

IRISH POLITICAL REVIEW

December 2015

Vol.30, No.12 ISSN 0790-7672

and *Northern Star* incorporating *Workers' Weekly* Vol.29 No.12 ISSN 954-5891

What Everybody In The South Knows About Northern Ireland

Dublin Garda Commissioner Noirin O'Sullivan gave mortal offence to the Dublin political Establishment when she wrote, in answer to a Sinn Fein inquiry, that the Garda do not have an issue with Provo criminal activity in the Border Counties.

How did she not know what everybody knows, which is that the Provos are up to their necks in crime?

Could it be that she doesn't read the newspapers?

The newspapers all know that Provo Republicanism is a Mafia. How do they know it? They know it because everybody knows it. And how does everybody know it? Because the newspapers tell them so.

Should every Guard be obliged to read the *Irish Independent* every morning so that he'll know what's happening on his beat!

But it isn't only the papers. The leader of Fianna Fail, the cute Cork operator, Micheal Martin, announced that the Border Counties were a Twilight Zone in which the law of the land is not enforced. The dogs in the street in Cork City know that in Cavan and Monaghan—that faraway County—there is lawless anarchy. And if it appears to the superficial observers, like the Garda Commissioner, that life is orderly there, that is only because the Provo Mafia keeps it orderly. And that, of course, is worse than disorder.

Sunday Independent opinion-former, penitent IRA man Eoghan Harris, who has copyrighted a notion of truth which is independent of fact, says: "*Garda chief fails to clear up confusion left by letter*" (Oct. 25).

The "*confusion*" is the factual statement that "*An Garda Siochana hold no information or intelligence to support the assertion of Mr. Cusack that 'the Provisional IRA still maintains its military structure and confines its criminal activities to fuel laundering, cigarette smuggling and counterfeiting'*". (Jim Cusack is the *Sunday Independent* Witchfinder General, who specializes in lurid anti-Republican stories, sometimes contradicting himself from week to week.)

continued on page 2

Irish Labour Pain

The Irish Labour Party denied itself the opportunity to become the second party in the state following the collapse of Fianna Fail at the last election. It had for generations been cursing the inheritance of "*civil war politics*" which prevented the establishment of a class-based party system on British lines, which it considered the normal political system for a capitalist democracy. It was condemned by civil war irrationalism to the role of minor partner in Right-Left Coalitions.

Then one half of the Civil War system collapsed, giving Labour the opportunity to take its place as the main Opposition, with a greatly enhanced probability of becoming the major party in the next Government. But it chose instead to be the minor partner in a Fine Gael Government yet again.

The ambition of its leaders was petty and personal. And, after a succession of such leaders, and a succession of such Coalitions, one wanders what substance remains in it to entitle it to be considered a party of the Left in any meaningful sense. It is the collapse of socialism in the

continued on page 5

Revisionism in real time— *the ESRI, Brexit and the Euro*

On 5th November the ESRI published its Brexit report, '*Scoping the Possible Economic Implications of Brexit on Ireland*'. The conventional wisdom in media and political circles has been that Brexit would be disastrous for Ireland, and that Irish policy should aim to accommodate the UK as far as possible in order to forestall it. The ESRI Report chimes fully with this.

However, no less than five of the eight authors accredited for producing the Report appear to be professors of economics at Trinity College Dublin. The reputation of that institution for producing historical research favouring a pro-British narrative should perhaps pre-dispose us to examine such findings more closely.

The Report considers four main areas: trade, foreign direct investment, energy,

and migration. It takes the most negative view possible of the effects of Brexit in each case and as a result reads as though it has been written to order, particularly as it appeared in the week before Kenny joined Cameron in addressing the Confederation of British Industry in London.

Regarding trade the Report states:

"Estimates from the literature suggest that a Brexit is likely to significantly reduce bilateral trade flows between Ireland and the UK. The impact could be 20 per cent or more.

continued on page 2

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
What Everybody In The South Knows About Northern Ireland. Editorial	1
Irish Labour Pain. Editorial	1
Revisionism in real time—<i>the ESRI, Brexit and the Euro.</i> Sean Owens	1
Readers' Letters: A0H And 1916. Seán McGouran	3
Ulster Says No—to leaving the EU! Sean Owens	8
EU And Migration Crisis—A Cause. Eamon Dyas	8
Gallipoli Seminar. Dave Alvey (Report of Meeting)	9
Shorts from <i>the Long Fellow</i> (Newspapers; Zarathustra in Tallaght; Property Crisis; Property Crisis Solutions; Paris)	11
The Life & Times of Frank Busteded. Brian O'Donoghue (Report on Lecture)	12
Bowen Re-Surfaces!. Jack Lane (Review of Radio Programme)	12
Seamus Murphy (1936-2015). Manus O'Riordan (Obituary)	13
A Shipyard Story. Seán McGouran (Review of Tom Thompson book)	15
Further Education and Training in Ireland—<i>Need for a Wider Debate.</i> Dave Alvey	16
The 1918 Election And The First Cork Brigade . Jimmy Crowley (Extract)	16
Index To Irish Political Review 2015.	17
The Wars In Kerry. John Morgan (Lt. Col. Retd.) (Review of Tim Horgan's <i>Dying For The Cause</i> , Part 1)	19
Biteback: Falsifying History. Christopher Fogarty (Unpublished letter to <i>History Ireland</i>)	22
Harris And Micheál! Report	22
Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (Globalisation?)	23

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

The Mondragon Experience

Mondragon, Part 47

by Michael Murray

(back page)

Uncertain Positivity?

by Seán Ó Riain

(page 24)

Following a killing and a retaliatory killing in the North this Summer, the Secretary of State commissioned an assessment by the Northern police of "*Paramilitary Groups In Northern Ireland*". The assessment says that all groups remain in being, but only the UDA, UVF and the INLA continue to recruit: "*However, the most serious current threat in NI is not posed by these groups but by dissident republicans... who reject the 1998 Belfast Agreement*".

About the Provisional IRA:

"12. Structure: The structures of PIRA remain in existence in much reduced form. This includes a senior leadership, the Provisional Army Council, and some 'departments' with specific responsibilities at a lower level, there are some regional command structures. At this lower level, some activity takes place without the knowledge or direction of the leadership. We do not believe the group is actively recruiting. The group took part in decommissioning... but continues to have access to some weapons...

"13. Role. PIRA members believe that the PIRA oversees both PIRA and Sinn

Fein with an overarching strategy. We judge the strategy has a wholly political focus... A small number are involved in the storage of remaining weaponry in order to prevent its lost to DRs [Dissident Republicans]. Individual PIRA members remain involved in criminal activity, such as large scale smuggling and there have been isolated incidents of violence including murders...

"14; Purpose: The PIRA of the Troubles era is well beyond recall. It is our firm assessment that PIRA's leadership remains committed to the peace process and its aim of achieving a united Ireland by political means. The group is not involved in targeting or conducting terrorist attacks against the state or its representatives. There have only been very limited indications of dissent to date and we judge that this has been addressed effectively by the leadership."

The Provos made a deal with the Government and they have stuck to it. That is, in substance, what the Assessment says.

The Government has on occasion tried

to destabilize the deal with a view to reclaiming some ground in an altered deal, but has not been able to.

The Government made the deal with Sinn Fein/IRA. It had fought the IRA for close on 30 years before making the deal. It would not have made a deal of this kind if it had been able to crush the IRA. It did not imagine that the IRA would cease to exist when the deal was made, leaving Sinn Fein at the mercy of hostile Republican bodies. But, for the purpose of manipulating the Unionists into taking part in the deal, (and easing the suddenly pacifist consciences of Dublin Governments which had for 60 years asserted a Constitutional right of sovereignty over the North), it put on an elaborate business of decommissioning.

The well-known revolutionary socialist, Eamonn McCann, who has now found respect and security within the Dublin Establishment with a column in the *Irish Times*, disapproves:

"It is with peaceful intent; this week's report tells, that the IRA had held on to some of its guns, to prevent them falling into the hands of elements which haven't accepted the new dispensation. Why not just dump them in the Lagan? But here's something else well known to dogs on particular streets... the main purpose of holding on to guns is not to keep them out of the hands of dissidents but to keep dissidents down. While keeping an eye on the arsenal, PIRA members are also apparently "involved in gathering information... including details of dissident republicans and the attempted identification of covert human intelligence sources"—informers. But why should the IRA be hunting out informers?... Informing is something not only permissible but a civic duty, it seems, other times it's touting. Then there's "PIRA members believe that the [Army Council] oversees both PIRA and Sinn Fein with an overarching strategy". Which PIRA members passed this information... ?

Which information? The "information" of what they "believed".

McCann's quotation about the IRA being involved in information gathering is not from the *Assessment*, though it was no doubt said by somebody.

As for "*informing*": we were the victim of informing by somebody who was close to McCann early in his career and we have old-fashioned ideas about it. In Belfast we were tested by both sides and found to be too backward to be useful. But the present position of the Dublin Establishment, as far as we can grasp it, is that giving information to the police has always

been a public duty in the North, regardless of what the police were and what the laws were. Isn't that what Micheál Martin has been saying?

Sinn Fein, in the working out of the 1998 Agreement, recognized the police and the political situation as being sufficiently reformed to be given information to. This outraged certain Republican consciences so much that they went into alliance against Sinn Fein and the Agreement with the Dublin Establishment. The outstanding case just now is Mairia Cahill, the militant Provo Dissident, who was nominated for the Senate by Labour Party leader, Joan Burton.

The *Assessment* says that Dissident Republicans are now "*the most significant threat to Northern Ireland*" (Para 18). Dissidents are Republicans who oppose Sinn Fein because it ended the War by setting in motion the Peace Process which led to the 1998 Agreement, and because it made that Agreement workable by doing a deal with the Paisley Unionists. Micheal Martin, Joan Burton and Enda Kenny condemn Sinn Fein/IRA because it did not somehow dissolve the IRA (without which the Agreement would never have happened) and leave itself helpless against the Dissidents when entering the devolved Government under the terms of the Agreement. (And, although they are coy on the matter, the implication of what they say is that Sinn Fein/IRA was never anything but a criminal racket and should never have existed.)

Joan Burton and Mairia Cahill are vehemently opposed to the IRA for opposite reasons—but in the condition to which Southern political life has fallen that makes them firm allies.

The British can make a calm assessment of the part being played by Sinn Fein/IRA in the post-revolution political evolution of the North. But it's easy for them. They turned the Six County region of their state into a political Limbo back in 1921. The British parties do not contest Six County seats of their Parliament (with the exception of a belated half-hearted effort by the Conservatives).

But consider the plight of poor Micheal Martin and poor Joan Burton, with their votes seeping away to Sinn Fein.

About fifteen years ago both Fianna Fail and Labour made a gesture towards extending their party activity across the Border and taking on Sinn Fein on its home ground. It was an empty gesture. And the next thing they knew was that Sinn Fein had reasserted itself as a

AOH And 1916

In 'Caps Back To Front' (*Irish Political Review*, November 2015) Lt. Col. (Retd) John Morgan, in paragraph four describes the involvement of the Hibernian Rifles in the Easter Rising as "incongruous". That is because of their attachment to the AOH (Ancient Order of Hibernians), which was Joe Devlin's instrument used to control the 'Irish Party', known on the ground as the United Irish League, because the three factions; Parnellites, anti-Parnellites, and Tim Sullivan's independent group, united under Redmond in 1898.

The AOH was a rather 'baggy' phenomenon, Devlin's group, which became by far the largest in Ireland was set up by the Scottish extension of the USA—the original—AOH. Devlin made the Irish organisation part of Redmond's set up, it was Home Rule and 'constitutionalist'. The Hibernians in America were Fenian, and the Fenians—if it were necessary—was revolutionary; in the sense that if making Ireland an independent state, preferably a Republic, involved armed force, they were prepared to use armed force. The AOH in America were republican, they'd have been a very odd US organisation if they weren't. The 'Fenianism' was partly due to Clan{n} na {n}Gael / IRB manoeuvring. There was a dispute in the (AOH) organisation as to whether it should be an 'Irish' (first generation) or 'Irish American' body, They decided that pedantry about ancestry was a bit pointless at the turn of the 19th / 20th century. That was the period when IRB control was consolidated, despite Home Ruler resentment, and counter-skulduggery.

The AOH (Irish-American Alliance) this title, or sub-title, has led to some confusion, the 'Irish' and the 'American' should be given equal weight. American Hibernians would have been treated as 'brethren', but have been ordinary members of the group, which was, largely, 'un-hyphenated' Irish, the AOH IAA, in its publications never referred to Americans or US citizens in its ranks. I dealt with the organisation some time ago in (some publication or other), and probably a pamphlet should be produced about this small, but important, element in the Rising. The Hibernian Rifles, like the ICA (Irish Citizen Army) became part of the IRA, while the AOH IAA, along with a group centred on Belfast, became the Knights of Saint Columbanus.

Seán McGouran

functional all-Ireland Party and was taking them on on their home ground, and doing very well against them.

How could they think calmly and seriously about really serious business in the North, in which they have no political stake, when they are in the grip of electoral passion, in the part of the country in which they have confined themselves?

Any ally against Sinn Fein is a good ally in their eyes. And so they have put Mairia Cahill in the Senate.

The fact that she resigned from Sinn Fein on the issue of recognizing the Northern police was barely reported in Southern news. When it was forced into the news in recent weeks, she asked for her past to be forgotten—while at the same time she pursues her vendetta.

What put her politically active past into the news was the decision of Catherine McCartney, a high-profile anti-Provo campaigner, to take legal action against Mairia Cahill for harassment. Finding that her case was being ignored by the Southern media, she wrote to every TD and Senator with a brief account of her reasons for believing Ms Cahill should not be elected to the Senate. (As the poll was a by-election, the electorate was

limited to parliamentarians.) That letter received minimal publicity in the media, and the salient facts about Ms Cahill's opposition to the Northern Ireland police were widely not reported. For that reason, we reproduce Catherine McCartney's letter of 9th November below.

"Dear Deputies,

I am writing to express my concern of, and my objection to, Ms Cahill's nomination to the Seanad. This is on the grounds of her involvement in the dissident group RNU [Republican Network For Unity], as highlighted by Mr Beades and others over the weekend. Furthermore, the outright refusal of the Labour Party to provide a comprehensive explanation in relation to this matter only adds injury to families such as my own.

As you will be aware my brother, Robert, was murdered by the IRA and Sinn Fein members in 2005, and in the aftermath the IRA embarked on a cover up, which rendered any prospect of justice impossible. A key and essential factor in our campaign was pressuring republicans to cooperate with the PSNI and due to this stance my family suffered greatly.

- o A picket held outside my brother's house (causing my 4 year old nephew to vomit with anxiety)
- o Robert's friend was badly beaten

- o We were issued with death threats
- o My sister and brother's fiancée (and two children had to leave the area)
- o We were vilified and condemned
- o Our lives were completely transformed due to his murder and our campaign.

This did not deter us in our quest for justice however; a quest we continue to this day. When SF did sign up to policing, some of those involved in Robert's murder moved to the dissident groups in protest.

If the revelations regarding Ms Cahill are accurate, then she also moved to the dissidents in opposition to SF's shift on policing. It has been cited in the press that Ms Cahill was the National Secretary of RNU from 2010-2011, a very senior position. This cannot be regarded as a minor issue or an irrelevance to the appointment to a political office. I would also like it noted that Ms Cahill did not inform me of her involvement in RNU when I brought her into my home in 2011. On the contrary, she claimed not to be involved and to be in fear of them. It now appears that at this time she was National Secretary.

Ms Cahill's nomination to the Seanad, in the absence of any full explanation for her involvement in a group which was actively discouraging people to engage with the police, is unacceptable and a gross undermining of victims of the IRA and dissident republicans. I fail to understand how a family like our own can ask political parties to hold SF to account regarding matters of truth and justice, (issues which remain at the forefront of peace process) whilst at the same time those parties ask no questions of Ms Cahill, and provide no answers to the public.

I have been silent on the issues surrounding Ms Cahill's case. This is due to civil proceedings in process regarding a harassment case I have taken against Ms Cahill.

In 2011 I invited Ms Cahill into my home, because I believed her to be a woman facing a similar experience to our own (i.e. coming up against the Provos). I supported her as a woman, a feminist and a justice campaigner. I did not allow her previous involvement in SF to cloud my judgement of her experience or need.

I am now aware that I was not given the full facts and circumstances of Ms Cahill's position and activities. I have decided to write this letter because I believe the same now applies to the public, who deserve better from democratic politicians. Also, I believe that as a family seeking justice this appointment will leave us isolated from those political parties who support this nomination (without providing a full explanation acceptable to victims of the IRA and dissidents). The duplicity inherent in the lack of trans-

parency and honesty relating to Ms Cahill's role would make it difficult for me to engage on basis of integrity and independence.

I will leave it to your judgement regarding her suitability in the light of the revelations, but would ask that you demand a full and comprehensive explanation to be provided and published. This would be with a view to protecting the integrity of victims of republican violence, past and present. I feel I must mention one more thing. In a message to me, Mairia Cahill claims to have recorded me without my knowledge and expressly infers that she will use this material to damage me in some way. It is my view, and I'm sure the public would agree, that this behaviour is not befitting of a member of the Seanad and should also be addressed. I would hope that you receive this on the basis upon which it is sent - a genuine and proven concern for matters relating to the rule of law, justice and truth.

Yours respectfully,
Catherine McCartney
(sister of Robert McCartney)"

*

Dublin Establishment denunciation of Sinn Fein reached a new extreme of absurdity last month. Commerce Minister Richard Bruton condemned the party for making the British Government itself legislate the imposition of the social welfare cuts in the North which Westminster was insisting on.

Social Welfare is devolved to the subordinate Six County Government under the Agreement. Sinn Fein refused to make the cuts in the North which Westminster was making in Britain. It wished to spend part of the general Budget allocation from Whitehall in ways to protect those depending on welfare to survive. The Northern Ireland administration was entitled to do this. But Whitehall insisted that there should be uniform social welfare cuts throughout the UK. As the sovereign Government of the state, it had the power to do so—if not the right to do so under the terms of the Agreement. When the devolved Government did not obey Whitehall's orders to make the cuts, Whitehall imposed a hefty fine on it for every month of its disobedience, in effect reducing its Budget allocation.

The Dublin Government is supposedly a Guarantor of the Agreement. It was its business as guarantor to hold Whitehall to account for breach of the Agreement. But, instead of doing that, it condemned Sinn Fein for standing by the rights of the devolved Government under the Agreement, and for not obeying Whitehall orders in breach of those rights.

An impasse was reached in the dispute, threatening the continued existence of devolved Government. All-party talks led to an Agreement called *Fresh Start* under which the devolved administration will be able to partially protect welfare recipients for some years.

However, rather than legislating the cuts to welfare in Belfast, it was agreed that Stormont would pass legislation allowing Britain to include Northern Ireland in its welfare cuts plans in this instance. As we understand it, welfare remains a devolved matter under the Good Friday Agreement, but the devolved Government will allow Westminster the power to enforce its reduced welfare standards.

If Sinn Fein had agreed to the devolved Government making the cuts at the outset, it would have been jubilantly described in the Dail as an *austerity* party. Because it refused to make the cuts, and obliged the State Government to over-ride the devolved authority and impose the cuts, it is denounced as acting slavishly under British *diktat*.

Apparently this procedure of allowing Westminster to legislate on devolved matters has been used 40 times over the years, but never on a contentious issue before. According to the make-believe of the devolved system, Westminster can only act directly on devolved matters with the consent of the devolved parliament. The power which it devolved has to be returned to it so that it can act. Although this has been done forty times since the present arrangement was set up, none of the 39 previous instances was commented on by Dublin. Probably it didn't even notice them. But it has raised a hullabaloo about the fortieth instance.

