

John Morgan R I P
Remembering a brave
seeker after truth
page 15

**Lemass:
Economic Pioneer**
Manus O'Riordan
page 20

Polls, Polls, Polls!
Labour Comment
back page

IRISH POLITICAL REVIEW

July 2019

Vol.34, No.7 ISSN 0790-7672

and **Northern Star** incorporating **Workers' Weekly** Vol.33 No.7 ISSN 954-5891

State Of Play

The Good Friday Agreement is working well. Neither community is being governed by the other community, and that is the essential thing. And if this essential thing takes the form of there being no Northern Ireland Government, that is fine.

The noxious thing about the Northern Ireland system set up by Westminster in 1921 is that it was not a system of party government but a system of communal government. Under it one community governed the other in local affairs, while the party-politics by which the state was governed had no presence in it. That was a caricature of democracy. And it was the thing that caused the war that led to its abolition.

The Unionist and Nationalist Parties were not parties at all. they were organised communities. Each was a comprehensive merging of all classes and social interests and political ideals in its community.

The authentic parties were the parties that governed the state, the Tory Party and the Labour Party. These Parties boycotted the Northern Ireland system which they created, thereby making Northern Ireland into a caricature not only of British democracy but of any conceivable form of democracy. But it was only within the British state, with its great depth of political experience, and its immense skill at the kind of ingenuity that is often called Jesuitry, that this caricature could have been created, and passed off on a credulous world as authentic democracy.

Much of the world is credulous about Britain. This is because Britain conquered half of it, and imposed four or five World Wars on it. Before 1914, the "Great War" was the name of the war against Republican and Napoleonic France from 1793 to 1815. A century earlier there were the Wars Of The Grand Alliance. Between those two there was the Seven Years' War, about which one could argue about whether it was a Great War or just a Big War. And then there were the two World Wars on Germany.

continued on page 2

The Spectre Haunting Europe

The issue of the nomination for the Commission President has highlighted the problems with the current EU structures. The European Parliament is seeking to effectively decide the nomination and has assumed to itself the authority to do so and this is opposed by some Member States. The European Parliament is a fifth wheel in the EU structures. It does not have executive or legislative power but has been given co-determination rights with the Commission and Council and therefore has power without the corresponding responsibility. A sure recipe for future problems of authority in the EU.

The European Parliament is a perfect setup for grandstanding and its elections and parliamentary performances are political beauty parades and contests. It is the political *Eurovision*. The European project was initiated and the groundwork lay without any such Parliament. The most recent integrative measure, the Euro, owed nothing whatever to the Parliament.

continued on page 5

June Brexit Summary

The pace of the Brexit story picked up during June. The major issues have been the Tory leadership contest which Boris Johnson seems destined to win, a heating up of arguments about the Backstop, and fallout from the results of the European Elections.

EUROPEAN ELECTION RESULTS

In last month's edition I discussed the

UK results in which the main outcome was a strong performance from Nigel Farage's Brexit Party which secured 29 seats as against the 16 seats of its nearest rival, the Lib Dems. In the Irish results, as with those in the Continental EU, the picture was complicated in that two of 13 seats contested were Brexit seats—they will only be occupied if the UK exits.

Fine Gael increased its tally from 4 to 5 seats, the extra seat being a Brexit seat. This was an impressive result amounting

to 29.6% of the First Preference Vote. Fianna Fail did badly with 16.6% of the First Preference Vote; its tally of seats increased from 1 to 2 with the gain also being a Brexit seat. Two other significant outcomes were that the Greens gained two seats and Sinn Fein retained only one of its three seats in the Republic. Both seats were lost as a result of competition from Claire Daly and Mick Wallace of Independents 4 Change.

continued on page 6

	<i>Page</i>
State Of Play. Editorial	1
The Spectre Haunting Europe. Jack Lane	1
June Brexit Summary. Dave Alvey	1
Plus Ca Change In Northern Ireland? Brendan Clifford	3
Readers' Letters: The Arms Trial Jury. Dave Alvey	
Polish Snapshot. Wilson John Haire	3
Mixed Reaction In Ireland To Versailles Peace Treaty. Report	7
LEST WE FORGET (4). Extracts from <i>Irish Bulletin</i> . This issue lists British Acts Of Aggression, 2nd May - 7 June 1919 (ed. Jack Lane)	8
Es Ahora. A Matter Of Inquiry. Julianne Herlihy (Part 2: Martin Mansergh; Fergal Keane)	13
John Morgan: A Stalwart Seeker For Truth And Fighter For Justice Obituary	15
A Scotsman, an Englishman, an Irishman, and Casement Diary Discretion. Tim O'Sullivan (Part 1)	16
Banks And Money Creation. Martin Dolphin	18
Fergal Keane. Donal Kennedy	19
Lemass: Some Economic Assessments. Manus O'Riordan (Lemass, Part 6)	20
Poverty In The UK. Michael Robinson	24
British Troops In Carryduff. Wilson John Haire	26
Blackshirts, Hitler Shirts, Blue Shirts, And The Enigma Of Fine Gael. Donal Kennedy	26
Two Poems. Wilson John Haire (LIB-FIB-LEFT-BEREFT; DRILL MUSIC)	27
Biteback: Arrogance And Alan Shatter—Two Views. Manus O'Riordan	27
Does It Stack Up? Michael Stack (Environment Protection; More Geology; Government Legislation; Have you lost a cat recently....?; Precious Metals	28

Labour Comment, edited by **Pat Maloney:**
Election And Poll Results

(back page)

Forceful action of this kind on the world, sustained over such a long period, produces conditioned reflexes which inhibit critical thought—it induces credulity. And, in the actual conduct of international affairs, what passes for morality is closely allied with credulity.

The Northern Ireland War of 1970-1998 ended the caricature-democracy which caused it by giving each community an effective veto on the conduct of devolved government. The present state of play is that there is no devolved government. Anybody whose recollection stretches back to the 1960s can only say that that is a good thing.

Six County devolved government is now being demonstrated by the will of the peoples not to be necessary. It was never necessary.

It was not a production of Partition. It was devised by the Lloyd George Government as a perverse means of implementing Partition. Until the publication of the 1920 Bill the assumption was that Partition would take the form of excluding Six counties from the Irish system and leaving them directly within the British system.

When the separate Six county system was proposed it was opposed in Parliament by the Ulster Unionist leader, who said they had no wish to have the task of governing Catholics. But the Ulster Unionists were then persuaded/intimidated to operate a Northern Ireland system in order to help the Government in its conflict with the Sinn Féin Government set up in Dublin.

Exclusion of Northern Ireland from the party-political life of the state was not done by legislation. Party-politics, on which the state was founded, had no official recognition in law at that time. Party affiliations did not appear on ballot sheets. Exclusion of Northern Ireland was done informally by the leaders of the Tory and Labour Parties, and of the Liberal Party remnant.

Lord Londonderry, a leading Tory, assumed in the first instance that the Tory Party would function in the Northern Ireland it had created and he took part in the first Northern Ireland Government. He was ridiculed by his cousin, Winston Churchill, for wasting his time and talent in the make-believe Northern Ireland Government when there was a place for

him in the Government of the state. He got the message, and he soon returned to party-politics proper in Britain, becoming influential in Ramsay MacDonald's National government in the 1930s.

The Labour Party made a virtue of washing its hands of Northern Ireland and leaving it to stew in the juices created for it by the Tory Party. In 1969-70 the Labour Home secretary, James Callaghan, had to deal with the crisis resulting from the Loyalist pogroms of August 1969. He was obliged to take a close look at Northern Ireland. He saw that it was a caricature of British democracy because of its exclusion from British party-politics. He considered remedying the situation by bringing the Six Counties within British politics, but under strong lobbying from Dublin he backed off and let things be as they were.

The only possible politics in Northern Ireland is the grating of the two communities against each other, each seeking to erode the other. The great merit of the Good Friday Agreement is that it equalised the terms on which the practical politics of communal attrition was conducted. And that practical politics goes on whether or not the two communities are drawn up in battle away at Stormont.

The Alliance Party—a kind of in-between party of extremely polite middle class moderates who find the reality of the Northern Ireland system distasteful and try to conjure it away by refusing to accept that it is the reality of what Britain set up in 1921—it did unusually well in the EU Election. This has led to media hype about Northern Ireland realities beginning to melt away. But the EU Election was an exotic event which had no discernible bearing on Northern Ireland affairs. It was about Brexit, and yet it had no practical bearing on Brexit.

Amongst those who switched to Alliance were Unionists opposing Brexit who had no formally Unionist anti-Brexit party to vote for, and Catholics who sensed an opportunity to take the second Unionist seat off the other community. (Alliance is a *de facto* Unionist party, while espousing 'non-sectarian' politics.)

The Alliance, as far as we can recall, grew out of an intellectual group in the early 1970s, with Reform in its name, which wanted British-style politics in Northern Ireland. We pointed out that the only way to have British-style politics was to have actual British politics. They opted instead for in-betweenist political idealism in which handfuls of middle-

class Protestants and Catholics got together and were extremely polite to each other.

Anything less like actual British politics would be hard to imagine.

An unusually robust Alliance leader, John Cushnahan, once hinted about chastising us by means of a libel action but thought better of it. He then went on to make a political career in the Republic.

Plus Ca Change In Northern Ireland? Plus La Meme Chose?

The *Irish Times* has for half a century prohibited discussion in its columns of the constitutional anomaly of the political structure called 'Northern Ireland'. But now, suddenly, in response to the mushroom growth of the Alliance vote in the Brexit election, it has published two articles which circle around that anomaly, taking care never to state it, but describing its consequences, and hopefully looking for a way out of it and leaving it behind without having to acknowledge what it is.

The articles are *Stormont Surge Underlines Paradox Of Alliance Party* (30.5.19) by Newton Emerson, a former Loyalist militant, and *Nationalists And Unionists Left Growing Middle Ground To The Alliance Party* (5.6.19) by Matthew O'Toole, who is described as "a former Downing Street official".

O'Toole's article begins:

"The middle in Northern Ireland is bigger than people thought. At a time when the rest of the democratic world is falling over itself to be as polarised as Northern Ireland, people there have given an unprecedentedly large vote to the moderate, constitutionally agnostic Alliance party".

