sycophantic that it makes for very uncomfortable reading, even to-day with all that's gone on in the last few weeks in Windsor! One critic Brian Fallon even wrote:

"When she was interviewed in 1942 for 'The Bell'... she was treated like a visiting celebrity more than an Irish author

and seems to have behaved rather like one. Whatever political and racial ecumenists may claim today, usually with the best intentions, it is a fact that the Anglo-Irish and the Gaelic or 'native' Irish temperaments and traditions do appear, at times, to be remarkably dissimilar and even poles apart, though much of this may be simple class differences. In Elizabeth Bowen's case, one feels that she was probably closer spiritually to Virginia Woolf and Bloomsbury than even to other Big House writers such as Somerville and Ross... What is notable about Elizabeth Bowen's career, however, is how thoroughly London-oriented it was (in spite of her election to the Irish Academy of Letters in 1937) and how divorced it seems from the Dublin literary world of Clarke, Kavanagh, etc." (*An Age of Innocence. Irish Culture 1930-1960.* Brian Fallon. Gill & Macmillan. Dublin. 1998. p. 176.)

And it must be said that Brian Fallon in his analysis of Bowen was coming to her from a place that *knew such things*, as he was the former chief critic of *The Irish Times* and one of Ireland's most distinguished journalists. Not for him the awful creepish sentimentality and sycophancy of O'Faoláin or Morrow. The latter saw her as "*primarily an aristocrat*" and the worst kind of cant follows, from which I will spare my readers. Nearing the end of the interview—

"Miss Bowen caught me in her sea-green eye and I sank full fathom five. As I was going down for the third time, I caught sight of a page-boy stooping before her with a silver tray on which lay a visiting card. It was obviously the cue for my departure." (*Elizabeth Bowen. Portrait of a Writer*, Victoria Glendinning. Phoenix Paperback. 1993. London. pp. 164-165.)

Morrow was thus dismissed from her presence.

In the TLS review one of the most astonishing things about how Bowen wrote about her 'Big House' and her ancestors is the way she described them. Thus the ancestor who built the house, Henry Bowen—

"*or Henry III*" as she audaciously names him to differentiate him from predecessors and successors. Royal in vision if not position, in 1775 Henry created an austere and spacious limestone building, a house filled with light and space, that represented, according to his descendent, an exhalation and an obsession." (*The Anglo-Irish Novel and the Big House.* Vera Kreilkamp. Syracuse University Press. New York. 1998. p. 145-146.)

Bowen wrote:

"The stern and cold force of his un-

It Is Time

conscious nature perpetuated itself in stone as the house went up. But Henry was, at the same time, a man of his time's Renaissance: his sense of what was august in humanity made him make his house an ideal mould for life. He was more than building a home, he was setting a pattern".

If the above is bad then Kreilkamp picks her up on other grotesqueries stating:

"Bowen also notes—quite without self-consciousness—how the “functional” parts of the house, such as the kitchen or farm buildings, were sunk underground or otherwise concealed. In the Anglo-Irish pattern that she celebrates, servants' lives were to be screened from or literally buried out of the sight of the social spaces of the house. Of the out-buildings only the stables—for horses ranked very highly—were visible... In this study of her family and her house, virtually synonymous concepts in her book, Elizabeth Bowen described the life of a minor Anglo-Irish dynasty, and interwove her narrative with passages from the history of Ireland. She insisted on the part her family played, if unconsciously, in the “drama outside themselves” and thus conceived of their history as representative of their class. We are reminded here of the other major twentieth-century elegist for the Anglo-Irish, and particular of Yeat's claim in “Pardon, Old Fathers” that his Anglo-Irish predecessors were significant men of gentle birth:

"Merchant and scholar who have left me blood/ that has not passed through any huckster's loin"

Seamus Deane in his brilliant book 'Celtic Revivals' (Faber & Faber, Boston, 1985) excoriated Yeats as a significant better of myths stating:

"Yeats's account of the Anglo-Irish tradition blurs an important distinction between the terms 'aristocracy' and 'Ascendancy'. Had he known a little more about the eighteenth century, he would have recognised that the Protestant Ascendancy was, then and since, a predominantly bourgeois social formation. The Anglo-Irish were held in contempt by the Irish speaking masses as people of no blood, without lineage and with nothing to recommend them other than the success of their Hanoverian cause over that of the Jacobites. This is evident in the poetry of men such as Daithi O' Bruadair and Aodagain O Rathaille who lived through the first and most painful phase of the Whig Settlement in Ireland. But much later in the century Burke also went to great lengths to distinguish what Yeats ignored in Ireland. Burke claimed in his 'Letter to a Peer of Ireland on the Penal Laws against Irish Catholics' (1782)

"Ireland had an oligarchy without an aristocracy. The Protestants in Ireland are", he claims, "plebeian". (See pp 31-33 for the fuller account which I printed in the *Irish Political Review* as Part III of 'The Raj in the Rain'.)

It is such a pity that both Yeats of "*We are no petty people*" and Bowen, for all their acknowledgement of Burke as one of them, didn't actually read his works and thus we would be spared the worst surely of their condescension and disdain. While the *TLS* reviewer quotes her famous declaration about how her Cromwellian planters "*got their position and drew their power from a situation that shows an inherent wrong*". But, though based on an injustice and buttressed by privilege, she feels that they do not require any defence.

"On the whole they did not abuse their privilege; they honoured, if they did not justify, their own class, its traditions, and its rule of life".

Indeed. She manages not to see (oh how that "*not looking*" technique comes in handy) her family as part of a colonial power that plundered the lands of the Irish people, genocided them and then terrorised them by Laws to further terrorise and render them as serfs fit for purpose for the glorious Empire that we are now taught was really rather benevolent. The *TLS* review goes on:

"The house itself, finished in 1776, is high, bare, Italianate, set among lawns and fields and plantations ... A portrait of Cromwell ... appropriately hangs at the top of the front stairs. Here nine or ten generations of BOWENS have lived and died, for the most part unremarkable people, living as other Anglo-Irish squires have lived, a remote, isolated existence as on an island or another world. Miss Bowen has an excellent passage on this centripetal life:

"The Irish landowner, partly from laziness but also from an indifferent delicacy, does not interfere in the lives of the people round. Sport and death are the two great socialising factors in Ireland, but these cannot operate the whole time.... on the whole, the landowner leaves his tenants and work-people to make their own mistakes, while he makes his. The greater part of them being Catholics, and he in most cases being a Protestant, they are kept from him by the barrier of a different faith. He does not feel the English urge to improve morally ..."

"But that life is passing as is evidenced by Miss Bowen's illustration of the end of an epoch by an incident which the outbreak of war in 1914 threw into sharper focus. It is a party at Mitchelstown Castle...

"This was an assemblage of Anglo-Irish people from all over north-east County Cork, from the counties of Limerick, Waterford, and Tipperary. For miles round, each isolated big house had disgorged its talker, this first day of the war. The tensions of months, of years—outlying tension of Europe, inner tensions

of Ireland—broke in a spate of words... These were the unarmoured loyalists of the South. Not a family had not put out, like Bowen's Court, its generations of military brothers—tablets in Protestant churches recorded deaths in remote battles; swords hung in halls. If the Anglo-Irish live on and for a myth, for that myth they constantly shed their blood. So, on this August, 1914, day of grandeur and gravity, the Ascendancy rallied, renewed itself ... It was, also, a more final scene than we knew. Ten years hence, it was all to seem like a dream—and the Castle itself would be a few bleached stumps on the plateau ... After 1918 came the war in Ireland, with the burning down of many of the big houses—some already futureless, for they had lost heirs."

And the reviewer thus ends his review of Bowen's Big House with these words:

"And now, once more, Ireland finds herself isolated from the main flow of world history as Miss Bowen pens her final words in her London home, a temporary exile from the peace of Bowen's Court."

Julianne Herlihy ©

Unpublished letter to Irish Examiner

Forgetting To Remember?

With all the hullabaloo about remembering significant events of the last one hundred years it seems that the Irish State has no plans to commemorate the landing of rifles at Howth by Erskine Childers and his yacht ASGARD on July 26 1914. Those rifles made possible the holding of Dublin for six days by Republicans at Easter 1916, and the establishment of a sovereign Irish state in 1938.

The Asgard disappeared from view for 47 years, was then bought by that sovereign state and sailed back into Howth in July 1961. The then President, Taoiseach, Tanaiste, and virtually the entire membership of Dail and Seanad led the crowds who welcomed the yacht's return. Though back in 1961 most citizens had not had the advantage of secondary, much less tertiary education, they fully appreciated the significance of Erskine Childers, his yacht and his cargo to the establishment of their state.

As a member of the FCA, part-time Army Reserve, I was one of the 100 man Guard of Honour for President de Valera, who had himself helped unload and distribute the rifles in 1914. I realise that no veterans of the 1914 event survive, but I imagine that many citizens who celebrated the 1961 return of the Asgard would appreciate a ceremony to commemorate the centenary of its original arrival in Howth and can still manage a brisk walk down the East Pier.

Donal Kennedy

"One More Desperate Sally"

'At 1200 hours, Easter Monday, 1916 Commandant General Patrick Pearse read out the Proclamation of the Irish Republic from the steps of the GPO' (or so we are told by some, though the GPO had no steps and was built on street level).

Whatever about that, Pearse's reading altered the course of history.

This beautifully-crafted document was written by Pearse in the home of the Wyse-Powers in Henry Street. This was established by the late Professor O'Neill, the historian. It was printed in Liberty Hall. The printed version includes a solecism. In the last paragraph it states "...under the protection of the most High God. Whose blessing we invoke..." The full-stop after 'God' should be a comma, being a printer's error, apparently, due to a misinterpretation.

The Proclamation was well in advance of its times. It gives women equal status with men. The last photograph of Pearse, taken behind the British lines, ensured that Elizabeth O'Farrell, who had accompanied him to the surrender point, near the junction of Moore Street and Parnell Street, was virtually erased in this historical image. This was intended to reduce the role of women, in keeping with British mores. None of this was intended by Pearse.

During the Rising, looting occurred. It was haphazard, with looters gorging themselves on goodies and creamy cakes. A fur-coated woman wheeled a pram crammed with other fur-coats. Necessities were taken as hunger impinged. These were not professional looters: scavengers might be a better term.

One looter was captured and paraded before Pearse in the GPO. Pearse, predictably, decided to release him on the grounds that he was a victim too. Connolly also showed clemency.

The city-centre was laid waste to, as the British Artillery fired away with abandon, from gun-positions at Trinity College and The Rotunda. The gun barrels were raised to gain crest clearance, firing over intervening buildings.

The gun-ship, *The Helga*, shelled Liberty Hall from the adjacent Liffey, also hitting swathes of tenements. Civilians were subjected to this unrestrained bombardment, along with the depredations of the advancing British units, who disposed of everything as they proceeded.

From their perspective, British Military tactics proved viable. Despite errors, they were successful.

The Countermanding Order by Mac Neill was a disaster. In the subsequent confusion Republican plans were curtailed. The turn-out was depleted. Boland's Mills (3rd Batt.) and the South Dublin Union (4th Batt.) held out. Jacob's (2nd Batt.) was less affected. The Four Courts (1st Batt.), under severe attack, still held. As did the Irish Citizen Army at The College of Surgeons. Headquarters (GPO and Moore St.) was finally forced into military defeat, as the Military Council, for humanitarian reasons, agreed to surrender its entire command. Saturation shelling had paid off.

Use of barricades by Republican forces is questionable. In fighting in built-up areas, they are best manned or covered by own fire. If taken, they become enemy positions—an advantage can become disadvantageous, or *vice versa*. Nevertheless, Republicans achieved depth, material support and all round protection, to some degree.

The lack of numbers proved fatal. The British could concentrate with impunity. The points of entry into the city of Dublin (main roads, ports, railway stations) were readily available to them. Republicans had little ability to redeploy. They had no Reserves. Resources were scarce. As was food. Everything was committed. There was no flexibility.

The RCP (Relative Combat Power) was heavily in the British favour. Republicans lacked a "screen". They lacked forward elements. They could not force early British deployment. They could not buy time. They lacked medical back-up. Their weaponry and ammunition were inadequate. Because of several factors, they were susceptible to being outflanked. (This British capability was overlooked by themselves.)

On Easter Monday morning, Republican Headquarters forces assembled at Liberty Hall and marched up Lower Abbey Street and entered the GPO, to customers; confusion. Staff were at a loss. Some thought it was all a joke. Many resented the intrusion. James Connolly discharged a round into the ceiling. Shock brought reality. The occupation proceeded. Windows were smashed open. Firing

positions were created. Defensive positions were adopted. At 1200 hours Pearse read out The Proclamation.

Republican Forces in Dublin numbered 1,500. British Forces in the Dublin area, finally numbered 35,000, under Brig. Gen. W. Lowe. (The huge back-up apparatus is not included.) British reinforcements were obtained elsewhere in Ireland. Artillery was brought from Athlone. Further reinforcements were procured from the British North West Command in England (Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Derbyshire—the 3 Sisters). In the light of the massive effort needed to put down the Dublin Rising, if the rest of the country had risen, how many troops would have been needed? Britain had the men, but there would have been a knock-on effect on other Fronts.