This would be commendable if Dublin had been standing up against Whitehall in support of the rights of the devolved authority—but that is something it is inherently incapable of doing.

Sinn Fein might have blocked the formal return of power to the sovereign Government, but that would not have prevented the sovereign Government from acting. It is unquestionably sovereign, and Dublin formally recognised its sovereignty when it repealed its own sovereignty claim in 1998.

One might argue that Sinn Fein should have pressed the issue to the point of collapsing the devolved system. It chose not to push the matter so far, and to gain some financial benefit for the North from a lesser crisis.

Labour Pain

continued

Labour Party that has spawned the array of Independents in the Dail.

Labour certainly does not have the substance that would enable class-based politics to be based on it in a way that would influence the general system of the state. Indeed Pat Rabbitte, following Tony Blair's transformation of the British Labour Party, announced that Irish Labour had become a party for business people.

Blair won two Elections with his skilful opportunism—or was it three? Irish Labour, facing an Election following three years in clover, has reduced itself to the status of fourth party of the state—when it might have been a clear second with a good chance of being first. Eamon Gilmore, who replaced Rabbitte as leader but is now retiring from politics, has published a turgid apologia for the conduct of Labour during the last four years. It will probably bring him a few extra quid on top of all his salaries and pensions.

Pat Rabbitte warned British Labour against electing Leftist Jeremy Corbyn as leader. He regards himself as being wise in his generation. He knows that the Left is a spent force and that progress is the monopoly of the business interest.

We predicted that, if Corbyn was elected Party leader, that fact of itself would shift the ground of British politics leftward long before the next Election. And that has already happened. Before he was elected Leader, the Blairites in British Labour, who regard Corbyn much as Rabbitte does, acted sensibly and supported the austerity measures of the Tory Government. After he was decisively elected Leader, they were preparing to gang up on Corbyn and squeeze him out as a Looney Left maverick—only to see the Tory Government suddenly respond to the Corbyn phenomenon by scrapping a raft of austerity measures that pre-Corbyn Labour had supported.

Revisionism in real time

continued

While the 20 per cent estimate is an average figure, the impact would differ significantly across sectors and products. For merchandise trade in particular, trade is very concentrated in a few product types, which implies that increased trade barriers for the most important products would have a particularly significant impact on total trade volumes."

The 20% figure produced suitably scary headlines and gave Enda something to talk about during his play date with Cameron, but it is premised on the worst case Brexit scenario of "increased trade barriers".

But who said anything about increased trade barriers? There are various models for a possible future trading relationship between a Brexit UK and the EU, with the most likely one being UK participation in the European Economic Area/European Free Trade Area—like Norway, Iceland, Switzerland and Liechtenstein. This would give both parties more or less the same access to each other's markets that they have now, with agriculture and fisheries excepted.

Neither party has any interest in erecting barriers to trade and not even the most rabid British euro-sceptics have suggested doing so, so why should we expect that they would do so? And in any case, are we not about to enter the Brave New World of TTIP where trade relations are to be governed by a trade agreement even more supra-national than the EU?

The most interesting aspect of the Report is the extent to which it shows, perhaps unintentionally, the dramatic proportional *reduction* in the scale of Ireland's trading relationship with the UK since both countries joined the EU. Thus:

"The share of Irish exports destined for the UK reached 56.3 percent in 1974 but by 2014 the proportion of exports destined for the UK was just over 15 per cent. The

UK is now the second largest export destination for Irish merchandise exports with the US accounting for over 22 per cent of merchandise exports in 2014."

The Report does not seek to emphasize the fact that merchandise exports to Europe are more than double the volume to the UK.

However: "*The UK continues to be the most important source for merchandise imports and accounted for 32.2 per cent of merchandise imports.*"

With regards to trade in services, the UK accounts for 17.8% of services exports and just 10.6% of services imports, behind the US (24.1%) and even the Netherlands (16.0%).

In any case, the trajectory of UK/Ireland trade as a proportion of total Irish trade is either static (merchandise imports), or in decline (the rest).

There has also been considerable bleating about the effect of Brexit on trade with Northern Ireland, yet the figures do not actually *show* much of a trading relationship, at least in terms of merchandise, which the Report finds "*surprising*":

"While in 1974, 47 per cent of Irish merchandise exports were destined for Great Britain and 9.3 per cent destined for Northern Ireland, this share has declined to 13.3 per cent and 1.8 per cent respectively".

And:

"Likewise the share of imports into Ireland from Northern Ireland peaked in 1981 accounting for 5.1 per cent but has declined to just 1.8 per cent by 2014."

For services, the picture is not particularly clear, but it seems that services exports from Northern Ireland to the Republic are a significant proportion of its total services exports (between 29 and 37.5%) and figures for exports from the Republic to the North are not given.

The really problematic issue regarding trade between Northern Ireland and the Republic in recent years has been the fact

To buy books published by

Athol Books,

The Aubane Historical Society,

And

The Belfast Historical and Educational Society

Go to

www.atholbooks.org

(best accessed using Firefox, Safari, or similar, NOT Internet Explorer).

Associated websites:

<http://www.david-morrison.org.uk>

<http://drpatwalsh.com>

<https://lefroggydotcom.wordpress.com>

<http://heideggerreview.org>

<http://atholstreetpeople.org>

<http://www.british-values.com>

that there is an open land border and two different currencies. Thus, when Britain devalued its currency in 2008 by over 30% against the Euro, this caused a catastrophe for the retail trade in the Republic and the Border Counties in particular. This currency disjunction will not change as a result of Brexit and, as it would not do the Report's overarching thesis any good to examine it in detail, it is accordingly elided from consideration. But further consideration of the matter might make the lack of trade between the two parts of the island seem less "surprising".

So where does the headline-grabbing 20% fall in trade figure come from?

From looking at the worst possible case scenario, that of Brexit, bypassing or ignoring the existing EU, EEA and EFTA structures and the renegotiation of a completely new bilateral trade treaty:

"Hufbauer and Schott (2009) estimate the impact of a range of different trade agreements including EU membership, EFTA membership and a **bilateral trade agreement** with the EU using a gravity model estimated with a large cross country dataset covering bilateral trade flows over the period 1976 to 2005. Their results indicate that bilateral trade between the UK and EU countries would be reduced by 21.6 per cent in the event of a Brexit where the EU and the UK would negotiate a bilateral trade agreement."

"Overall, the results from the literature suggest that the impacts of Brexit on trade are likely to be substantial. A 21.6 per cent reduction in merchandise exports to the UK as suggested by the results of Hufbauer and Schott (2009) when applied to merchandise exports from Ireland to the UK would amount to a 3.3 per cent drop in total merchandise exports from Ireland."

The Professors have thus taken an entirely unlikely hypothetical scenario, that of Brexit followed by a bilateral trade agreement negotiated from scratch, and made it their central scenario. This is the economics equivalent of interviewing the dead *a la* Peter Hart, and seems designed to serve a similar purpose.

On foreign direct investment:

"Ireland may attract additional FDI projects including some relocation of FDI from the UK. However, on the basis of patterns of the location choice of new FDI projects in Europe over the past ten years, the expected additional attractiveness of Ireland to new FDI projects is likely to be small."

The probability of new FDI to various EU countries was—

"computed on the basis of an econometric model that links the location of new foreign affiliates to country level factors found to influence the location choice of multinational activities. These include factors such as market size, market potential, labour costs, human capital, proximity to other foreign affiliates, trade and investment barriers, and corporate taxation."

Thus new FDI would be attracted to other European countries rather than to Ireland. However there is no granularity in the analysis as it considers FDI in general. FDI for manufacturing purposes could be expected to have very different requirements from that for services, and FDI into the UK has a striking characteristic—over 45% of it relates to financial services. This specific characteristic is mentioned in the Report, but its implications are downplayed:

"The analysis in this report highlights the importance of the broad Financial Services sector in relation to both services trade and FDI. With the UK significantly specialised in Financial Services, Brexit could have particularly significant impacts on this sector. However, given that the financial services sector encompasses many subsectors and is geographically fragmented it is difficult to assess the impact of Brexit with published data."

And:

"a more detailed understanding of the likely impacts of Brexit on the Financial Services sector in Ireland is needed".

Well, yes, and perhaps when you have done it you will be in a better position to make authoritative pronouncements about it!

Meanwhile, Ireland is already a significant competitor against the UK in this field and it would not take a very large exodus from the City of London to produce quite dramatic gains in the sector in Dublin. According to Enda Kenny, the Report "*debunks*" the notion of an FDI bonanza in the event of Brexit, but it does nothing of the sort.

In relation to energy, the Report does not foresee any major difficulties as the introduction of tariffs would be unlikely and electricity interconnectivity between the two islands is governed by bilateral agreements. In relation to security of supply it suggests that in some circumstances an expensive interconnector to France might be necessary. It does not mention the fact that electricity in France is much cheaper than in Ireland or the UK and that such an interconnector might well be a logical step in any event.

Finally in respect of migration, the relevant arrangement is a bilateral one, the Common Travel Area, rather than a European one. Brexit could potentially change that, given that part of the UK's problem with Europe, allegedly, is migration. However, it is hard to see what either side would gain from doing so.

The Report puts the number of migrants to Britain at 60,000 between 2011 and 2013 and a model is used which shows that retention of such numbers within Ireland would depress wages by up to 4%. This might also arise if EU migrants were forced to avoid the UK as a result of Brexit and to seek work instead in Ireland. This is a potentially far greater problem than the entirely fanciful reductions in trade imagined in the earlier part of the Report. However, even here, there is an upside of sorts, in that GNP, GNP per worker and overall employment would be expected to rise in such an event.

The Report ignores the fact that one of Cameron's aims is allegedly to reduce EU migration to Britain while remaining *inside* the EU and is proposing to cut migrants benefits to bring this about. Thus the migrant flows it frets over will potentially arise, Brexit or not.

It is very clear that this ESRI Report was produced for propaganda purposes and bears no relation to any likely scenario. Realistically, there is only a downside for the UK if it chooses Brexit. For Ireland there is huge potential upside from an expansion in the services sector, and in particular financial services, which the ESRI and TCD have not gotten around to looking at yet. **This is despite having had three years since Cameron's announcement of a referendum in which to do so.**

A welcome contrast to the doom and gloom of the ESRI was a survey published in the same week by accountants BDO. It found that a large majority of Irish businesses were relatively unconcerned by the prospect of Brexit with only a small minority "*very concerned*". The view of the people who actually produce and sell actual goods and services therefore seems to run directly counter to that of the people who produce only Reports. Denis Staunton in the *Irish Times* opined that "*Perhaps the Taoiseach should consider sending a similar message to Irish businesses as he did to their counterparts in London on Monday*". Alternatively, perhaps he should consider listening to people who do things in the real world for a living instead of agenda-driven academics.

TAKEN TO TUSH

David Cameron's letter to EU Commission President, Donald Tusk, of 10th November set out his four demands or proposals for renegotiation. The reaction to the list has been generally underwhelming, with the *Economist* describing them as "*variously symbolic and uncontentious*", with the "*most troublesome ask, the four-year benefit freeze, he {Cameron—S.O.} downgraded from a firm request to an indication of the kind of arrangement that he would like to reach*". So there is nothing to worry about; the rest of Europe should just be reasonable and give him what he wants.

According to his letter Cameron's proposals are as follows:

1. Economic Governance: Britain and Denmark have opt-outs from the single currency, but "*for now there are nine of us outside*". Of course those outside, apart from Britain and Denmark, are obliged by their treaty of accession to join the Eurozone eventually, but the Eurozone crisis has given them an excuse not to do so, even if their economies otherwise meet the criteria (one of the criteria is that a country must have been a member of the Exchange Rate Mechanism for 2 years; by not joining ERM therefore countries can effectively postpone joining the Euro indefinitely).

"...we do not want to stand in the way of measures Eurozone countries decide to take to secure the long-term future of their currency. But we want to make sure that these changes will respect the integrity of the Single Market, and the legitimate interests of non-Euro members... ... Nor are we looking for a veto over what is done in the Eurozone. What we seek are **legally binding principles** that safeguard the operation of the Union for all 28 Member States and a safeguard mechanism to ensure these principles are respected and enforced."

There follows a shopping list of seven bullet points setting out these principles which must recognise that:

- * The EU has more than one currency.
- * There should be no discrimination and no disadvantage for any business on the basis of the currency of their country.
- * The integrity of the Single Market must be protected.
- * Any changes the Eurozone decides to make, such as the creation of a banking union, must be voluntary for non-Euro countries, never compulsory.
- * Taxpayers in non-Euro countries should never be financially liable for opera-

tions to support the Eurozone as a currency.

- * Just as financial stability and supervision has become a key area of competence for Eurozone institutions like the ECB, so financial stability and supervision is a key area of competence for national institutions like the Bank of England for non-Euro members.
- * And any issues that affect all Member States must be discussed and decided by all Member States.

So, although Cameron says he is not seeking a veto, it is hard to see how these "*principles*" can be construed as anything else, particularly if they are to be "*legally binding*". Recognition that the EU is a multi-currency union flies in the face of Maastricht and allows those accession countries which do not have an 'opt-out' to obtain one by the back door. It could also open the door to countries leaving the single currency, but having the option of staying in the Union, as the Finns are discussing at the moment.

The UK wants the advantages of full access to the single market, but it also wants to be able to devalue or revalue its currency at will, an option which distorts the market. This is exactly what happened during 2008, with malignant effects in Ireland in particular, when shoppers headed North in droves depriving the state of considerable tax revenues and driving businesses in Border districts to the wall.

It is clear that these demands are aimed at depriving the Euro of its status as Europe's currency. There has of course been a consistent rumble of opposition to the single currency within the Anglosphere since its inception, but so far, despite the attacks on it, it has survived and the Europeans who use it, even the Greeks who are said to be grievously disadvantaged by it, cannot imagine life without it.

When its implementation was begun after the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 the EU was much smaller, and the dollar's position as the global reserve currency was unthreatened, as was the unipolar Superpower status of the US. The Euro did not therefore pose a threat to it at that time. The EU was also led by politicians with historical perspective and vision and determination like Kohl, Mitterand and Delors, who were able to see through its implementation.

However, the US elite's globalisation project has run into difficulties in recent years. China has emerged as a serious

economic power and the West's response to Russia's recovery has been nothing short of hysterical. It is therefore unsurprising that the Anglosphere wishes to prevent further consolidation of the Eurozone, particularly its incorporation of the former Eastern Bloc countries which form a wedge between Germany and Russia. Such a consolidation would enable further de-dollarisation of trade, one of the Russian-Chinese alliance's apparent aims.

Cameron's designs on the Euro should therefore not be seen as a local spat between neighbours. The UK does not suffer under the current arrangements and in fact can operate them to its advantage when necessary. Rather, this attack on the Euro, and the essential reformulation of what Europe is, should be seen a broader context. It cannot be a coincidence that the reopening of the EU Treaties which his demands would appear to require and TTIP negotiations which will govern future trade relations with the US are both coming down the pike at the same time.

2. Competitiveness. This concerns cutting the regulatory burden. It is by far the vaguest of Cameron's four proposals and may also be somewhat irrelevant, as all EU regulation from now on will have to be considered in the light of TTIP.

3. Sovereignty. There are 3 issues here of which the first is by a long way the most far-reaching: "First, I want to end Britain's obligation to work towards an "ever closer union" as set out in the Treaty. It is very important to make clear that this commitment will no longer apply to the United Kingdom. I want to do this in a **formal, legally-binding and irreversible way**".

Britain has already availed of opt-outs in a number of specific areas and will doubtless do so again in the future, but "*ever closer union*" is the essential philosophical driver of everything else the EU does, including Cameron's much-cherished Single Market. Opting out of this relegates the EU to little more than an ad hoc trading bloc.

In addition to this, he wants to create an additional veto power by enabling groups of national parliaments to block legislation they don't like. This may be a sop towards Westminster, but it is difficult to see how it can be justified when qualified majority voting in the European Council performs exactly the same function.

The third area concerns implementation of commitments to Subsidiarity. It is the

only element in his proposals which might not damage the EU as it stands.

4. Immigration. This proposal is laughable in some ways. Which state pushed harder than any other to expand membership of the EU to Eastern Europe? When others imposed transitional restrictions on accession state migration, who exactly threw open their labour markets to the new member states' citizens and lectured the rest of Europe about competitiveness and openness?

The text of the letter on this subject is perfect in its hypocrisy, but the kernel of the actual proposal is:

"...we can reduce the flow of people coming from within the EU by reducing the draw that our welfare system can exert across Europe. So we have proposed that people coming to Britain from the EU must live here and contribute for four years before they qualify for in-work benefits or social housing. And that we should end the practice of sending child benefit overseas".

Now, by "*in-work benefits*" he means Tax Credits. And Tax Credits are not actually 'benefits'. The UK social welfare system, which administers 'benefits', does so through the Department of Work and Pensions. Tax Credits are administered through Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs and are thus part of the tax system, not the benefits system. In effect, they are an extension of the tax free allowance for the low paid and discrimination in tax matters is expressly prohibited by the EU Treaties. This also applies to direct discrimination in the matter of actual Benefits such as Child Benefit, Housing Benefits etc.

Any change in this position would require Treaty change and reopening the Treaties at this stage, with Europe already in chaos over refugee and 'terrorism' crises, would be opening a Pandora's Box. Not only that, but changes allowing for obvious discrimination against migrant workers displaced by the workings of the Single Market would likely be rejected anyway.

It is hard to identify anything in Cameron's proposals, apart from setting out exactly what Subsidiarity means, that could be accepted by the rest of the EU without it also tacitly accepting that the EU project as we have known it has come to an end. As Merkel, Hollande and Tusk are not in the same league, to say the least, as their predecessors, this might just be what happens.

The Brexit debate in Ireland has been dominated by the assumption that it would

be very bad for Ireland economically if Britain were to leave the EU. The ESRI had an opportunity to examine the matter and produce an objective Report covering both the risks and opportunities. It failed to do so, or chose not to do so, and instead unjustifiably maximised the risks and negated the opportunities.

The Government has gone along with this, or has encouraged it along. The idea of Brexit terrifies it because of what seems to be, despite a hundred years of national development, the recrudescence of a disabling Home Rule mentality. This has been assiduously cultivated through a deluge of Great War/Our War propaganda

and revisionist history, where Post-Imperial Guilt belongs to those who sought to leave the Empire.

The fear of Brexit seems to be shared, though to what extent it is difficult to say, in Paris and Berlin. They seem to believe that Europe somehow would not be Europe without Britain. But Britain's purpose in Europe is to negate it. The founders of the post-war European Community recognised this and feared Britain would do exactly what it has done and continues to do, which is disrupt it in the interests of empire. And this, among other reasons, is why Brexit should devoutly be wished for.

Sean Owens

Ulster Says No—to leaving the EU!

A poll commissioned by the *Belfast Telegraph* and published on 6th November shows that 56.5% of Northern Ireland voters would vote to remain in the EU. Only 28.3% would vote to leave, while 15.2% are still undecided but planning to vote.

The breakdown of Unionist/Nationalist voting intentions is particularly interesting. Among Unionists, 54.3% say they are planning to vote 'Leave', only 21.4% to vote 'Stay' with nearly a quarter, 24.2%, undecided.

Nationalists, SF/SDLP supporters, will vote 91.2% in favour of staying in, while 7.7% will vote to leave. Only 1.1% are still undecided

The large number of undecided Unionists is interesting. Given the importance of agriculture in the six counties and the fact that the majority of farmers are unionists, uncertainty over the future of the Common Agricultural Policy might be a factor here. They will finally have to make the unenviable choice, as used to be said, between loyalty to the Crown or half-crown!

A more significant point of note is that if the UK as a whole were to vote for Brexit and both Scotland and Northern Ireland were to vote to stay in, it is hard to see how some sort of constitutional crisis could be avoided. Perhaps another referendum in England and Wales on staying in or leaving the UK would settle matters!