It asserts that "*Northern Ireland exists on the basis of a unionist majority, but unionist parties have not won an overall majority of votes since 2005*". And it points to the fact that, "*despite the Catholic population rising, the nationalist vote has plateaued—if not slightly declined*".

These facts have resulted in a growing "*constituency of unaligned voters for whom identity politics is either irrelevant or actively repellent... But unionism and nationalism appear determined to avoid that conclusion*".

He does not suggest what Unionism and Nationalism should do if they acknowledged that there is a growing constituency of "*constitutionally agnostic*" voters. Should they cease to be Unionist and Nationalist themselves and become "*constitutionally agnostic*" too?

The Arms Trial Jury

Writing about the 1970 Arms Trial in the June 2019 *Irish Political Review*, Brendan Clifford states that the percentage of Protestants on the Jury was higher than their percentage in the population. I know from anecdotal evidence that this was the case in the first trial. A strong impression held by one Protestant Juror was that the Protestant community was disproportionately represented. His view that various witnesses for the Prosecution were lying was shared by the rest of the Jury. The Prosecution Barristers must have calculated that packing the Jury with Protestants would give them a positive result. It's interesting that the Jury upset these calculations by being fair minded. The first trial was eventually abandoned.

Dave Alvey

Polish Snapshot

I was in Poland for a few weeks during the 1960s. Everywhere was open to the population. They could enter the best hotels and sit in the lobby without being stopped by doormen seeking out those with little money and not dressed too well.

The Palace of Culture in Warsaw, a huge building and gift from the Soviets, had some great dances. Queues? Poles don't queue. Saturday night was a riot.

The police had motor cycles with platforms low enough to roll drunks on to them who were lying in the street. At the hotel like an eejit I asked the receptionist where was the nearest Concentration Camp was, where the Jews were killed. She went berserk in telling me more Catholics died through German atrocities and that Warsaw saw a quarter of its population dead. 'Didn't I know the Nazis planned to kill all Poles in the end, Jews and Catholics?'

A grandson of mine was married to a Somali girl who lived in Somali during its brief communist period. She complained about how she and her mother had to queue for food. Then as an afterthought she said: '*I have visited back there since. There are no queues but then there is no food!*'

Wilson John Haire

What is constitutional agnosticism? I suppose that in Britain or in the Republic it would mean that one had no opinion about reforms of the Constitution that were being advocated. In Britain it might be about the introduction of Proportional Representation or the adoption of a written Constitution. In the Republic it might be the abolition of the Proportional Representation imposed by Britain, which was attempted twice, or the introduction of abortion on demand up to the brink of infanticide.

But in Northern Ireland the Constitutional question is the question which state one wants to be in.

Unionists wanted to be in the British state. They were in the British state. They were in it with a secure majority of two-thirds for a couple of generations, but they kept on wanting to be in it with a continuous sense of urgency that only made sense on the assumption that they did not feel they were securely in it.

That sense of insecurity was soundly based. They were in it, but they were not of it. They were in it as outsiders. They were allowed to be in it on the condition that they operated a separate Government which they had not asked for or wanted.

They were in it on the condition that they could not be Tories, or Labour Party Socialists, or even members of the Liberal Party. They could vote in Westminster elections but they could only do so as outsiders to the system of government and legislation. Their MPs sat on the backbenches as observers.

The Scottish Nationalists are a backbench party at Westminster, arguing the case for Scottish secession from the Union while building up numbers at home. The Ulster Unionist Party was a backbench party at Westminster where it was in the bizarre position of being without a purpose. Its purpose was to be in the United Kingdom on second-class terms—which was

the *status quo*. It had achieved its purpose, but it could not move on to other things because of the conditions imposed on it by Westminster.

The Nationalist Party had a purpose to achieve. It wanted the Six Counties to be transferred from the United Kingdom to the Republic. This was not a purpose that could be achieved at Westminster. In order for it to appear on the Westminster agenda, the subordinate regime imposed by Westminster on the Six Counties had first to be destabilised. This could be done by a doubtful result in a Six Country election.

The Catholic third of the population was maintained as a tight Nationalist voting block by exclusion from the party politics of the state. And it was not a static third. It might have been demoralised by the position in which it was placed, but it was in fact made more purposeful by it, and it increased gradually despite the restrictions placed on it.

Under those circumstances any loosening of the grip of the Unionist Party on the Protestant population could easily have resulted in a confused result at a Stormont Election.

The most astute element of the Unionist Party was its Electoral Registration Society. Its purpose was to get all Protestants on the Electoral Register the moment they arrived at voting age, and then to get them to the polling booth on Election Day. It was an entirely rational response to the exigencies of the Northern Ireland system. And it was, of course, countered by the Nationalist Registration Society.

There was really nothing else to be done internally in Northern Ireland 'politics'. All the major matters of state were dealt with by Whitehall.

Northern Ireland, despite the august opinion of Professor the Lord Bew (who has popped his head up again) was never a *State*. It had no tax and spend system. All that was done by Whitehall, which maintained the Civil Service of the State in the Six Counties all the way through—where it was called the Imperial Civil Service. The Budget was an allocation from Whitehall. And it was a condition insisted on by the much ridiculed Lord Craigavon that the Unionist Party would only continue to operate the Northern Ireland system in the Imperial interest if inclusion in the social welfare system of the state was guaranteed.

This condition brought the Butler Education Act and the Attlee Welfare State to the Six Counties on a par with the

rest of the state, though it had been excluded from the political struggles that brought them about.

It is an axiom of recent times that Education and a degree of leisure generate a liberal state of mind as a mass phenomenon as a matter of course. Northern Ireland proves the contrary. It was extensively educated in the late 1960s, and social welfare was supplied on terms at least as liberal as in England. This certainly brought about a fairly widespread expectation, on both sides, that in future life would be more normal (ie, more like it was in Britain) and that the Unionist/Nationalist structure of things would wither away. The Border would no longer be the focal point of things.

The state of affairs which Matthew O'Toole now sees as having come about with the expansion of the Alliance vote was the state of affairs that existed exuberantly in 1968-9. The generation that had passed through the University and was about to enter the business of running the world, Catholic and Protestant, gave expression to the new enlightened vision of things in the remarkable Peoples Democracy.

I was a sceptic, a stick-in-the-mud. I was called a Stalinist but might more accurately have been called a Balfourian. It could not see what arrangements were in place, or were being prepared, which would enable that new generation, bursting with idealism, to determine a future course of events that would develop outside the structure laid on by the past.

Then, in the course of a remarkable year—mid 1969 to mid 1970—a remarkable transformation actually did occur. The People's Democracy emulsion dissolved into its sources as a new IRA asserted itself at the centre of things. This was not in any real sense a resurgence of the IRA which had been there in mid-1969, mouldering away in misplaced progressivism or Anti-Treaty nostalgia. It was a new growth out of the liberal idealism fostered by mass education at the highest level which found that, in the Northern Ireland region of the state, the liberal democratic political structures of the state were missing. The ideals fostered by the State were therefore illusions in the Northern Ireland region of the state, which was malformed politically by reason of the administrative decisions made about it by the ruling bodies of the State in Whitehall and Westminster.

What O'Toole calls "*constitutional*

agnosticism" is not a practical possibility in a world that is laid out in nation-states. And the British State was to the fore in making nationalism obligatory in the world. The Empire went to war on the slogan of "*nationality*" in 1914 and in 1919 created nation-states out of Empires which it had destroyed. Many of these nation-states failed for lack of internal foundation, but the principle was established that everybody must be a member of a nation-state.

It hoped within its own sphere to hold national developments subordinate to the Imperial will, and made war for that purpose in Ireland in 1919-21.

It founded the League of Nations as a world system in 1919 but subverted its development by giving primacy to the Empire in foreign policy. This led to the 2nd World War, during which it conceded primacy to the United States, which formed the United Nations, strengthened the principle of nationality, and accelerated the break-up of the Empire into nation-states.

It has not been usual to describe the politics of nationality as "*identity politics*". It was a term applied to such things as gender politics. No state has been formed on the ground of gender as far as I know. All states are now presumed to be formed on the ground of nationality. And the British assumption is that democracy is the only legitimate form of government.

British democracy is exceptionally capable of blending peoples into the life of the state. But the Six counties were excluded from the functional system of British democracy when they were made into Northern Ireland, and it was not a possibility that Northern Ireland—in exclusion from the democracy of the state—might have formed a little democracy of its own in imitation of the real democracy from which it was excluded.

O'Toole refers to "*the strident identity nationalism of Sinn Fein*" and tries to contrast it with the SDLP which "*does not have the word nationalism in its name*" (which Sinn Fein does!?!). In fact Sinn Fein has been more effectively accommodating to Unionism in operating the devolved system than the SDLP ever was. And, while it is true that the founders of the SDLP, Lord Fitt and Paddy Devlin, had 'Labour' in their titles in the late 1960s, they gave priority to nationality when forming the SDLP. I debated the matter with Fitt in 1970 and put it to him that, in order to be effective, he must give definite priority to either the nationalism or the socialism of his position. He refused to

make an explicit choice but in practice, under the pressure of the rush of events, he acted as a nationalist. And, because of the complicated character of his position, his nationalism was more "*strident*" than that of straightforward Sinn Feiners needed to be.

And, when the IRA carried its war with Britain to a draw on the condition that the caricature democracy should be put aside in favour of a genuine kind of apartheid structure, and Sinn Fein set about operating the new system in co-operation with the Paisleyite Unionists, the SDLP was always there as a purist nationalist critic, ensuring that it did not give too much away.

And as for the "*constitutional agnosticism*" of the Alliance, it is Unionism that does not choose to speak its name. Interesting discussions which I had with Bob Cooper left no room for doubt about that.

Newton Emerson's article is about developments that cannot happen in the North because it is excluded from the party-politics of the state. Of course he does not mention that the North is excluded from the party politics that makes British democracy one of the wonders of the modern world. If he did, he would not be a columnist in the *Irish Times*. But it is impossible to imagine that he does not know how British democracy functions, and that the North was excluded from it at birth, and that undemocratic government in a region of a democratic state must have consequences.

He says that "*Stormont is designed to marginalise Alliance and cannot accommodate the party at its new level of support*".