The notorious Staffs. Regiment, under the command of Lt. Col. Taylor, conducted the North King Street Massacre, where wholesale slaughter ensued, as they advanced—firing without discrimination, taking everything in their stride, making in the direction of the GPO. (Recently, a Dublin journalist, Joe Duffy, has been compiling data regarding the killing of children in the Rising. The North King Street Massacre must surely figure highly in his investigation, as the abandonment of any restraint by the Staffs. was, apparently, beyond credibility.)

By the Friday of the Rising week, the GPO was burning away. It was decided to withdraw, though the garrison was reluctant to leave. Pearse gave an uplifting address. The *Soldier's Song* followed. They exited in small numbers into Henry Street. Machine-gun fire raked the streets. Snipers picked targets. Pearse did a final recce. Then he left.

The main body broke into the houses along Moore Street. Here was established the last Headquarters of the Provisional Government of Ireland. Here lay the wounded Connolly, in great pain and discomfort. Medical supplies had run low. The remaining Signatories made the Surrender decision. Here Pearse intervened to help a wounded British soldier who cried out. Close by, The O'Rahilly was mown down after leading a last gasp charge.

They were trapped. Surrounded. A break-out—or Pearse's "*One more desperate sally*"—was no longer possible. British Artillery pounded away, increasing the tempo, seizing victory. Machine-guns stuttered away. Surrender was inevitable.

Less than two days were left to Pearse.

As he was being driven to the British Headquarters in Parkgate, he immediately, even as he was being brought through a destroyed Sackville Street, began to spend these remaining hours completing family functions and official duties, completely absorbed, with absolute concentration. In this time, too, he completed his beautiful poem *The Wayfarer*.

The British officer who accompanied him in his final journey was Lieut. John Muir Lowe, the son of Gen. Lowe. Pearse was on his way via Parkgate, Arbour Hill, Richmond Barracks, to Kilmainham Goal. There he would face the British Firing Squad, after being Court Martialled. Then to be buried, uncoffined, in a quick-lime grave in Arbour Hill Graveyard. To be forgotten. Later to be remembered.

Strange the twists of life. In an amazing reversal of fortunes, the British officer, Lieut. Lowe, became a famous film-star, stage-named John Loder, bound to mix with 'society'. He went on to marry Hedi Lamarr, known to film-goers as "*the most beautiful woman in the world*". Tinseltown lay ahead.

When they parted at Parkgate, Pearse gave Lowe his cap-badge as a memento and thanked him. In Kilmainham, the Sherwood Foresters Firing Squad was rehearsing. It was all written in the stars. One would find fame in life; in death it would pursue the other.

Before the surrender, Pearse was

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approached by Lieut. Seán MacLaughlin, now the Officer Commanding the remaining Republican elements in the Moor Street Area. MacLaughlin was now displaying outstanding leadership qualities. He recommended a "*death or glory*" charge upon the British barricade at Henry Street. Pearse dwelt on it. He said he would make a decision later.

In his last letter to his mother, dated 1st May 1916, Arbour Hill, Pearse wrote:

"We decided, in order to prevent further slaughter of the civil population and in the hope of saving the lives of our followers, to ask the General Commanding the British Forces to discuss terms. He replied that he would receive me only if I surrendered unconditionally and this I did. I was taken to the Headquarters of the British Command in Ireland, and there I wrote and signed an order to our men to lay down their arms. All this I did in accordance with the decision of our Provisional Government, who were in More Street. {Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, MacDermott, Plunkett.} My own opinion was in favour of one more desperate sally before opening negotiations, but I yielded to the majority, and I think now the majority were right, as the sally would have resulted only in losing the lives of perhaps 50 or 100 of our men, and we should have had to surrender in the long run, as we were without food... People will say hard things of us now, but we shall be remembered by posterity and blessed by unborn generations. You will be blessed because you were my mother."

Pearse had stayed cool. His letter contains reasoning, clarity, analysis, sequentiality and prophecy. Calmness was ever apparent. He was always in control. In the last photograph, he looks fresh. His bearing is military. Seemingly unaffected by the surrounding devastation. He was the leader. People turned towards him. He retained dignity. As crises developed, he stepped forward. The disabling of the wounded Connolly advanced Pearse. Some had their stamina sapped. A week's psychological and physical pressure diminished more. Until the very end, Pearse retained his presence, even to his mother and at the approach of death.

His execution took place, May 3, 0330 hours, approximately. As the first lark rose. The Firing Squad lined up. Two ranks of six; front rank kneeling; rear rank standing; one rifle loaded with a round of blank. He "*met his fate bravely*". It was in the Stonebreakers' Yard. Day by day, others followed. Volley after volley.

Capt. H.V. Stanley certified the "*prisoners were dead, before the commandant disposed of the bodies*". (Clarke

and MacDonagh had quickly followed). Sixteen *in toto* executed. Fifteen "*Death by being shot*". One "*Death by hanging*". Bodies quietly placed aside. Bound for burial, their graves unmarked.

The Dublin Military Police had risen to the occasion. 'G' Branch personnel had peeped in the Judas Hole. Filled with self-loathing. They'd taken "*the shilling*". Fingering prisoners. Pointing the accusing hand.

The Dublin Fusiliers turned nasty. They'd helped put down their own. Now, they are shouting at their neighbour rebels being marched through the city streets, or to the cattle-boat, in the docks, for deportation. And, in the morning, the postman would knock. Another War Office cheque. Put food on the table. Thanks-be for the Shiners.

The descendants of the Empire Loyalists are cock-a-hoop. Centre-stage. "*The Shilling*" still jingles. It's Poppies in your face. The ghosts of Pearse and Connolly look down. Unsmiling. The game is being played out. It ebbs and flows. Moore Street is still standing. The GPO is not immune.

The magnificent British Army War Memorial at Islandbridge lies beneath the shadow of Kilmainham, its fingers in its ears. For whom does the *Last Post* sound?

John Morgan (Lt. Col., ret'd.)

Report

Moore Street And The Developers

It is surprising to see a headline stating that Nama is set to give €5 million for project on Dublin's Moore Street. This would mean that the agency is about to give millions to the developer of a commercial mall, so that a limited number of those houses where James Connolly, PH Pearse, Joseph Plunkett, Thomas Clarke and Sean MacDiarmada spent their last hours of freedom, can be "developed" into what is described as "a monument project".

Are we thus abandoning the republic of equals Connolly, Pearse, Ceannt, MacDonagh, O’Rahilly and our Citizen Army, Irish Volunteers and Cumann na mBan fought for, and allowing this historic site to remain in private hands?

May I ask the Dáil to instead mandate compulsory purchase of the properties where the GPO garrison spent the last days of the Rising, and from which they walked out to surrender and prison— or for the leaders death— for an Irish republic.

Lucille Redmond

(Letter, *Irish Times*, 26.4.14)

Easter Rising Commemoration

In recent years there has been a concerted attempt to denigrate and disparage the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence. We are encouraged to have a bad conscience about them. There is rarely a comment on either these days without various qualifications about their merits and the methods used.

We are approaching the centenary commemorations of 1916 and it is pretty clear that the Government, any Government, will be going through the motions in the commemorations they are planning. Their heart will not be in it.

The Rising is painted in all kinds of negative colours—that it was a blood sacrifice, led by hopeless idealists, was a failure, was unnecessary, etc.

A most typical critique of the Rising is that it was not democratic. Being a rebellion, or an insurrection, means it automatically was not democratic in the accepted sense. You cannot have a vote for a rebellion. You cannot advertise it.

But the Rising has to be put in its context—as has democracy itself at the time. Was there an alternative?

Those who criticise it would not deny the case for having an independent state. But when they criticise the Rising they should therefore feel obliged to show a practical alternative at the time. Not in theory but in practical terms—what was the alternative?

We could all wish for other 'nicer' ways to have achieved independence. If wishes were horses we would all go for ride.

What was the state of democracy then?

The fact is that what existed of parliamentary democracy in the UK at the time had broken down, had become a bad joke. And it had broken down over Ireland. And this is the context in which the Easter Rising must be judged.

How did this happen?

Home Rule, a fairly timid form of devolution had been debated for decades in Parliament. When passed by the House of Commons on two occasions it was rejected by the House of Lords. When the House of Lords could no longer prevent it a rebellion was organised in 1912 by the Unionists of Britain and Ireland to prevent it. An illegal army, the Ulster Volunteer Force, was formed; guns were imported from Germany and a Provisional Government was planned. This was a rebellion against the

perpetrators' own government. It was treason and the perpetrators made no bones about it.

The Government did not prevent any of this which meant it was a successful rebellion. When the British army refused to move against the rebels in the Curragh Mutiny, 100 years ago last month, it meant that this kind of action, rebellion, was the way to succeed with your political aims. The gun was back in Irish politics and it was winning.

Seeing this, the Nationalists in the South followed suit and formed the Irish Volunteers to guarantee Irish Home Rule. They wanted to help implement the law—not break it. They did not think a rebellion was necessary at this point. They believed that Parliament would deliver Home Rule.

So what was the turning point towards rebellion?

There was a very unusual event in 1915 that is little mentioned these days. In fact it is never mentioned. There was a new Government formed but without an election. This meant that by 1916 the British Government was not an elected government. Hardly democratic. In effect there was a parliamentary coup d'état.

The rule was that there should be an election within 5 years and as the last election was in 1910 a new election was legally obligatory in 1915. But an election would have been awkward for the Government so it was abandoned under pressure from the Unionists on condition that they were brought into government. This element of democracy, a general election, was dispensed with. Instead there was a new government formed with Unionist leaders in the Government.

It was now as plain as the nose on one's face that there would be no Home Rule and there would certainly never, ever, be an Irish republic. It remained treasonous to even consider it.

The people who broke the law against their own Government over Home Rule were now in government. The lawbreakers had become the lawmakers. This success set the obvious precedent on how to be politically successful at the time in the UK. Rebellion rules—OK!

These events laid the basis, the rationale, the logic for the 1916 rising. The 1916

rebels were simply doing the only thing that the Government would take any notice of.

Being a Rebellion it was naturally not supported by the majority at the time. But within two years it had got the overwhelming support of the electorate with the landslide victory for Sinn Fein in the 1918 Election.

And what did the Mother of Parliaments do when they got this totally democratic result? Nothing. This proved yet again that democracy did not matter at that time. When the elected representatives began to implement their policies on the basis of the election victory we got martial law, the Auxiliaries and then the Black and Tans. This confirmed yet again that democracy did not exist.

And this ignoring of the election result came immediately after up to 50,000 Irish had died fighting for what they believed was the 'freedom of small nations'. These poor Irishmen in a sense died twice. They died physically and their political ideals died when they were betrayed by the Government that they fought for. They were cynically betrayed. And this betrayal should be remembered when they are commemorated today. The Great War was a Great Fraud for them. But with all the talk about commemorations of WWI these days we never hear this pointed out loud and clear. And of course nobody in Ireland voted for that war.

So the Rising made sense in its time and place.

It is recognised and admired throughout the world especially by those countries that achieved their independence later and were encouraged by its success. When we commemorate its centenary the representatives of our 'gallant allies' and the other nations inspired by the Rising should be invited to take part. If we did there would be marvellous turnout—like a meeting of the United Nations. Instead we hear that the big idea will be to invite a member of the British Royal family. It looks like the commemoration planners have no imagination and lack the sense of occasion to do justice to the commemoration. Even John A. Murphy has described this as 'bizarre.' The Government can't see beyond London.

The Rising deserves a wholehearted commemoration without apology or reservation and I hope that it will continue to be done in that spirit here and throughout the country and especially on the 100th anniversary. ■

Angry Intellectuals

An interesting pair of articles, demonstrating the provincialism of the official Irish mind today, appeared in the *Irish Times* of April 5th: *The Nazi Past that Causes A Cultural Problem* by Fintan O'Toole, and *Picking A Fight Over The Rights And Wrongs Of Our History* by Professor Diarmaid Ferriter of University College Dublin.

O'Toole is disturbed by the fact that the premier philosopher of the 20th century, Martin Heidegger, became Rector of Freiburg University in April 1933 "specifically in order to carry out the *Gleichschaltung*, or bringing into line" of its teaching with that of the Hitler state". Professor Ferriter is disturbed for the opposite reason: John Regan is breaking up the accomplished *Gleichschaltung* of academic history in the Irish state.

In any well-conducted state *Gleichschaltung* is the normal condition of things. It can be seen in connection with any serious crisis. British academia and British broadcasting are very much more robust than their counterparts in Ireland, but all usually come to the same view of major events, with minor differences so that there can be a semblance of argument.

About the Great War that Britain launched a hundred years ago there has already been a deluge of tv programmes, radio programmes and newspaper articles. They all tell the same story. If any major figure in academia or the media expressed the view that England had prepared carefully to make war on Germany and did so when it caught it at a disadvantage, I haven't heard of it. And, if such a view had been expressed in any major newspaper or tv or radio channel, I'm sure I would have heard of it.

The only argument I have heard—and only a very little of that—was about whether it would not have been more advantageous for the Empire if Britain had not availed of the opportunity to wage a just war on Germany—if it had shirked its moral duty. I have heard no questioning at all of German war-guilt.