Sean Owens

EU And Migration Crisis—A Cause

On 6th November, *The Correspondent*, a Dutch online journal, published an article on the situation in Romania in the context of a major Dutch bank, Rabobank, systematically buying up land in that country using a subsidiary called Rabo Farm. The article concentrated on the manner in which Rabo Bank used corrupt local officials to effectively cheat local smallholders in Romania out of their property. Undoubtedly, the nefarious practices highlighted in the article do not constitute the entire commercial activity of Rabo Bank in Romania but the fact that its land-buying activities are subsidized by the EU is worth considering in the context of what has been happening to the land market in Romania.

In 2010 a book was published called "*A Tale of Two Villages: Coerced Modernization in East European Countryside*". It

was written by Alina Mungiy-Pippidi and was based on field research that explored the experience of two villages in Romania in the transfer from communism to the post-communist world. The villages in question were Nucsoara in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains and Scornicesti in the lowlands, the birthplace of Romania's Communist leader Ceausescu. Both villages had different experiences as a result of the 1949 land collectivization with Nucsoara having been a hotbed of resistance to the collectivization programme to the extent that it remained uncollectivised during the whole communist period, while Scornicesti, a village on the plains, appears to have embraced collectivization and subsequently became industrialised and urbanized over the years. Yet, in the aftermath of the fall of communism both villages, despite their different

experiences under the collectivization programme, voted for the Communist Party in its new guise. A review of the book quotes the relevant observation thus:

"Yet despite the variation in state intervention between the two villages, their political preferences in 2001, the year of the field research, were similar. They both voted for the postcommunist party, they did not tolerate any political dissent in the village, and they were missing the former communist regime'." (Review by Denis Deletant of University College London, on Humanities and Social Science Net Online, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=31092>).

In other words, the two villages had remained steadfast in their adherence to a party that had been responsible for very different outcomes—something that the author finds incomprehensible and only explicable in terms of peasant backwardness. The same review goes on to highlight the conclusions of the Mungiu-Pippidi book in the following terms:

"Mungiu-Pippidi offers a graphic assessment: 'seven million peasants, who barely reach subsistence levels, have no idea of the difference between the political right and left, and buy on average a single toothbrush in a lifetime, pose a development problem not just for Romania, but for the European Union {EU} in general. It is hard to believe that by the twenty-first century the peasant problem in Romania has not only remained unsolved, it had actually been recreated close to its historical original, in spite of the efforts to eliminate rural underdevelopment' (p. 189). Had the majority of EU leaders not dismissed views of Mungiu-Pippidi and other leading analysts of Romania, it is hard to believe that they would have so blithely accepted that Romania was ready in January 2007 for entry into the EU."

Despite the limitations of the author's castigation of the Romanian peasants, his question regarding the reasons why Romania was deemed suitable for admission to the EU in January 2007 remains valid. Undoubtedly, one factor was the perceived need to embrace the old Soviet eastern bloc as a means of neutralizing the rise of Putin's Russia—an impulse that was reinforced by Britain's advocacy of a push-east policy as a means of weakening the EU. What we now see in terms of the migration issue is the manner in which Britain's EU policy has been successful. The implications of the premature implementation of the push-east policy were more or less inevitable because of the lack of political context to the EU's unleashing of purely economic forces on, in this example, Romania. Which brings us back

to the article in "The Correspondent". As the article says:

"In the two and a half decades since communism ended, the smallholder economy has been eroded from all sides, first as foreign-owned supermarkets drove down the value of agricultural produce, and then as the seed market was monopolized by multinationals selling seeds at vastly inflated prices.

But in Europe, the concentration of land into fewer and fewer hands has become part of our political narrative, more often categorized under 'rural development' than economic crime. Each year, the European Commission provides billions of euros to companies buying up huge tracts of land in eastern Europe, on the premise that they are assisting in land concentration and driving up land prices.

For Romania's four million smallholders, this means they are sitting on a hugely valuable resource. Since 2012, the price of land in Romania has seen a 25-fold increase, and Rabo Farm believe it will continue to grow—albeit at a slightly slower rate. Often with little in the way of market savvy, smallholders have found themselves in the middle of a world of hungry investors, and they are the only thing standing in the way of them making an awful lot of money."

(<https://decorrespondent.nl/3585/Think-land-grabbing-is-a-thing-of-the-past-Think-again/789922879350-90f224d3>)

While the flight from the land would have taken place in any case it would in all likelihood have happened at a pace that the domestic economies of these countries could absorb.

The introduction of an outside agency of mammoth proportions such as those encouraged by EU subsidies has accelerated the process to the point that it has created a social and human tragedy. But the situation is soon to get much worse.

The impact of EU policies is to drive people off the land at an ever faster rate. People displaced by such policies who could not find alternative work in the domestic economies currently have the option of moving to urbanised economies of western Europe.

However, if politicians like David Cameron are to have their way in curtailing the movement of labour, this option will no longer be as easily available. Cameron's proposal will enable the EU to continue to disrupt the local economies of Eastern European countries while, at the same time, creating the means by which the western European economies avoid paying for the consequences—something that in the light of British behaviour towards Europe is a particularly gruesome prospect.

Eamon Dyas

Gallipoli Seminar

Judging by the flier advertising, '*Gallipoli: Perspectives—A Seminar*', an event that took place at the National Library in Dublin on Saturday 14th November, you would be forgiven for assuming that it would be a West British affair. It received financial support from the British Embassy, its moderator was Tom Burke of the Dublin Fusiliers, and one of its main speakers was Philip Orr, a Belfast community worker who has written books about how the First World War is commemorated from an Ulster Protestant perspective. Surprisingly, the platform speakers provided a reasonably balanced set of differing perspectives of the Gallipoli campaign and how it is remembered.

By far the most compelling contribution came from Necip Egüz, the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey who spoke first. Before summarising his paper it is worth mentioning that, before proceedings commenced, a video on the Turkish army at the time of the Gallipoli campaign was projected on a large screen. Without commentary the video showed footage of what looked like the Turkish army supply train. Most of the baggage was carried by animals including donkeys, oxen and a well organised column of camels. The scale and efficiency of the operation was impressive but it clearly indicated the relatively backward condition of the Ottoman military machine.

Mr Egüz spoke in a low voice and within the constraints required of an international diplomat. Taking the campaign from its beginning in March 1915 to its end in January 1916 the estimated casualties were in the region of half a million. A higher number of Turkish soldiers died (over 68,000) than British and French soldiers (53,000) but Mr. Egüz argued that many more Turkish soldiers and civilians died as a result of outbreaks of disease which were a consequence of the carnage. The Dardanelles Straits are a beautiful part of the world, he said, but at this time it was a hellish place.

The Ambassador provided some important political context regarding the conflict. Britain and Russia had been traditional enemies. But late in that century Germany was perceived to pose the greatest threat to British interests, so opposing Germany became the priority. The British strategy in the Great War

required Germany to be attacked from the east by Russia. A way of reassuring the Russians was to attack Turkey. Mr Egüz described how the British decision to mount the attack was made in January 1915 following pressure from the Russians. The initial plan was to wage the campaign through a naval bombardment and advance up the Dardanelles Strait but this was foiled through the use of mines by the Turks.

Mr Egüz referred to the role of Mustafa Kemal (later known as Atatürk) in the Gallipoli campaign. Kemal differed on tactical grounds with the German commander of the Ottoman forces, Otto Limen von Sanders, and was proved right. The repulsion of the British/French invasion of Turkey came at a huge price in Turkish lives but it also increased the self-confidence of the Turks and showed the military ability of Mustafa Kemal. Of special interest to myself and other members of the Aubane Historical Society who were attending the seminar was that Mr Egüz referred to *'Britain's war on Turkey from an Irish Perspective'*, a book by Dr Pat Walsh, in making the point that Atatürk's role during the Great War and in the Turkish war of independence supported the theory that an individual could shape history.

Philip Orr stated that certain Irish regiments of the British Army which served at Gallipoli had previously seen active service in defence of the British Empire in Burma. They were not recruited on the outbreak of war in 1914. He referred to the importance attached to Great War commemorations in the culture of Protestant Ulster. The involvement of Irish Catholics, or regiments who drew their manpower from the South of Ireland, had tended to be downplayed in such commemorations, but this was changing. In describing this process he used the phrase, *"greening of the Great War narrative"*.

David Davin Power had accompanied President Mary McAleese on her visit to Turkey in 2010 in his capacity of RTE news correspondent. At that time he had discovered that his grandfather Jack Power had served in Gallipoli. Having researched his family history he discovered that his grandfather had returned from military service a changed man and become estranged from his wife. Davin Power's point was that Gallipoli had extended a long hand into the lives of those who participated but also into the lives of their families.

The next paper *'Gallipoli, memory, and nationalism in Australia and New Zealand'* by Jennifer Wellington of the School of History and Archives at University College Dublin, was unexpected. Speaking from a feminist perspective, her theme was that Gallipoli was used as a conservative nation-building myth in Australia and New Zealand, especially the former, and that the myth had been built with the support of a small unrepresentative group of ex-servicemen. She described the key role of Archbishop Mannix in preventing conscription from being introduced in Australia. A memorable slide which she used to illustrate the over-the-top nature of present day Aussie commemorations of Gallipoli was the front cover of a 'lads' magazine showing a scantily clad model in a bikini holding a long stemmed poppy.

A final and less interesting paper examined techniques for measuring public attitudes to commemorations of Gallipoli using Twitter.

During question time I asked the following rather long question:

I'm not sure who my question should be addressed to—perhaps the Turkish Ambassador, or Philip Orr or Jennifer Wellington. Why is that, in this country more than any other, we never ask why when we discuss subjects like Gallipoli? As the Ambassador has indicated, Britain needed the Russian steamroller to come in from the east to put pressure on Germany and this may explain why Turkey had to be invaded by the British and French. The question has particular relevance in this country because the nationalist elite who created the state—I'm thinking of figures like Casement, Connolly, de Valera and even Kevin O'Higgins—were firmly of the view that the Great War was an unjustifiable assault by Britain on its main trade rival, Germany.

Tom Burke answered that it was a good question but he was at a loss as to whom he should refer it. It was an 'essay' type question which there might not be time to answer. In fairness he did not rule the question out of order but asked Mr. Egüz and Philip Orr to address it. The Ambassador went back over some of his earlier points and said that in Turkey the campaign was called *"the mobilisation"* and that at the time many people asked why were the Western powers attacking Turkey when it had done nothing against them? Philip Orr answered by answering a different question: *why do we commemorate Gallipoli?* I accept that Orr has a perfect right to express his view on Gallipoli from an Ulster Protestant

perspective but I would question his right as an expert on Great War commemoration to confine his understanding to apolitical analysis.

The discussion ended when a member of the audience with an Ulster accent asserted that the lessons of Gallipoli had not been lost on Churchill, one of its architects. He made sure that the same mistakes were not made in the D-Day landings. So a supporter of the traditional British view got the last word.

Malachi Lawless sold literature, mainly Pat Walsh's, *'The Great Fraud'*, and was allowed to do so without hindrance. Pat Muldowney and I gave out leaflets describing the nature of Irish historical revisionism and summarising the catalogue of the Aubane Historical Society. We were treated in a respectful manner, attracting some supportive comments. I had a friendly exchange with Tom Burke at the end.

Following the seminar we made our way to the Smock Alley Theatre where another seminar was taking place on *'People of 1916'*. This was chaired by Tommy Graham of *History Ireland* magazine. The speakers were: Turtle Bunbury, Felicity Hayes-McCoy, Lucy McDiarmid and Fearghal McGarry. We only caught the tail end of the discussion but we heard enough to get a flavour of it. Much of the discussion related to the role of memory, well summarised in the title of Felicity Hayes-McCoy's book, *'A Woven Silence: Memory, History & Remembrance'*. During the discussion from the floor a man who clearly remembered the 1966 commemoration expressed an uncomplicated appreciation of the Rising and remarked that the degree of destruction to the city inflicted by the British was not appreciated. Tommy Graham was clearly anxious to move the discussion on and the point was not followed up on. The meeting returned to an esoteric discussion on the subject of memory. We gave out the remainder of our leaflets as the theatre emptied.

For what it's worth, following the two seminars all three of us were of the opinion that the seminar chaired by a member of the Dublin Fusiliers Association was more open-minded than the seminar chaired by an academic. But the highlight of the day was the paper that received most applause, the paper that brought home to the audience in the National Library a Turkish perspective on Gallipoli.

Dave Alvey

Shorts

from
the Long Fellow

NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers in this country have been in a precipitous decline. In the second half of 2007 an average of 816,031 daily newspapers were sold in Ireland each day. In the first half of 2015 that figure stood at 493,913, which represents a 39% decline. There is no evidence that the trend will be reversed.

It turns out the Irish experience has been mirrored in other countries. A new book by Iris Chyi with the rather long winded title *Trial and Error: US Newspapers' Digital Struggles Toward Inferiority* catalogues the mistakes of the industry (see Steve Dempsey article, *Sunday Independent*, 25.10.15). During the 1990s the newspaper industry was extremely profitable and used its surplus funds to invest heavily in digital publishing. But in the last five years US publishers' print ad revenue fell from 22.8 billion euro to 16.4 billion euro. Presumably there has been a similar decline in circulation revenue. Digital ad revenue only increased from 3 billion to 3.5 billion in the same period.

Why did newspaper executives spend billions undermining their product? The author thinks they had an inferiority complex regarding technology because they didn't understand it. Also, she thinks they weren't very good at economic reasoning. But there might be another reason. Could it have been middle class snobbery? They thought a newspaper was about journalism and that was all. But it seems the consumer places a value on the product of the print workers: the paper and the print. The author points out that a large number of people are prepared to pay between 300 and 500 dollars a year for a printed newspaper, but wouldn't consider paying even a small percentage of that amount for the digital equivalent. She also notes that local newspapers are doing quite well in the US: largely because they couldn't afford to invest in digital technology.

ZARATHUSTRA IN TALLAGHT

Is it possible that Sinn Féin has not heard! The campaign against Property Taxes is dead! Thus spoke Anti Austerity Alliance supremo Paul Murphy after descending from the foothills of Ballinteer to the broad plains of electoral politics in Tallaght. The Dublin South West TD found that the sale of his South County

Dublin apartment could not proceed unless he paid his Property Tax of 1,150 euro (including arrears).

Although he has paid the tax on the apartment that he had sold, he claimed that he has not yet paid any tax on his new property in Tallaght. However, he admitted that the Revenue would probably deduct it from his salary.

The property owners' boycott has failed, but the campaign against water charges is "very much alive" according to Deputy Murphy. "The key difference is that the Revenue is not involved. So these draconian powers don't exist" (*Journal.ie*, 16.11.15).

The Long Fellow thinks that the Trotskyists have travelled a long way down from the ideological heights of the social ownership of the means of production!

PROPERTY CRISIS

Antonio Gramsci said:

"The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."

The "old" in Ireland's case is the system of property ownership, which is no longer sustainable in a modern dynamic economy. Traditionally the majority of people in this country aspired to own their own property. Social housing was provided for those that had not the means to climb on to the property ladder. The private rented sector operated on the margins for students and young couples waiting for either a council house or a mortgage. Since the rented sector was marginal there was no social demand for it to be regulated.

The traditional model is a static model suitable for a stable and low growth economy. By and large families, who owned their own homes, as well as those in council houses, stayed in the same place for generations. There was, of course, in the era of large families, a proportion of the population that had to emigrate since the modestly growing Irish economy could not absorb these people into employment. Also, in the past there was not the large scale immigration that has continued unabated in Ireland for the last 20 years.

Home ownership is inflexible. A person or a family's accommodation needs change over time. A young family has different housing needs to a retired couple. Until the introduction of Property Taxes, no cost was imposed on people with accommodation that was surplus to their requirements. On the other hand, the unregulated nature of the private rented market has prevented its growth.

An illustration of the problem was the

rather pathetic appeal by the Irish Chief Executive of the multinational *Paypal* for existing staff to accommodate new staff in their homes.

It is interesting that the crisis is manifesting itself in high rents rather than a rise in property prices. Thanks to the necessary reforms of the Central Bank restricting credit, the demand for rented accommodation has increased while the demand for home ownership has stabilised. The problem has been exacerbated by many of the "amateur" landlords selling up. While this phenomenon is welcome in the long term, it has contributed to the shortage of rented accommodation.

PROPERTY CRISIS SOLUTIONS

Labour's Alan Kelly has made a decent attempt at tackling the crisis by bringing some rent certainty to the sector.

There is no shortage of land for building in Dublin. Kelly has also attempted to tackle the problem of land hoarding by imposing a 3% annual tax on the value of the land. Unfortunately, the Attorney General has advised that these cannot be implemented until 2019! Property rights trump housing needs!

A *Sunday Business Post* report (15.11.15) suggests that property developers are reluctant to go ahead with planning permission for high density accommodation (i.e. apartments). This is difficult to understand since it might be thought that the more residential units that can be built in a given area of land, the greater the profits. However, it appears that property developers believe that Irish people are still wedded to the aspiration of a 3 bed semi "with a bit of patio and grass in the back for the kids". The publicity surrounding Priory Hall has reinforced this view. Nevertheless, in the Long Fellow's view the Local Authorities should hold out for high density housing.

PARIS

The reaction to the most recent attacks in Paris has been different to the *Charlie Hebdo* killings at the beginning of the year. The three minute silence of last January was reduced to one minute. In one school in Lyon the principal, unlike last January, did not make any pep talk concerning the values of the Republic. Nor, unlike last January, did any of the students of Muslim origin opt out of the period of silence. The Charlie Hebdo cartoonists had offended the prophet and the Muslim religion, but what had the victims of the Friday the 13th attacks done?

The West, led by the US, decided to spread the virtues of democracy to the Middle East by toppling authoritarian, but largely secular regimes. It thought that it

could inflict violence in the Middle East with impunity, but the violence has returned like a boomerang to its source.

As Brendan Behan remarked the terrorist is the one with the small bomb.

Islamic State has used the West's own technology as a weapon: in particular the Internet which has been used as a propaganda tool. It also has understood the weak point of Western culture: its tendency to produce a significant number of alienated and

disaffected youth from all social classes.

Media reports indicate that the female terrorist in Paris had never been seen inside her local mosque. Her view of the world was mediated through the Internet.

Is it an attack on Western values or our way of life? Of course not! Our security forces think that there is a low level of risk in Ireland. But that could all change if we abandon our neutrality and join the so-called "war on terror".

Review "The Brits, The Blitz and The Bedwarmer", Documentary by Leeanne O'Donnell On One on RTE Radio 1, 7 November, 2015.

Bowen Re-Surfaces!

This programme on Elizabeth Bowen was interesting in that it took Bowen's espionage here during WWII seriously. The usual approach is to minimise this activity or ignore it or explain it away as mere observations or reporting. O'Donnell was engaged with Bowen as a writer that she really liked. The allegation of her being a spy was a shock to her, as it did not fit with the image she had built of the writer. After all, spying is not considered a laudable activity and has a cloak and dagger reputation. She found it hard to believe it of Bowen until she saw the evidence. And, when she did, she appreciated immediately the reality of what was actually involved at the personal level—calculated and sustained betrayal and duplicity. She elaborated on this with some feeling and this was what made the programme interesting. It was from the heart. It was a breath of fresh air in Bowen Studies because it took fully on board an element of reality about Bowen that is usually missing in current academic/literary studies of her.

It is worth contrasting this with the unreality of how a much acclaimed Bowen scholar Eibhear Walshe deals with her espionage in his *"Elizabeth Bowen's Selected Irish Writings"*, Cork University Press, 2011, which is just one of the numerous accolades to Bowen.