That is because the famous centre-ground of democracy, which enables Right and Left parties to have turns at governing the state by bending this way and that as the mood takes it, had no functional existence in the Stormont system. It refuses to accept the system which enabled the war to be ended—the system of national blocks, Unionist and Nationalist, which have a veto on each other's proposals. It is therefore classified as "*Other*".

In a letter to the *Irish Times* (June 3) it says it refuses the *Other* classification and signs in as "*United Community*", thereby placing an ideal which it failed to realise above the enduring reality of two national communities in conflict.

Its *United Community* is an association of the polite margins of the two actual communities.

Alliance had two generations before the Good Friday Agreement to establish "*United Community*" as a real and substantial presence which eroded and

marginalised Unionism on the one side of it and the Nationalism on the other side of it. It failed utterly, leaving the Government with little option but to take the Unionist and Nationalist communities as the realities on which peace must be founded.

It was my opinion at the outset that what Alliance was attempting could only be achieved with the party-political system of the state, practical politics not being a merely cerebral activity. I spent about twenty years trying to bring this about by exerting pressure on the British parties, being opposed by Dublin, London, Gleggall St. that was, and the Alliance Party. All that I can now recall of the reasons given by Alliance members was that the withdrawal of the parties that governed the state from the Six Counties was a normal consequence of the setting up of devolved government, and was not undemocratic.

They said this would become evident if devolved governments were established in Scotland and Wales. Well, Scottish and Welsh devolution came about—and the Labour, Tory and Liberal Parties did not for a moment consider withdrawing from Scotland and Wales—even though Scotland and Wales were infinitely better suited for devolved government than the Six Counties were.

The British State chose that its Six County region should be governed undemocratically. This is an indisputable fact that must not be stated in any reputable publication. The British democracy will not stand for having such a thing said about it. And, because it must not be stated, we get the evasive circumlocutions and euphemisms of Matthew O'Toole and Newton Emerson, and of anyone who hopes to make a living by writing about politics for pay. Amen!

Brendan Clifford

Spectre Haunting Europe

continued

We have seen the self-proclaimed (and widely-accepted) 'Mother of Parliaments' trying to deal with a serious issue, Brexit, and it cannot make up its mind what to do about it. It would be a compliment to say it was making a pig's ear of it. The most successful politician of the age was never a member of it, Nigel Farage. But he has changed the nature of the British Parliament. It has delegated decision-making

and political responsibility to referenda, and now wants to farm out more, which is another way of saying—we can't cope.

This begs the question of what Parliaments are for. They are considered absolutely good and great things in themselves—which is the main reason the European Parliament was created. But they cannot exist for any useful purpose without a State and there is no European State.

Parliaments do not make States. They never have. Wars/revolutions create the basis for States to be created and then a parliament helps to maintain them, but any other view puts the cart before the horse. Hence, when really serious State matters arise, they flounder.

The European Parliament is a bit like the Northern Ireland Assembly—it is there to reflect the divisions in its electorate but has no means of acting directly on matters of substance, and is not intended to do anything else. Both are proverbial talking shops with grandiose notions.

The European project was initiated by an elite and no other means was possible. The elite created an ademocratic structure based on the concept of the Commission—and the scheme worked, in contrast to many attempted supranational bodies. There was an inevitable tension between the Commission and the nation states, as it was both *of* the states and a potential replacement to those states, with a Commission President being in reality a President of Europe in a future state.

This was a unique way to try to create a State and the tensions and conflicts were managed successfully for decades. The Jury is now out on whether it will continue to succeed.

Without the Commission developing into the central authority, the project was in trouble. The first blow to the Commission was dealt by the European Liberals led by Pat Cox against the Santer Presidency, with accusations of corruption which were 99.9% nonsense. The only corruption that was established was that of the very able Madame Cresson and her hairdresser. If this amount of corruption did not exist, the Commission would have been a choir of Angels with no redeeming vice for us poor humans to relate to. But the Liberal campaign scuppered the authority of the Commission from which it never fully recovered.

The Commission President should by now be the dominant of the all the Five Presidents, but it is clear that this is only formally so. The Council and even just two member states, Germany and France, are the

real political forces and the nomination of the Commission Presidency has become a part of their own political objectives.

The 'solution' to this crisis created by the Liberals was the notion of an EU constitution. Again, this was putting the cart before the horse. Constitutions are for states when they have been established and their agreed political parameters have been bedded down. This Constitution-mongering was displacement activity that kept thousands chattering away for over a decade, was rejected—with the scheme then being changed to a European Treaty when the draft Constitution was rejected by major states.

All the time and talent utilised on this should have been used to establish political integrative and consolidating policies across the Member States. But, instead of that, there was enlargement and acceptance of globalisation with real integration being sidelined.

It might be argued that the Single Market will guarantee consolidation. But it was the UK that was responsible for the Single Market and it certainly did not increase its commitment to the EU integration, as Brexit has shown.

Enlargement was also the UK idea and quite blatantly used a means to weaken integration.

The common currency might ensure integration but countries such as Ireland have broken politically from a common currency union before. So common markets and common currencies do not guarantee continuing political union or integration. Man does not live by bread alone.

So what might help? Something very modest might be tried—an agreed history of Europe would be a good start!

After all, we all are what history has made us, for good or ill: what we are is more than money and markets. Europe must prove that it also is more than these particular aspects of life. The EU tried to have such a history written a few years ago but abandoned the project. The truth became too much to bear.

There is a spectre haunting Liberal Europe—it is the spectre of populism. It is in power in Italy, Poland, Hungary and it is knocking on the door of other states.

This European populism rejects the Liberal narrative of Europe's recent history, i.e. the Churchillian narrative which is the Liberal default position.

The fact is, Britain launched WWI to maintain the balance of power in Europe, i.e. to keep it divided. In the process of that war Britain destroyed Europe. That

was THE 'crime *against Europe*' as Casement so succinctly put it—and predicted!

Europe then sought refuge from this destruction in Fascism—supported fully by Churchill—in preference to the other alternative, Soviet Communism, which was the ultimate threat to its civilisation.

Churchill and Britain then decided to save Europe from its saviour by making war on it—in alliance with Soviet Communism! Then the US intervened to save Europe from Soviet Communism and they divided Europe between them.

Europe as an entity was hung out to dry. The European project is an attempt to reverse this state of things, but to do so it is necessary to accept why it happened in the first place.

Such in brief is the history of modern Europe that defies any recourse to Good and Evil as an explanation. Not a pretty story but the reality nonetheless. But where would our Liberals be without parading their Good/Evil paradigm, with the usual determination to nominate the demons and their alleged equivalents today and to condemn them to the outer darkness. This 'demonising' conflicts more and more with the actual history as experienced by the peoples of Europe and any project based on it is defying reality: and that is not a recipe for success.

Horror of horrors the populists may well be producing more authentic histories than our Liberals!

Jack Lane

June Brexit Summary continued

Possible reasons behind the strength of Fine Gael's showing were the tough stance on the Backstop taken by Leo Varadkar, Simon Coveney and Helen McEntee and the party's membership of the European People's Party, still the most influential grouping in the European Parliament. An additional factor was Mairead Mc Guinness's position as First Vice President of the European Parliament. Fianna Fail, under Micheal Martin's leadership, has been critical of the Government for causing tension in the Anglo Irish relationship. Fine Gael has come close to playing the role traditionally played by Fianna Fail while the latter has opted to court Unionist opinion. The parties appear to have swapped their historic positions.

Once Claire Daly and Mick Wallace

announced their intention to contest the European Elections, a danger emerged that they would undermine Sinn Fein. Why did they decide to run? Was it because Sinn Fein has moderated its traditional hostility to the EU whereas Daly and Wallace, being more representative of the Irish Left, are opposed to the very existence of the EU? Their decision can also be questioned on the grounds that they were doing good work in opposition to the Government in the Dail. They have given up their Dail seats to cut a dash in what remains a glorified talking shop in Strasbourg. Where's the logic?

The most significant Irish result in the European Elections was in Northern Ireland where the traditional pattern of two unionists and one nationalist being sent to Europe was replaced by one where two anti-Brexit candidates, Martina Anderson of Sinn Fein and Naomi Long of Alliance, and one pro-Brexit candidate, Diane Dodds of the DUP, have been elected. The result highlights the DUP's inability to speak for the majority of Northern Ireland voters on EU matters.

The Local Council Elections in the Republic, which occurred on the same day as the Europeans, showed that Sinn Fein was in trouble regardless of the competition from Daly and Wallace—they lost 78 seats. The Council results also show that Fianna Fail has a strong edge on the Government on domestic issues: housing, health and the management of public expenditure on large projects like building the new Children's Hospital and extending the broadband network to rural areas.

THE TORRY LEADERSHIP CONTEST

Anyone entertaining a notion that the British Conservative Party has lost touch with reality and faces collapse in the manner of the Liberal Party following the 1914-18 war should think again. The conduct of that party's Leadership selection process reflects a political community that, despite the challenge of the Brexit deadlock, knows what it is about.

The first sign of sanity was the manner in which the candidates for the job quietly disavowed Thatcherism and based their appeal on One Nation Toryism. A second positive sign was the surprise emergence of a Remainer, Rory Stewart, as a credible candidate with impeccable Establishment credentials. Although it remains more likely than not that Brexit will happen, the Tories are not placing all their eggs in the exit basket.

As the field narrowed, the choices made by Tory MPs reflected savvy calculations

—not to mention astute skulduggery from the Boris Johnson camp. Stewart lost momentum as a straight fight between pro- and anti-Brexit candidates—Stewart versus Johnson—would have exposed and aggravated the divide in the party over Europe; and Michael Gove was eventually eliminated because some Johnson supporters voted for Jeremy Hunt and because, it was argued, a contest between Gove and Johnson could have developed into a 'psycho drama', given that there was bad blood between them.

In the end Johnson won comfortably with 160 votes compared to 77 for Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt. The final stage of the contest, in which rank and file Tory members will vote, is a battle that will cause the least amount of damage to the party. It remains to be seen whether damaging publicity regarding Johnson's private life will alter what has seemed his inevitable victory. The critical issue in the debate will be how the UK Government can resolve the issue at the heart of the Brexit deadlock: the Irish Backstop.