That's *Gleichschaltung*.

But that's not how things were in Germany in the 1920s.

The country was battered into mindless submission by the food blockade that was not only continued but intensified for six months after the Armistice of 11th November 1918. It signed up to the "war-

guilt" Treaty presented to it by the Allies. And, in order to please the Allies, it devised an ultra-democratic Constitution whose effect was to maximise conflict in the state. Britain approved it, though the arguments it deployed in defence of its own Constitution tell us that its statesmen knew very well that the new German Constitution was divisive and disabling.

The Weimar system was not the democratic evolution of an authoritative State. The Kaiser's State was functional and was more democratic than most, but it was declared by the *Entente* propaganda of 1914, to be an "autocracy" which had to be destroyed. Weimar was a democracy constructed from scratch by doctrinaire democrats to conciliate the *Entente*. Constructing a State from first principles, and wrenching it apart from whatever existed before, was something that the founder of English political philosophy, Edmund Burke, said should never be done if it was at all possible to avoid doing it. And Rousseau gave similar advice to the Poles. But both Britain and France insisted that the Germans must do it.

Weimar never gained the large fund of unthinking acceptance of its authority that is necessary in practice to the functioning of States, and that any State built on a traditional base will tend to have. It was brittle because of its structure and because of the false confession of war-guilt that it had made, on the brink of starvation and at the point of a gun, on behalf of the German people.

If the matter is looked at with hindsight—as O'Toole, always a man-of-the-moment, looks at it—what should be deplored is the lack of character and political intelligence on the part of the Social Democrats which led them to toe the Versailles line in the Summer of 1919 instead of defying Versailles and daring it to do its worst. The worst Versailles could have done would have been nothing like what happened as result of the Quisling compliance of the Social Democracy with Anglo-French demands. Defiance would have given Social Democracy a strong national character, and would have given rise to a different kind of national socialism to the one that took over in 1933 and pulled all the conflicting elements generated by the Versailles set-up into a functional national State.

Gleichschaltung was a necessity of the

situation. The only question was which political force would accomplish it.

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Professor Ferriter's article is an angry tirade against the attempt by John Regan to disrupt the evasive *Gleichschaltung* that has prevailed in academia since the early 1970s on the subject of the formation of the Irish state and Northern Ireland. I forget whether it was Napoleon or Henry Ford who said that history is a fable agreed upon. Whichever it was, the other one said: History is bunk—and I suppose that was Ford.

Jack Lynch contributed to the stirring up of the Northern situation in 1969, and recoiled in 1970 from the consequences of what he had done. Orders were given that history must be rewritten. Irish academia—which had produced nothing of any value that I could find when I looked for it then—was placed under Oxbridge tutelage. A fable began to be agreed upon. This academically-founded fable began to replace the histories written by journalists and others who had experienced the War of Independence. It was of course a fable devised in the British interest, designed to whitewash a black spot in British history. And now John Regan, writing from within academia, but not under academic patronage in Ireland, says it is bunk. And Professor Ferriter, who has flourished in the academic *milieu* that Regan disparages, is angry.

Regan has focussed on Peter Hart's PhD Thesis in Trinity College (now to be called Dublin University?) on the IRA in Cork in the War of Independence. This Thesis was sanctioned by Professor David Fitzpatrick of Trinity and Professor Charles Townshend of Keele, England. When the Thesis was published as a book, it was received with mob acclaim at a meeting of the History Department of Cork University and an attempt to mention some flaws in it was howled down.

The Aubane Historical Society and other non-academics, along with a lone voice in academia, Brian Murphy, published criticism of essential features of Hart's argument and demonstrated that he had invented evidence. The force of this external criticism began to find a weak echo within academia. A point was reached when it could no longer be denied that Hart had got a crucial piece of evidence in an interview with somebody who was dead at the time.

The response within the academic hierarchy in Ireland was to cover-up, making a couple of marginal admissions, in order to hold the fable together. But

Regan began to raise questions, not only about Hart and the sanctioning of his PhD, but about the treatment of 1922 by other eminent academics. He raised these questions in specialist academic history magazine, expecting them to be responded to. When there was no response he published the articles in a book. I assume his object was to bring to the attention of a wider readership the questions he had raised with specialists which the specialists had ignored. Ferriter finds "*Regan's admission that it was not "even remotely a planned book" is...curiously arrogant*".

I published a review of Regan's first book: *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921-36*. I didn't think much of it. But I understand the point of publishing this collection of articles from specialist magazines to demonstrate the condition of academia.

Ferriter says it is written in "*inaccessible jargon*". Of course it is. It is political science—politics as an academic subject aspiring to the status of a science, supported by an array of specialist journals to whose readers the jargon would be familiar.

Now that Regan has shown dialectically the condition of Irish academia, it is time for him to write the narrative history which the Irish Universities did not even try to produce. That is something that cannot be done without dealing squarely with the question of what Northern Ireland is, why it was established, and what its probable consequences have been. And on that issue there is a well-established British *Gleichschaltung* of evasiveness that will defend itself if Regan tries to disturb it.

Ferriter doesn't like "*Regan's missionary declaration that "we must begin anew to part historical research from its impostors"*. *The notion of historians as myth junkies collectively and conspiratorially injecting themselves with the revisionist drug is taken too far*". So there's a core of truth in it then, that's just a bit overstated?

As to the "*missionary*" project—that was Peter Hart. And his "*Good News*" was joyfully received. Everybody who hoped for an academic career had to toe the line. But now that *Gleichschaltung* is threatened.

But Hart as Messiah was only a creation of Professor Fitzpatrick, to whom Ferriter appears to be indebted. Hart came as an industrious outsider, knowing nothing of the Irish situation. He was authoritatively told what the situation was and he repeated it in a PhD thesis.

It was clearly not the case that his Thesis was insufficiently scrutinised by

his Professors, but that he wrote it according to the view of the examiners, which he took on trust.

I have known others who were given the Fitzpatrick treatment, but they knew too much about the situation independently of him to be able to do what he required of them, even though he would have rewarded them handsomely for the doing of it.

This is anecdotal of course. What else could it be, given what Irish academia is?

Ferriter says that, in his criticism of Hart's examiners—

"Regan is confusing academic supervision with control. Not everything is tied up neatly in the doctoral process. History Theses are not scientific experiments..."

I have zero experience of academia, but about 25 years ago I had reason to be curious about the process of ordaining Doctors of Philosophy, and I discovered what an immense difference there was between London and Belfast. A high flier who got his doctorate under Ernest Gellner explained that it was not an examination in established (or received) knowledge, but had to do with a substantial extension of knowledge. The Thesis had to break new ground. It was closely scrutinized by the foremost experts in the field, and the applicant had to hold his own in tough argument with them.

It was not quite like that at Queen's (Belfast). An applicant was required to falsify his Thesis to meet the political line of the Professors. He did so, but put a Closure on it in the University Library, and left academia for industry.

Forty years ago an opportunity presented itself for the free invention of Irish history in the service of an outside interest. War of Independence personnel were poorly represented in the academic life of the state, and those in politics were disoriented by the turn of events. The cockeyed notion got about that the "*Trouble*" in the North was a consequence of the way history was taught, and a kind of history conducive to passive behaviour was ordered up and was supplied from Oxbridge.

This new history met with little or no resistance in the Universities. It only began to run into trouble when Hart's Thesis, written according to the instructions of his Professor, was made into a best-seller by the publicity machine of the Oxford University Press, which had begun to boast of the ease with which it was *Re-Writing Irish History*.

There was little sign that Professor Ferriter was anything but a run-of-the-

mill product of Oxbridge revisionism—and he was a product though he never went to Cambridge—until the Royalist carryon of recent weeks made him want to kick over the traces.

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Germany in the 1920s was maddened by another fable: the Versailles fable of German war-guilt, and the Weimar false confession that it was true. A magazine was published to refute it: the *War-Guilt-Question Magazine*. It was demonstrated every which way that German war-guilt was a Versailles fable. The Germans are great believers in truth, with a naive belief in the force of truth. They knew out of their own experience that the English war propaganda was an inventive form of lying. The pragmatic English form of truth was beyond their comprehension. So they refuted, and refuted, an refuted. It was all water off a duck to the English and the French—to the English because of their highly-developed Protestant casuistry resting on a purely spiritual conviction of rectitude, and to the French because their strong national animosity towards Germany needed no fancy intellectual footwork to sustain it.

Then an argument was put that England understood, and quickly admitted the validity of. Hitler came to Office, tore up the Versailles Treaty, and declared German independence.

The Weimar ultra-democracy was not dominated by any power of State lying beyond the power of the parties. The political parties therefore had to have their own armies in order to be functional. It was not because he had a private army that Hitler won. It was because he cast a political net that caught enough of the Right, the Left, and the Centre, to pull them together into a viable system of State.

Comparatively little force was used in the consolidation of the Nazi regime. The outcome in the mid-1930s was not something that could have been achieved mainly by the use of force. When I read *The Brown Book Of The Hitler Terror* (describing the first year of Nazi rule), I was left at a loss by the little terror I could find in it. (The Indonesian State in the 1960s was consolidated by the killing of a million people with British support.)

Britain, which had constituted itself the moral guardian of Europe under the Versailles system, could easily have stopped Nazism in its tracks in 1933, but it chose instead to collaborate with it until early 1939. If the German chaos had continued, the Communist Party seemed

to be the next in line to have a go at governing, and British governing circles understood that Fascism was the effective counter to Communism.

The Nazi Government abolished political parties but implemented the substance of what most members of the other parties wanted, except for the Communist Party, and it even drew large numbers of Communists to itself. In 1934 it suppressed its own Party-army, which it had needed under Weimar, and built up the rudimentary Versailles Army into a national Army.

Loyalty to the Nazi State lasted right through the World War, unshaken by the terror-bombing of undefended cities in 1944-5. The Allies had a policy of "*de-Nazification*", of pulling a functional political system to pieces again as they had done in 1918-19, but they fell out with each other as Germany was being defeated, barely avoiding war among themselves.

A generation later idealistic young Germans, bred in propaganda/history, began to wonder what their parents, respectable pillars of the democracy of the Federal Republic, had done during the awful Third Reich. What they usually found was that they had been pillars of the Third Reich too. That discovery was what gave rise to the Baader-Meinhoff movement.

Fintan O'Toole has finally caught up with this continuity in its extreme form in the person of Martin Heidegger, the Nazi philosopher who, without being born again, went on to become the philosopher of democratic, post-Nazi Europe.

Heidegger made the nasty, but not altogether untrue, remark that when the French try to think they become German—i.e. Sartre etc. O'Toole has been overcome (momentarily) by the vision of post-War European culture as a product of Heidegger-Nazism:

"If you've read any great postwar novel, or seen any play that follows on from... *Waiting For Godot*, or even enjoyed any of the movies or TV dramas that reflect their ideas at one remove, some bit of Heidegger has lodged in your brain. Which is awkward, because... he was a thoroughgoing Nazi."

That means that Fintan must be a bit of a Nazi. What is he going to do about it? Revive the Baader-Meinhof movement? Or just write about something else for his money next week?

He explains Heidegger's continuing influence after 1945 by his good luck in having a Jewish student and lover, Hannah Arendt, who used her influence to exon-

erate him as an unworldly philosopher who didn't understand worldly affairs. But, unfortunately for that notion, Heidegger was very much the worldling amongst the Phenomenologists. And Jews who had never been his lover ruefully admitted that, within the ideology of Phenomenology, thought was hardly possible without him. So it's not at all a case of Hannah Arendt letting erotic nostalgia over-ride her intellect—which is a very male-chauvinist suggestion when you think about it.

This is a story of three German Phenomenologists: a Jew, a Protestant and a Catholic: Husserl, Jaspers, and Heidegger. Husserl (who pre-dates the Great War as a philosopher) had the idea of taking the phenomenon, the appearance of something, as the thing itself, with nothing behind it, and treating it outside of history and time and all the structures of thought by means of which the world is grasped, and, in a sense, by which it is created.

I read a lot of Husserl in the 1960s, but at this distance I couldn't begin to say what it was that he said about things, if anything. In the mid-1930s the world was pressing in on him, and it seemed to me that in his last book he tried to come to terms with it and say something about it, but was unable to because he had put it beyond his reach.

Jaspers and Heidegger were his students. They were making their careers in the Weimar chaos and were influenced by it.

Heidegger caused a sensation—in the minuscule world of *avante garde* philosophy—with a gigantic magazine article called *Being And Time*, in which he immersed Phenomenology in the world of things: You find yourself "*thrown*" into the world of things, equipped with no means of coping with it other than the instinct to cling and to suck. After that, everything depends on what's going on around you. You find tools to hand for making your way in the world and you acquire skill in using them. And these tools—these ideas in practice—are what enable you to live.

Phenomenology was brought down to earth with a bang. But was it vulgarised and misapplied, or was it just applied consistently and in earnest?

Edmund Burke determined the direction of English political thought at a critical moment when the universalism of the French Revolution was threatening to take hold. He denied that there were any universal human rights—except, as he put

it, the right to be governed. In the ultra-democratic flux of Weimar Germany, which was floundering in universalism, some German intellectuals began to take heed of the political philosophy which England applied at home, as contrasted with the universalism it had been deluging the world with in its war propaganda, and to ask why, if England insisted on its historically-evolved rights, Germany could not do likewise.