In his introduction, when dealing with the same aspect of Bowen's life as the programme, he says *"in these reports, Bowen attempted to defend the Irish decision to remain natural"*. She did not do such thing. This was not the purpose of her reports. Her purpose was to get Churchill and the War Cabinet to appreciate the reality and conviction behind Irish Neutrality. That is not the same as defending it. Her whole point was that it would be foolish for Churchill to ignore this reality as he might get a bloody nose as he had got just 20 years earlier and she could not see the point of that for Britain's interest. The people who gave him a bloody nose were still about and in Government! But, if he did invade, then so be it and she would continue to do her duty to him in the changed circumstances. And if he had invaded she might even have joined Cumann na mBan to do that duty all the better!

Report on Lecture, held 5th November

The Life & Times of Frank Busteed

This lecture was delivered by Brian O'Donoghue, grandson of Frank Busteed, in Blarney at the invitation of the Blarney & District Historical Society to commemorate their 30th anniversary, Blarney's 250th anniversary and the life of this famous son of the town.

The advertisement for the event in various newspapers described Frank Busteed's exploits during The War of Independence and Civil War as having become part of local folklore and, judging from the attendance of approx 140, his memory is still alive and well in Blarney! It was the second largest attendance the society has had in its 30 years.

The talk covered his entire life, which included his mixed background (religiously, culturally and politically) and early life, along with his contribution during the War of Independence and the 'Civil War' (including the practical help his British Army older brothers provided during this period), his time in USA as a businessman (1924-34), his return to Ireland and his career in the Irish Army as a Lieutenant in the 4th Infantry Battalion, and Coastal Surveillance during WW2, finishing with his later business and family life.

Some events in his career, not previously elaborated on such as the Cobh 'Shootings' and the 'Moon Car', were detailed, as well as the period—almost a year—after the Civil War and before he escaped to America (1923-24). Much of this information was gleaned from Free State Director of Intelligence files on Frank Busteed, as well as from recent interviews with descendants of 6th Battalion and Cork No 1 Brigade members. Some interesting facts (in the light of the current Revisionist/Counter Revisionist debates) also emerged.

For example the support from a number of Protestant farmers in the Cork No 1 area (and in the adjoining area of the Third Cork Brigade, Bandon being one of note)

which may show a somewhat different and more complex picture than has hitherto been assumed.

The case of the 'Disappearance of the Officers' (26.4.1922) was also further investigated, with some new information from interviewees adding some credibility to Frank Busteed's version of events (in the book *'Execution'*), as well as suggestions from one or two historians of a special 'Hit Squad' being involved.

There are other accounts in (2 or 3) Witness Statements and, on closer recent examination of these, there is still room for supposition, for a possible joint collaboration of various battalions (the 6th were present in Macroom in numbers (85) on the day) although what actually happened still remains a mystery.

The Witness Statements say the officers were killed NEAR Macroom and do not say who or what battalion killed them only that orders were (from Cork No. 1 presumably) to kill them. The speaker believed that it was quite possible Busteed was involved but he was not quite so sure about the pub story although 'near' Macroom could be anywhere near Macroom.

Although there was a small amount of rancour expressed in regard to the Dripsey Ambush (28.1.1921) from two attendees during question time after the lecture concluded, the majority of questions were objective. Overall, the vast majority present thoroughly enjoyed the event, particularly, as was said afterwards by many, the broadening of the canvas of his entire life, of which many had not been familiar with until then.

Further lectures are planned with two other historical societies, as a result of the event

Brian O'Donoghue

Walshe claims that her report *"was to damage her reputation"*. With whom? The Reports did the opposite with the specific audience they were intended for and she did not intend them for any other and was not concerned about anybody else's opinion. And they have certainly done no observable damage to her in Irish literary circles that go on with their adulation of her long after the reports became public.

He tells us the reports *"do have their flaws"* and the prime example he gives was that she *"completely misinterprets the political opinions"* of James Dillon in describing him as a *"a fascist sympathiser when he was precisely the opposite"*. But she was perfectly correct in her description of him. And she said he was not just a fascist sympathiser but a fascist. She based her view on her very incisive analysis of him which, as Leeane O'Donnell appreciated, was a psychological study. And, after all, in case Mr. Walshe does not know, he was a founder and leader of the Irish fascist movement, the Blueshirts, and never disowned them. Moreover, when he read the report on him 30 years later he had no disagreement with what she had said about him—only with the duplicity shown towards him. He was practically a lone supporter of Britain's war on Germany but that only shows that Britain's war had nothing to do with fascism. And Bowen saw no problem whatever in understanding this. Mr. Walshe should really catch up with history.

He quotes Eunan O'Halpin that her reports *"contributed to the accusation that she had been a British intelligence agent as distinct from a well-informed observer"*. There is no need for accusations—the facts prove the case. And spies are not and cannot be distinct from being well-informed observers. That is the essence of their work. They *must* be such and be more well informed than most. The point is what they do with their well informed observations. Bowen was clear about that and was effective in the use she put them to. She was not just another jobbing journalist or academic dealing with the ephemera of life around them and looking towards the next promotion.

Leeane O'Donnell saved us from this type of nonsense and brought out the reality of Bowen as a multi dimensional person and, in doing so, she got a measure of her, and in an entertaining way, a measure that others in the Bowen industry do not even come near. Let's have more such programmes on RTE

Jack Lane

Seamus Murphy (1936-2015)

The death took place on November 2nd of lifelong secular Socialist Republican Seamus Murphy. My own personal friendship with Seamus went back over the best part of three decades, notwithstanding the fact that my creed was the two nations Socialist Republicanism of Father Michael O'Flanagan. For Seamus's friendships transcended political differences, once he was convinced of the integrity of a friend's espousal of differing beliefs, and once there was unity in action in respect of shared endeavours. It was therefore an honour to be asked by his family to sing two songs at his funeral service on November 5th: a verse of *'To Gelasto Pedi'*, the Greek-language version, composed by Greek Communist Mikis Theodorakis, of *"The Laughing Boy"* by Brendan Behan; and the Tipperary Republican ballad *"The Galtee Mountain Boy"*, with additional verses by myself in honour of one such Galtee boy, the War of Independence hero Kit Conway, who would be killed in action in Spain as an International Brigade company commander at the 1937 battle of Jarama.

See www.youtube.com/watch?v=aa1NqUNgkw and <http://irelandscw.com/ibvol-ConwayMemSong.htm> for details.

Seamus was sometimes known as *"Lifer" Murphy*, a nickname that would not be used in his presence, although one that had been acquired with good reason. Arrested in the wake of the August 1955 IRA raid on the British Army's Arborfield Barracks, Seamus had been sentenced to life imprisonment, but would, with Greek Cypriot assistance, make a spectacular escape from the maximum security Wakefield Prison in 1959. While in Wakefield, he was befriended by the nuclear scientist Klaus Fuchs, sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment in 1950 for passing on atomic secrets to the USSR. An anti-Nazi refugee from his native Germany, his nationality alone had guaranteed his internment by the British, initially in the Isle of Man, before being transported to Canada. On his release in 1941 he began working in both the UK and USA on the nuclear project, and almost from the outset he had passed on information to the USSR, then a wartime ally. His espionage had been politically motivated and ideologically grounded, as the Wikipedia details of his pre-emigration activities indicate:

"Fuchs entered the University of Leipzig in 1930, where his father was a professor of theology. He became involved in student politics, joining the student branch of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), a party that his father had joined in 1912, and Schwartz-Rot-Gold, the party's paramilitary organisation... In the March 1932 German presidential election, the SPD supported Paul von Hindenburg for President, fearing that a split vote would hand the job to the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) candidate, Adolf Hitler. However, when the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) ran its own candidate, Ernst Thaelmann, Fuchs offered to speak for him, and was expelled from the SPD. That year Fuchs and all three of his siblings joined the KPD. Fuchs and his brother Gerhard were active speakers at public meetings, and occasionally attempted to disrupt NSDAP gatherings. At one such gathering, Fuchs was beaten up and thrown into the river. When Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in January 1933, Fuchs decided to leave Kiel, where the NSDAP was particularly strong... On 28 February, he took an early train to Berlin for a KPD meeting there. On the train, he read about the Reichstag fire in a newspaper. Fuchs correctly assumed that opposition parties would be blamed for the fire, and quietly removed his hammer and sickle pin. The KPD meeting in Berlin was held in secret. Fellow party members urged him to continue his studies in another country. He went into hiding for five months in the apartment of a fellow party member... Fuchs arrived in England in September 1933."

In their 2009 book *"The Lost Revolution: The Story of the Official IRA and the Workers' Party"* Brian Hanley and Scott Millar wrote that, although friendly with Fuchs from the outset, the political development of Seamus Murphy and a fellow-prisoner in Wakefield, Cathal Goulding, had begun on their own steam, even if their politics would subsequently diverge from each other:

"Goulding and Seamus Murphy developed an interest in the Russian Revolution, and their reading of Fitzroy MacLean's biography of Marshal Tito resulted in the Yugoslav communist leader becoming something of a hero to the Irishmen... Goulding's increasing embrace of left-wing concepts shocked many who knew him as an orthodox IRA man. Some began to suggest that he had been converted to Marxism by the spy Klaus Fuchs in Wakefield. However, his

fellow prisoner Seamus Murphy contends that Goulding 'turned to the left on his own steam' through reading and discussions with other republicans and that 'Fuchs never tried to turn anyone - it was hard to get a word out of him!'"

Murphy's portrayal of a taciturn Fuchs for the purpose of protecting Goulding against "*foreign goods*" accusations is at odds with the image given of a far-from-taciturn and gregarious Fuchs during the course of his and Murphy's own subsequent interaction with Greek Cypriot prisoners. And as for Murphy's own parting of the ways with Goulding's ultimate trajectory, this November 9th Brian Hanley has posted the following on the Facebook page of the Irish Republican Education Forum:

"Seamus did not support the Officials after the split but he remained on good terms with people on all sides of the various fractures in republicanism."

Moreover, I myself was witness to the high regard in which he continued to hold Fuchs as he sang his praises in Barcelona in 1988 when I introduced him to a German International Brigade veteran, Karl Kormes, who had been imprisoned in a Spanish concentration camp along with Frank Ryan, and who later served as a GDR (German Democratic Republic) ambassador.

It was through solidarity with International Brigade commemorations in both Ireland and Spain that I mostly came into contact with Seamus. But his other lifelong passion was solidarity with Cyprus, first forged in the winter of 1958, when sharing Wakefield with prisoners from the EOKA guerrilla struggle against British occupation. And it was Seamus who was to sustain that bond between them as ex-prisoners down through the six decades since. It was through Seamus's organisation that a group of EOKA veterans, who had been imprisoned alongside IRA prisoners in both Wormwood Scrubs and Wakefield, came to Dublin for the launch, in the Pearse Centre on 10 May 2008, of a book by one of their number, Vias Livadas, entitled "*Cypriot and Irish Political Prisoners Held in British Prisons 1956-1959*". Livadas's book was dedicated to Nicholas Ioannou, an EOKA fighter the prisoners believe was killed by the British Special Branch after the British authorities became aware of his part in their plans of a joint escape. On 4th July 2008 "*Irish Republican News*" reported:

"The author Vias Livadas, a veteran of the Cypriot independence struggle and former political prisoners spoke movingly of the friendship forged in extreme adversity between the Irish Republican

prisoners and he and his fellow countrymen. The Pearse Centre was full to overflowing as the large crowd mixed with Irish Republican and Cypriot veterans of this fascinating episode in anti-colonial history... The launch was chaired by life-long Republican activist and veteran of the 1956-62 Resistance campaign, Charlie Murphy, whose brother Donal was one of the Republican prisoners held in Wormwood Scrubs prison in England during the 1950s. Veteran EOKA resistance fighter and political prisoner Renos Kyriakides recalled with emotion his first contact with Irish Republican prisoners in Wormwood Scrubs prison in August 1956. On entering the prison the EOKA prisoners faced a gauntlet of abuse and threats from the ordinary English prisoners encouraged by the Prison warders. In the food hall they were met by the first friendly faces when they met the three Irish Republican prisoners held there, Donal Murphy, Sean Mac Stiofain and Manus Canning who introduced themselves, together the small group of Irish and Cypriot revolutionaries faced down the English mob. It marked the beginning of comradeship which over 50 years was still very evident for all at the launch to see... The author Vias Livadas spoke of the historical links between Ireland and Cyprus. Both were nations locked in a common struggle for nationhood against a common enemy he said. Vias Livadas said that the Irish and Cypriot prisoners were known as 'the rebellious team' and their 'permanent goal' was escape. Indeed the only successful escape from Wakefield prison was the fruit of the cooperation between Irish Republicans and EOKA when Seamus Murphy scaled the wall to freedom. A remarkable story connected with the escape is recounted in the book and relates to a Cypriot woman Katina Pilina who donated her dowry of £500 - a huge sum of money at the time - towards supporting the escape plan. In 2007 when attending the launch of the Greek language edition of the book in Cyprus, Seamus Murphy finally met the woman who gave up her dowry to aid his escape. Katina Pilina travelled to Dublin for the launch and a presentation was made to her by Seamus Grealy who was one of the principal people involved in organising the escape. Presentations were also made by the Cypriot EOKA veterans to Maire Mhic Stiofain widow of Sean Mac Stiofain, Charlie Murphy accepted on behalf of his brother Donal, the family of the late Joe Doyle, Manus Canning, Seamus Murphy and Cathal Og Goulding on behalf of his late father Cathal Goulding. This historic and at times moving event ended with a rendition of Brendan Behan's 'The Laughing Boy' in Greek by historian Manus O'Riordan."

An ecumenical and non-sectarian reunion of former prisoners and their families! One of the EOKA veterans

present was Lefteris Ioannou, brother of the murdered Nicholas. Unable to travel on this occasion was another brother, George Ioannou (RIP April 2015) who, on becoming acquainted in Wakefield with the writings of James Connolly, had gone on to translate some of them into Greek for an edition subsequently published in Cyprus. I had, however, been introduced to him previously by Seamus Murphy at the close of the Desmond Greaves School in September 2007. Regrettably, one other former Wakefield prisoner present at the School had left before further introductions could be made. This was the late Conor Lynch of "*Irish Political Review*" (see the March 2012 issue for his obituary) who, at the age of 19 in 1969, had been sentenced to 7 years and entered a prison regime in Wakefield that was far more draconian than before. When I told Conor that he had missed Ioannou, however, it was that he had missed a face-to-face meeting with Seamus Murphy that most upset him. Conor told me that Seamus had initiated a correspondence with him in Wakefield, and of how those letters had kept his spirits up through those dark years. But he had never yet had a chance to meet Seamus to thank him for that support.

The opportunity for such a meeting arose at the Cypriot prisoners' book launch in May 2008. But Conor missed the train down from Belfast and was kicking himself on account of another lost opportunity. Happily, however, I did get the chance to finally introduce Conor and Seamus to each other in September 2009, at the launch of the Brian Hanley / Scott Millar book. At the Desmond Greaves School on September 13 of this year, Seamus went out of his way to follow me out the door in order to thank me for defending the reputations of Connolly and Casement in respect of the First World War, and that of Childers in respect of the Civil War. I did not realise how ill he was, and that he was, in fact, saying goodbye. It was a privilege to be asked by the Murphy family to pay a funeral tribute to a man of such strength of character and humanity as Seamus. On the next day, November 6, I was, however, prompted to add a postscript. So I posted the following complementary tribute to Klaus Fuchs on the Facebook page of the Irish Republican Education Forum. Klaus Fuchs (1911-1988) would actually be released from Wakefield on 23 June 1959, and promptly emigrated to the German Democratic Republic, his homeland.

SEAMUS MURPHY AND KLAUS FUCHS

In remembering Seamus Murphy (RIP 2nd November 2015), let us also remember

his fellow Wakefield prisoner, Klaus Fuchs.

Veteran Cypriot EOKA fighter and Wakefield prisoner Vias Livadas, who passed away in October 2009, had launched his book in Dublin on May 10, 2008.

Seamus Murphy had been sentenced to life imprisonment for his involvement in the August 1955 IRA raid on the British Army's Arborfield Depot. In December 1958, Murphy, and three other Irish Republicans held in the maximum security Wakefield Prison, were joined by ten Cypriot EOKA prisoners, including Vias Livadas. Seamus Murphy's escape from Wakefield in February 1959 was a joint Irish-Cypriot project, intended to include other Irish and Cypriot prisoners. But there was another person who played an important role in Seamus's escape, the veteran German anti-Nazi activist, refugee and scientist, Klaus Fuchs, imprisoned in Wakefield for passing atomic secrets to the USSR.

Livadas recalled:

"The morning after the Cypriots arrived at Wakefield Prison, they were welcomed by the IRA Fighters there ... and the German Nuclear Scientist Klaus Fuchs who had been convicted for giving nuclear secrets away to the Russians. Fuchs was the first to approach the Cypriots in a friendly manner. Until his release, about 3-4 months later, he visited them regularly and spent much of his time conversing with them."

Livadas further quoted Seamus Murphy's own account:

"Fuchs had got there before me and was already conversing with two of the newcomers. I was greatly relieved to hear them speaking in English... I joined Fuchs. No more than I, he was no doubt pleased at this infusion of strength into our small colony of revolutionaries, taking the first opportunity to express solidarity with the newcomers. 'This is Murphy' said Fuchs by way of introduction, 'an Irish political prisoner, an IRA man who has been with us for some time.' I traded handshakes with the pair of Cypriots with whom Fuchs had been conversing."

Livadas also quoted from J Boyer Bell's account in *"The Secret Army"*:

"Another prominent Wakefield resident, Klaus Fuchs, one of Britain's premier atom spies, decided to turn down the offer to join the break; however, he did contribute a highly detailed plan so that a Dublin architect could create a scale model of Wakefield. Eventually, on February 12, 1959, after six months of work and at a cost of £500, Murphy was the only one to get over the wall."

So, indeed, it is more than appropriate to remember Klaus Fuchs (1911-1988) on this occasion.

Manus O'Riordan

A Shipyard Story

This is an amiable ramble around the story of shipbuilding in Belfast, though the actual history of the various yards is very well told. The major yard, and the longest-lasting (and the one where the author worked) was Harland & Wolff, neither of whom was a native of Belfast, or even Ireland. There were local magnates involved, Workman Pirrie, (the "wee yard") was absorbed by H&W just before the 2nd WW time when demand might have saved it.

The book describes the various skills needed in shipbuilding over the two centuries of the industry in the city. These were many and varied, Mr. Thompson, himself worked in the joinery department. I visited the shop six decades ago and was fascinated by the size of the place, the huge number of people working there, but couldn't quite work out what they were all doing. As Tom Thompson points out a fair number of them were doing not very much, or 'homers' (paid-for jobs for neighbours, or in some cases, long-term customers). The joinery department was by no means a cushy number, but he describes the chill and danger of working on the actual boats.

The inside of the boat was bad, especially in the early days of the construction, but working outside was really unpleasant. It was cold, wet and dangerous, all sorts of matter could drop on those working outside the hull, from seagull crap to rivets. (It had never struck me that the rivets were not just 'hot'; they were white-hot to meld two large pieces of sheet metal together very quickly. It was dangerous work, specially for the riveters' mates who had to catch it in something like a baseball catcher's glove.

Other than that Tom Thompson describes the 'types' among the workforce, the Bible-thumpers and betting men, the 'hats' (the managers who wore hard hats, meaning expensive Bowlers, not plastic) and the hard chaws. He also notes the semi-suicidal clinging to the trams bringing the workers to and from the city centre, as the workforce came from all over Belfast and quite a large area of north Down, their travel comfort mostly got slightly better as they got nearer to the areas they lived in, Nipping across the Lough was not really feasible for such enormous numbers, especially as the men didn't want to loiter. The introduction of

trolley buses put an end to suicidal behaviour, though overcrowding—and dodging the fare—remained honoured traditions.