THE BACKSTOP DEBATE

By far the best coverage of the Backstop debate is being provided by Tony Connelly on the RTE website. Connelly's detailed reporting gives the lie to a gathering chorus from diverse elements that the Irish Government should give up its 'intransigence' on the Backstop. The main thrust of the criticism is that Leo Varadkar, by holding the line with the EU, is helping to push relations towards a No Deal, and that No Deal will result in the very outcome that he has been striving to avoid: the imposition of a Hard Border.

The Lord Professor Paul Bew (formerly of Official Sinn Fein) has argued in a paper for the right-wing think tank, Policy Exchange, that the Irish-EU position that the Backstop is necessary to the preservation of the Good Friday Agreement is a 'false narrative'. His paper contains a Foreword by Sir Graham Brady, whose successful motion in the British Commons some months back demanded that alternative solutions to the Backstop should be found. So Bew has the backing of influential people in the Conservative Party.

Another former member of the Official Republican movement, Eoghan Harris, also continues to attack the Fine Gael stance on Brexit. Like Bew, Harris has influential friends but in Harris's case it is the Leader of Fianna Fail, Micheal Martin. Harris recently quoted Jeffrey Donaldson of the DUP as follows:

"Leo Varadkar is the first Irish Taoi-

seach to subcontract Northern Ireland policy to the EU Commission instead of emulating Sean Lemass, who tried to settle the Border issues not bringing outsiders to lean on unionists but by means of tri-lateral talks between Belfast, Dublin and London".

Harris also quotes Donaldson describing unionism's "*seismic problem with the backstop*". It is possible that Harris has played a part in influencing Fianna Fail's criticism of the Government's Brexit stance. In that context one can only applaud the wisdom of the electorate in favouring Fine Gael, rather than the main Opposition Party in the European Elections.

In contrast to the polemical approach of Bew and Harris, Tony Connelly focuses on the detail behind the Backstop. In a long piece entitled "*Alternative arrangements: Holy Grail or fig Leaf?*" (RTE website, 22 June 2019), he cites an 85-page report by Michael Lux and Eric Pickett, two of the world's leading experts on EU and WTO trade and customs law, which spells out the limitations of technology and other alternative arrangements. He continues:

"Another problem with alternative arrangements and technology was reinforced by the Working Paper published by the European Commission this week on the so-called Mapping Exercise.

In the summer of 2017, British officials were asked to 'map' all areas of North-South cooperation mandated by the Good Friday Agreement.

By August they had drawn up a list of 142 areas. These were listed as part of the 12 work programmes created through the North-South Ministerial Council (NSMC) and other programmes created through the Six Implementation Bodies, such as Tourism Ireland, Inland Waterways and so on.

The scale and depth of the cooperation—agriculture, environment, transport, health, tourism, education, food safety, trade and business development, language, aquaculture, broadcasting, energy, telecommunications, broadcasting, security, arts, culture and sport—cannot be underestimated when it comes to the rationale of the backstop.

When EU officials went through each area, they concluded that most were explicitly or implicitly underpinned or facilitated by the common application of EU law on both sides of the border.

For Ireland and the EU, avoiding a return to the borders of the past was one thing; protecting the cooperation that was supposed to foster a new future was another.

This was explicitly acknowledged by the UK during that phase of the negotiations.

The commission said that during discussions "it was consistently recognised that virtually all areas of

North-South cooperation are predicated on the avoidance of a hard border, including related customs or regulatory checks and controls"...".

The idea that defending the Backstop will result in a Hard Border reflects a lack of understanding of international diplomacy and the defence of national interests. There are limits to what Ireland and the EU can achieve in defending vital interests in the Brexit negotiations. They can merely seek to defend those interests; the actual outcome of the negotiations is outside their control. Going by Tony Connelly's reports, the EU position is soundly based. The inconsistency and irresponsible regard of the Good Friday Agreement lies with the other side.

Dave Alvey

One Hundred Years Ago!

Mixed Reaction In Ireland To Versailles Peace Treaty

Dublin, 30 June 1919—King George V has declared that the signing of the Treaty of Versailles 'will be received with deep thankfulness throughout the British Empire ...'.

However in Ireland, the reaction to the conclusion of the Peace Conference has been mixed.

On the one hand, there were displays of flags on a number of buildings and some private houses and 'God save the King' was sung at ceremonies in many protestant churches. At the Newbridge and Curragh military camps, a series of concerts were held for soldiers and at Queenstown, at 6pm, 101 guns greeted the peace.

In Dundalk, however, echoing the announcement of the armistice in November 1918, trouble erupted on Clanbrassil Street where a number of soldiers and civilians were drinking in the aftermath of the peace treaty being signed.

In one incident in the town a private soldier attracted some unpleasant attention by shouting 'Hurrah for England, to hell with the rebels'. He responded to this hostility by knocking down a lad named Quigley with a blow of his rifle. The soldier was then rushed and beaten by a crowd. When other soldiers arrived on the scene they too were attacked and soon after, the trouble spread to the Market Square, where a large crowd gathered, waving tricolour flags and singing 'The Soldier's Song'.

Similar scenes were witnessed in Dublin ...

[RTE / 'Century Ireland' Editor's note, June 2019: This is an article from *Century Ireland*, a fortnightly online newspaper, written from the perspective of a journalist 100 years ago, based on news reports of the time.]

(Contributed by Manus O'Riordan)

LEST WE FORGET (7)

THE FOLLOWING ARE ACTS OF AGGRESSION
COMMITTED IN IRELAND BY THE POLICE AND
MILITARY OF THE USURPING ENGLISH GOVERNMENT –
AS REPORTED IN THE DAILY PRESS -
FOR THE WEEK ENDING,
September, 13th, 1919.

DATE:- Sept.	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	Total.
Raids:-		3	4	1	4	1000	1012
Arrests:-		6	8	1	4	8	27
Sentences:-	2				1		3
Armed Assaults:-	2	2		3		24	31
Proclamations:-		2	1	3			7
Courtmartials:-					1	1	2
Daily Total	4	13	13	8	10	1034	1082

During the foregoing six days English Military terrorism in Ireland reached its high water mark. The town of Fermoy was sacked by English Military, English troops appeared on the streets of Dublin and shot down four young men. The English representatives in Ireland decreed the suppression of the elected Government of the Irish people; the vast army of occupation was set loose upon the nation and forcibly entered the houses of over a thousand of its respected citizens.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 8th, 1919.

Sentences:- A remarkable instance of how English Law is administered in Ireland was given at Mullingar, when Mr. G. O'Reilly, District Councillor, and Mr. James Clavin, both in Kilbeggan, Co. Meath, were charged with taking part in a language festival which was dispersed by military and police. Evidence was given that Mr. O'Reilly was not near the meeting but one policeman swore that he was. The Magistrates then declared:- "The bench feels that the right people have not been charged but we cannot overlook Constable Doheny's evidence and we will put defendants under bail to be of good behaviour". Mr. O'Reilly refused to give bail as he had not even been near the meeting, whereupon the Magistrates promptly sentenced him to one month's imprisonment. (Mr. O'Reilly is 70 years of age). Mr. Patrick Kiernan, Moneyduff, Co. Longford, tried by courtmartial for being in possession of seditious literature, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour. A second example of how English law is administered in Ireland was given at Carrick-on-Shannon, when Mr. Thomas Crofton (Senr.) a supporter of the English Government, was fined six-pence for being in possession of arms without a permit from the military authorities. On an exactly similar charge members of the Republican organisation have recently been tried by courtmartial and have been sentenced to TWO YEARS imprisonment with hard labour.

Armed Assaults:- English Soldiers armed with revolvers and in charge of a sergeant, held civilians on the Naas Road, Inchicore. They searched passers-by, including girls, and then ordering those whom they had searched to "run for it" they shot at them as they ran. Four young men

named O'Connor, Gannon, Murphy and Keogh, were wounded. O'Connor aged 18 years, seriously; and many others had narrow escapes. The police when interviewed by newspaper Reporters described the incident as a "prank" and declared that no arrests had taken place nor were likely to. English soldiers raided a language festival at Fermoy, Co. Cork, and pelted the gathering (in which there were many women and children) with stones.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9th, 1919.

Raids:- Armed police raided late at night, several houses in Dublin Street, Dundalk, and made an exhaustive search.

Arrests:- James Fanning, John Fanning, Maurice Condon, Michael Fitzgerald and John M. Swain, were arrested at Fermoy, Co. Cork, by armed police, on suspicion of having assisted in an arms raid. Mr. J. Martin, Portumna was, by armed police, held up while motoring, and having been searched was arrested.

Proclamations:- An Irish Language festival arranged to be held at Downpatrick, Co. Down, was proclaimed by order of the English military authorities, and large bodies of English troops occupied the town in order to suppress any effort to hold it. A Republican Meeting announced to be held at Lisnaskea, Co. Fermanagh, was similarly proclaimed. Troops also occupied this town to suppress the meeting.

Armed Assaults:- Large bodies of English troops acting under order from their officers who went among them in mufti, issued from their barracks and wrecked the town of Fermoy, smashing the principal shops and spreading their contents through the streets. The assault which continued for two hours was not interfered with either by

the police or military authorities. Many of the townspeople, who were given no protection whatever, were seriously injured. At Moneygall, King's County, police fired two volleys into a motor car on which were two ladies and two men, one of the men was dangerously wounded. The driver of the car declared that the police gave him no time to obey the warning to stop before the volleys were fired. The car had almost stopped when the second round of shots was fired.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10th, 1919.

Raids:- Armed police raided three houses in Fermoy, Co. Cork. Military fully armed forcibly entered and commandeered the premises owned by the Shannon Boat Club Co., Limerick. Machine guns have been mounted in the windows controlling several public roads.

Arrests:- While walking along the public road at Eglish, King's County, five men named Ryan, Stapleton, Carroll, Burke and Cooney, were surrounded by police, searched and arrested. They were released some hours afterwards, no explanation whatever being given of the outrage perpetrated against them. Thomas Griffin, Ballynoe, Patrick Leahy, do., and John Mulvey, Rathcormac, were arrested on a charge of taking part in an arms raid. Mr. E. Dooley, Merchant, Tuam, Co. Galway, after being held for three weeks by the military and police, was released without any charge being brought against him or any explanation given.

Proclamations:- The English military authorities proclaimed a sports meeting arranged for Oatfield, Co. Clare, and military and police, fully armed, appeared to enforce the proclamation. The sports were held secretly in the neighbouring hills.