Heidegger might be regarded as the German Burke.

In 1933 he became Rector of Freiburg University and applied the *Gleichschaltung* for a year. I don't know that after that he took any active part in the regime or encouraged it to adopt strong measures. He just lived in it and carried on working. But Burke, in the fearsome *Regicide Peace*, advocated strong police measures against French ideas.

Jaspers did not denounce Heidegger for his notorious *Rectoral Address*. He took the Hitler Oath of Loyalty. But he gradually distanced himself from the regime without acting against it and eventually he was forbidden to teach or publish.

Then there came a time when the Western Occupation Authorities were looking for good Germans and these were in short supply. Jaspers became *the* good German and he was consulted by de-Nazifying inquisitors in the field of education. He was an earnest and thorough de-Nazifier, coming close to holding that the Germans were collectively guilty. His project for purging the education system of all taint of Nazism had to be abandoned. If it had been implemented, there would have been no education system.

Sixty years later a job of thorough de-Nazification was implemented after the fall of the 'second Hitler', Saddam Hussein. Baathism was classified as a kind of Nazism. Ahmad Chalabi, with Eoghan Harris as political adviser, presented himself as an expert on de-Nazification. It was impossible to tell whether he was a fantasist or a confidence trickster—and perhaps in reality there is not a clear distinction between the two. Anyhow he was accepted as an expert by the White House, which shared his existential fantasist/trickster ambiguity. He returned to Iraq with the invasion force and had his brief moment of power in which he helped to destroy the State and its education system and usher in an enhanced version of the democratic chaos of Weimar.

In 1945 Germany was saved from destructive totalitarian de-Nazification

when the fundamentally unprincipled 'United Nations' alliance that had crushed Germany fell into antagonism with itself—and Britain, which had started the War, began to cast around for ways of concluding it by destroying the Soviet State which had done most of the work of defeating Germany.

The Catholic Church was the major force of mass resistance to Nazism and its Christian Democracy movement emerged in 1945 to take advantage of the Cold War to bring about a rapid restoration of the German State as a democracy with only token de-Nazification.

Konrad Adenauer, a Catholic Christian Democrat with a better anti-fascist record than Jaspers, exploited the Cold War, and differences between the US and Britain, to get a German Government up and running in double quick time, relying largely on the personnel of the Nazi State.

When I first took an interest in these things, Jaspers, as one of the very few good Germans that were to be found by the Occupation forces, was the 20th century German philosopher that one found in public libraries and bookshops. He had given judgment against Heidegger as an expert consulted by the De-Nazification Commission, putting him out of his job in the University. The youth of Germany were to be indoctrinated on how to think for themselves, and therefore had to be shielded from Heidegger.

But, as Heidegger was being suppressed in Germany, by the French military authorities on the advice of the good Germans, he was becoming the philosophical inspiration of post-War France. He soon displaced Jaspers as top-dog in philosophy. And Jaspers, even while giving judgment against him, admitted that he somehow managed to hit the spot in a way that nobody else could.

A generation later a Jewish/German poet from what is now Transnistria, Paul Celan, who had written a famous poem about the Holocaust, went on pilgrimage to Heidegger at his peasant hut at Todtnauberg and wrote a little poem about it. They spoke about this and that as Celan waited for "the word" to be said: *Sorry. I was wrong.* It wasn't said. Celan didn't like that, but he had to lump it.

Some years ago I saw that the prize-novelist, John Banville, had been commissioned by the BBC to write a radio-play about that incident. I went out of my way to hear it. But there was nothing in it. Of course, applying O'Toole's standard, Banville, a Dublin novelist in the modern

style, must be a product of the all-pervasive influence of Heidegger, the Nazi—and the Creator lies beyond the reach of the creature.

However this is so only because Ireland, in its post-War intellectual life, reneged on its wartime action. It was neutral in the War, and was 'authentically' so in my experience, standing on its own ground, subject to the ideology of neither belligerent, able to see it as it was—or as it appeared to an observant third party which had sufficient connection with both sides to make a substantial degree of understanding possible.

If it had lived out, in the post-War generation, the implication of its wartime independence, it would have rendered an invaluable service to Europe. I don't know why it didn't. I only know that in Slieve Luacra we did not take truth to be the propaganda of the winner of a war. We knew that the world is a complicated place, not reducible to a general conflict of Good and Evil, but with many conflicting systems of good and evil active in it.

A general view of things in general, if such a thing is possible, must be established beyond any particular system of good and evil. But it is impossible to have a vantage point that is sited nowhere in particular.

One of Heidegger's more readable efforts begins with the question: "*Why is there existence rather than non-existence?*" It is of course a senseless question, since one cannot place oneself outside both existence and non-existence in order to review the matter judicially. What the pamphlet actually is—it might be the Introduction to *Metaphysics*—is a philosophical history of the verb "*to be*" from its Greek origins. The verb "*to be*" had given trouble to philosophers. Is it a verb at all? What is the action of *Being*?"

Ireland had placed itself outside the British system, but had understanding of Britain through having had to survive against British efforts at extermination. It had never been part of the German system but had sufficient acquaintance with it in one way and another to give it some degree of understanding.

It should have been able to do something better—something more in accordance with its independence—than prostrate itself before British moral propaganda after the War, having resisted it during the War, and make itself part of Churchill's final Imperial construct, the English Speaking Peoples as a political entity.

Nicholas Mansergh, the British war propagandist, revived Mazzini's idea that

each nationality should have its particular mission in the world, and he implied that Ireland didn't. It must be admitted that there is much truth in the suggestion—truth which Mansergh wanted to increase. The present generation of rulers see no reason for the existence of the state, except as something to get a job in. But the circumstances under which it forced itself into existence gave it its particular purpose in the world system of nations—to tell home truths about England calmly, coldly, analytically, deliberately, in a spirit of good neighbourliness, and in that manner to act as an informed mediator between Europe and its English manipulator.

The two German philosophers mentioned approvingly by Connolly in the 1915-16 run of *The Workers' Republic* were Nietzsche and Rudolf Eucken, who were both intelligible writers. His political affinity in 1914-16, once the War got started, was not with the Left Social Democracy in Germany, which opposed the German war effort, but with the Right which supported it. He saw the War as being brought about by Britain to destroy Germany as an economic rival made effective by its civilised conditions of working class life. And the only Continental Socialist mentioned approvingly in both runs of *The Workers' Republic*, fifteen years apart, was Joseph Pilsudski, whose Polish Socialist Party rejected Leninism and combined Socialism with Nationalism.

An Irish intellectual development from those foundations could have made sense of European affairs without reference to Phenomenology or Existentialism. It could have treated Heidegger as the master of the gobbledygook, which, even though he was master of it and bent it to requirements of practical politics to some extent, was gobbledygook still.

Cool comment on European affairs in the language of Connolly's pre-1914 Continentals, coming from a state which had had to fight for its existence against the militaristic state which had declared itself the moral arbiter of world affairs, while exempting itself from its morality, could only have exerted a beneficial influence on Europe. More De Valera—De Valeraism as a discordant voice amongst "*the English speaking peoples*", telling the world what life was like under the English civilising process—might have meant less Heidegger. And less Heidegger would have been a good thing if the intellectual force of a free people (a people not entangled in the exultancy and despair of the moral mess of victors and van-

quished in 1945) had been telling the world what was what. And we might have been spared Habermas—who inclines one to think that Napoleon was right: With all their philosophy, the Germans don't know a thing.

But, since the Island of Scholars went to sleep on the job, let's not be too censorious of Heidegger and the gobbledygook. Let's treat him as a symbol of the actual continuity in German affairs in the face of ideological denial.

Adenauer got a viable Government up and running in doublequick time in the Western Occupation Zones, which would have been impossible if de-Nazification was more than token. Jaspers saw the Germans as being under collective guilt, which was a reasonable enough application of doctrinal ideology, but meant that a democratic State would have required population brought in from elsewhere. He emigrated to Switzerland. In the 1960s he published a political pamphlet proposing improvements to Adenauer's system which, if implemented, would have restored the Weimar flux.

I don't know that Heidegger wrote anything about post-War politics. He seemed content to be the unrepentant Nazi who philosophised for post-War Europe, while a much more active Nazi, Carl Schmidt, became a major political influence in the United States.

O'Toole's final words are that Heidegger was "*a moral idiot*". It's a new use of the word—the representative man as idiot.

Paul Celan became a Zionist. He expressed concern about Nasser's attitude to the Zionist conquest. He visited Israel but didn't settle there. I don't know if he ever wrote anything about Zionism as compared with Nazism. The Zionist project of dispossessing the people of Palestine—as England dispossessed the peoples of North America—and colonising the land, was set in motion fifteen years before the Nazis took office, and the War to break the Palestinian resistance was launched in 1936, three years before the German conquests.

A leader of the Shin Beth, Avraham Shalom, reflecting on his work, which was to break Palestinians in order to extract information from them and if possible make them active traitors against their own people, reflects that he was part of "*a brutal occupation force, similar to the Germans in World War 2... I mean how they acted to the Poles, the Belgians, the Dutch, to all of them... It's a very negative trait that we've acquired. We've become*

cruel..." (Filmed interview in *The Gatekeepers*, 2012).

Zionist Jews did not base their claim to Palestine on any general principle of Rights. Their right to Palestine was a particular Right, accorded to them by God. A general system of Rights was declared by the League of Nations at the end of the Great War, but was set aside in the case of Palestine in favour of the particular theocratic right of the Jews. Balfour, who set the project in motion, admitted publicly that his *Declaration* was in conflict with the principles for which the War had been supposedly fought.

Since the *Balfour Declaration*, the League of Nations has run its course and Nazi Germany has run its course. With Washington's assertion of national sovereignty over the United Nations building, the UN seems to be near the end of its course. I suppose it is too much to say that it was the exemption of Zionist Judaism by British Imperialism from the general system of national self-determination, right at the start, that caused the general system to fail, but it certainly was the Original Sin of the system and should be kept in mind when these matters are being considered.

Brendan Clifford

Primary Documents—Reproduced below is the text of the speech given by Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg at the outbreak of the Great War

German Chancellor's Speech to the Reichstag, 1914

{In his speech Bethmann-Hollweg castigated Britain as the chief culprit for the onset of war during the Summer of that year. Without Britain's support for France, he reasoned, the French would have pressured Russia to step back from fully supporting Serbia in her conflict with Austria-Hungary.}

"Where the responsibility in this greatest of all wars lies is quite evident to us.

Outwardly responsible are the men in Russia who planned and carried into effect the general mobilization of the Russian army.

But in reality and truth the British Government is responsible.

The London Cabinet could have made war impossible if they had unequivocally told Petersburg that England was not willing to let a continental war of the Great Powers result from the Austro-Hungarian conflict with Serbia.

Such words would have compelled France to use all her energy to keep Russia away from every warlike measure.

Then our good offices and mediation between Vienna and Petersburg would have been successful, and there would have been no war!

But England has chosen to act otherwise. She knew that the clique of powerful and partly irresponsible men surrounding the Czar were spoiling for war and intriguing to bring it about.

England saw that the wheel was set a-rolling, but she did not think of stopping it. While openly professing sentiments of peace, London secretly gave St. Petersburg to understand that England stood by France and therefore by Russia too.

This has been clearly and irrefutably shown by the official publications which in the meantime have come out, more particularly by the Blue Book edited by the British Government.

Then St. Petersburg could no longer be restrained. In proof of this we possess the testimony of the Belgian Charge d'Affaires at St. Petersburg, a witness who is surely beyond every suspicion.

He reported (you know his words, but I will repeat them now), he reported to his Government on July 30th that:

England commenced by making it understood that she would not let herself be drawn into a conflict. Sir George Buchanan said this openly. To-day, however, everybody in St. Petersburg is quite convinced—one has actually received the assurance—that England will stand by France.

This support is of enormous weight and has contributed largely toward giving the war-party the upper hand.

Up to this summer English statesmen have assured their Parliament that no treaty or agreement existed influencing England's independence of action, should a war break out, England was free to decide whether she would participate in a European war or not.

Hence, there was no treaty obligation, no compulsion, no menace of the homeland which induced the English statesmen to originate the war and then at once to take part in it.

The only conclusion left is that the London Cabinet allowed this European war, this monstrous world war, because they thought it was an opportune moment with the aid of England's political con-

federates, to destroy the vital nerve of her greatest European competitors in the markets of the world.

Therefore, England, together with Russia (I have spoken about Russia on the 4th of August), is answerable before God and man for this catastrophe which has come over Europe and over mankind.

The Belgian neutrality which England pretended she was bound to shield, is but a mask.

On the 2nd of August, 7 p.m., we informed Brussels that France's plan of campaign was known to us and that it compelled us, for reasons of self-preservation, to march through Belgium, but as early as the afternoon of the same day, August 2nd, that is to say, before anything was known and could be known of this step, the British Government promised unconditional aid to France in case the German navy attacked the French coastline.

Not a word was said of Belgian neutrality. This fact is established by the declaration made by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on the 3rd of August.