The workforce was fascinated by those who bought the boats they built—mostly liners that crossed the Atlantic, and war ships during World Wars 1 & 2. The Korean War is not mentioned, but supplying (and repairing and refitting) battleships continued until the end of the Yard's existence. A number of boats are dealt with by name, the Titanic, of course—the slightly hectoring title of this chapter is, *RMS Titanic, Fact and Fiction*—the Olympic, completed in 1911, and the Britannic, finished in mid-1914, and immediately re-commissioned as hospital ship. These were all built for the White Star line. They were engineering wonders of the world and the last word in luxury, for those who could afford it. They were very fast and cut days off Atlantic crossing times.

Other boats mentioned ('boat' was the word the workforce used, they were some of the biggest ships sailing the oceans) include RMS Magdalena. This large boat suffered a similar fate to the Titanic: it ran aground near Rio de Janeiro on its maiden voyage, however, the passengers and crew were all rescued. An Inquiry in London came to the conclusion that the fault was entirely with the pilots, the boat itself was sound. Mr Thompson does not say what was its fate, presumably it became razor blades. The Juan Peron, a whaling ship, named after the quasi-Fascist President of Argentina, was, allegedly, jinxed, a terrible accident killed a number of workers—one lucky escapee being a Wilson Haire.

He was father of one John Wilson Haire, who worked in the joinery shop, and is noted as one of *The Yard Playwrights*, the others being Thomas Carnduff, who worked in the Yard as a "catch boy". (A reprint of some of his material is probably overdue.) Unemployed in the 'hungry 30s, he became quite well-known in Ireland, part of his inspiration was to produce 'literary' material. Wilson John Haire isn't really of this company, as he didn't take to playwrighting until he relocated to London (I think).

Sam Thompson was definitely a Yard playwright. Tom Thompson refers here to the sectarian undertow in the Yard. Sam Thompson's *Over The Bridge* was as

noted here: "*a bombshell*" it deal directly (and forcefully) with sectarianism among the workforce. It became very controversial; the complaints ranged from the usual assertion that there was no sectarianism, to that it was either dying, or dead. Or even that it was just a Taig and Labour slander. There was also the notion hanging in the air that he was a social traitor in letting a particularly scabby cat out of the bag. It was a well, and vigorously written drama. Tom Thompson (no relation, I assume) notes that it saved the old Empire theatre, a music hall in origin, from closing down, for a while anyway" it was replaced in the mid-1960s by a Littlewood's store.

Though writing a memoir of the shipyard, a diversion into the company producing the play is worthwhile. James Ellis, later famous for the cop-soap *Z Cars*, gathered together a company and—somehow—the money to hire the theatre. His gamble paid off handsomely in the sense that the play was a roaring success. He didn't grow rich, as the money coming in went out to pay off the designers, the printers, the advertisers—and even the performers. The latter signed-up because they were committed to Thompson's drama, and to reviving professional theatre in Belfast. Prior to this there had been amateurish 'kitchen comedies' and even less relevant 'drawing room comedies' from second and third string companies claiming to be fresh from 'London's West End'.

Tom Thompson's book, as indicated, is an 'easy-read', but it is packed with information (including some skiving tips), it would be worth the while of anyone interested in the social, or labour history of Belfast to buy (no shoplifting, if you please) and read it.

Tom Thompson is the proprietor of Bargain Books, which started life in a very small premises in the, rather scruffy, northern part of Belfast city centre twenty-odd years ago. It brings together two matters that Belfast people like—a bargain and a book. He now works out of comparatively enormous premises in the Castlecourt 'shopping mall'. It is probably the only place there worth visiting.

Seán McGouran

The 1918 Election And The First Cork Brigade

"The massive support for independence in the General Election of 1918 and the clear intention of the British Government to ignore the mandate were considered to be legitimate reasons for an armed struggle. No area suffered more indiscriminate reprisals from the British Auxiliaries and

Further Education and Training in Ireland —Need for a Wider Debate

In September of this year I launched a blog entitled "*Irish Further Education and Training Review*" with the Internet address of <http://fet-review.ie>. In this article I will introduce the fet-review blog and argue that the reforms being applied in this neglected sector, now called FET (further education and training), deserve the attention of the wider society.

First I will summarise the political background to the reforms. In late 2008 at the time that the banking collapse was unfolding in the media, the *Sunday Independent* waged a campaign against the FAS training agency on the grounds that its senior managers were engaging in profligate spending. It transpired that €643,000 had been spent on foreign junkets over four years and a further €600,000 had been wasted on a TV ad that was never broadcast. As public attention focussed on FAS it became clear that the agency had been over-funded, its governance structure was inadequate and private contractors charged with providing training had been falling down on the job.

A major overhaul of FAS was deemed necessary and under the then Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Employment, Mary Coughlan, it was proposed to realign FAS under the Department of Education in the same structure as the successful Further Education Colleges (often called the PLCs or Post Leaving-Cert Colleges). In October 2010 Minister Coughlan announced that the number of Vocational Education Committees was to be reduced from 33 to 16 and the new committees were to be called Education and Training Boards (ETBs). So, a new agency, SOLAS, was to be created to run the further education and training sector and a reform of the sector was to be implemented by newly constituted ETBs.

These reforms required major administrative changes and took time. They were inherited by the present Fine Gael/Labour Coalition who duly established SOLAS

and the new ETBs. The ease with which the new Government adopted the reform process suggests that behind the scenes officials in the Department of Education had devoted considerable effort to the creation of what is a new sector of the education system.

As part of a response to the unemployment that followed the 2008 crash the present Government launched two initiatives in line with the launch of SOLAS: a scheme to attract unemployed people to higher education called *Springboard*; and a similar scheme for the FET sector called *Momentum*. Momentum was not based on either the training centres or the PLCs but opened a tendering process for any training organisations whether public or private willing to bid for contracts. Against the challenging task of educating long-term unemployed workers to a point where they acquire suitable employment, Momentum has so far achieved a 24 per cent success rate with a further 6 per cent getting part-time jobs and a further 8 per cent progressing to further education.

SERIOUS INTENT

An indication of serious intent for the SOLAS reforms came when the ESRI was commissioned to produce a report on the FET system. The report's purpose is summarised in the following statement:

"This report provides an evidence base for the purposes of assisting SOLAS in the development of a five-year strategic plan for the Irish Further Education and Training (FET) sector and an associated implementation plan. Specifically, this research attempts to map provision across the FET sector in order to develop a sense of some of the main issues facing the FET sector. The study is unique as it represents the first attempt to map FET provision in Ireland in a systematic way, with the objective of identifying the principal features of the sector within both a national and international context."

A cynical view of the creation of

Black and Tans than Cork, a strategy devised to break the spirit of the people and destroy the climate of support for the IRA. There's an interesting series of appendices in Kevin Girvin's book, "*Sean O'Hegarty O/C First Cork Brigade Irish Republican Army*" (Aubane Historical Society, 2007), which defeats the arguments sometimes proposed by the neo-colonials that dismiss the fighting

men as little more than blackguards. Nearly all the leaders, including Sean O'Hegarty, overshadowed perhaps by the figures of MacCurtain and MacSwiney, were philosophers, linguists and separatists to the last."

From: **Jimmy Crowley**, "*Songs From The Beautiful City: The Cork Urban Ballads*", 2014, p. 207.

SOLAS is that it represents a takeover of the FET sector by former managers and staff of FAS. The quality of the ESRI report on the sector, however, indicates that FET is finally receiving the attention from Government that it has needed for a long time. I have reviewed this report in the blog.

SOLAS is approaching the end of the second year of its five year strategy. So far much of its work seems to have been at the administrative level, laying the foundations for new reporting mechanisms so that the sector can be coordinated at national level and creating structures that will allow for engagement with employers. Apart from the effect of Government cuts there have been few changes to FET services on the ground, outside of the apprenticeship scheme which has been expanded. Apprenticeship is a topic which I intend to examine in detail in fet-review.

In November of 2014 a thought provoking address was given before the coordinating body for the ETBs, ETB Ireland, on the challenges facing FET in Ireland. Its author was John Sweeney, an economist with the National Economic and Social Council, whose paper made a persuasive case for expanding quality FET services. In highlighting John Sweeney's paper I have tried to make the point that reform of FET entails a culture change in the Irish education system. A deep seated bias in the Irish psyche towards academic education and the attainment of more and more university degrees is harming economic development and the higher education sector itself. The necessary culture change will only come if the analysis in Sweeney's paper is given political backing and made the subject of inclusive public debate.

The FET sector covers a very wide diversity of skill areas and levels of ability. Pulling that diversity into a unified sector amenable to centralised coordination presents a major challenge. The diversity also gives rise to complicated institutional arrangements that are difficult to keep track of. In addition the policy debate about FET is subject to the same ideological divisions that affect other areas of public policy; many in the sector fear that SOLAS represents the thin edge of a wedge aimed at privatisation. In short there are plenty of complex issues that need to be examined and discussed in a blog.

The approach that I have tried to adopt in fet-review is one of open-mindedness. Nobody has a monopoly of wisdom on this subject. I hope that in time the opportunity to express feedback on the content of the various blog posts will be

taken up. The blog is at an early stage of development and I am still in the process of reviewing and summarising a number of important reports and documents that have been produced on FET in recent years. In this time of change the priorities for anyone who cares about further education and training in Ireland will be to keep informed on what is really going on and, if need be, to hold the drivers of change to account. Fet-review has precisely those aims.

Dave Alvey

2015 Index: *Irish Political Review*

Labour Comment is edited by Pat Maloney

January

Adams Avoids The Trap! Editorial on Stormont House Agreement
 Breaking News: Academia Created The Irish Revolution. Jack Lane
 Kilmichael Address. Photograph of Scene Tom Barry. Meda Ryan Address at Tom Barry Commemoration
 Bob Geldof. Donal Kennedy (No. 1 of Pseudos Corner)
 What About Those Credit Default Swaps? Sean Owens
 Moore Street. Sean Haughey TD (Facebook Posting, submitted by P.O.C.)
 Shorts from the Long Fellow (Cost Of Paying Senior Bonds; Waterford Crystal Workers; State Provision Of Pensions; Water Infrastructure; Tax And Public Services; Future Economic Prospects)
 The Unlikelihood Of The Unlikely. John Morgan (Lt.Col., retd.)
 A Sectarian Massacre? Yes, No, Maybe, Sort Of. Brendan Clifford (Review of John Borgono and Andy Bielenberg on Bandon Valley events)
 Master Builders. Wilson John Haire (Poem)
 Jean-Claude Juncker Warns UK Over Immigration Curbs. (Report)
 Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (Computers, The Internet And All That; Nikola Tesla; Unemployment Rate; Companies Act)
 Irish Bulletin. A Missing Issue From Vol. One
Labour Comment: The Great Catastrophe. Mondragon, Part 37

February

Unionists Left Out! Editorial on British Party Debate
 Humour and Satire—Catholic Irish in Britain and Algerian Muslims in France. Eamon Dyas
 Bravehearts and the Banking Enquiry. Sean Owens
 Readers' Letters: Free Speech? John Martin. Charlies. Jack Lane
 Pseudos Corner-Boys. Donal Kennedy (No. 2: Gay Byrne)
 Russia Warns Of War With The US. Report
 Ukraine And Sanctions On Russia. Report
 Shorts from the Long Fellow (French Trauma; Three Minutes of Silence; The Other Charlie; The Mahon Tribunal; Banking Inquiry; Where did it all go?; Nationalisation?; Depfa)
 Poems. Saving Lives; Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité; You Are Always; On My Mind. Wilson John Haire

Economic Aspects Of The Stormont House Agreement. Mark Langhammer
 The Equality Problem. Pat Walsh (An Phoblacht article)
 Concerning The Pedigrees Of Haughey And His Opponents. Manus O'Riordan
 A Trinity Professor Squints At Connolly. Brendan Clifford (Part 1)
 Ethnic Cleansing And Genocide In Eire. The Celtic League (Report)
 Reserve Currencies. (Report of Valentin Katsanov essay)
 Material For A Satire? William Balch (Extract contributed by Jack Lane)
 Thoughts About Theatre. Wilson John Haire. (Review of Brendan Clifford's Puritanism & The Theatre)
 Biteback: Voltaire, Nick Folley; Haughey, Philip O'Connor
 Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (Irish Water; Equality, Liberty & Fraternity; Equality And Same Sex Marriage; Dan Harvey Greggs Irish Shorthand. Niall Cusack
Labour Comment, The Triumph Of Workingmen's Cooperatives. Mondragon, Part 38

March

Hysteria. Editorial on attitudes to Sinn Fein's rise
 Greece And The Euro: David Without A Sling. Jack Lane
 A Little Bit Of Insolvency Goes A Long Way. Sean Owens on the Banking Inquiry
 Readers' Letters: Greece: Debt Mutualisation. Eamon Dyas
 Greek GDP. John Martin. Greek Development. Philip O'Connor
 ICTU's Forceful New Leader. Philip O'Connor on Patricia King appointment
 Pseudos Corner-Boys. Donal Kennedy (No. 3: Michael Gove)
 Why DD Sheehan Left Cork. Jack Lane (report)
 Shorts from the Long Fellow (Internet To Disappear?; Same Sex Marriage; Greek Tragedy; State & Private Debt)
 Regretting The War Of Independence. Jack Lane reports on Galway Debate
 Casting Cold Yeatsian Eyes At Revisionism, DeV And 'The Cruiser'. Manus O'Riordan
 Killing Them Softly. John Morgan, Lt. Col. (retd.) (Review of Sean Murphy's work on Kilmichael)
 Keynes' Critique Of Orthodox Theory. John Martin (Part 1 of series on Keynes' General Theory of Employment, Interest & Money)
 Who Dares Call You Paddy Now? Wilson John Haire
 Dollar As Reserve Currency. (Report of Valentin Katsanov view)
 Biteback: The Irish Bulletin. Donal Kennedy (Unpublished letter)
 Roisin Shortall's Principled Stand On Clare Daly Bill. Manus O'Riordan (Unpublished letter)
 Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (The Home Rule Crisis Of 1912-14)
 We Need To Reconsider Defence Co-operation. Tom Cooper (Report)
Labour Comment: Modern Catholic Guild Programme (1919). Mondragon, Part 39
 'God Damn The Pusherman', Seán Ó Riain
 Public Sector Myths, Michael Robinson

April

The Good, The Bad And The Ugly! Editorial on Irish Politics
 Charles Haughey on Social Partnership. Original Document, introduced by Philip O'Connor
 Central Bank Governor Bounce Checked. Sean Owens on the the Banking Enquiry

Aer Lingus. *Report*
Juncker Loses The Plot. *Jack Lane*
Pseuds Corner-Boys. *Donal Kennedy* (No. 4:
Sir Simon Jenkins and Sir Harold Evans)
Rent Cap Debauch: Alan Kelly should learn
from Angela Merkel. *Philip O'Connor*

Referendums On Presidential Age And Same
Sex Marriage. *Report*
Shorts from the *Long Fellow* (Government
Unpopularity; Sinn Féin; Quantitative
Easing; The German Model; Irish Income
Inequality; Newspaper Circulation; New
Book on *The Irish Times*)

Fianna Fail And Irish Development. *Tim
O'Sullivan; Nick Folley; Eamon Dyas*
Cork University Notices The AFIL. *Brendan
Clifford*

Descendancy? *Jack Lane* (Review of David
Fitzpatrick book)

The Yellow Limousine. *John Morgan, Lt.
Col. (retd.)* on Béal na mBláth

Remembering The Armenians. *Pat Walsh*
Biteback: Commemorate those killed by
Redmond's call to war. *Manus O'Riordan.*
The *Irish Times* and Home Rule. *Philip
O'Connor.* War or "Emergency"? *Philip
O'Connor* (Unpublished letters)

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (James
Dillon; 1916 Commemorations; Fianna Fail
and its 1916 Commemorations; Parity of
Esteem—Inclusiveness; Watch and learn
how Britain does things)

If You're Irish Come Into The Funeral Parlour.
Wilson John Haire (poem)

Labour Comment: Marx Was Right? French
Guilds and Technological Change
Mondragon, Part 40

Free Citizen? *Seán Ó Riain*

May

Fianna Fail: Down The Plughole? *Editorial*
O Brave New World! *Editorial* on Same Sex
Marriage Referendum

Banking Inquiry Update. *Sean Owens*

Libyan Refugees. *Editorial*

Readers' Letters: To whom is real honour
due! *Jack Lane*

Gallipoli: Myth Of Amnesia Refuted. *Donal
Kennedy*

Coolacrease. *Pat Muldowney*

Desmond Boal And Conor Cruise O'Brien.
Report of Liam O'Rourke Post

Shorts from the *Long Fellow* (Brexit; Irish
Times on Brexit; Wealth Taxes; International
Tax Rates; Garda Success)

"We Are Neutral". *Pat Maloney.* Report of
Evening Echo letter

Direct Action By The Workers' Association:
Vignette from 1972. *Report* and Photograph
The Soldiers Of Destiny. *Jack Lane* reviews
Donnacha Ó Beacháin book

Last Words Unsaid. *John Morgan* (Lt.Col.
retd.)

Casting Cold Yeatsian Eyes On Fianna Fail
Leadership. *Manus O'Riordan* (Part 2)

Consumption, Investment and Savings. *John
Martin.* Part Two of Series on Keynes's
General Theory of Employment, Interest and
Money

Biteback: The Irish Times – Anti-Sinn Féin
polemics. *Gerry Adams's* letter the *Irish
Times* refuses to print 20

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Democracy
and the May Referendum on Marriage; Court
Rule of Evidence; Library Amalgamations;
British History, their ceremonies and how
we Irish can learn from them—The funeral
of Richard 111

Corporation Tax — The Job Creation Myth.
Michael Robinson (Report of NIPSA News

article)

Giving In Order To Take. *Wilson John Haire*
(Poem)

Labour Comment: Lenin On Guilds.
Mondragon, Part 41

June

Home And Away. *Editorial*

Labour Disaster In Carlow-Kilkenny. *Philip
O'Connor*

Readers' Letters: Lusitania—A War Ship!
Pat Walsh

Who Gained What In The British Election?
Peter Brooke

Hurley Bats Honohan. *Sean Owens* (The
Banking Inquiry)

Jean-Claude Trichet At IIEA. *Sean Owens*
(The Banking Inquiry)

Pseuds Corner-Boys. *Donal Kennedy* (No. 5:
Stephen Collins)

A Neglected Centenary: May 1915. *Pat
Walsh*

Northern Ireland Results in UK Election.

"SDLP Presence Again Ensures Nationalist
Defeat". (Report of John McQuaige letter)

Shorts from the *Long Fellow* (The Fianna Fáil
Leader; Siteserv; The Politics of Siteserv;
Jean Claude Trichet; Fianna Fáil on Same
Sex Marriage; Liberalism—the New
Orthodoxy; Same Sex Marriage - Tax)

Some Sense About A Census. *Jack Lane*

Captain Poulter For The National! *John
Morgan* (Lt. Col. retd)

Two Lives: Gerry McKerr And Dessie
O'Hagan. *Sean McGouran*

Plugging The Gaps In A British Army Hero's
Obituary: Jack Harte (1920-2015)—A Later
Larkinite Anti-Imperialist. *Manus O'Riordan*
Results Of Referendums

'John Bowman'. Query To Readers

Seven Easter 1916 Widows. *Wilson John
Haire* (Review)

Before War Became Peace. When War Became
Peace. After War Became Peace. *Wilson
John Haire* (Three Poems)

Confused Thinking From Ferriter! *Jack Lane*
Lord Mountbatten—generous with the lives of
others. *Brendan Clifford*

The Keynesian Multiplier. *John Martin* (Part
Three of Series on Keynes's General Theory
of Employment, Interest and Money)

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Rights of
Victims of Crime; Computerisation of
Transport; Governance; Constitution of
Ireland)

Rampant Criminalisation. *Wilson John Haire*
(Poem)

Labour Comment: John Swift On The Guilds.
Mondragon, Part 42

July

FIFA: Away Win For The US. *Editorial*

Bew On Irish Peasant Anti-Semitism ! .
Editorial

The Regulators. *Sean Owens* (The Banking
Inquiry)

Readers' Letters: Aer Lingus. *Tim O'Sullivan*
(with Brian Berry letter)

Israeli Ministers About Palestine. Report from
David Morrison

Shorts from the *Long Fellow* (Brexit; Irish
Times Trademark; IBRC; Denis O'Brien;
Public Interest; FIFA Corruption; FAI
Corruption?)