Manufactured Results:- Military and police have been busy during the last few days reporting that mysterious shots have been fired at them by mysterious bodies of men, all armed with revolvers. Neither any soldier nor policeman has, needless to say, been wounded by these mysterious shots, but these reports are immediately followed by concentrations of troops in the districts, and the houses of peaceful farmers are then raided at all hours of the night. These incidents bear the stamp of the time honoured English device to show that it is really necessary to keep huge armies quartered upon the "lawless" Irish people.

Militarism:- Writing to the London Times of this date, Mr. W. Ormsby-Gore, a prominent supporter of the English Government in Ireland, states that so huge is the army now scattered over Ireland that ordinary commercial traffic on the Kingstown and Holyhead mail boats has become almost impossible, owing to the passage of troops, and their baggage and equipment.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 11th, 1919.

Raids:- The house of John Duffy, Cloonskill, Westport, Co. Mayo, was forcibly entered at 3 a.m. by armed policemen. The inmates were turned out of bed and the house searched.

Arrests:- John Duffy, above mentioned, was arrested on a charge of "illegal drilling". He is aged only eighteen years.

Proclamations:- The town of Fermoy and all districts within three miles radius of it have been proclaimed a military area in which severe martial law is now in force.

All markets, fairs, meetings, processions and assemblies are declared suppressed. The proclamation adds that four persons will be deemed to constitute a meeting, and shall be dispersed by troops. All national organisations – the Sinn Fein organisation, the Cumann na mBan (Irish Women's League); The Irish Volunteers, and the Gaelic League, have been suppressed by military proclamation in Cork City and County. (Note:- Cork City is the third largest city in Ireland; Cork County is the largest County. These National organisations are now suppressed in the Counties of Tipperary, Cork, and Clare, and in the City of Cork.)

A Proclamation has been published reviving the infamous Coercion Act of 1887, and putting it into force in the following vast areas, Dublin City, Limerick City, Cork City, Dublin County, Limerick County, Clare County, Cork County and the greater part of Tipperary County. By this Coercion Act a magistrate appointed by the English Government has power to hold a Star Chamber Inquiry into any question whatever, and to order the arrest of any person who he believes knows anything regarding that question. These witnesses are to be examined secretly, and if they refuse to answer any interrogation put to them, will be ordered to be imprisoned. Children are liable to be hauled before this magistrate, and, if over twelve years of age, cannot be accompanied by parents or friends. This Act has been described by Englishmen themselves as "naked terrorism".

Armed Assaults:- Military in Fermoy were again permitted by the authorities to invade the town and continue the wholesale wreckage mentioned under date Tuesday, Sept., 9th. It has been stated by Dr. Magnier, Fermoy, that the wreckage of his Chemists' Stores in that town military officers in mufti aided in as well as directed the sabotage, and that the troops assaulted an old nurse of his, and demolished his children's nursery. Military, fully armed, held up at the rifle point every motor car passing through the town of Thurles, and having [words unclear] English military fired two volleys upon civilians at Observatory Lane, Rathmines, Dublin.

Militarism:- Mr. C. M. Masterman ex-Minister of the English Government writing to the press described the military regime under which Ireland now suffers as "The gigantic outrage of Ireland's present Government".

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th, 1919.

Raids:- Armed military and police raided four houses in the town of Nenagh, Co. Tipperary. The raids took place in the middle of the night, and the occupants were turned out of their beds, while the armed forces made a complete search.

Arrests:- Four young men named Leonard, Quigly, Clancy and Dwyer were arrested in the early morning by military and police.

Sentence:- James Harkins was sent to prison for four months to await trial for having possession of a revolver.

Court-martial:- Wm. O'Shaughnessy, Organist at the Catholic Church, Ennis, was court-martialled on a charge of attempting to obtain arms. The decision has not yet been promulgated.

Militarism:- It is stated in the London Press that the English Government are appointing soldiers as members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Lord French, English Viceroy in Ireland, declares to a Belfast audience that the English Government is about to take the most "drastic measures" against the Republican Party in Ireland.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th, 1919.

Lord French's promise to the followers of Sir Edward Carson is already being fulfilled as the following wholesale acts of provocation show:-

Raids:- An innumerable number of raids occurred all over Ireland, strong bodies of armed military and police forcibly entering private houses and Republican Clubs, to the number of many hundreds. The raids were obviously arranged at the Headquarters of the English military in Ireland, and began all over Ireland at the same hour, vast numbers of English troops being engaged to carry them out. Among the hundreds of houses raided were the following:-

DUBLIN:- The Republican Headquarters, Harcourt Street, where the clerks as well as the premises were searched. After three hours occupation of these premises the armed forces retired, carrying with them two members of the Irish Parliament, and all propaganda they could find. The private residences of the following members of the Irish Parliament were similarly raided, Count Plunkett, Alderman Kelly, Messrs. Michael Staines, Joseph Magrath, William Cosgrave and Joseph MacGuinness.

BELFAST:- The Headquarters of the Gaelic League and the Republican Clubs were raided as well as many private houses and business premises.

CORK:- The local Republican Headquarters were raided as were also four Sinn Fein Clubs. In these latter the armed forces did wanton damage, wrecking parts of the premises. Many private houses were raided including that of Mr. Liam de Roiste, Member of the Irish Parliament for Cork City.

CORK COUNTY:- Sinn Fein Clubs were broken into and ransacked. The offices of the newspaper, "The Southern Star" were raided as were many private houses all over the County.

WATERFORD CITY:- All the Sinn Fein Clubs and scores of private houses were entered and searched.

KILKENNY CITY:- All the Sinn Fein Clubs, the Offices of the "Kilkenny People", the private residence of its editor, and the residences of Alderman James Nowlan, and many other prominent citizens were raided.

DERRY CITY:- All the Sinn Fein Clubs and some fifty private houses were forcibly entered and searched.

GALWAY CITY:- The Offices of the "Galway Express"

and the private residence of its editor were raided. The Sinn Fein Clubs in the city were similarly entered and searched. The Town Hall was also raided.

DUNDALK:- Sinn Fein Clubs and many houses searched as in other districts. Among the private residences entered were those of Mr. Peter Hughes Chairman of the Urban Council and Mr. P. J. Daly, member of the same body. Similar raids were made in the whole thirty-two counties of Ireland, and as well as the cities and towns, hardly a village but was visited and the privacy of its people outraged. The house of almost every public representative suspected of Republican tendencies was entered.

Arrests:- During these raids the following arrests were made:- Mr. Ernest Blythe, Member of the Irish Parliament for Fermanagh (South); Mr. P. O'Keeffe, Member of the Irish Parliament for West Cork (should be North Cork, JL); Mr. S. Nicholl, Solicitor, Galway. Mr. P. Shiels, Republican Official, Derry. There were also arrested four men whose names have not transpired.

Proclamations:- A Proclamation has been published suppressing Dail Eireann, the National Government of the Irish people, elected at the General Election of December 1918. It represents 78 of the 105 Constituencies in Ireland. The proclamation suppressing it was signed by Commander in Chief of the English Army of Occupation in Ireland, and by Mr. MacPherson the English Cabinet Minister.

Armed Assaults:- During the wholesale onslaught on the Republican movement above mentioned the military and police savagely attacked crowds of Republican sympathisers in Dublin, in Derry, and in other cities. As well in more than a score of instances men were overpowered in the public streets by armed English troop and police, and forcibly searched.

Court martial:- Mr. Andrew Healy, 173 Inchicore Road, Dublin, was tried by English Court martial at Ship Street Barracks, Dublin, on a charge of being in possession of a revolver. The decision has not yet been announced.

Later reports:- Later reports make it clear that more than a thousand houses were forcibly entered and searched in the above raids on the Republican organisation. Not a county in Ireland escaped from this molestation. That large bodies of troops could thus be used in every corner of Ireland at the one hour is the best admission yet made of the enormous strength of the English Army of Occupation.

The following are Acts of Aggression committed in Ireland by the Police and Military of the Usurping English Government - as reported in the Daily Press, for the week ending September 20th. 1919.

DATE:- Sept.	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Total.
Raids:-	500	21	140	19	14	31	725
Arrests:-	9	1	3		1		14
Sentences:-	4		2	3			9
Proclamations & Suppressions:-	1	2	3		3	2	11
Armed Assaults:-	2	2	1				5
Court martials:-	1	1				1	3
Daily Total	517	27	149	22	18	34	767

During these six days the sentences passed in Ireland for political offences totalled 2 years and 2 months.

Monday September, 15th 1919.

Raids:- A second quota of widespread raids are reported from many parts of Ireland including forcible entry made by military and police into the houses of the following members of the Irish Parliament:- David Kent, Castlelyons, Co. Cork; Frank Fahy, Loughrea, Co. Mayo; Dr. Ryan, Wexford; Sean Etchingham, Courtown, Co. Wicklow; William Sears, Claremorris, Co. Mayo; Raids not previously mentioned in these lists took place in the following districts, in each of which forcible entry was made into many private houses:- Killarney, Middleton, Thurles, Castletownbere, Cashel, Roscrea, Kilmallock, Charleville, Foynes, Carron, Corrigeenroe, Drumdoe, Kiltewan, Rosmuck, Kiltimagh, Coonacool, Tuam, Ballina, Navan, Granard, Athboy, Kells, Balliver, Summerhill, Kilmore, Prosperous, (Co. Kildare), Castlepollard, Edenderry, New Ross, Bagnalstown, Phillipstown. Aghrim, Rathdrum, Lanesborough, Arney, Clones, Castleblayney, Crevagh, Cookstown, Gortin, Garahan, Stewartstown, Limavady, Dungiven Park, Feeney, Lurgan, Crossmaglen, Kinawley, Derrylin, Fermanagh, Ballyshannon, Burtonport, Clonmany, Letterkenny. A modest estimate of the total number of houses raided in these districts would be 500. The actual number is probably much greater.

Arrests:- Patrick Hand, Charles and Michael McArdle, Brian McConnell, Patrick Christy and Robert Irwin were arrested at Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan, on a charge of unlawful assembly. A young man whose name has not transpired was arrested by military and police at Clifton, Connemara. Frank Mooney was arrested at Tullamore, King's County, for an unknown political charge. James Higgins was arrested at Trim, Co. Meath by military and police on a charge of possessing a revolver.