The declaration was communicated to me on August 4th, but not in full, because of the difficulties experienced at that time in the transmission of telegrams. Besides the very Blue Book issued by the British Government confirms that fact.

How, then, can England allege that she drew the sword because we violated Belgian neutrality? How could British statesmen, who accurately knew the past, talk at all of Belgian neutrality?

When on the 4th of August I referred to the wrong which we were doing in marching through Belgium, it was not yet known for certain whether the Brussels Government in the hour of need would not decide after all to spare the country and to retire to Antwerp under protest.

You remember that, after the occupation of Liege, at the request of our army leaders, I repeated the offer to the Belgian Government.

For military reasons it was absolutely imperative that at the time, about the 4th of August, the possibility for such a development was being kept open. Even then the guilt of the Belgian Government was apparent from many a sign, although I had not yet any positive documentary proofs at my disposal.

But the English statesmen were perfectly familiar with these proofs. The documents which in the meantime have been found in Brussels, and which have been given publicity by me, prove and establish in what way and to what degree Belgium has surrendered her neutrality to England.

The whole world is now acquainted with two outstanding facts:

(1) In the night from the 3rd to the 4th of August, when our troops entered Belgian territory, they were not on neutral soil, but on the soil of a state that had long abandoned its neutrality.

(2) England has declared war on us, not for the sake of Belgian neutrality, which she herself had helped to undermine, but because she believed that she could overcome and master us with the help of two great military powers on the Continent.

Ever since the 2nd of August when England promised to back up the French in this war, she was no longer neutral, but actually in a state of war with us. On the 4th of August she declared war, the alleged reason being our violation of Belgian neutrality.

But that was only a sham motive and a spectacular scene intended to conceal the true war motive and thus to mislead both the English people and foreign neutral countries.

The military plans which England and Belgium had worked out to the minutest details now being unveiled, the policy of English statesmen is branded for all times of history to come. But English diplomacy still added to this. At its call, Japan snatched from us Kiautschau, so bravely defended, and thus violated Chinese neutrality.

Has England interfered with that breach of neutrality? Has she shown in this instance her scrupulous anxiety about the neutral states?

When, in 1910, I became Chancellor, the Triple Alliance had to reckon with a solid counter-combination of Powers. England had created the Triple Entente and knitted it firmly for the purpose of maintaining the "*balance of power*".

For centuries it had been a fundamental tenet of British policy to turn against that Continental Power which was strongest, and this principle was to find its most efficient instrument in the Triple Entente.

Thus, whilst the Triple Alliance was of a strictly defensive character, the nature of the Triple Entente was offensive from the beginning. In this lay all the elements of a terrific explosion.

A nation as great and efficient as the Germans are does not allow its free and pacific development to be thwarted. In the face of this aggressive combination the course of German policy was clear. We had to try to come to a separate understanding with each member of the Triple Entente in order to dispel the clouds of war, and at the same time we had to increase our armaments so as to be ready if war actually broke out.

Gentlemen, you know that we have done both. In France we encountered, again and again, sentiments of revenge. These sentiments being fed and fostered by ambitious politicians proved stronger

than the wish, undoubtedly cherished by a part of the French people, to live with us, as neighbours should, on friendly terms.

We made, indeed, some specific agreements with Russia, but her close alliance with France, her opposition to our Austro-Hungarian ally and an anti-German feeling, born and bred of the Pan Slavistic craving for power, made agreements impossible which would have averted all dangers of war in the case of a political crisis.

Freer than France and Russia was England. I have already reminded you how British statesmen in parliament, again and again, proudly affirmed Great Britain's absolutely unrestricted right to steer her own course. The attempt to come to an understanding, which would have safeguarded the peace of the world, was easiest to make with England.

On these lines I had to act and I did act. I well knew that it was a narrow road, not easy to tread. In the course of centuries, the English insular way of thinking had evolved the political maxim that England had a right to an "*arbitrium mundi*", which she could only uphold by an unrivalled supremacy on sea and by the maintenance of the balance of power on the Continent. I never had any hopes that my persuasion could break that old English maxim.

What I did hope and thought possible was that the growth of German power and the increase of the risks of a war might open England's eyes to the fact that her old-fashioned maxim had become untenable and impracticable, and that an amicable settlement with Germany was preferable.

But that old doctrine of hers more than once stood in the way of a peaceful understanding. The crisis of 1911 gave a new impetus to the negotiations. The English people suddenly realized that they had stood at the brink of a European war.

Popular sentiment forced the British Government to a rapprochement with Germany. After long and arduous negotiations we finally arrived at an understanding on various disputed questions of an economic character, regarding Africa and Asia Minor. This understanding was to lessen every possible political friction. The world is wide. There is room enough for both nations to measure their strength in peaceful rivalry as long as our national strength is allowed free scope for development.

German policy always stood up for that principle. But during the negotiations England was indefatigable in her endeavours to enter into ever closer relations with France and Russia. The decisive point was that beyond the political sphere of action one military agreement after the other was made in view of a possible continental war.

England kept these negotiations as

secret as possible. When something about them would percolate, it was declared, both in the press and in Parliament, to be perfectly harmless. But things could not be concealed, as you know from the official papers that were published by me.

The general situation was this: England was indeed ready to come to an understanding on single items, but the first and foremost principle of her policy was the "balance of power" as a means of checking German strength in its free development.

This forms the border-line of England's amicable relations with Germany; and the purpose was the utmost strengthening of the Triple Entente. When the Allies demanded military assurances in return, England was at once ready to give them. The circle was closed. The English were sure of the following of France and hence of Russia.

But they, too, had to abandon their free-will. As the jingoes of France and Russia found their strongest support in the military accommodation promised by her, England, as soon as either of the two Allies began the war, was morally bound to support them.

And all this was done to what purpose? Because Germany was to be kept down. We have not been remiss in warning the British Government. As late as the beginning of last July I gave them to understand that their secret negotiations with Russia about a naval agreement were well known to me. I called their attention to the grave danger which such policy implied for the peace of the world. As soon as a fortnight afterward my predictions came true.

We have taken the consequences of the general situation. In quick succession I have laid before you the hugest war bill which history ever recorded, and you, gentlemen, fully recognizing the country's danger, have gladly made the sacrifice and have granted what was necessary for our national self-defence.

And when war broke out, England dropped the mask of hypocrisy. Loudly and openly she declares her determination to fight until Germany is laid prostrate both in an economic and military sense. Anti-German Pan-Slavism joins its jubilant notes, France with the full strength of an old warlike nation hopes to redeem the humiliation inflicted on her in 1870.

Our only answer to our enemies is Germany does not allow herself to be crushed!

Source: **Source Records of the Great War**, Vol. I, ed. Charles F. Horne, National Alumni 1923

Irish Political Review is indebted to Tom Cooper and Paul MacGuill for bringing this document to our attention. The April issue of *Labour Affairs* carries Grey's statement to Parliament. *Labour Affairs* can be ordered through Athol Books.

Niall Meehan speech at the 93rd anniversary of the Battle of Crossbarry, given at the monument on 30th March

Crossbarry Commemoration Address

... I will address today whether it is possible to write open-minded and objective history if the institution in which it is written appears to have closed its doors to employment of part of the community in which it operates.

The Crossbarry battle in March 1921, involving over 100 IRA volunteers against a much larger surrounding regular British Army force, was a landmark event as one of the most significant engagements in the War of Independence. It was as significant as the earlier November 1920 Kilmichael ambush. At the ambush British Auxiliaries, an elite officer-based counterinsurgency force, met for the first time an organised Irish military response. Legendary Third West Cork Brigade flying column commander, Tom Barry, was primarily responsible for winning both of those battles over 90 years ago.

So, why should we stand and remember these fighters today. We do so to mark the sacrifice and determination of those who confronted the world's then most powerful empire. They were a morale-boosting example not merely to the majority of Irish people but to subject peoples everywhere who were watching and learning.

We do so also because for some that war and those battles do not appear to be over. The old conflict is being fought out in words. It is said of war that it is a continuation of policy by other means. Rival interpretations of Irish history have become a continuation of the Irish Independence War. Critical and also supportive views of the late Peter Hart's controversial work, mirror these alternative views of Irish history and of Irish society.

These debates about the Irish past influence how we consider the present. Our understanding of who we are, our social, cultural and political identity, is shaped by our understanding of the past that brought us here today. Our capacity for action in the world is also shaped by how we see ourselves and how others, who we wish to influence, also perceive us.

One view suggests that Irish people are heirs to a sectarian squabble based on ethno-religious intolerance. Northern Ireland in this context is seen as the expression of a sectarian outworking of the wider Irish problem, which it has reproduced within its own borders. The alternative suggests that the Irish people are heirs

to an anti-imperialist demand for self-determination and independence, as part of the democratic and anti-colonial battles that saw the destruction of the British, French, German, Portuguese and other empires during the course of the 20th Century. Within this view, the problems confronting Northern Ireland are an unresolved legacy of that conflict.

Each side on this battlefield of history claims that they and they alone wield the sword of objectivity in pursuit of an accurate assessment of past events.

One side has been accused of being proponents of wishful thinking in which, oblivious of the evidence, they are slaves to an unchanging tradition. The other is accused of generalising from exceptions and of twisting archival data to suit their anti Irish Republican agenda. Historians inside and outside the academy have pitched in, as have members of the public with an opinion (lots do), on either side. For all the heat, a good deal of light has also been generated also. One result is that the debates have focused attention on the way Irish history is written.

There is a present centered shadow over proceedings. The dispute is not actually about the past but in reality raises questions about the present. The conflict in Northern Ireland, that broke out in 1968 and that was institutionalised politically with the 1998 Agreement, is what silently animates the debate. The war in West Cork stands in for Northern Ireland. It is Catholic versus Protestant, with the roles of domination and submission reversed. Instead of Catholic victims of RUC and B Special repression, Protestant victims of the IRA were promoted. That presentation of the conflict in the south by Peter Hart caused much of the controversy. However, his obscuring of evidence contradicting his view undermined Hart's argument.

In my view it is simply not credible to argue that southern Irish Protestants were subject to systematic sectarian attack when they consistently denied it. Why did they refute it? Ulster unionists made the claim as a means of distracting attention from the violent sectarian formation of the state of Northern Ireland. British propagandists used it to undermine the democratic legitimacy of the underground Sinn Féin government.

However, Southern Protestants appeared to feel morally and politically obliged

to declare publicly that they did not receive the type of treatment meted out to thousands of Roman Catholics, expelled from their work places and homes in Belfast and elsewhere from 1920 to 1922. Included among those expelled, it is important to point out, were Catholic workers who had served in World War One, and also socialists and trade unionists who opposed the pogrom. These were castigated as so-called 'rotten prods'.

In the south the victims denied their victimhood. I am currently researching the extent to which Peter Hart obscured this evidence as well.

In general, there has been more interest in West Cork, where the sectarianism argument is weak, than in Belfast, where it is overwhelming.

That point brings us to the institutional setting of the historiographical debate. Historians are arguing from their own premises in both senses of that term. I want to speak about one institutional aspect of the problem in particular, which has not previously been articulated publicly, though it is discussed, privately.

One group that has contributed much to an academic and general understanding is the History Department and also the Politics Department of Queen's University Belfast. There are many distinguished authors of historical works to be found there. Names such as, Paul, now Lord, Bew, Richard English, Peter Hart, David Harkness, ATQ Stewart, Graham Walker, Fearghal McGarry, Marie Coleman, Keith Jeffrey, and many others come to mind. All of them have contributed to our understanding, not always without contention, but that is often a positive rather than a negative trait. The work is generally stimulating. There is much of value there, including in some work by Peter Hart.

However, in the list above there is a peculiarity. Not one of the names of Queen's academics I mentioned is from within Northern Ireland's Roman Catholic community. Strangely, if you scan the online staff profiles of department members you will have difficulty finding an academic recruited from that population group. Due to the sectarian geography of the state of Northern Ireland, it might be said, logically, that persons from a northern nationalist background are difficult to pinpoint. Their perspectives do not, perhaps, contribute in any meaningful sense to intellectual ferment within the staff group. Since the student population in Queen's is majority Roman Catholic and, by association, presumably many are nationalist, that is surprising. These

crystallized sectarian designations are an unfortunate effect of the formation and history of Northern Ireland.

Is it the case that those in charge of employment practices in Queen's are in breach of employment legislation? It would be surprising if that is still the case.

During the late 1980s and 1990s Queen's was in considerable difficulty when it was found that the institution was a cold house for local academics with a Roman Catholic background, though, even then, over 50% of the student body shared that community identity. In 1989, 4 of 78 locally recruited senior academic staff were Catholics. In the university as a whole, 61% employed were Protestant, 16% Catholic and 19% were from outside Northern Ireland. The excuse given was that Queen's searched high, low, internally and internationally, for outstanding academic brains, implying that not enough were found between the ears of local Roman Catholics. In response, the university authorities intimated that would be an unfair deduction. The institution explained, digging a deeper hole, that the imbalance was actually due to the relative lack of qualifications within the Catholic population and also possibly a reluctance to work in a perceived Protestant institution—though they appeared have no problem studying there.