Sean Murray. *Wilson John Haire* (Book
Review)

'16. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)

Irish Times Influence. *John Martin* (Book
Review)

The King's Lament. *John Morgan, Lt. Col.*
(Retd.)

Biteback: FIFA Shenanigans. *Simon
O'Donnell* (Report of Letter)

'John Bowman'. *Jeff Dudgeon* solves a mystery
Collusion. *Report*

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Tomás
Ceannt Commemoration; Waterloo;
Lusitania Disaster; Our Brave New World)

Labour Comment: Guilds: German Guilds.
Mondragon, Part 43

August

The Ukraine And 'International Law'. *Editorial*
Thoughts On The Greek Crisis. *Jack Lane*

McCreevy And Cowen Correct The Record.
Sean Owens (Banking Inquiry)

Report: Shareholding And Workers' Control.
Peter Brooke

Shorts from the *Long Fellow* (Greek Economy;
Greece and Ireland: the economy; Greece
and Ireland: the State; Syriza in Power;
Alexis Tsipras; The Economic Context)

Men Of No Consequence. *John Morgan* (Lt.
Col., retd.)

Catalan Government Honours Terence
MacSwiney In Cork. *Manus O'Riordan*

Transmission of Savings to Investment. *John
Martin* (Part Four of Series on Keynes's
General Theory of Employment, Interest and
Money)

1974 Strike 40 Years On. *Brendan Clifford*

Sniper. *Wilson John Haire* (Review: A Mad
And Wonderful Thing by Mark Mulholland)

Biteback: Grammar Of Anarchy. *Donal
Kennedy* (Report of Letter)

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Greece,
Ireland and Global Capitalism; Vulture
Capitalists; Finance Capitalism)

Errata for July Irish Political Review

Labour Comment; An Article On Shaming.
Seán Ó Riain

September

A Voice From The Doldrums. *Editorial*

O'Donovan Rossa Commemorated. *Philip
O'Connor*

Honohan Overruled. *Sean Owens* (The
Banking Inquiry)

The Irish Times On The Death Of O'Donovan
Rossa. *Manus O'Riordan*

Putting the record straight on O'Donovan Rossa.
Dr Shane Kenna (Report)

Ireland's War On Turkey. *Philip O'Connor*

The Craic Around Iraq. *Wilson John Haire*
(Poem)

Shorts from the *Long Fellow* (The Banking
Inquiry; The Guarantee (again); The Political
Fallout; British Labour)

A Day In Court. *Jack Lane* (Court Hearing On
British Informants)

No Freedom Of Information For British Court.
Barry Keane

The Great Disinfectant. *John Morgan* (Lt. Col.
retd.)

Demise Of The IPP. *Donal Kennedy*

Calais Refugees And Where Responsibility
Lies. *Eamon Dyas*

Nation-Building. *Jack Lane* (Review of
Brendan Bradshaw book)

The Malicious Mallet And The Censor's
Scissors. *Manus O'Riordan*

Nuclear Weapons: Iran & Israel. Cartoon
Origins: British Labour And Ireland. *Brendan
Clifford* (Review of *Ivan Gibbons* book)

Our Gallant Allies? *Pat Walsh*

The Rosenbergs & The Greenglasses. *Wilson
John Haire* (Review)

Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Common
Law Jurisdiction?)

Labour Comment: Lifting the lid on the
Liveries (Guilds). Mondragon, Part 44

October

Stormont House Crash. *Pat Walsh*
NAMA And The North. *Editorial*
Mansergh And 'International Law'. *Brendan Clifford*
Shorts from *the Long Fellow* (Newspaper Sales; The Economy; Low Pay; Irish Retail; Multinational Sector; Irish Rugby)
Re-Interpreting 1916? *Jack Lane*
Getting It Right On Rossa And The Fenians. *Manus O'Riordan*
The Influence Of Fenianism. *Arthur Griffith*
Interest and Money. *John Martin* (Part Five of Series on Keynes's General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money)
The Rosenbergs' Sons. *Wilson John Haire* (Review)
A Crowd Of Stiffs. *John Morgan* (Lt. Col., ret'd.)
When Belfast Rocked. *Wilson John Haire* (Poem)
Biteback: The Rising (letter to Irish Times). *Dave Alvey*
Commemorating O'Donovan Rossa. *Dr Brian P Murphy*, OSB (Report)
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Common Law Jurisdiction?)
An Irish Solution To A British Problem? *Jack Lane*
Labour Comment: The Livery Companies and Politics. Mondragon, Part 45

November

The Adventures of Sinn Fein. *Brendan Clifford*
Budget 2016: Another middle class budget. *John Martin*
The British banks and sins of omission. *Sean Owens* (Banking Inquiry)
Readers' Letters: Scholars, Gentlemen And Keeping The Sabbath Holy. *John-Paul McCarthy. Donal Kennedy*
Shorts from *the Long Fellow* (Entrepreneurs in Ireland; McWilliams on Wealth; NAMA; NAMA in Northern Ireland; NAMA and the DUP; Credit Union "Recovery")
David Fitzpatrick. *Niall Meehan* (Unpublished Letter)
Remembrance? *Peadar Laffan* (Report of Letter)
Reg Hathaway. Letter from *Matt Doyle* *Cumann Uaigheann na Laochra Gael* and comment by *John Morgan* (Lt. Col. Ret'd.)
The Chance To Read Connolly Unmediated. *Manus O'Riordan*
Caps Back To Front. *John Morgan* (Lt. Col. Ret'd.)
Interest and Employment. *John Martin* (Part Six of Series on Keynes's General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money)
Falsifying History. *Christopher Fogarty* (Letter to History Ireland)
Ethel Rosenberg Poem. *Wilson John Haire*
Biteback: Frank Busted. Unpublished Letter, *Brian O'Donoghue* (grandson of Frank Busted).
The Coventry Bombing. *Donal Kennedy*
Field Marshal Roberts. Report of Letters: *Niall Gillespie, Brian Ó Cinneide*
Does It Stack Up? *Michael Stack* (Ireland and Republic of Ireland; The 1922 Constitution and Professor Diarmaid Ferriter)
Finian McGrath, Senate reform
Labour Comment: Printers And The Guilds

Book Review: *Dying For The Cause, Kerry's Republican Dead.* Part 1

The Wars In Kerry

This book is written by Tim Horgan. He is a medical doctor from Tralee He, obviously, has a deep knowledge of the area. The book is a handsome tome of nearly 500 pages. It contains pen-pictures of Kerry's Republican dead, with many photographs. Some 160 were killed during the Easter Rising, the War of Independence, the 'Civil War' and subsequent troubles. The stories are often sad and many are harrowing. The book is produced by Mercier Press. A preface puts things in context. An Introduction follows, placing Kerry at the centre of things. "*It was Kerry here, Kerry there, Kerry, Kerry, everywhere.*"

There is some repetition, as the author acknowledges. It is necessarily so, but it is imaginatively done. It flows sequentially. Or geographically. It never palls. All the dead were men. They died for a free, united Ireland. The women gave their support and endured a lot. Pearse said, "*God loves the women more than the men; To the women He sends the greatest sorrows and the greatest joys.*"

Villains proliferate and fill the pages. Many are named and identified. Ogres have left red faces behind them. The occupying British forces did not wear kid gloves, but the Free State's military acted without restraint. Their deeds were inexplicable and almost unimaginable. A Hollywood horror movie producer would scarcely contemplate some of their excesses. Kerry was their canvas. The blood of its people was the paint of these *New Suppressionists*. An undiluted spilling and no tourniquet.

There were a few who desisted. Money, promotion, praise dangled, but a small number refused and would not participate. But the personnel of the Dublin Guard, the notorious regiment of the Free State Army, disgraced itself and all it stood for. It had been formed from the ASU (Active Service Unit), Dublin Brigade, during the Tan War, along with Collins' Squad from the same war. Heretofore, they killed to gain freedom, now killing became their way of life, as they left their victims' bodies in their wake. They had been given license to kill. But what oftentimes preceded the killing was worse. Torture, often for torture's sake, had become a norm. They were beyond restraint. There was nothing noble in their actions. No objective was better served by their deeds. In fact, they

demeaned that which they proclaimed. I think they were shamed by the acquiescence of their leaders. This percolated. All became tainted. The abandonment of an ideal has its inner repercussions. Though this does not explain all. Many were there for the money; some needed money, too, to feed families. And maybe the herd-instinct, oftentimes producing camaraderie, can produce animalistic instincts in those who pursue a given cause, especially when the rationale does not withstand analysis.

But *force majeure*, once again, would win the day. The Republic of Munster, gradually, was reduced and reduced. The end was nigh. There was no stypctic for this haemorrhage. The capital had already fallen.

Republican forces had been depleted. Free State forces, heavily reinforced by British Army personnel and impedimenta; with telling sea-landings, beyond resistance; had by now forced a withdrawal. The Anti-Treatyites were no longer a military factor, save in West Limerick, West Cork, and finally, Kerry. Jack-boots were on the march. The cities and towns had fallen. The vast volleys were being fired. Irishmen held Irishmen by the throats. What Britain could no do itself, it had got others to do.

The rural areas of Kerry were unaccepting of their new writ. But, brutality, when administered over time, can prove near-irresistible. The Republic had disintegrated. Some Column commanders for Kerry were seeking 'terms' from the new occupying forces, in order to save the lives of their soldiers. Everything was crumbling, as the steam-rollers flattened that which stood in their way. The Chief of Staff had fallen on a Tipperary mountain. His successor had called a halt. It was time to lay up arms. Those who had a home to go to, and could do so, went home. There was little or no employment. If they could afford it, many took to the boat. Many were looking out through barbed-wire, wondering when the gates would open. Freedom is a wonderful thing, but where would you get it? It was a Free State by name. And only by name, face blushed by the terms it had agreed upon, with the Master breathing still, perhaps, but with nostrils partially blocked.

When the British Army was cock-o-the-walk in Kerry, Ballymullen Barracks,

Tralee, was their seat of power. The principal force of this occupation was the Royal Munster Fusiliers. Disrespectfully known as *The Munsters*, they were aided and abetted by those RIC personnel who were stationed in the Kingdom. These were subsequently reinforced by the Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries. The Crown, still untilted, ruled the roost. The Easter Rising had been put down. But in a little place called Ballymacelligott, outside Tralee, there were some malcontents. Some people are never happy. Sceptre or spectre, they know not the difference. His Majesty's western flank was protected, it was thought. But wounds still festered. There were no antibiotics!

In the round-up, after the Easter Rising, the British-cast seine set up an indiscriminate bunch, which included the toothed and the untoothed. Many wound up in Frongoch, particularly. These included some unhappy citizens from Ballymacelligott. Through a set of circumstances of great unpredictability, they missed the Dublin Rising. *Ach, beidh lá eile ag an bPaorach* (There will be another day). The Royal Irish Constabulary, the eyes and ears of the Master, would take the first strike. Little did they know, as they lived off the fat which enveloped them. They were being watched, noted and recorded. Their pay-cheques kept arriving, but someone else might pick up their chips. They knew that resentment was in the air. They had their touts. There are always touts. And then the Ballymac boys struck.

Tralee is a Republican town. It was of thirteenth century Norman origins. Place-names and surnames betray its pioneers. The town, and its hinterland, became an Irish fastness. Independence had become a trait. Land, especially, became treasured. The "*Gall*" (foreigner) was resented. Organisations which opposed any outside influences prospered. The Land League, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Gaelic Athletic Association became of the people. They became symbolic. Gaelic football, especially, took a grip. Local rivalries developed. Tralee or Killarney? Take your pick. What of Listowel? Dingle? Cahirciveen? You can go on and on. "*Townie*" or "*buffer*". "*Tay and yellow bundas*" or "*Beef-steaks*". But all were united behind *Ciarraí*. And their country. There seems to have been an innate independence there, all the while. Though, later—as ever—there were those who kow-towed to the Gall. But, to update things, the Ballymac boys could never be accused of subservience. It was, Gortaclea, here we come. The RIC barracks in

Gortaclea (the field on the left) was the target.

The Ballymac Flying Column—at this stage in its infancy—was commanded by Tomás (Tommy) McEllistrim. He would go on to become one of the great local guerilla leaders of his time. He was to become a thorn in the British military occupation during the Tan War. Similarly, he would emerge again in the Civil War, on the Republican side. Fast forward, he would become a Fianna Fáil TD for North Kerry.. Tralee and its surrounds were to become his bailiwick. He would retain his Dáil seat until retirement from politics, to be succeeded by his son, of the same name, and by his son, again, on the demise of the father. Tommy McEllistrim, the freedom fighter, is numbered by the *cognoscenti* amongst the great military leaders. Now, along with his Ballymac soldiers, he would lead the first attack on His Majesty's forces, since the Easter Rising. His father, again, had been an elected representative, making four of the same family, down the male lineage; father to son, to son, to son. Gortaclea would resound to sounds of an attack on an RIC Barracks, though it is not accepted, in the context of history, as the beginning. But it presaged it. Perhaps, to coin a cliché, the start of the beginning. Tommy McEllistrim, too, had graduated from Frongoch, where, like the rest, he attended with some reservations. He had grown up where the activities of the Moonlighters set the tone of resistance to the Stranger. No doubt Frongoch added more steel.

On 13th April 1918, Tommy McEllistrim led the attack on the RIC barracks. Things did not go to plan. Fire was exchanged. Two of the Column were hit by gun-fire. Both were to die, KIA (Killed in Action). But McEllistrim had the bit between his teeth. The RIC, who had killed the two volunteers, were attending the inquest in Tralee. McEllistrim and John Cronin, in the centre of Tralee, in broad daylight, shot and killed the two RIC men. The Ballymac boys waited in a tavern in Castle Street. They could observe the Court House area, to the rear. They watched as things unfolded. They exited at the optimum moment, confronted the RIC and shot them both.

Time elapsed. In the meantime, much ensued. In March 1920, McEllistrim's Column again attacked Gortaclea RIC Barracks, and destroyed it. The British writ no longer ran. This Flying Column was one of the most active. They receded and assessed Crown movement. They sought them out. Engaged them. Out-

thought them and outfought them. The Ballymacelligott Flying Column and the 2nd Battalion of No. 2 Brigade were to gather fame. When people mentioned Ballymac, they did so with respect. The Volunteers took the blows, during the Tan War. And, again, in the 'Civil War'. They'd been led with vigour and élan. Their leader had the characteristics that were required. He is highly regarded by the knowledgeable amongst the great guerilla experts. He had a mixture of intelligence, resolve, courage and commitment. These characteristics were uncontrived. Such people emerge, without preparation, to surprise all, themselves included. Without "*tír grádh*" (patriotism) they would not have held the stage. The women of their families bore the brunt, too. They suffered at the hands of the oppressors, as well.

The first of Kerry's "*Republican Dead*" to figure in *Dying For The Cause* is John 'Sonny' Conway. He was born in Abbey Street. I remember his brother, Dan Joe, who had won All-Irelands for Kerry. Then again, many men from that era, whom I knew in Tralee, had won All-Ireland medals. They'd say nothing, nor would he.

When we were young we'd go to the pictures in "*Jerry Mac's*", in the Ashe Memorial Hall. We'd go, afterwards, to the Town Park. We play among 'The Rocks'. We'd stand on the biggest rocks and beat our chests and roar, "*Geronimo*". We'd be facing towards the Prince's Street Gate. "*Geronimo*", we'd roar again. "*Geronimo*". Hordes would come in the gate. All from the Abbey and Mary Street. Rushing towards us, shouting "*Morrigan. We'll get you, Morrigan.*" Inside, I'd be sinking. I'd feel an emptiness in my stomach. There was no more, "*Geronimo*". I'd have a quick look about. Which way would I run? And how fast could I go? Would I make it to the Castle Countess Gate? All around me chestnuts would be plopping down from the trees. Plop, plop, plop. My pals would be running, too, pursued by the Abbey Street hordes. Would we reach that gate? At the end of our tether, we'd make the gate. We'd reached Castle Countess. The hordes would arrive on our heels. But they'd stop at the gate. "*Morrigan.*" There would be much brandishing of fists. "*We'll get you, Morrigan?*" And I'd feel safe again, somehow. This was our bailiwick. Do not enter.

Now the first mention and photograph in *Dying For The Cause* is of John Conway of Abbey Street. He was a volunteer in 'A' Coy, 1st Battalion, Kerry No. 1 Brigade. Later, in 1922, he was transferred to the

9th Battalion. He was arrested and held in custody in the Workhouse Barracks, which lay outside Tralee. There he was shot dead by Captain Patrick Byrne, on 24th February 1923. Byrne was an officer in the Dublin Guard. He was from Gardiner St. in Dublin. He shot John Conway opposite Rath Cemetery, Tralee. He said the prisoner was attempting to escape. Later Byrne confessed he'd summarily executed him. It was officially recorded that the deceased had been shot six times. The notorious General Paddy Daly gave evidence at the Inquest. Byrne was obviously unstable. Yet he was permitted to continue on active duty in the Barracks. It was a case of "*Well, hello, Dublin Guard*". This was but the tip of the iceberg. Tim Horgan's book has its pages filled with scoundrels. Some of them were not only bad, but mad too. How else to explain? General Daly was the O/C, Free State Forces, in Kerry. His Command would go on to conduct the Rape of Kerry. What was to come was a blood *fest*.

While the country was under direct British Rule, the Auxiliaries were concentrated in Tralee. They were billeted mostly in small hotels, or large house, in Ashe Street (formerly Nelson Street). They were highly mobile and moved in numbers. Aggression, speed and brutality were their hallmarks. They were comprised of former officers from the British Armed Services. They were a mixed bag. They had no standards. They would reach down to the lowest level. They were possessed of that superiority complex which is endemic to the British officer class. They had contempt for the Irish. They had contempt for any foreigner, of any hue. They adhered to the maxim of the American Confederate General, Nathan Bedford Forrest, "*Get there firstest, with the mostest*" (though they may not have heard of him). That is, until Kilmichael and one Tom Barry. Meanwhile, in Tralee, they were enjoying things. Having a whale of a time, rampaging throughout the Kingdom.

They motored through the countryside. They were contemptuous of the natives. They fired on everything and anything. They'd have a pot-shot, no matter.

Their Officer Commanding was Major John McKinnon. He was O/C "H" Coy, of the Auxiliary Division, based in Kerry. He was noted for his fearlessness and ferocity. But, in the Spring, April and May 1921 were wicked months. McKinnon was killed on 15th April. Then on 14th May Head Constable Francis Benson was lethally despatched. They were KIA by Volunteers under the command of John

Hoe Sheehy, Tralee, the famed Kerry footballer and committed Republican.

McKinnon's killing machine operated out of the Technical School, in Moyderwell, in Tralee. He hailed from Kilmarnock in Scotland. Around here was concentrated a large Scottish 'Hun' populace, locally known as "*Jambos*". (The home of jam-manufacture.) On Christmas Eve 1920 he shot dead two captured Volunteers, John Lean and Mossy Reidy, in Ballymacelligott. He remained unimpressed by the attempts upon his own life. He went wherever he wished, and did whatever he wanted to do. His killing was prioritised by John Joe Sheehy. A plan evolved. McKinnon would be got. He was known to play golf on the local course, in Oakpark. On 15th April 1920 he was out of luck. A small unit of IRA lay in wait for several days. McKinnon turned up. On the third green McKinnon was hit by a shot, fired by Volunteer Con Healy, a noted marksman. His second round struck the Major too. He fell. His golfing partners had run for cover. He lay there, dead. The ambush party dissolved. Exeunt McKinnon. One more 'Jambo' was gone.