Sentences:- W. Moagher was sentenced at Tipperary town to six months imprisonment for attempting to obtain arms. W. Hackett and P. Whelehan on a similar charge were sentenced to six months and four months respectively. John Duffy, Cloonskill, Co. Mayo, was sentenced to two months imprisonment for "drilling other boys". Duffy is aged 18 years.

Court martial:- J. Mullane, Blarney Street, Cork, was tried by court martial at Cork Barracks on a charge of possessing a revolver.

Proclamation:- A language festival at St. Peter's Place, Dublin was proclaimed and suppressed by the English military authorities.

Armed Assaults:- Rev. Father Tracey, Catholic Priest was held up at his residence Summerhill College, Sligo by military and police who stated they had orders to search him. He refused to allow himself to be searched whereupon he was knocked down and held on the ground while his pockets were rifled and his private correspondence read. When the people of Irishtown, Clonmel, gathered to welcome home Mr. J. Mulcahy Lyons, P.L.G. who had served a sentence of 12 months hard labour for reading publicly a protest against suppression of free speech in Ireland, the meeting was broken up by the police who attacked the people with batons and rifle butts. Many were injured.

Militarism:- The British Trades Congress held at Glasgow declared in a resolution carried unanimously:- "This Congress views with alarm the situation in Ireland where every demand by the people for freedom is met by

military rule". Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P. at the Congress stated:- "Ireland is to-day internally an armed camp". Mr. Robert Smillie, another prominent English Labour Leader, declared "Ireland is kept down by the Government bayonets and British Soldierly".

The London "Daily Mail" of this date stated:- "A month ago we had 60,000 troops in Ireland to carry out the holding down policy. More have gone there since".

Tuesday, September 16th 1919

Raids:- Military and police in strong force raided the "Antwerp Club", Enniscorthy. Armed Military raided the Catholic Hall, Aughagallon, Co. Antrim, overcoming the resistance of the local priests. The following houses were forcibly entered and searched:- Dr. T. F. Higgins' private residence, Stradbally, Queen's Co., the residence of Mr. M. Colgan and Mr. B. J. Goff, Solicitor, Elphin, Co. Roscommon. Military and police raided several houses at Ballinacarriga, Co. Cork. Ten houses were raided at Nenagh, Co. Tipperary at 6 o'clock a.m. by military and police.

Arrests:- Mr. John Telvin, Carnacross, Kells, Co. Meath was arrested by military and police.

Proclamations:- A language festival arranged to be held at Ballinacarriga, Co. Cork, was proclaimed by the English Military. At Kinsale, Co. Cork, a similar festival was proclaimed. In both localities large bodies of troops were sent to enforce the proclamation. One of the festivals was held secretly in the neighbouring hills.

Armed Assaults:- At Omagh, Mr. George Murnaghan, Solicitor, was taken by armed police from the court in which he was conducting cases, and was then overpowered and searched.

Court martial:- Mr. Daniel Mackle, Redhills, Co. Cavan was court martialled at Belfast Barracks on a charge of "illegal assembly".

Wednesday, September 17th 1919

Raids:- Further raids are reported as having taken place last week-end, including forcible entry by military and police into the houses of Mr. Arthur Griffith, Minister of Home Affairs, in the National Ministry, and of Mr. Desmond Fitzgerald, Director of Republican Propaganda, and one of the Dublin members of the National Parliament. At Mr. Fitzgerald's residence the armed forces cross examined his son aged 7 years as to his father's whereabouts. Last week's raids also included many houses at Aughnaclyff and Ballinamuck, Co. Longford; at Gurteen and Kildysart, Co. Clare; at Bridgetown and Carrick-on-Bannow, Co. Wexford; at Newport, Co. Kildare and at Portadown, Co. Down. On Monday this week, large bodies of military and police set out in full equipment accompanied by aeroplanes and raided over 100 houses along the banks of the Shannon and in the town of Nenagh.

Arrests:- John J. Hogan and Peter Callaghan both of Ballymore, Co. Cork, were arrested on a charge of aiding in a raid for arms. Mr. Liam Pedler, Brookville Avenue, Blackrock, Co. Dublin was arrested by armed police.

Sentences:- B. MacNally and C. Macardle were sentenced at Castleblayney to one month's imprisonment each on a charge of "unlawful assembly".

Armed Assaults:- The police and military surprised a language festival which was being held secretly at Ballin-

spittle, Co. Cork and attacked the crowd with batons and subsequently fired upon them. Many were injured.

Proclamations:- Language festivals at Bantry, Lisgoold and Kilcrohane, Co. Cork, were proclaimed and suppressed by English military and police.

Militarism:- The "Manchester Guardian" the chief organ of the English Liberals states in its issue of this date:- "In a section of the (Anglo) Irish Press there is still a meaningless cry for martial law pure and simple. As it is Ireland has been under-martial law ever since the Easter Rebellion in 1916".

Thursday, September 18th 1919

Raids:- The premises of Messrs. Ambrose, Kennedy Taylor, Britton and P. Carroll, Main Street, Letterkenny, were raided by military and police and searched. In other parts of Co. Donegal similar raids took place including a raid on the houses of Mr. P. J. Ward, Member of Parliament for South Donegal; Mr. J. Harkey; Mr. Barry, Creamery Manager; Mr O'Byrne, Auctioneer and Mr. J. Ward, merchant. In Co. Tipperary military raids took place on the houses of Mrs. E. MacGrath, Denis Dunlee and Patrick de Burca. The houses of Mr. - . Dwyer, Templetouhy and Mr. M. Lannigan, Lisdaleen were entered by military and police and searched. At Carrigaholt, Co. Clare, military and police raided the O'Curry Irish College, Miss Behan's Hotel and the residence of Messrs M. Higgins and James Jackson.

Sentences:- James O'Leary was sentenced at Douglas, Co. Cork to three months imprisonment for "unlawful assembly" and Jerh. Hinchion to one month on the same charge. At Dublin a lad of 17 years named Gahan was sentenced to 2 months imprisonment for being in possession of a revolver.

Friday, September 19th 1919

Raids:- The house of Mr. Thomas Culligan, Co. Tipperary, was raided by military and police. The house of Miss Catherine Mahon, Carrig, Co. Tipperary, was forcibly entered and searched by armed military and police. The residence of Mr. T. Carless, Coonmora, Reacross in the same county was similarly raided. In Co. Sligo the houses of many prominent republicans were raided and searched, including the residence of Mr. A. McCabe member of the Irish Parliament.

Arrests:- Charles Kilden, Wellington Street, Derry, was arrested and charged with assault for endeavouring to prevent armed police from forcing their way into his house. The police severely mauled Mr. Kilden in overcoming his resistance.

Suppressions:- The three principal newspapers in the South of Ireland "The Cork Examiner", "Cork Evening Echo", and "The Cork Weekly Examiner", were suppressed by the English military for publishing the prospectus of the Self-Determination Loan floated by the elected Government of Ireland. These suppressions bring the total of newspapers closed down by the military since 1916 to 36.

Murder:- The English Military authorities in Ireland have issued a statement, stating that Francis Murphy of Glan, Co. Clare, (whom a jury picked by English Government officials found to have been murdered by English military) was not so murdered. They state that they made "searching

investigations" into the case. But they have held no public inquiry of any kind whatsoever, and their own statement is the sole proof that any such inquiry has been held.

Deportations:- Mr. W. Pedler whose arrest is mentioned under date Wednesday 17th September in these lists has been deported by the English authorities in Ireland. Mr. Pedler was prominent in the Republican movement in Ireland.

Saturday, September 20th 1919

Raids:- Police and military fully armed raided the local Hall at Tabanagh, Balla, and the property of the Hall was wantonly damaged during the subsequent search. The local Sinn Fein halls were raided at Loughall, Anaghmore and Maghera, Co. Armagh. At Portadown; the Queen's Hotel was raided and also the residence of Mr. R. McConville. At Moneygall, Co. Tipperary, the houses of Mrs. N.B. Collison and Messrs John and P. Kennedy were forcibly entered and searched by military and police. Some ten houses of well known Republicans were raided and searched at Churchtown, Buttevant, Co. Cork. At Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, the houses of Messrs. J. Chamberlain, T. Tierney and D. McCartin were similarly raided and searched. The house of Mr. Hugh Magee, Dromore, and Mr. Hugh O'Duffy, Gortalork, Co. Donegal, were entered and searched by military and police. Some ten newsagents shops at Youghal, Co. Cork were raided by military and police carrying away part of the stock from each shop.

Court martial:- Mr James Kelly, Derry was courtmartialled in that city on a charge of being in possession of two revolvers.

Wanton Provocation:- The West Kent regiment of English troops marched through the city of Galway, which is overwhelmingly Republican carrying two Republican flags which they then publicly burned.

Proclamations:- Proclamations have been issued by the English Military authorities extending full martial law to the whole of County Tipperary and to the Portumna rural district of Co. Galway. These districts are now declared "special military areas" and in them no meetings, assemblies, fairs or markets will be allowed. As both districts are large agricultural areas their proclamation means the complete cessation of all business and consequent widespread suffering and loss to the inhabitants.

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A Matter of Inquiry. Part 2.**

"There has been a wrong interpretation put on our history over the past forty years. They tell you that we who were in the Republican army were acting as they are acting. That is not true. In 1918 there was an election here, from which was elected a government—an election which gave a vast majority in favour of the programme that was set. When I went to America, I went there as the head of the elected government of the Irish Republic. I was elected, and every action of the Republican army was taken as an action of the army authorised by the government of the Republic.

We were not self-appointed. We were elected, and it was as the elected government that the army of the Republic fought from 1919-1921. They talk about the Civil War and say, 'Oh yes, you went into a civil war and you don't care about the people's will.' I say we did. We were the regulars of that time. We fought to maintain the Republic that was set up by the Irish people, that the representatives of the Irish people were sent to Dáil Eireann to uphold the Republic that they swore to uphold.

Our position was that the representatives were elected to maintain the Republic and that they had no right to turn down the Republic without the people's will. In the Pact Election they said we wanted civil war. We did not; we did everything in our power to prevent it. The new Dáil was to meet within two days after the time in which the Four Courts were attacked. It wasn't we who forced the Civil War. It was they who didn't allow Dáil Eireann to meet."