The problem with this defence is that the statistical breakdown should have been more proportionate lower down the institutional ladder. Surprisingly, or not, of 82 manual workers, just six were Roman Catholic. They were not qualified at the top, middle, or bottom, of the workforce, it seemed. Considerable embarrassment locally and internationally, but more particularly a change in the law, forced Queen's to reform. Today, if you look at the QUB website, in particular the pages on equality of opportunity and workforce statistics, it appears as if the bad old days are gone.

However, comments made over many years suggests that a workforce imbalance within the Politics and the History departments persists. It is silently acknowledged within Queen's itself. It appears to be not merely a historical but also an existing fact. It is certainly an often privately discussed view outside the institution, within academic circles.

We should be clear. The situation appears to be, not that the departments concerned do not employ Catholics at all. No, it is merely the local variety that appear to be excluded.

However, academics from a Roman Catholic background in the south appear acceptable. Perhaps there is an assumption

that they have been adequately influenced by southern versions of historical revisionism. I should also point out that, just as it had to be pointed out to Queen's over twenty years ago, employing Catholics from outside Northern Ireland does not qualify as meeting the requirements of equality legislation. The employment of English or other Catholics was then promoted as an example of institutional tolerance. It is the fact that for Queen's local Catholics do not count, that is relevant to the application of equality provisions.

So, how does the institution respond? We should be guided by facts. On Thursday last, I wrote to the Queen's University Equality Officer, asking for a precise statistical breakdown. Considering the material on the subject on the website, on staff monitoring and key employment statistics, I presumed there should be no difficulty. After initially exercising his intellectual curiosity by asking about the nature of my research, Paul Browne, the EO, reported, without giving a reason, that he would not give me the required information. I reported myself puzzled. After all, that kind of breakdown appears to have been provided in the past. I suggested that refusal could give rise to suspicion of something to hide. No response. I wrote to the NI Equality Commission late on Thursday, to ask them if they can provide the information or if they can ask Queen's to do so. No reply as yet. Perhaps, by airing this subject in public the institution will feel pressure to reveal the factual situation and will explain if there is cause for concern. Without public attention and pressure in the 1980s, particularly from the USA, the issue of Anti-Catholic discrimination in Queen's would never have been addressed.

Why is this issue important? Aside from questions of unfairness, is it the case that some of those shaping our understanding of Irish society in Northern Ireland's premier academic institution work in an insular environment? Failure to interact on a daily basis with academics from a distinctly different part of the local community might encourage such an attitude. It is a potential barrier to the reception of the messages they disseminate, to students themselves and to the wider public, a barrier that will affect all of those employed, whether or not they share the apparent ethos of their employing institution.

"You don't hear very often of cases of religious discrimination any more", concluded an interviewee on a recent well-made BBC programme on the history of employment discrimination in Northern

Ireland. Possibly, it is not talked about much in the seat of learning represented by the History and the Politics departments of Queen University Belfast. Maybe it should be.

Some of the wilder historical claims of Peter Hart, in 1996 comparing Cork to Bosnia, and his accusations of ethnic cleansing directed at Cork Protestants, might have been moderated had he in Queen's in the mid to late 1990s encountered more robust challenges from a wider spectrum of intellectual experience. Certainly, after he left Queen's, Hart abandoned some of those formulations, in particular the ethnic cleansing claim. In 2005 he observed the while there was in fact no ethnic cleansing in the south, what happened in the north, 'came close'. He suggested that involvement in this process by local unionist politicians and clergy painted 'not a pretty picture'. Who pursues that self-questioning research agenda today in Queen's University Belfast? Southern nationalists are expected to question everything about their history and identity, and even to give British Auxiliaries (compared in 1965 to forerunners of the Nazi SS, the German Freikorps, by none other than Conor Cruise O'Brien) parity of commemorative esteem. Who is doing that within the unionist tradition?

I want to touch on, before I finish, the question of why southern, mainly Catholic, academics seem to be preferred to Northern Irish Catholics as academic colleagues in Queen's. Perhaps southern academics in the field of history and politics are thought more subdued in so far as the subject of Northern Ireland is concerned. Maybe that is completely unfair. Perhaps, actually, the subject is avoided.

In his response to my review of the recent Trinity College Dublin History Workshop book, *Terror in Ireland 1916-23*, Trinity and also Queen's historian, Professor David Fitzpatrick, explained why the subject of 'terror' in Northern Ireland was a no go area in the book he edited. There was no one associated with the Workshop with the requisite expertise, he said. Hence the subject of the very violent formation of the state of Northern Ireland was avoided. It was not part of the Workshop's research agenda.

But West Cork received quite a lot of attention in that book. The execution of spies, and informers in 1921 was discussed rationally. A spirited defence of Hart's Kilmichael Ambush research was also published, giving rise to further debate and discussion.

West Cork was discussed, but not west or any other part of Belfast.

I am sure will recognise why I chose to focus on a place distant in kilometers, but closer in historical and contemporary relevance to the debate on the meanings of Irish history.

If Shakespeare Was A Corkman . . .

Fintan O'Toole easily gets agitated about the 'conspiracy theorists' that doubt the authorship of the plays attributed to Shakespeare as being by him. This is understandable.

Fintan is a man of the theatre and lets the world know about it as often as possible. He might even write a play some day. To have the authorship credentials of the most acclaimed playwright questioned must be an unsettling experience for an authority such as Fintan. It puts a question mark at the very foundation of his world. If he is wrong about this it must be disconcerting to say the least. It's like a clock that strikes 13—it would cast doubt on the merit of all the other strikes.

His latest spat hung on the fact of the 450th anniversary on 23rd April. But, as Fintan acknowledges, even this fact is not really credible:

"They come crawling out again, the Shakespeare conspiracy theorists. The 450th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth fell sometime this week. (His official birthdate, April 23rd, 1564, is suspiciously neat, falling nicely on St George's Day. All we know for sure is that on April 26th the vicar at Holy Trinity church in Stratford baptised "Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakespere".) Cue the chorus of denials that this mere provincial actor could be the author of the greatest works in the English language... It is an apparently harmless form of idiocy that is actually quite toxic. No serious scholar doubts Shakespeare's authorship (or in some cases co authorship) of the plays and poems. But intelligent and otherwise sophisticated people continue to do so, making this a respectable kind of ignorance" (Irish Times, 26 April, 2014).

Why is this "idiocy" so toxic? Why won't it just go away after four centuries? There would be a very simple way to do this. Provide any evidence that Shakespeare wrote anything or wrote to anyone or that anyone wrote to him! Nothing could be simpler. In fact, if it could be firmly established that he could write at all it would be a start.

Note that Fintan already makes a contribution to the 'conspiracy' by admitting the possibility of co authorship. Who was/were the other or others? Is he not curious to find out and tell us? But if he did what would he call these famous works? Those of Shakespeare and Co? Fintan's hyper-critical faculties seem to desert him on this issue.

He goes on to make an analogy, the usual crutch for people who cannot make a case on the actual facts of the matter::

"It's easy to grasp the nuttiness of the crank theories even before looking at any detailed scholarly evidence. Think of Cork city—that's about the size of Shakespeare's London. Imagine a very well-known and immediately recognisable man about town. (Even the cranks don't deny Shakespeare was a prominent actor in a city where theatre was the main form of popular entertainment.) Imagine all the rivalries, jealousies and backbiting of the artistic community. And imagine, finally, that this guy Shakespeare, whom we know from other writings to have been deeply resented as a pushy upstart, is going around claiming falsely to have written a slew of the most successful plays on the contemporary stage. Then make the most astonishing leap: no one, not a single contemporary source, so much as drops a hint that this man is a liar. None of the playwrights who collaborated with him ever mentioned that Shakespeare couldn't write these amazing plays."

There is another possible explanation. Cork, as we all know, has its quota of beings known there as *langers* and some of these would no doubt have no objection to being credited with being geniuses and there are plenty non-*langers* would enjoy the fun of having them acting the part all their life. There happens to be a long and respected tradition of this in Cork. A few years ago there was one that published Manifestos (though illiterate), got elected to the Corporation and made world tours representing Cork!

These type of characters are great in-jokes to Corkonians and it would spoil the fun of the thing to 'drop a hint' that might question their genius. The charade provides no end of belly laughs for the populace.

It's noticeable that one thing these *langers* do get is a good funeral in thanks for their lifelong services to the amusement of the city. But in this they part company with Shakespeare because nobody seemed to notice when or how he died and his wife

The Shakespeare Conspiracies, untangling a 400-year old web

of myth and deceit,
by

Brian McClinton

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certainly did not mourn him—his grave had no name. (To keep things 'neat' it is put about that he died on his birthday.) So the Cork analogy does not fit as he would not qualify to be a genuine langer. Fintan should arrange for his next sabbatical in Cork to study this phenomenon.

He says: *"The argument that Bacon wrote the plays rests on bizarre cipher-hunting that ends up seeing them as coded works of Rosicrucian mysticism."*

The Aubane Historical Society published a book by Brian McClinton in 2007, (*The Shakespeare Conspiracies*, 516 pages) that made a case for Bacon's authorship. The 'cipher-hunting' craze in Elizabethan England was dealt with in detail in one chapter. Making and using ciphers was both a hobby and a useful tool of Government diplomacy and spying. But McClinton concludes that:

"None of it *proves* that Bacon wrote Shakespeare, but it is corroboration of that possibility."

So Fintan is being puerile in claiming that the case for Bacon rests on this. It is a cheap shot. The book argues that the case for Bacon rests on the unusual coincidences of names, places, dates, knowledge, interests, ideas, purpose, testimony of contemporary witness and documents, and Bacon's own hints.

If Fintan wishes to seriously engage on this issue he should try to refute these substantial arguments and not indulge in undergraduate style ranting.

He concludes: *"The true mystery is not that of a man who wrote plays. It is the mystery of mankind those plays enact."* No, the real mystery is why are there are so many people who will believe anything given sufficient incentive to do so on the most insufficient evidence?

Jack Lane

BRINGING ON WW3

It's a kaleidoscope of many blood lines, shake it and the moral lesson becomes clear, of gangsters, juntas, and killers who leer, with the prayer-ridden America they combine to destroy secular nations, to destabilise, to stop developing nations developing, to give developed nations a walloping. Should it be any great surprise, so reprise that it is a plot to take over the world, signed up for the blood-spangled banner kit. But will huge nations kneel before this writ, to give up their identity, their flags to furl. How long now before a terminal hit, as the pipes of war continually skirl.

Wilson John Haire
24 April 2014

This letter was circulated on Facebook after both the *Irish Times* and the *Irish Examiner* refused publication.

Suppression Of Palestinian Culture

Two cultural events by Palestinian visitors to Ireland last weekend almost did not happen. The first is the art exhibition by artists from Gaza entitled *Windows into Gaza* (Art & Design, 12th April), the second, a series of countrywide dance performances by the young Lajee Dabka dancers from the Aida refugee camp in Bethlehem, which got off to a rousing start supported by many renowned Irish musicians and singers at a sold out concert in Liberty Hall on Sunday night.

The two Gazan artists who were accompanying the art exhibition, Mohammed al Hawajri and Shareef Sarhan were denied their rights to leave Gaza and travel to Ireland last week. In addition, Mohammed al Azraq, the Lajee Cultural Centre's coordinator, was violently arrested on 26th March by the Israeli army and was beaten and ill-treated so badly in the notorious Al Jalama Prison that his health is now threatened. No charges have been brought against him.

It is truly shameful that the Israeli authorities even harass the cultural expression of Palestinians which seeks to see beyond conflict and aspires to a better world. Is Israel so threatened by these artists that they must harass them in such demeaning ways and hamper their possibilities of travelling to Ireland to share their culture with us. The Irish Government should object strongly to this treatment particularly in this International Year of Solidarity with the Palestinian People as declared by the UN General Assembly.

Jim Roche
Chair, Academics for Palestine,
Dublin 8.

SEE: https://www.facebook.com/groups/25608030879/10152003902320880/?ref=notif¬if_t=group_activity

The *Irish Times* failed to publish this letter, submitted on 13th April

Israel: Occupied or Disputed Territories?

Dermot Meleady of the Israeli Embassy writes that "Israel has always regarded the term 'disputed territories' as more accurate than the tendentious 'occupied territories'" when referring to the West Bank (Letters, April 12).

This isn't surprising since Israel wishes to hold on to some or all of these territories permanently. It would be difficult for Israel to justify internationally holding on to territories which it accepts it is 'occupying'. Normally, states that 'occupy' territory not their own are expected to withdraw from it, and are subject to international sanctions if they don't.

Both the UN Security Council and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) have ruled that, according to international law, Israel is the 'occupying power' in these territories. For example, in its Advisory Opinion on the construction of the wall in July 2004, the ICJ stated "these territories (including East Jerusalem) remain occupied territories and Israel has continued to have the status of occupying Power." (Paragraph 78)

From this, it flows that Israel's colonisation of the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) is contrary to international law, since Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention bans an 'occupying power' from transferring its own civilian population into territory it occupies. As a result, the ICJ went on to conclude that "the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territory (including East Jerusalem) have been established in breach of international law" (paragraph 120).

Furthermore, such transfers of population are war crimes, since Article 8.2(b)(viii) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court defines "the transfer, directly or indirectly, by the Occupying Power of parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies" to be a war crime.