Healy had contracted tuberculosis and died in 1922, aged 24. It had been a coup by John Joe Sheehy and his men. It struck a tremor through the forces of the Crown. They were on a downer. No enemy of the people would ever find ease of passage through Tralee. They would have to make a reassessment. The upper-hand was teetering. Who was calling the tune now? ("*The Pale moon was rising!*") The streets of Tralee were unwelcoming of the Stranger, haunted by ghosts of the past.

When we'd go to the pictures in Gerry Mac's, there would be Goodies and Baddies. "*The Boy*" would be the *Numero Uno* of the Goodies. The Baddies would be all over the place. In the context of occupation, there were Baddies, foreign and native, everywhere you looked. Lift up a stone and the creepy-crawlies were everywhere. But there were local Goodies about too. Their names spring to mind. Tommy McEllistrom, John Joe Rice, John Joe Sheehy, Paddy Paul FitzGerald, Paddy Cahill, Austin Stack. There were many, many more, but I'd best stop. The more that I mention, the more that I omit. Where should I begin? Where should I stop?

But the baddies! They linger all the while. By their deeds shall they be known. They were not perhaps the creation of a demented mind. But their actions were the creations of such a mind. There was a lot that they might profess, but a lot more to which they might confess. Kerry had its

fill of British military, RIC, Tans, Auxies; who were in time replaced by the Free State Army and, less controversially, the Civil Guards. But, in Kerry, young men met with violent deaths in greater numbers than elsewhere. The banging at the door, in the dark, reverberated more frequently. Violence reached low levels under the British system, only to be plumbing the depths lower when the Free State, ever further as sub-humans, descended where none else had ventured hitherto. Had Cromwell been resurrected? Well it might be asked. ("*The sun was declining...!*")

Some—a few—Free State officers responded with chivalry. One such was Brigadier Eamon Horan. He saved Republican prisoners when it was possible to do so. He was the human face of the army to which he belonged. Eventually he resigned. He would not be part of, or privy to, what was being perpetrated. He was a native of Tralee. He knew many of those who were being suppressed. He was above such methods. He remained in Tralee for his whole lifetime; respected by all. Again, he participated in Duffy's Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, another desperate venture. In Spain, he parted with General O'Duffy, as this hopeless intrusion foundered. Again, he retained the respect bestowed upon him by the people of Republican Tralee, returning there after Spain.

And there were other Free State officers who behaved with honour. One such was he who spoke out after the atrocity at Bahaghs, in Cahirciveen. One such too was Comdt. Niall Harrington. But a small minority of honourable men will not give honour to a cause which is inherently unjust. Sometimes people walk blindly on a road to nowhere. Sometimes they find themselves where they ought not to be.

Dilemmas may present themselves. Decisions are required. Here the integrity of the man is tested. A cause without integrity is one that true men will not pursue. A life-time—anyone's life-time—will be constituted of dilemmas, one following the other. Decision will follow decision. Not all will be good decisions. The best to be hoped for is that, occasionally, a good decision will ensue, especially when such a good decision entails a serious dilemma. If you're losing, don't chase the money. To splurge on the last race in order "*to get out*" is fatal. You don't risk it for a biscuit. Otherwise, you're busted. ("*The cool shades of evening their mantles were spreading.*")

John Morgan (Lt. Col. Retd.)
TO BE CONTINUED

This letter was submitted to History Ireland, but not published.

Falsifying History

History Ireland (HI) magazine (Sept/Oct, 2015) purports to shed light on the 1845-1850 Holocaust by citing Sir William Robert Wills Wilde. It concludes by perfuming Wilde's enthusiasm for ethnic-cleansing via murder. How deceptive is HI? It completely covers up the at-gunpoint Food Removal. It conceals the fact that more than half of Britain's then-empire army (67 of a total of 130 regiments[1]) participated in that five million[2] person genocide that HI still labels "famine"[3] and "unintentional." "Unintentional" applies only if the food-stripping army was in mutiny. Where's proof of mutiny?

Having thus plumbed the depths of evil, HI also promotes the following lesser falsehoods.

HI's article resurrects the genocide-friendly notion of "Ireland's Potato People" last conjured for the Holocaust's 150th anniversaries in 1995-2000. That earlier promotion even more crudely depicted Ireland's "potato people" as having died off of "Terminal Stupidity;" of growing only one failure-prone crop, thus having "improved the world's gene pool by falling into a lethal trap of their own making." Why would HI's editors repeat that old, vile "potato people" slur of the murdered millions?

A lesser though significant HI omission is that of "Sir" earned by Wilde from the British Crown in 1864; a knighthood earned "more for his involvement with the census than for his medical contributions[4]." Wilde's "involvement with the census" is abetted by HI. The article, like Wilde himself, falsely portrays as an epidemic of diseases what actually was a massively-organized genocide[5].

Other inconvenient facts are omitted: Sir William Wilde was a member of Ireland's Ascendancy, Church of Ireland,

and kin of genocidal English Lord Mount Sandford in Kilkeevin. Kilkeevin was eclipsed by the new town of Castlerea that grew outside that lord's demesne gates. Castlerea's eclipsing of Kilkeevin is due to Lord Wills-Sandford's British army-enforced usurpation, like other landlords in Ireland, of essentially all of the agricultural wealth produced by the people for miles around. He arrogated to himself the spending of all of that wealth. A year's work on such estates was typically remunerated by a site for a cabin and a few acres the worker cultivated for his own use. Thus England's landlords in Ireland perpetrated history's longest (centuries-long) organized robbery of an entire nation's output. Similarly Castlebar grew outside Lord Lucan's gates; Westport outside Lord Sligo's gates; Strokestown outside "Lord" Pakenham-Mahon's gates, etc.

Despite having "cashed out" of thousands of acres, the estate of Lord Mount Sandford (Henry Wills-Sandford) still comprised 24,410 acres[6] in 1883 (like all landlords' land Deeds, based upon confiscation). Contemporaneously, Lord Sligo (Mr. Browne), in addition to other "fee lands," possessed 114,881 acres, and "Lord" Pakenham-Mahon (Mr. Henry Sandford Pakenham-Mahon) possessed 28,123 acres. Irish landlords? It was Pakenham relative General Edward Pakenham who was killed in 1815 leading Britain's army against America in New Orleans.

In addition to a multi-thousand acre estate in England, in 1883 Lord Ashbrook (Henry Flower) possessed 23,050 Co. Laois acres around his Castle Durrow. In 1836 he evicted my granduncle Andrew Fogarty and grandaunts Mary and Sera and their parents from their land in Ballykealy, Durrow. My paternal grandfather Kieran Fogarty was born in

July 1839 in a temporary shelter beside the lord's gallows uphill of Durrow.

Ireland's landlords are gone –back to England. Ireland's Ribbonmen, Land league, and international outrage against the landlords' genocidal usurpations of Ireland's production forced Britain to buy the landlords out (at above-market prices) and repatriate them to England nearly all between 1900 and 1910. Their crimes continued until their departure. As Lords and M.P.s they had employed their legislative clout to use Britain's army to remove a torrent of Irish food[7], starving its producers.

HI's inadvertent self-refutation? The article states; "...more than half of Ireland's 'pre-Famine' population of 8.5 million[8] consumed only potatoes and buttermilk." If buttermilk existed, what do IH editors think happened to the butter?

Your article even includes anti-Irish cartoons. Oughtn't "History Ireland" be re-named Propaganda Britain? Also; don't IH editors grasp that concealing a genocide invites more of them?

[1] British National Archives Records WO 378/7

[2] *Ireland 1845-1850, the Perfect Holocaust, and Who Kept it "perfect."* Pages 95-111.

[3] The old, discredited lie we were all taught in schools.

[4] Wikipedia

[5] *Ireland 1845-1850: the Perfect Holocaust...* pages 188—237.

[6] This acreage and others mentioned here are from *The Great Landowners of Great Britain and Ireland; a List of All Owners of Three Thousand acres and Upwards (1883)*

[7] *Ireland 1845-1850: the Perfect Holocaust...* Exhibits B (The Times news of food landings) and D (Ordnance Survey Maps)

[8] *Ibid*: Chapter 6.

Christopher Fogarty

Harris And Micheál

Sam Smythe wrote in *The Irish Mail on Sunday*:

"Last week I met columnist Eoghan Harris and told him that Micheal Martin is the best communicator of all the party leaders. The former senator was surprised: didn't I know he was advising the Fianna Fáil leader? And then he went on to praise his client while inadvertently flattering himself." (November 8, "Martin's on a roll, so why lean on Harris the hater?").

We are indebted to **Manus O'Riordan** for drawing this to our attention!

Does
It
Up

Stack
?

GLOBALISATION?

One of my favourite writers, Bill Bryson, was in the news recently because he had been awarded the 2015 International Recognition Award in the Bord Gáis Energy Irish Book Awards. He is on record as saying he has always wanted to travel and perhaps it is something to do, he says, "with growing up in *Des Moines, Iowa in the middle of nowhere*". This "middle of nowhere" surprised me because I have known of Des Moines ever since my sister had a pen-friend there back in the '50s. Bill Bryson's parents were—according to him—both Irish Catholics and over the years he has visited Ireland on many occasions. His mother is still alive at 102 and so hopefully there is a lot more mileage in Bill who presently lives in Hampshire, UK, with his wife Cynthia.

Thinking about Bill Bryson's peregrinations reminded me of some of my own flights of fancy. In 1973, I was invited to visit Tokyo, Japan in a professional capacity and I eagerly accepted. I had a large, about five feet wide, wall map of the World and on it I visualized a journey by train across Europe and Asia by Trans Siberian Railway to Ulan Bator and across Mongolia to Vladivostok and by sea then on to Japan and Tokyo. I studied Rand McNally's *Travel Atlas of the World* and Thomas Cook's International Rail Timetable and how to deal with currency on the way—no credit cards then—a knapsack full of tinned food was recommended.

Eventually, I realised it would take me two or three weeks to get to Tokyo and then I had to get back and I could not be away for so long. I had to settle for Aer Lingus to London and Pakistan Airlines from London to Tokyo. Even so, it took two and a half days of hard travel. Which was faster than a telegram—Tokyo was so far removed from Ireland that a telegram handed in at Cork GPO took four days to get to Tokyo at a cost of £4.80 and, if express service was needed it cost £9.60 and it would get to Tokyo in two days. Western Union controlled the telegraph lines then.

Which leads me to think of the greatest

empire which has ever existed. It was that of the Great Khan—Ghenghis Khan who lived and conquered in the 12th century. Across his empire—it used to take months for a message to travel. His son Ogodei was Khan after Ghenghis and when Ogodei died in Mongolia on 11th December 1241 after an all-night party in his palace, the news took until March 1242 to get to his army in Hungary—three months later.

Ghenghis Khan set up Postal Stations throughout his empire—he set up 1400 in China alone—and thousands of horses and oxen were kept to service these stations for the convenience of official messengers and travelling merchants.

On a good day, the messengers could cover 250 miles but that was exceptional. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV sent several envoys to the ruler of Asia. One of these, the Franciscan John of Plano Caprini, travelled from Lyons in France via Poland where he was joined by Benedict of Poland who acted as interpreter and they travelled on through Russia to Mongolia. He left Lyons on 16th April 1245 and arrived in Mongolia on 22nd July 1246—fifteen months travelling. John of Plano Caprini made a detailed report to the Pope when he arrived back in Lyons on 18th November 1247. He was aged 65 at this time. His report is in the Vatican Archives.

Interestingly, some of the Mongolians were Nestorian Christians, followers of Nestorius who was Patriarch of Constantinople in 428 and who preached a heresy that the divinity and humanity of Christ were not united in one personality. Khubilai Khan's mother, Sorghaghtani Beki, was a Nestorian and, as Regent until her son came of age, was notably tolerant of Buddhism and Taoism among subjects of the Khan. When Khubilai built a new city north of Peking in China he brought craftsmen and technical experts from Europe to supplement the Chinese workers.

The traffic was not all one way because art experts recognise that Chinese art had a distinct influence on Persian painting in the 12th century, as had the excellence of Korean porcelain. The Empire of the four Great Khans lasted for a little over 100 years but it had a huge effect on cultural exchanges over the enormous area of the Empire, which stretched from Korea to Myanmar and to the Black Sea. It included China, Russia, Kazakhstan and North West India. Hungary was its furthest west extent in Europe.

Khubilai Khan had announced his intention of establishing a world-wide peace. In his earlier vigorous years this seemed a possibility. But he was human and when Chabi—his wife—died, he declined into feasting and enjoying the magnificence of his court until he died in 1294. His empire was divided among his four sons, one of whom established the Yuan dynasty in China.

Khubilai had attempted globalisation but the world proved too big for him to conquer in one lifetime. He would of course have become aware when he became Emperor of China that the Chinese navy had discovered a great land across the Pacific Ocean to the east, now known as America. Great as Khubilai Khan was—he had not conquered India, Africa and Western Europe.

Alexander the Great of Greece thought in his time he was set for world conquest. The Roman Empire seemed great in its day as did the Spanish and British Empires in their times. But the most notable fact about all of the Empires is how much of the world they did not conquer.

Is it the same today? Look at the world and see how much of it is not within the sphere of influence of the USA, for example? It is futile for any Great Power to seek world domination.

Powerful interests are at the present time seeking to dominate the world through the use of technology, computers and instant communications, but it is all dependent on electricity and all it takes is for one electrical genius to invent systems which will take down even the best technology by the use of stratospheric electrical fields. Experience of the past has shown that if it can happen—it will happen.

Peace and tolerance should be our aim and not war and conquest. If the United Nations was doing its work properly—any nation attacking or oppressing any other nation should be ostracised. The UN cannot do its work as long as it is beholden to one big nation. It should ideally be headquartered in a small state, preferably its own state, so as to be truly independent for the sake of peace. But alas, peace seems to be the last thing anyone now seems to want as calls for "war" ever loudly emanate from nearly all world leaders. What a tragedy for humankind!

Michael Stack ©

Positivity? continued

to happen in places like Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile in Portugal, the leader of the Socialist Party, Mr. Costa, now appears to be the PM-Elect. A new coalition is likely to take power. Along with his party, he holds an overwhelming majority of seats in parliament, with the aid of Oblocos or EA and the Communist group. The Socialist Party is considerably bigger than the other two parties combined. The President of Portugal at first tried to stop such a Government coming to power. He felt the need to defend the perceived threat to security and austerity in Europe that would appear to outweigh mere votes. Giving Ministries to Portuguese Communists and the EA, which is Portugal's answer to Syriza, seemed to be too frightening. This is the same European Union now supervising our collective negotiations on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) which is happening behind closed doors. Of course any done deal does not require the **sanction** of any directly elected layer of government.

Mr. Costa, against expectation, won a primary within his own country earlier in the year, much like the victory of Jeremy Corbyn in British Labour. Portugal's mainstream left never went as far to the right as Blair's party in the UK, but this new change is significant nonetheless. With Spain expecting an election in 2016, there is a strong belief that it will be won by a combination of Catalan Nationalists and Podemos the other new left in Iberia. There seems to be a pattern emerging in southern Europe which might mean a positive new chapter in political development.

The next French Presidential election could be a straight competition between the current Socialist incumbent and the Front National with perhaps the UMP pushed into third place.

Mainstream politician Jacques Maynard, speaking on Channel 4 news on November 14th in response to the Paris killings, stated that the Schengen arrangement clearly does not work any more and needs to be reviewed. There now seems to be considerable change in what is considered mainstream political commentary that would not have been foreseen even two years ago. The Summer migration crisis contributed to this as well. In a military sense it is becoming clear that neither a naive pacifism or a continuation of UK and United States unilateralism in world affairs can be of any positive use.

Hopefully those seeking sane global policies and who see themselves as having humanitarian instincts to pursue justice would work to pile pressure on the reactionary state of Turkey. The two largest political parties there are beholden to the corrupt and vicious army. That state may need to have its own spring revolution but it is essential to allow the citizens of that country to do it for themselves. Meanwhile there should be a broad boycott of Egypt where the most blatant anti democratic coup of recent years has been facilitated by the West thus empowering the brigand behaviour of the dictator General Sissi.

Of course in a natural geopolitical theatre that would be stable, several poles of power will exist whereby several big countries will wield regional influence in areas close to their territory. It is natural that Russia and Iran should be allies. Thus linking a zone of influence from Syria by Kurdistan and Iran taking in Azerbaijan, South Ossetia also parts of Yemen, Eastern Ukraine and Belarus. In time this might extend to Serbia. Eventually there may be a link to Pakistan as its neighbour India now seems to be going through a phase of intense pro-American ideology that may well last for a generation.

CANADA

The younger M. Trudeau has won the general election in Canada by a landslide. It is interesting when one considers that for most of the last two or three years opinion polls had his Liberal Party in third place. He replaces Stephen Harper, one of the longest serving PMs in modern times, as well as probably being the most pro-US leaders in Canadian history. Young Trudeau only entered parliament in 2008 and indeed had a rapid rise in his party ever since he gave the oration at his own father's funeral. The Liberals gained the largest majority of votes in Quebec since the era of Trudeau the first. The Liberals dominated on the Atlantic coast and Toronto and in the east in general. The new PM announced a Cabinet that is 50% female. His official policy includes the legalization of cannabis and he seems intent on prolonging the current moratorium on fracking. This is in contrast to Harper, who took Canada out of the Kyoto Principles. It is also significant in that Canada has a reserve of tar and sand oils ready for exploitation that is as big in volume as any other part of the planet.

UNITED STATES

Even in the United States there is a

movement of ordinary people starting to realise that people who work in call centres need to be paid better and that zero hour contracts in the retail sector can and should be challenged. Could we be seeing the first significant increase in Trade Union recruitment since the 1970s? Those who are waiting for a supernatural deliverance to determine their destiny are now seen to be very much in the minority though there will likely be a time-lag before this effect is felt in terms of significant election results.

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The world environmental movement is still strong. It is now recognised by many that we live in a single planet limited by a finite ecosystem. Organisation in the western world is increasing in opposition to TTIP (incorporating TISA). In terms of civic society the populace may be catching up with the successful activist contribution that has been implemented in government in Bolivia and Venezuela. This is in spite of an insurgency in Bolivia led by mercenaries bank rolled by western interests trying to set up a puppet separatist state. It reminds one of the conspiratorial novel '*Nostramo*' by Joseph Conrad. Of course the conspirators and their actions are not highlighted by the commentators in the Western media. It seems terrorism in one place is not as important as in another.

"WHERE TO?"

Are the above points simply a jumble of facts, coincidences and temporary influences joining up in the current crisis? I admit this may well be true but then so could the origins of the Second World War. What is true is that even compared to two years ago questions and suggestions are being put openly and considered in conventional politics. It is also the case that in the midst of an ocean of nonsense and twittering on the internet there are some islands forming linkages for progressive action in our time.

Sometimes contemporaries at moments of and events of note do not know that they are riding the wave of change and disruption of the status quo. Wars and conflicts are not going away but neither will there be a continuation of an unquestioning acceptance of American and UK unilateralism. The military complex is not all-powerful. The dream of never ending artificial growth as taught by neoliberal economists is clearly now empty rhetoric. Yes, new groups, values and arrangements are welcome. It is a long time since such uncertainty can be said to be positive.

Seán Ó Riain

Uncertain Positivity?