Eamon de Valera. 19th November 1957. *Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis*.

"Empire can only be achieved with satisfaction, or maintained with advantage, provided it has a moral basis... I think it must be because in the heart of the British endeavour there has burned this spark of heavenly flame that Providence has hitherto so richly blessed our undertakings... Count it no shame to acknowledge our Imperial mission, but, on the contrary, the greatest disgrace to be untrue to it, and even if God no longer thunders from Sinai, and His oracles are sometimes reported dumb, cling humbly but fervently to the belief that so long as we are worthy we may still remain one of the instruments through who He chooses to speak to mankind."

'The True Imperialist', Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Speech at Birmingham, 11th December 1907.

Martin Mansergh and Fergal Keane, OBE

In the previous issue of the *Irish Political Review*—June—I noticed that Manus O'Riordan had an article which he had mined from the online *Irish Times*' edition, 18th May 2019, about the Address given by Dr. Martin Mansergh to the national centenary commemoration "to mark the rescue of Séan Hogan at Knocklong railway station on 13th May 1919". The report had been written up by Ronan McGreevy but it had been completely censored/excluded from the *Irish Times*' print edition which drove O'Riordan rightly—in my opinion—to question the so called values of the paper which always highlights its paper-of-record status with its slogan:

"Facts have no agenda. Real news has value."

* It Is Time

** *Es Ahora* last month was mistakenly titled *Clair Wills and the Story She Tells (Part 11)*. The Wills series will resume in a future issue. Editor

Meanwhile, back from holiday, I was looking through back editions of *The Irish Catholic*, when I came across this article from the 4th April 2019 by Martin Mansergh titled *'The Commonwealth Conundrum'*. Even then I probably wouldn't have given it much thought but there in its text was a reflection on a book which he had just finished reading and wouldn't you know it but it was Fergal Keane's *'Wounds: A Memoir of War & Love'* (William Collins, London, 2017—the paperback edition was out in 2018—JH). And there was I thinking I was finished with that man after my own article on him in the June *Irish Political Review* edition—except for an apology to Donal Kennedy whom I mistakenly thought had *stated* Keane was exiled from the BBC when he had only been *speculating* he *might* be given the boot for bringing up war matters which the English State would never tolerate. Now we all know that, while the wily Keane might have harboured such thoughts, he certainly didn't act on them—keeping *schtum*—and harvesting all the accolades that the British State can confer.

It was very interesting to read how Mansergh sees Keane:

"a nephew of the famous writer John B. Keane, is a veteran BBC war correspondent, whose eye-witness experience of savage conflict has shown him 'the pity of war' and enables him to recreate exceptionally vividly some of the local events of the Irish Revolution, while putting them in a broader international perspective. The final sentence of his book is telling:

"It was Ireland's tragedy that people who loved the same land could become such bitter enemies"."

I think it is very interesting that that is the sentence in the whole book that Martin Mansergh wants to highlight and really he uses it to serve his own political agenda here. It gives him 'permission', as it were, to bring us back to the "Commonwealth", no matter what else is going on—and isn't that what all this is about really? Read Mansergh's analysis here and no-one can be under any illusion that this is the pivot he wants above all others. Mansergh writes:

"Attempts to dismantle Treaty restrictions and to maintain neutrality during the Second World War led to sanctions or pressures on vital supplies."

But anyone reading the many articles I have written about Clair Wills's book *'That Neutral Island'* can see that it shows conclusively that Dev didn't just "attempt to dismantle Treaty restrictions", he very successfully did and Britain retaliated by savage sanctions which even had the British Representative to Ireland, Sir John Maffey, begging Churchill not to go too far because there was always the Irish vote in the USA to factor in—even though it practically killed the former to do so, as he too expressed red-hot hatred for our Taoiseach de Valera in correspondence now available to historians, and which Wills makes great use of in her book.

And then there is that oh-so-sly reference by Martin Mansergh about Dev needing to "ease his conscience" about entering the Dáil as a *pubic representative* and needing the benediction of Rome in order to do so because of "the oath ... an empty formula". But precisely who ordered this Oath is not revealed by Mansergh. And how could such a thing even *exist* in an open democratic institution as the Dáil, with its mandate from the people of Ireland? Because Britain was still intent on smothering our parliament and keeping us in hock to a foreign King and, when de Valera got the chance, he torpedoed all

that tomfoolery with his 1937 Constitution.

The British ranted and raved about secret codicils and the likes but they were up against a great mind who was beyond their intellectual reach. (See the *Irish Political Review*, February 2018, article by Dr. Pat Muldowney titled "*Dev—maths teacher?*" JH.)

Muldowney demonstrates from the "*online Mac Tutor archive of mathematical biography*", which "*includes de Valera, along with Archimedes, Boole, Einstein, Newton, Fermat and the rest. Here is an extract from MacTutor*":

"The most important contribution de Valera made to mathematics both in Ireland and internationally was the foundation of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (DIAS) in 1940. The institute initially consisted of two schools namely, the School of Celtic Studies and the School of Theoretical Physics, and in 1947 a third school, the School of Cosmic Physics, was added. It was the result of consultation between de Valera, his past professors, Arthur Conway and E.T. Whittaker, as well as with the foremost American mathematician of the time, G. D. Birkhoff."

Finally in a "cloak and dagger" manoeuvre, because of the war, Edwin Schrödinger was appointed. And the rest, as they say, is history—except that in Ireland our history is being sabotaged by people with an opposing agenda. Which brings me back to Martin Mansergh who tries out this convoluted exercise:

"While de Valera *would* not have objected to the type of association with the Commonwealth that India had since becoming a republic, the British at the time *would* have demanded as a minimum a return to allegiance, i.e. a reversion to dominion status"(All the italics and underlinings are mine –JH).

This is meaningless tripe. Using Mansergh's phrase "*the British family of nations*" for today's Commonwealth is scary nonsense. Because in 2018, the Commonwealth leaders met in London just as former Home Secretary Teresa May's "*hostile environment*" was making headline news. New Home Secretary Amber Rudd was forced to resign for her Prime Minister's policies. But what was most interesting was the way Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India refused to come to London unless he was given a private *reception* with the Monarch, Elizabeth II and then reluctantly attended a Commonwealth reception with all his fellow attendees. The Royal Family and the Prime Minister May with her Cabinet were all in attendance for the State banquet

but there were murmurings of dissent about how the Windrush generation were treated.

This issue has still not been resolved. The number of British subjects who had come over after the war, and contributed hugely to their new country, only to be booted out as they had no papers—was and still is a great scandal. These paperless or undocumented people were harshly treated by their Government. They had rights which were trampled on and in a recent documentary some were shown to have lost their lives when they were deported to the Caribbean Island especially places like Jamaica with its very high crime rates. A book already mentioned in my former articles is '*Lovers and Strangers: An Immigrant History of Post-War Britain*' by Clair Wills, Allen Lane, Penguin Random House Publishers, London, 2017.

As I stated in my last article—June *Irish Political Review*—I have paused my research on Wills to focus on Fergal Keane and now Martin Mansergh. The latter may think that, by linking India with the Commonwealth, he is making a good case for Ireland's rejoining. He couldn't be more wrong. India—now a global player with a population of almost 2 billion—is pushing for its place in the sun. Militarily, it sees itself as *central* to the Asian pivot. And with a Prime Minister who is a Hindu nationalist with extremist views—according to the Indian Booker-winning novelist/activist Arundhati Roy—the 'British commonwealth' is very low in Modi's global interactions.

Putting aside for the moment Mansergh's analysis of the Commonwealth—which is hardly ever called the "British" one, as that has such negative connotations; let us look at the reality. The British Sovereign calls it "*the family of nations*" and the media opts too for the latter more saccharine phrase. And there was much fretting about naming the successor to the Queen when she dies: it took much toing and froing and hours of negation before the British Queen could announce at the Banquet that her successor Prince Charles of Wales would be the next leader of the Commonwealth. And many commentators speculated whether indeed that would ever actually happen. The Queen herself named her grandson Prince Harry (coasting on a wave of popularity with his newly wed American bi-racial wife Meghan Markle) as her Youth Ambassador to the Commonwealth.

But in '*The Irish Catholic*' Mansergh serves up this tosh about the commonwealth:

"...it is a forum that provides significant networking opportunities that assists poorer members and tries to foster democratic values, it is not a political alliance or economic bloc nor an adequate substitute for Britain's EU membership."

As the British Trade Secretary, Liam Fox, travels around the world looking for trade deals for a post Brexit Britain, I find it extremely interesting that "*the commonwealth*" does not feature at all. In fact, all the negotiating trade missions seem to target Europe, Saudi Arabia, the USA, China and India in that order. And of course arms is their biggest export, with the Saudis alone investing billions in UK deals. But we know that is not a sustainable model with the Yemeni crisis growing daily and honourable people fighting their own Government in the UK courts to stop this barbaric trade.

Mansergh accepts that only a few Irish politicians (take a bow John Bruton, Fine Gael, and former Taoiseach) bring up the Commonwealth idea now and again but the one Mansergh signals out for our edification is Jeffrey Donaldson, "*a constructive unionist politician*". (Surely an oxymoron!) According to Martin, this man was "*a guest at a recent Fine Gael conference*" where "*he proposed that the Republic should rejoin the Commonwealth as a conciliatory gesture*". Bravely or rashly Mansergh ploughs on:

"The irony was that this was suggested while his party the DUP was advocating a hard Brexit, which is in no way conciliatory and undermines the current frictionless border on the island of Ireland."

So, Dr. Mansergh, do you get why I am totally confused here? The foregoing is quasi-comical because you then go on to state that this move might be "*a danger*" as some Unionists might go too far in their representations of such an about-turn and then our "*EU partners*" might be "*confused*" and the latter's "*solidarity is vital at the present time to Ireland*".

To think that you were once an advisor to our Government is almost too appalling to consider. But then Charlie Haughey only ever allowed you out of your box for the "*posh English public accent*" that left the poor Unionists baffled beyond belief. (This is true according to sources present at the time –JH.)