Colonisation of 'occupied' territory is contrary to international law: colonisation of 'disputed' territory is not—which is another reason why Israel prefers to describe the West Bank as "disputed" territory.

David Morrison

Does
It
Up

Stack
?

TAXATION

The present Coalition Government of Fine Gael and Labour is taxing us all at the highest rate for fifty or more years. And they promised before the last (I wish it was!), I mean the latest, Election that taxation would not rise. That was in the circumstances a ridiculous promise and it was equally ridiculous of the electorate to believe it. How on earth could taxes be maintained the same after Ireland was committed to bailing out the banks? Aha! you say, "*it was the Troika that bailed out the banks*".

The Troika did no such thing. The Troika arranged loans to the State, i.e. to us taxpayers, and the loans were used to pay off the banks and the banks used our money to pay off the banks' borrowings from London, Frankfurt and Zurich money-lenders (who call themselves investment bankers). And so the taxpayers still owe all or most of these loans to the invisible and secret providers who are, most likely, the investment bankers as in the first place. The whole €85 billion euros, or more, is a charge against the Irish taxpayer. It will take fifty years to pay it off. Including interest, the repayments could come to well over €1,000 billion.

Who cares? The taxpayers don't. The taxpayers are told "*we're out of austerity*". We are not out of austerity but, because local Elections and EU Elections are imminent, the electorate has been given a massive dose of morphine, so to speak, to dumb down the pain until after the elections.

But the problem has not gone away. In fact, the problem will be with us for at least forty years more. It will be forgotten of course as all old injuries are, but it is taking its toll on us and will continue to do so. The State hopes that inflation of prices and incomes will make it easier to repay the enormous debt and indeed the State is doing its very best to stimulate inflation, also known as "*growth*", for that very reason. But "*growth*" is hard to stimulate when the body corporate is almost dead. Whipping is one tactic used where auctioneers, valuers, newspaper Property Supplements and Ministers of Finance say, in effect, get up and go, the economy is recovering and prices are rising. But as the old saying goes, "*fool me once—shame on*

you, fool me twice—shame on me".

Business people, indeed most people, are optimists and businesses are started and restarted and they fail and fail again. And there is quite a lot of failure over the past few years.

Government is the greatest failure of all because it is the greatest economic arena of all. One in four of the population of Ireland depends on the State for survival and the Government has failed wilfully to have regard to that economic fact of life.

When one in four depends on the State for economic survival then drastic action is called for. I do not mean sudden drastic action. I mean a drastic action plan to alter the way Government goes about its business into the future.

Starting with what is nearest to Government control. Such as TDs' and Senators' remuneration, top Civil Service remuneration, Local Government remuneration. Within living memory County Councillors did not receive any salary, they received travelling expenses. But no salary. They were genuinely representative of the people. Full-time politicians are what we do not need because we employ at enormous expense full time Executives.

Taxation must be reduced and at present no visible effort is being made to reduce it, except to cut essential services such as Medical Cards, Carer's Allowances and Housing. The housing waiting lists are especially surprising, given the huge stock of surplus housing on NAMA's books and NAMA is owned by the State. A particularly obnoxious lie is that the Government has no control over NAMA. Of course—it has.

Similarly a lying fiction has been promulgated that the Government has no control over the HSE or CIE or Bus Eireann or Rehab or . . . (name your own of over 2000 entities receiving our taxes from Government). The Government either nominates the Directors—or can withdraw them—or it pays the bills—and it can refuse to pay the bills.

Take the HSE for example. It was created from an amalgamation of the various regional Health Boards by apparently the stroke of a Minister's pen. But each of these Health Boards had extensive properties. Really extensive properties. And what happened to the properties? It is said that NAMA is the largest property company in Ireland. That is not true. The largest property owner is the State in its various forms—Health Boards, CIE, Gardáí, VECs, HSE, Board of Works, Land Commission, ESB, and An Post, all of the Government Departments, the

Army, the Navy, the Coastguard, Custom and Excise etc etc. And before the HSE and before the Health Boards there were in every town, almost in every parish, the Boards of Guardians, who owned hospitals and workhouses (very extensive in some cases) cottages, houses, stores, stables and garages and very extensive parking facilities. I'm just talking about HSE and its predecessors in title here. Who is keeping track of all the properties?

Due to the simple fact that the accounting system used by the State is thousands of years old and is at least 500 years out of date, there is no book-keeping record of *any* capital assets belonging to the State. This means that the State's interest in assets depends totally on memory and it is a case of "out of sight—out of mind". It just does not stack up. The State is the largest owner of property and assets of all sorts in Ireland and there is no accounting record of them. There is no State Balance Sheet.

This has come to my notice because I have heard that, to avail of car parking in the grounds of a former hospital, you have to contact X who will arrange it for you for a fee. How much of this is going on? I have also heard that the Deeds of a former hospital could not be found as a result of which it could not and was not sold.

It is the Taoiseach's Office which has traditionally been in charge of Government accommodation but in the absence of a Double-Entry System of book-keeping it is hard to see how the Department can do the job.

Now do not tell me this is another consultation for Price Waterhouse, Ernst & Young or any of these chartered accountant 'hot-shots'. The only thing these firms are good at is

(a) getting the most remunerative jobs (how they do it is anyone's guess!)

(b) getting paid enormous fees for very indifferent work—to say the least!

These firms were employed as Bank Auditors, failed to report on where the banks were going and exchanging positions with each other—they got themselves appointed consultants/liquidators/receivers over the whole mess. You could not make it up. Is the Government gullible? Is it WHAT?

It just doesn't stack up.

The only thing you have is your vote—do not waste it on Fianna Fáil, Labour or Fine Gael. But do use it so as to give these parties a well deserved fright. They will not govern properly otherwise.

Michael Stack ©

Rejoining the British Commonwealth?

The call by a Conservative MP, Michael Fabricant, for Ireland to rejoin the British Commonwealth following the successful state visit to the UK of President Michael D Higgins comes as no surprise. However, the response by Fine Gael TD Brian Hayes, who said "*such a proposal should be considered*", does.

The Irish State formally left the British Commonwealth in 1949. At that time, this policy was seen as a natural further step in the direction of a fully sovereign State. Today, 65 years later, there are Irish political figures, and not just Brian Hayes, who are calling for the restoration of the Commonwealth link.

However, despite their machinations, there is no significant degree of support among the population for re-entry. Rejoining the Commonwealth would have the effect of gradually "*re-Britishing*" the Irish State and would amount to a rejection of the separatist aspect of Irish nationalism.

Because the British monarch has always been head of the Commonwealth, this would mean that symbolically speaking, the monarch would occupy a higher position politically than that of our own democratically elected head of state. We could find ourselves being embarrassed in the course of future royal visits, or state ceremonial occasions involving representatives of "*Her Majesty*".

A "*British dimension*" would be restored to our political life. In terms of international affairs, we would once again become a white Commonwealth dominion. Much of Europe would interpret our move as a "*return to the fold*" and a rejection of our policies of separation from Great Britain.

Alongside the armies of Commonwealth nations, the Irish Defence Forces would be expected to participate in Armistice Day ceremonies and to ensure that army personnel wear the poppy. The re-Britishing of the 26 counties would restore attitudes of subservience and servility among sections of our political and social elite. Britain would continue the practice of handing out "gongs" to selected Irish citizens in the form of knighthoods and other titles of "nobility".

The import of Brian Hayes's statement must be clarified by Taoiseach Enda Kenny. I regard Ireland's sovereignty as sacrosanct, probably because we had such a long and hard battle to secure it.

Irish separation from the embrace of the British polity and the existence of a Republic are non-negotiable basic principles. Ironically, it was a Fine Gael taoiseach, John A Costello, who in 1949 ended the last formal British link over most of Ireland.

It is imperative that we ensure that some in modern Fine Gael don't try to undo that achievement.

Tom Cooper

This letter appeared in the *Irish Times* of 26th April

This letter was published in substance in the *Irish News* on 10th April

Henry Harrison

...Captain Harrison in his 1939 book, 'Ulster and the British Empire', recognised something about the Six County entity which has escaped the notice of many: "Northern Ireland is not really a state."

In his case against Partition Harrison noted that Northern Ireland was neither 'an integral part of the United Kingdom' or 'a state'. It was, in fact, a 'quasi unit'—a semi-detached administrative part of the UK, constructed for Imperial purposes.

Harrison noted that the British State decided in 1920 to allow its 'Ulster' region to govern by means and through institutions that were different in kind from those that had been effective in the rest of the State and which had made up the much-vaunted British Constitution. But it had become very clear that this constitutional experiment had failed in its objective of providing for the 'better government' of Ireland - if that had ever been the objective of the 1920 Act.

Harrison went on to explain that, despite appearances, NI was a region of the British State, completely under the sovereignty of Westminster, with limited authority itself. It was entirely an Imperial construct that administered the workings of the British State in the province and its existence was totally dependant upon the wishes of Westminster.

Captain Harrison saw that Britain let the pretence emerge that NI was a 'state' in order that the formation and conduct of its government could not be blamed on Westminster giving the Unionists in Ulster a free hand in governing and policing the Catholic minority without interference from outside. This led to the convention at Westminster that NI business was not to be discussed—giving Stormont even more of a free hand in doing what they liked to Catholics whilst absolving Westminster of the responsibility for this. In that it undoubtedly succeeded for 50 years until the events of August 1969 changed everything.

The establishment of a unique constitutional arrangement of a 'statelet' within a state, outside its party politics, went against all historical precedent and could only have been a deliberate policy on the part of the great statesmen (Lloyd George, Churchill etc.) who organised it. Even if it was accepted that Partition was "a necessary evil," the form of government imposed on the Six Counties could not have been worse.

Henry Harrison was prepared to give Britain the benefit of the doubt for Partitioning Ireland if it had done this as an honest attempt to deal with the Ulster complication. But he was completely correct in arguing that Britain did not Partition Ireland and establish NI as a reluctant necessity but as an active Imperial policy in its own interests, which brought nothing resembling 'good government' to the Six Counties and has had disastrous effects for both Ulster Protestant and Irish Catholic to this day. **Pat Walsh (Dr.)**

PRESCRIPTION continued

nosing Attention Deficit, Hyperactivity Disorder One of several studies now accumulating strong data on the subject include "*The importance of Relative Standards in A.D.H.D diagnosis*" (JHealth ECON 2010, September 29(5); 641-656).

The above looked at just one variable fact and how it could affect by a large percentage whether a child member of a cohort is likely to be diagnosed with the syndrome using contemporary common practice. The variable is age i.e taking classes or grades of pupils and comparing the youngest whose date of birth was closest to the school start of the year date and the oldest whose date of birth was farthest from school start of year date.

Over a number of grades: diagnoses in the younger group was 8.4% while for the eldest it was 5.1%. When returned to later 5th to 8th graders, younger pupils were twice as likely to have been prescribed with stimulants than the elder group.

Provision of psychostimulants to children in the United States grew by 700% between 1991 and 2005.

According to a Bloom & Cohen report 2007, up to the year 2006, 4.5 million children in the United States had been diagnosed with ADHD and a cluster of similar syndromes and that regularly 2.5 million are being given medication to treat the syndrome.

The now notorious Ritalin which is methylphenidate as well as the amphetamine based Adderall and Dexedrine are very big business. The *Early Childhood Longitudinal—Study Kindergarten Cohort Study* points to alarming incidences of persistent cardiovascular changes among children on such medication.

What the more even-handed commentators have consistently been saying is that the use of so much medication is questionable when the syndrome is "*not solely based on neurological conditions*" (American Psychiatric Association-2000).

So we are told that in the noughties the average spend in the United States economy on the above medications went from an annual \$1.6 billion dollars to \$2.5 billion dollars, 20% of which was paid for by Medicaid. There is the admission that the B-SM.N criteria for ADHD diagnosis is "*deeply flawed*".

Many academic statistical problems are presented; important factors that have to be looked at include sibling issues, maternal education, race, birth weight and other factors.

If someone gets to the age of 20 without seriously being messed up : one is lucky!

Seán O Riain

GUILDS continued

DIVISION OF LABOUR

Before this came to pass the original small craftsman was divided in three individuals: the merchant who bought raw materials and sold manufactured goods but produced nothing; the manufacturer, who owned, perhaps, the buildings in which production was done, the machines or appliances, and paid the workers, himself being the owner of the finished goods; and the workman, who worked with his own power or operated a machine which was his masters's property, and who received in return a wage.

By this time the Guilds had no longer a voice in the control of "big industry". Their writ ran only in the smaller crafts. Indeed, the great Guilds either disappeared or separated themselves from the original crafts Guilds, and ceased to have any, or at most only a nominal, connection with the crafts whose names they retained. Renard is, therefore, correct when he says that "*the great capitalists, whether bankers, merchants or great manufacturers, voluntarily formed themselves into a separate group and, as far as possible, cut themselves clear of the trammels of the Guild system*".

ADAM SMITH

The position of the Guilds seemed helpless and hopeless. The desire to save labour was against them; the advent of machinery was against them; and fashion, or the desire for change in goods, was against them. To make things worse, skilful propagandists were opposed to them. The Guilds were opposed in the name of liberty and equality; and they were assailed as opposed to the interests of the producer and of the consumer. Adam Smith, the apostle of free trade, and therefore the opponent of industrial control, argued that apprenticeship is no guarantee that work will be well done, that the best trained man can, if he be dishonest, do bad work. The only effective test of good material and first-class work is, he says, the public market.