Some time ago, I wrote about the need for new political parties which would have new starting positions and for existing parties to realign in ways that make sense in the 21st century. Have we made any progress since? We might look at Ireland first. We once had Progressive Democrats, it is argued that they are reborn in Renua. The point is reasonably accurate but a bit too general in order to complete a worthwhile study. The P.Ds in United States terms was a conservative party on economics. Like many in US, they liked the theory of business more than an understanding of day-to-day commercial activity. It was a party of solicitors, economists and some other middle-class people who could afford to have investments (mainly in property) rather than small shopkeepers or engineers.

It is said it was a party that was liberal on social issues but this is not quite the full story. They had a wing that took the liberal line on sexuality, gender, private morality etc. This wing was made up of Mary Harney, Michael McDowell, Liz O'Donnell and Pat Cox, but many of their representatives were disinterested in such matters, as were many of the party's voters and supporters. They were not entirely politically correct and, for instance, Dessie O'Malley was very pro-hare coursing. In the UK, they would have cuddled up to the Kenneth Clarke wing of the Tories. They were pro-Europe fanatics but only inasmuch as this meant blind loyalty to certain EU institutions (but not the Commission) and to certain approved office holders in those institutions and in the Western European Union. A far cry from building a better Europe made more accountable to all its peoples.

RENUA

There are similarities with Renua, as in the pro-European screeching. Yet, Renua is very generation specific. It is made up of people who, as far as their parents and themselves are concerned, experienced large increases in nominal wealth during the Celtic Tiger—so now they are like the children who have had their toys taken away. They believe that some form of **black magic** has denied them ever increasing growth rates and property values : to which they feel entitled as much as we might expect the effect of the rays of heat from the sun. While they blame bankers, they also blame Trade Unions, advocates of the homeless, cultural nationalists, low ranking public servants

and people who believe communities can do a lot more for themselves. Renua probably tilt a bit conservative on social issues but they don't push it because they now believe that there are just not enough votes remaining in it. For the sake of colour and razzamatazz they are fine and as entitled as anyone else to participate in the political circus.

LABOUR PARTY

Meanwhile Irish Labour seem to lack much reason to exist. Except for a few narrow issues, including abortion and gay marriage, they believe they act as an influence tilting Fine Gael towards sexual and personal morality in a slightly more liberal direction than would otherwise be the case.

SINN FEIN

Sinn Fein now seem to take up the space the old left of Fianna Fail used to occupy—which included figures such as Frank Aiken and Brian Lenihan Snr. They were people who were tough as nails but also compassionate and of stature. It will be interesting to see if this new phase of SF will cope well with the ebb and flow of the tides which often influence parties seen as coming in from outside the centre in European politics such as currently in Greece and Portugal.

ANTI-AUSTERITY ALLIANCE

The Socialist Party or Anti-Austerity Alliance (AAA) has succeeded in doing something singular, inasmuch as compared to the SWP of the late Seventies and Eighties, the Socialist Party now make the latter look sophisticated (in a positive way) and cogent. Joe Higgins and friends could not manage a smash up in a crockery shop. Leading people to the top of the hill and bringing them down again and quoting Trotsky and Lenin soon starts to become shrill.

NEW FIANNA FAIL

The Official Fianna Fail, or 'Stickie' Micheal Martin Fianna Fail, is dead in the water. He now trips over himself to be more avidly pro-1922 Treaty than the current Government. He never mentions the many achievements of the Haughey era and never explains his own complete failure as a Minister : smoking ban my arse!

SMALLER GROUPS

Shane Ross and his Independent Alliance are challenging the party whip system and the appointments system. There is only so much a loosely-held opposition group of TDs can achieve in a single four or five year parliamentary term.

The Social Democrats seem to be a decent bunch. Their top trio have a good knowledge of why Local Government does not work in

this country. Secondly, the issue of public tendering as well as the effectiveness of public inquires is a good start. If they were to take up another area for attention it might well be good to consider security for the elderly in Rural Ireland (we can forgive you for a lot, Dev.) Another would be the control of health and well-being by the drug conglomerates.

There are some other Independents on the Left who are interesting. Trade unionist, Brendan Ogle, Declan Bree, the former Labour deputy from Sligo, as well as the recent political escapee from Labour, Tommy Broughan. Until now none of them have lined up with any of the existing groups. They seem to have learned from the mistakes of the centre-left over the last generation and more. It is important to combine compromise on some occasions while at other times it is essential to be both radical and mobilised without turning into a cult.

FINE GAEL

And what of Fine Gael? Internally their political structure appears to be in relatively good health. It makes sense that those who only want very marginal change should seek to ensure Kenny remain Taoiseach after the 2016 election. Possibly one or two years after that things might get interesting. Probably post the next election the largest party will have a number of options open to it. There may be a three or more party coalition, including Labour. Fine Gael might lead a minority Government with the support of another considerable party or they might form a coalition with Fianna Fail. Yet any of those arrangements could become rickety in two or three years. By then Kenny himself might be tempted by a plum job in Europe.

EUROPE

Syriza has made a breakthrough in Greece with a fresh mandate to rule just a year after first entering office. Both the conservative right and the insane left claim the Government has achieved little and driven the general public to become disenchanted and redirected to inactivity.

However, I greatly doubt this! Supply side economics were never good in Greece. Pasok, and then the Democrats who sucked in Pasok in more recent times, neglected to raise taxes for years. Indeed, they spoke little of it. The new Government is collecting taxes, otherwise the state would collapse. The continuing question is how much of that income, and over what period of time, is handed back to lenders. If the squeeze is too tight the state will collapse. That would mean a failed state in the heart of Europe. Such things are only supposed

continued on page 24

MONDRAGON continued

member, one vote", with the exception of the GM/CEO who may contribute to the discussion, but not vote

* (The Directors' Council is intended to be "an informal advisory body" which meets monthly to review the business and formulate its response to developments in the co-op.)

* The Social Council

Elected by the worker-members, via natural work-groups, teams or vocationally-based representative bodies. The Social Council is intended to scrutinize and approve the impact of business decisions on membership conditions, grievance and disciplinary procedures, earnings, safety, health, welfare, etc.

It must be consulted by the Governing Council on these issues.

These structures have endured, with a little tweaking and changes in how these six basic elements are named, as will be seen in the literature published over the years.

III. "Ownership and Financial Participation Structures in Mondragon"

The hundred-odd co-ops within Mondragon are *autonomous* businesses with the ultimate right to stay in, or leave Mondragon. Thus far, very few co-ops have opted to leave. The majority recognize the value added to their co-ops through the Mondragon comprehensive support system.

This leads to the point that co-ops may negotiate with the Mondragon Corporation variations in the financial arrangements described here, depending on the exigencies of the co-op's business. Thus one may come across different sets of figures and items presented in the literature. Here, a generalized "template" is used, to provide a sense of the ownership structure.

Looking at how surpluses are distributed between all the constituent parts of Mondragon—and the wider community—is the best way to understand how Mondragon works as a non-authoritarian, horizontal, coordinator and support for a collective of voluntarily affiliated co-ops, with wider social commitments.

What is described here is a template based mainly on a Mikel Lezamiz lengthy interview with Amy Goodman (available on Youtube) and follow-on discussion between the author and Mikel during a recent visit. As a cross-check the excellent "*Capital and the Debt Trap*", by Claudia Sanchez Bajo and Bruno Roelants, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, was used.

How the cooperatives' surpluses are shared

* Note: *Non-cooperative*/subsidiary production plants/facilities surplus distribution is not included here.

1. Gross Surplus share-out:

First 10% = Mondragon Investment Funds

- to set up new co-ops
- to set up new businesses*

Where business logic dictates, MCC may open an office or plant or retail outlet, recruit employees in the conventional commercial way, while taking a long term view of cooperativising the business—local socio-political and legal systems permitting.

In the past, Gen. Mgrs/CEOs were sent from Mondragon Corporation. Mondragon is now switching to appointing local managers with a commitment to cooperativism.

40% of the cost of opening a new plant abroad is borne by the Mondragon Investment Fund. 60% is raised by the plant through the Caja Kutxa.

Internationalisation:

Part of the Investment Fund goes to probing foreign markets for business opportunities.

Until plants are fully "incorporated" into the Mondragon Corporation as affiliated co-ops one supposes their surpluses would be lodged in the Investment Funds.

2% = Education funds

To Mondragon's own University and Technology centres.

2013 Annual report gives the number of students at Education Centres as 11.400.

2% = Solidarity Fund

To fund losses/cash flow shortfalls in the coops

(+Tax and other Local and Central Government debts)

2. Net Surplus share-out:

10% = Community and Education

- NGO's
- Sports Organisations
- Children's education

(The actual distribution is democratically decided by the community organisations.)

45% = Individual Co-op's investment reserve fund

45% = To the worker-members*

Not as pay or dividends, but capitalised, it becomes a source of investment for the co-op and is based on the member's hours

worked/skills acquisition/re-location, etc.—a transparent but complex formula to ensure fairness in reward and recognition of the individual contribution to the value added to a co-op's product or service. This is recouped on retirement or early leaving according to democratically agreed co-op rules.

(*) 2013 Annual Report: Worker-Members' Share Capital = Euro1.7 Billion across Mondragon.

Thus, 90% of the net surplus is re-invested to create and maintain optimal levels of employment in the co-ops. In times of severe adverse market conditions pay due to workers for voluntarily accepted pay cuts, overtime worked, etc., are similarly capitalised for deferred payment, thus reducing the threat of layoffs, as well as helping to consolidate the business.

Final comments

This commemorative article has been descriptive, not critical. An assessment of where Mondragon is at now would have to look at the rise in the number of *non-worker* owners in recent times across the Mondragon coops. Likewise the present state of Pay Solidarity in Mondragon—the ratio of the highest paid to the lowest in the coops is under big competitive and societal pressure. Even the core issue of the depth of worker participation in Mondragon coops has been brought into question. (See Naom Chomsky on Mondragon, FACEBOOK) Also an issue, the opening of non worker-owner staffed subsidiary production plants in low wage economies around the world and their impact on the cooperative ideals.

As the competition in the global market intensifies, and Mondragon commits to competing higher up the increasingly capital-intensive, high tech value chain, "labour retention" and "time to market" imperatives puts even more of a squeeze on all of these issues. Going forward Mondragon will be severely tested. But that's the challenge it set itself a long time ago: to grow, survive, adapt and attempt to hold on to its core cooperative principles in the process.

J.D Jenner, in his conclusion of a nuanced, balanced essay on Mondragon wrote "*In the years ahead we'll continue to look to Mondragon, as something different, as something desirable. As we peel back the layers there are those things that impress as well as those that are left wanting. Still, I'm glad they're there. Working.*" That's a good note to end on.

Michael Murray

MONDRAGON continued

In 1970 a **Business Advisory section** was added.

Lagun-Aro, 1966/Lagun-Aro 1974 were established to offer full medical cover and retirement benefits, with social security entitlements not then provided to worker-owners in coops.

In 1969, the supermarket coop **Eroski**, was formed from pre-existing retail outlets.

In 1974 **Ikerlan Research Centre** was opened. Now a huge player, worldwide, offering services to other organisations.

In 1976 **Don Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta** died after a two-year battle against heart disease—the year following Franco's death.

Don Jose Maria liked to refer to the nascent cooperative movement he founded as "*The Mondragon Experience*" a living, breathing organisation, continuously learning, adapting and improving. What began as an idea in the 1940s came into being in the late 1950s as a small cooperative-based industrial manufacturer of oil stoves for the local market, engaging less than a dozen people. Today, Mondragon is considered the world's leading industrial cooperative. Having taken Don Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta at his word, after his death, the handful of his former students continued the work of building the coop movement that would eventually grow into the Mondragon Cooperative Corporation, as it is now known, with total assets of 34,000 Million Euro; 74, 000 jobs created and a community transformed.

It survived the economic and financial crises of the 1980s as well as the cataclysmic 2007-8 global collapse—indeed, claiming to have come out of all that stronger and more purposeful. Though continuing to be headquartered in the small town of Mondragon-Arresate, it now has a presence in all five continents. Mondragon is considered a world leader in cooperativism in all its multi-disciplinary elements and its affiliated coops are at the leading edge of design, manufacture, construction and R&D. Throughout all the activity, you see the guiding hand of Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta and can only marvel at his foresight and vision.

I. Mondragon: The ongoing dialogue with the "10 Founding Principles"

The Ten Principles that evolved over the life of Mondragon, were codified in 1987. Here, a brief explanation is added to the original 10 headings.

1. Open admission

(To all who agree with cooperativism, regardless of gender, race and politics).

2. Democratic organization

(Based on "*one member, one vote*" including senior managers.)

3. Sovereignty of Labour

(Maximizing worker-member control and ownership.)

4. Subordinate and practical nature of Capital:

(Capital is accumulated Labour and there to be used by Labour, not vice versa.)

5. Participatory management

(Worker participation in the management function to the greatest practicable extent. Fullest information-disclosure. Ongoing development of skills, knowledge and affective learning to participate fully in strategic and operational decision-making.)

6. Payment Solidarity

(The lowest practicable differential between the pay of the highest-paid to the lowest: the founding fathers set this at 3:1)

7. Inter-co-op cooperation.)

(Skills/knowledge exchange; supporting weaker co-ops with labour and capital transfers)

8. Social transformation

Arizmendi "*Cooperation is the authentic integration of people in the economic and social process that shapes a new social order.*"

9. Universality

(Solidarity with the workers of the world, especially the Third World.)

10. Education

(The workplace must be transformed into a "Learning Organisation" capable of anticipating societal and market change.)

II. "Participative Management and Democratic Structures in Mondragon."

To become a worker-member with an equal share in the ownership and management of a co-op, a prospective worker-member has to serve a set period as a temporary worker. Then, on the recommendation of his peers, and the payment of a capital sum, on average, the equivalent of a year's salary, s/he can become a worker-member with concomitant ownership and management rights—and responsibilities. Mondragon places a heavy emphasis on the "rights and responsibilities" duality.

One of the functions of the Caja Kutxa (the Mondragon Bank) is to offer a prospective worker-member an "*easy terms*" loan towards the price of buying the stake in the co-op. Even so, not all

workers aspire to the rights and responsibilities of Mondragon worker-membership or are able to commit to a longer term view of the payback on the initial investment. There is even some discussion in the literature on Mondragon on the effect of the "*up-front*" financial requirement on the selection process itself.

The organizational building blocks for the Mondragon co-ops were thought up in the 1956-9 period, under the tutelage of Arizmendi, as has been shown, and based on local and international cooperative experience, honed into an organizational template by the incredibly prescient minds of Arizmendi and his original followers, or Apostles, as they were nicknamed.

There are **six elements** in the Mondragon co-operative "*Management Chart*":

**General Assembly
Governing Council
Social Council
Auditors' Council
Directors' Council
General Manager/CEO
+ Senior Managers**

"*Elements*" rather than "*levels*", because the management structure is intended to be a "*Flat*" organization, not "*Hierarchical*", or "*Vertical*". The decision-making authority doesn't come 'down' through layers of management and supervision, but is vested in the worker-members. How this works can be seen in the role description of the six main "elements".

*** The General Assembly**

All worker-members attend the GA at least once yearly. All major decisions affecting the co-op are taken, or ratified here, on the basis of "one member, one vote". (**This applies equally to the senior managers and co-op officers.**)

The General Assembly elects the **Governing Council**, The **Social Council** and the **Auditors' Council**.

A General Assembly can be called by the Governing Council, or, by one third of the worker-members.

* (**The Auditors' Council** (3 members) audits the books and acts as "watch-dog" over co-op financial procedures and decisions)

*** The Governing Council**

The General Council is responsible for the day-to-day management of the co-op and appointing the **General Manager/CEO and other senior managers**. It meets at least monthly, and does its business, again, on the basis of "one

continued on page 26



The Mondragon Experience

This series of articles began in November 2011, with a piece on the Mondragon Cooperatives in the Spanish Basque country and went on to deal with work organization down the centuries, through the story of the Guilds. It's appropriate that it should conclude with an update on Mondragon, not least, because 1st December 2015 marks the 100th anniversary of the birth of its founder and inspiration: Don Jose Maria Arizmendiarieta SJ.

Here, we reprise the origins of Mondragon and its development over time. We'll start with its unique version of a "mission, vision and values" statement, called "*The Ten Founding Principles*". This is followed by a description of how Mondragon coops work as worker-owner coops by looking at its "*Participative Management and Democratic Structures*" and its "*Ownership and Financial Participation*" model. Finally, we comment on the state of play now in Mondragon after almost 60 years.

To return to Don Jose Maria: he was the son of a farmer in the Basque province of Biscaya. Like many young men of the same background in Ireland at that time, he received the "calling", and was destined for the Catholic priesthood. In the middle of his preparatory education came the Spanish Civil War. He served in the Republican Army, as a journalist—a childhood eye injury having precluded him from active service. At war's end he was captured and marked down for execution. The "death warrant" can be seen in the evocative but tiny museum dedicated to him at Mondragon HQ. After a brief incarceration he went back to complete his priestly studies. In early 1941 he arrived in Mondragon, his first, and only, parochial appointment.

He hit the ground running, and finding himself, a stranger in a small, run-down, demoralised industrial town, less than an

hour's drive from the better known Basque towns of Bilbao, San Sebastian, Santander—and Guernica, he got down to his "pastoral" work. It had been hammered by Franco for its loyal support of the elected Republican Government and had seen most of its natural leaders, including priests, shot, exiled, driven underground, or, blacklisted from the little work available.

Don Jose Maria set to re-energising the town and hinterland with a broad programme of social, sporting and cultural activities. He espoused transparency in dealings with his parishioners and introduced them to democratic decision-making. This, of course, was the cause of much Francoist suspicion: the mere mention of "democracy" being, literally, anathema. To deal with it, Jose Maria gained the support for his work of the officially recognized "Catholic Action" organization. A tactical game ensued at which Jose Maria seems to have been a master.

He next turned his hand to establishing a public Technical School and began to build up attendance. A few years later and he had managed to get University recognition for his higher level courses—not just

academic recognition, but funding. Mondragon University, together with the dozens of other centres of learning, research and development brought into being by the Mondragon coops, is the direct result of that vision and early pioneering work.

Meanwhile, some young apprentice engineers, motivated by Arizmendi's thoughtful but idiosyncratic take on Catholic social teaching, on the rights of labour, approached their employer for a modest degree of control and ownership in the long-established light engineering business, Union Carrejera. They were firmly rebuffed and were challenged by Arizmendi to take the next logical step. In 1956 they left Union Cerrajera to form a company of their own where they could develop and pursue these goals.

Under Arizmendi's continued influence and direction, they began to work out the practicalities of establishing an industrial cooperative and extrapolate some guiding principles. One was the principle of "*One Worker, One Vote*". Another was the principle of maintaining "*Pay Solidarity*", based on a 3:1 differential between the highest and lowest paid cooperative members.

By 1959 the former apprentices committed to a formally legalised cooperative structure. In the meantime, three other coops had been formed and others were in gestation. A movement was steadily taking shape and another "rule", or guiding principle was added. Coops would seek to avoid direct competition in the same products, and would complement each other synergistically, with ideas and practical assistance.

In 1959 a coop bank was instituted, **Caja Laboral**: a competitive open public savings bank which was also a source of capital for cooperative investment.

Subscribers to the magazine are regularly offered special rates on other publications

Irish Political Review is published by the IPR Group: write to—

1 Sutton Villas, Lower Dargle Road
Bray, Co. Wicklow or
33 Athol Street, Belfast BT12 4GX or
2 Newington Green Mansions, London N16 9BT
or *Labour Comment*, TEL: 021-4676029
C/O Shandon St. P.O., Cork

Subscription by Post:
12 issues: Euro-zone & World Surface: €40;
Sterling-zone: £25

Electronic Subscription:
€ 15 / £12 for 12 issues
(or € 1.30 / £1.10 per issue)

You can also order from:

<https://www.atholbooks-sales.org>

continued on page 27