COMPETITION

What is sound and well-done will be bought; what is defective will remain with the seller. Competition, not, protection, is the only guarantee of good material, good workmanship, and low prices. Protection and the Guilds and the Guild system are not merely useless but injurious, he says; and he sums up his general position thus :

"The pretense that corporations are necessary for the better government of the trade is without any foundation. The

real and effectual discipline which is exercised over a workman is not that of his corporation but that of his customers. It is the fear of losing their employment which restrains his frauds and corrects his negligence. An exclusive corporation necessarily weakens the force of this discipline" (Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Routledge, London, 1776, pp.102, 96, 540)

"The institution of long apprenticeships can give no security that insufficient workmanship shall not frequently be exposed to public sale. When this is done, it is generally the effect of fraud and not of inability; and the longest apprenticeship can give no security against fraud.

"All systems either of preference or of restraint being thus completely taken away, the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord. Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his interest his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with those of any other man, or order of men. The sovereign is completely discharged from a duty, in the attempting to perform which he must always be exposed to innumerable delusions, and for the proper performance of which no human wisdom or knowledge could ever be sufficient : the duty of superintending the industry of private people, and of directing it towards the employments most suitable to the interest of the society" (Adam Smith, pp.102, 96, 540).

In England, the Guild system died, of inanition. Until 1835 the Guilds retain, on paper, their monopoly. In that year, it was abolished by the Municipal Corporations Act, which stated: "*Every person in any borough may keep any shop for the sale of all lawful wares and merchandises by wholesale or retail, and use every lawful trade, occupation, mistery and handicraft for hire, gain, sale or otherwise within any borough*".

But long before that the Guilds had ceased to exercise their legal powers and had become, what they still are in some places, friendly societies for the rich, inglorious relics of a once magnificent system.

"They [the guilds] afford us the only instance of industrial democracy throughout the whole extent of the world's history" (Joseph Husslein, S.J., *Democratic Industry*, P. J. Kennedy & Sons, New York, 1919, p.175)

References:

Georges Renard, *Guilds in the Middle Ages*, with an introduction by G. D. H. Cole. G. Bell and Sons. London. 1919. p.113.
Rev. George Clune, D.Ph., P.P., *The Medieval Gild System*, Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1943.

Henri Pirenne (1862-1935) Belgian historian considered one of the most eminent scholars of both the Middle Ages and Belgian national development.

Henry Somerville, *Why the Guilds Decayed*. Paulist Press. New York. 1938.

(To be continued)

Read that Prescription: TWICE!

Is one of the primary comforts of early 21st century life the fact we live longer and that we can rely on cradle to grave services that are appropriate as regards infrastructure and staffed by people of a trustworthy calibre? Or could it be that when one scratches the surface a little—we find the foundations of our hopes are built on sand?

Over-prescription of pharmaceuticals by many medics, along with the lack of accountability by the giant chemical companies themselves, might lead one to a more distressful view of things.

In the United States as early as 1993 *The Los Angeles Times* had highlighted that Poopulsid could cause cardiac arhythmias. Several years later it was prescribed to a seven-year-old Canadian child, Terrence Young, for heartburn leading to his fatality. For a decade his family fought for justice. Then last year they finally got Bill C-17 passed in the Canadian Parliament to better govern the use of similar medicines on children ([Wordpress.com](#)) Dec 6, 2013.

Over time the Medical profession has not covered itself in glory. The elite tries to sideline any member who tries to point out the emperor's lack of clothing. Dr. Nancy Andreassen was a former Editor of '*American Journal of Psychiatry*'. She spearheaded a critical study: "*A longitudinal study of First Episode-schizophrenic*", Arch Gen Psychiatry 2011, Feb G8(2)12837.

Ever since she has been pilloried and her work traduced by the benchmark of our near neighbour the Royal College of Psychiatrists.

Andreassen's work pointed to the strong possibility that in cases of diagnosed schizophrenia or psychosis depending on dosage and when the patient was initially put on the treatment "*the antipsychotic drugs they have been exposed to can lead to brain shrinkage*". It seems that the over-sensitivity to commercial bad publicity by the medical elite is immense.

Or how about the fact that we possibly poison our children regularly, often based on the highly dubious methods for diag-

continued on page 29

GUILDS continued

It was recognised by the friends of the system that the Guilds were losing the old spirit. They were intended to serve the community, to keep their members "*in peace, wealth and tranquility*", and to maintain "rule and order" amongst their journeymen and apprentices. Instead of achieving this, they were bringing neither "*profit not commodity*" to the city, according to the *Records of Norwich* (1543).

The internal harmony of the Guilds began to disappear. Journeymen, as had been seen, formed their own organisations, thus breaking up the Guild unity; Guilds began to amalgamate, partly for financial reasons—which is intelligible—but partly for economic reasons, one Guild gaining superiority over others by the fact that it had acquired a position of special importance in the process of manufacture.

LIVERY COMPANIES

Distinctions between those who were "*of the livery*" and those who were not became an issue. The external appearance of this arose with the livery uniform. This was a Guild uniform, and was meant to be, and was a bond of union; but when differences of wealth began to appear and were paraded by the nouveaux-riches, a costlier livery was insisted on, and the wearing of it at Guild functions was made *de riguer*. That at once excluded the poorer brethren; and so the Guilds were split in two, those who were of the livery and those who were not. It was a division into rich and poor—which, of course, brought to an end the old spirit of brotherhood and solidarity.

PRIVILEGE WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY

In the meantime the position was steadily getting worse in other ways. Mastership was no longer a guarantee of the required standard of craftsmanship. Actually, letters of mastership were sometimes sold to the highest bidder; and even officerships were put on sale by Guilds that were in debt. Privilege without responsibility was coming into being. A "*master-craftsman*" who was not a master of his craft was emptying his title of all meaning.

"The Act of 1437 represented that 'the masters, wardens and people of the gilds... make themselves many unlawful and unreasonable ordinances... for their singular profit and common damage to the people'; and ordered that they should submit their ordinances to justices of the

peace in counties or to "the chief governors" of cities and towns" (E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, Vol. 1., London, 1926, p.370).

"Not merely were the journeymen, seeing that the avenues to mastership were closed in practice against them, beginning to form their own guilds, but the poorer masters found that they were being pushed down to the foot of the ladder; and the richer masters were taking on the function of employers rather than of workers, getting their poorer brethren to work for them.

"The worker had become a worker and nothing more; he did not own the material; frequently he did not own the tools with which he worked; he owned only his house and his time-table; and he was paid by the piece. It was becoming clear that work would be facilitated and better controlled if the workers were gathered together under one roof—that is to say, the factory system was being thought of,—even before the arrival of the machine age.

"However, the government saw that capital was being used to concentrate industrial ownership; and in the cloth trade it intervened to limit the number of looms which any man might own and employ" (Rev. George Clune).

FLIGHT FROM TOWNS

One other internal cause of Guild decay needs to be mentioned, the flight from the towns. Journeymen could not set up for themselves within the area of jurisdiction of the Guilds, and accordingly they left the towns and established themselves outside, where the Guild regulations did not apply.

All this was a change from the earlier co-operation and fraternalism.

"Professor Pirenne contrasted the outlook of the mediaeval middle class, intent on the conservation of corporate and local privileges, with that of the new plutocracy of the 16th century, with its international ramifications, its independence of merely local interests, its triumphant vindication of the power of the capitalist to dispense with the artificial protection of gild and borough and carve his own career. 'No one can deny', wrote the foreign merchants at Antwerp to Philip II, in protest against an attempt to interfere with the liberty of exchange transactions, 'that the cause of the prosperity of this city is the freedom granted to those who trade there'. Swept into wealth on the crest of a wave of swiftly expanding enterprise, which a century before would have seemed the wildest of fantasies, the liberal bourgeoisie of Antwerp pursued, in the teeth of all precedents, a policy of practical individualism, which would have been met in any other city by rebellion."

To make things worse, difficulties came

on the Guilds from without.

STATES OF EUROPE

In the 15th century the great States of Europe began to emerge, and the numerous divisions and sub-divisions of the Middle Ages began to disappear. Cities and towns ceased to be isolated and independent; they began to be parts of a larger whole, and not even parts of equal importance; for one became the capital, and the other fell to an inferior position.

Thus, local economy became more difficult, and finally became almost impossible, being replaced by an economy which was national. The market ceased to be largely local and included the whole country; the central authority tried to legislate for the industry of the country as a whole, to unify the many local regulations, to suppress the tolls which obstructed the passage of goods across bridges and into towns, to reconcile the interests of different regions. This new economy copied the methods of that of the towns, and sought to make the country as a whole self-sufficient industrially and economically.

This was a revolutionary change for the towns. Each of them was now increasingly in competition with every other. It disliked the new conditions; but it had to accept them or die.

Not only the internal but the external market grew. As sea-routes were opened up, the whole world began to develop into one single market.

NEW METHODS OF PRODUCTION

To satisfy this enlarged clientele, production had to be increased, and as quickly as possible lest rivals capture the new market. New methods of production were called for, and capital began to assume a vastly increased importance. To produce on an increased scale, more workers were required; to produce cheaply and thus capture the market, wages had to be low; and so, ignoring the apprentice system, the manufacturer hired anybody who could work—women, children, country-people, foreigners. In England labour was plentiful, for the people were being driven from the land and were crowding into the towns, hoping to earn sufficient to keep them alive.

Production had become divided between several operatives to secure increased output, and thus save time and expense. Mechanical power was still wanting to increase production still further, and ultimately it was provided. The workers were then gathered together to work with the machines under one roof, and our modern system was in operation.

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Downfall Of The Guilds

"The essence of the gild system consisted in the fact that it was a handicraft system operated by small owners, and that the control of each gild was in the hands of the workers themselves, who exercised control through a governing authority which was appointed by and responsible to them, which took into consideration welfare of the community as well as that of their own members, and which discharged its dual function under the surveillance and active control of the municipality and the State" (Rev. George Clune, D.Ph., P.P., *The Medieval Gild System*, Browne and Nolan, Dublin, 1943.

What were the influences that bought about the decay and the downfall of the Guild system?

The system depended for its proper functioning on a proper balance between the three grades of workers. Rules were drawn up limiting the number of apprentices and journeymen and prohibiting the taking as journeymen of individuals who had not served an apprenticeship. These rules were, in the course of time, violated, the masters taking on so many apprentices that the journeymen found their prospects of getting work appreciably diminished, and the journeymen realised that they had to work in competition with untrained men who would naturally work for lower wages.

RIGHT OF SEARCH

The right of search was a guarantee of sound material and good workmanship; but this right ceased to be enforced. Indeed, officers found that by extorting bribes to buy their silence they could make money out of offences.

PROFESSIONS

The practice of several professions was forbidden, that every man might get a chance; cornering of raw materials had been regarded as a most serious offence; selling goods below the price fixed by the Guilds was strictly forbidden; no master

might entice away another's working man or another's client; but all these regulations came to be broken in course of time.

FEEES

Excessive fees were being charged on entry upon apprenticeship and on admission to the freedom of the Guild. Ultimately the State was forced to enact in 1531 that henceforth no apprentice should be required to pay more than 2/6 when starting his apprenticeship and not more than 3/4 when his term was completed.

These and similar abuses, not great in themselves but indicative of an ailing condition, began to show themselves in the 15th century, and became general later.

MASTERSHIP

Mastership, which at first was open to every qualified applicant, became more and more exclusive. The craftsmen had a monopoly but after some time they proceeded to use it for their own aggrandisement, forgetting their obligations in regard to the common good and not realising that others had an equal right to live. They set about excluding competitors; they

demanded impossible fees; made the production of expensive masterpieces necessary. Some Guilds refused to admit new masters for 10 years; some pushed their opposition a bit further and made mastership hereditary.

"To make matters worse, gild members were becoming indifferent in regard to their obligations. They did not attend the regular assemblies, and fines had to be imposed on those who were absent, as also on those who failed to attend the gild Mass and obsequies for deceased members" (Ibid, p.198).

GUILD OLIGARCHY

The natural result was that, because of the indifference referred to and because of a reluctance on the part of those elected to accept office, the control of affairs passed into the hands of a few. There arose a tendency to perpetuate officerships in certain families. Sometimes officers could nominate their successors. The electoral lists were reduced so as to include only the oldest members. So, a permanent oligarchy, sometimes a Guild dynasty, generally based on riches, and in any case consisting of those whose own interests came first in their thoughts, came into being. Guild democracy was losing its meaning.

The Guild regulations were sometimes such as to antagonise, if not to exasperate, those who could provide better ways for doing work. "In 1765", says Renard, "on the eve of those great inventions which were entirely to transform working appliances, it was forbidden, under penalty of a fine, to substitute metal carders for the teazles* still in use in the greater number of the branches of the textile industry" (Teazel: used in the textile industry to raise a nap on woven cloth. Georges Renard, *Guilds in the Middle Ages*, with an introduction by G. D. H. Cole. G. Bell and Sons. London. 1919. p.113).

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