But if ever I wanted proof that you are your father's son—let me tell you, this is it. You once wrote the following:

"When I was at school in Canterbury in 1965 at the age of eighteen, I once sat

opposite the late Micheál Mac Liammóir, who was presenting at the King's Festival his immortal one-man show *'The Importance of Being Oscar'*. In the course of introducing myself to him, I described myself as 'Anglo-Irish'. He replied:

"That is a term we must abolish, a view that I took very much to heart, not consciously realising how much his own identity was a work of art" (*The Legacy of History*, Martin Mansergh, Mercier Press, Cork, 2003, pg.318.)

But Mansergh introduces us to his piece on Fergal Keane's book by saying that he was standing outside a Church after a funeral when—

"a woman volunteered that one of her antecedents had been an RIC District Inspector in North Kerry, who was shot dead by the IRA in 1921. Having just finished reading" Keane's book 'Wounds: A Memoir'... "I was able to identify at once whom she was speaking of—District Inspector Tobias O'Sullivan, one of the central characters of the book."

"He had previously been involved in the successful defence of the RIC barracks in Kilmallock, and bore blame for a reprisal raid on Ballylongford after moving to Kerry. So O'Sullivan was a formidable opponent to be eliminated".

What Mansergh *omits* from this account is how much the Imperial policeman was responsible for the awful events in Ballylongford, Co. Kerry where, on one night alone, the British Imperial forces burnt to the ground seventeen businesses, many of them just small shops/pubs etc. The local populace were hounded and harassed so when Sullivan walked "*home for lunch from the barracks in Listowel in January 1921, an IRA team was waiting for him, and he was assassinated*". I don't know if that is Keane's account but I am assuming that it is, though in the text of Mansergh's article that statement is not in quotation marks.

But Mansergh is now about to give up on the return to the Commonwealth because he finished his article with this paragraph:

"In the context of longer-term Irish unity, Commonwealth membership is not to be dismissed out of hand, but like reformulation of Articles 2 and 3 in the Good Friday Agreement is probably best addressed in comprehensive negotiation rather than unilaterally in advance and as part of a lasting mutual accommodation between unionism and republican separatism."

So the republicans are the separatists/partitionists in this context, Dr. Mansergh? Ah the *'Legacy of History'* indeed!

P.S. 'The Irish Catholic' June 6th 2019 has a boxed-off piece in the article written by

Mary Kenny with the title:

"Time to apologise to James Dillon?"

She wrote:

"In this week when we are remembering the Irishmen who fought with the Allies at D-Day on the Normandy beaches, perhaps it is time to revisit the case of James Dillon T.D., who in 1942, was expelled from Fine Gael for saying that Ireland should align herself with the American forces in the fight against Hitler.

Would this be a good opportunity for Taoiseach Leo Varadkar to apologise for his party's treatment of Mr. Dillon?

James Dillon was a fervent Catholic, who believed—with good reason—that Germany had been taken over by the

forces of evil. He spoke for his conscience as a Christian in opposing that evil."

I know Mary Kenny is not a historian but then neither was Elizabeth Bowen but she got it right about James Dillon while serving her country—Britain—as a spy, as her Reports clearly shows. Can anyone send on *'Elizabeth Bowen: "Notes on Eire" Espionage Reports to Winston Churchill, 1940-'42'* (Aubane Historical Society, Millstreet, Co. Cork, 2008, Second Edition) to Ms. Kenny? Or even a link to past articles written by me and so many others in back editions of the *Irish Political Review*?

Julianne Herlihy ©

Obituary: John Morgan (Lt.Col. rettd.)

A Stalwart Seeker For Truth And Fighter For Justice!

It is with great regret that *Irish Political Review* notes the passing of a regular contributor to the magazine, Colonel John Morgan. His articles always presented unusual insights into the topics of the day and had a quirky flavour.

He will be best remembered for his book, *'The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings'*

He died on Wednesday, 5th June. and a Funeral Mass Saturday was held on 8th June.

John's origins were in Tralee, Co. Kerry, but he had lived in Dublin for many years with his wife and four children (Dominic, Catherine, Brendan and Emer).

After his retirement, Col. Morgan researched the 1974 Dublin/Monaghan Bombings on his own for many years, and was relentless in his pursuit of the truth behind the biggest single atrocity of the Northern Ireland war.

Such was the depth of his knowledge that he was called as a witness in the Barron Tribunal.

His work also brought unwelcome attention from both British and Irish security services. Despite fears about his personal safety, however, he persevered in following up every lead he could—including travelling up North to meet contacts.

As a spin-off from Angela Clifford's 'Arms Conspiracy Trial' research, she was introduced to Col. Morgan by Mrs. Sheila Kelly—the Captain's widow. The Colonel had been a supporter of the Kelly family

through difficult times, after their persecution over the Captain's Court evidence.

Subsequently, the Colonel refined his researches into a book, *The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings 1974: A Military Analysis*, which was published in 2013. It was a substantial work of 248 pages, with 3 colour maps, and 2 diagrams

Despite official enquiries into the Dublin/Monaghan Bombings, no satisfactory answers were ever found as to who carried them out. Even though these Bombings caused the biggest loss of life of a single operation of the whole Troubles, garda investigations were wound up after three months—with no proper explanation of what had happened; no prosecutions were ever brought.

The book is about the efforts of Colonel Morgan to rescue the event from oblivion and to find answers as to what happened. The author, a retired Army officer, helped in the making of two television programmes, Yorkshire Television's *Hidden Hand: The Forgotten Massacre* and RTE's *Friendly Forces*. Further effort by Colonel Morgan and others resulted in the Irish Government establishing the *Barron Enquiry*, which reported in 2003 and 2004.

To assist the Barron Tribunal, Colonel Morgan made a military analysis of the four bombing incidents, which occurred on 17th May 1974, the third day of the Ulster Workers' Council Constitutional Stoppage. He concluded that, so sophisticated was the planning and execution of

this operation, that it was impossible for Loyalists to have acted on their own. Amongst the features which pointed to professional direction was the nature of the explosives used, the siting and strength of each bomb, and the timing devices which ensured that three car-bombs went off simultaneously at 5.30 pm on 17th May.

He also concluded that the fourth bomb, in Monaghan town centre, was a diversionary tactic which enabled the Dublin perpetrators to cross back to the North.

His enquiries led him to conclude that elements of British Military Intelligence, acting on the authority of their superiors, conceived and played a crucial part in the operation. The object was to discourage Southern involvement in Northern affairs, destroy the Sunningdale Agreement, and discredit Harold Wilson's Labour Government.

Unfortunately, Justice Henry Barron was ultra-cautious in evaluating the evidence put before him. Like Irish Governments down the years, he felt it was unthinkable that Britain would act in such a manner. He dismissed Colonel Morgan's Submissions.

Part One of the Colonel's book contains the Military Analyses presented by Colonel Morgan to the Barron Tribunal, while in Part Two the Colonel describes how he became involved, his interactions with the Judge, and the attempts to frighten him off the issue. Annexes contain descriptions of the television programmes, and include documents of various kinds.

(Angela Clifford supplied some context for the Bombing in an Introduction, and considered the Standards of Proof applied by Tribunals in an Afterword.)

Lt. Col. John Morgan

Rest in Peace.

Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam dílis.

See <https://rip.ie/death-notice/lt.-col.-john-morgan-tallaght-dublin/390103> and <https://rip.ie/cb.php?dn=390103> for death notice and condolences.

See <https://www.atholbooks-sales.org/> to buy John Morgan's 2013 book:

"The Dublin/Monaghan Bombings 1974 - A Military Analysis".

Publisher: Belfast Historical & Educational Society, 2013

ISBN: 978-1-872078-17-4

€20, £17.50 Post-free

A Scotsman, an Englishman, an Irishman, and Casement Diary Discretion

In a review of the recent *Anatomy of a Lie* by Paul R Hyde (*Casement: The Gauntlet is Thrown!*, Jack Lane, *Irish Political Review*, June 2019), it is claimed the book is the "first in over 60 years to make a 'full blooded' case" for the forgery of the so-called Black Diaries. Sixty years brings us back to 1959. So, we can take it this takes into account the books *The Forged Casement Diaries* (1936) by Dr W.J. Maloney and *The Accusing Ghost or Justice for Casement* (1957) by Prof. Alfred Noyes.

Maloney was a medical doctor specialising in Neurology and also a qualified lawyer. He had been born in Edinburgh. His family heritage was Irish. He spent much of his life in the United States. The book was brought out in Dublin by Talbot Press, an imprint with a solidly nationalist reputation.

HOSTILE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN

At the time the Home Office would neither confirm nor deny the existence of the Diaries. The book established that there was a hostile propaganda campaign in full spate before, during and after Casement's trial for High Treason. It showed that the Diaries had not been established as legally proven documents. It showed that Sir Basil Thomson, head of London Metropolitan Police Special Branch at the time, who had claimed to have initially found the documents, had written and had published a number of mutually contradictory accounts of the finding. It told how extracts from the Diaries had been shown to influential parties in a very furtive and evasive manner.

From the above it concluded that the sensible conclusion to draw was that the circulation of rumours and the showing of alleged extracts from an alleged Casement Diary were merely a part of a wider campaign of defamation and propaganda against Casement. This campaign sought to diminish whatever public sympathy he might enjoy as well as to undermine petitions for the commutation of his death sentence.

In 1916, English-born Alfred Noyes was a literary academic in the US who had

been charged with promoting British interests during the Great War at a time when the US was still neutral. He had briefly been shown a Diary typescript for a few minutes, after which he wrote a piece denouncing Casement which was to appear in an American publication. Later, he grew to regret that action and came to decide the Diaries must have been forgeries.

TYPESCRIPTS AVAILABLE

By 1956 the Diaries had begun to show a bit more leg, as it were. Now, Diary typescripts were available for the perusal of some well-connected interested parties. One individual who got a chance to see such typescripts was Noyes. After studying typescripts he, like others, formed an opinion that scandalous matter had been interpolated into originally innocent diaries that Casement had kept. In 1957 he published his book which was to be widely distributed and read.

The book argued that there was a lack of corroborating evidence that Casement was homosexual. It closely analysed the conflicting accounts provided by Sir Basil Thomson as to how he came to find the Diaries. The accounts had grown in number since the Maloney book had been published. It described the furtiveness and deviousness of the British authorities in regard to the whole affair. It told of Casement's own impassioned repudiation of the Diaries to his American lawyer Michael Francis Doyle.

In his reference to "60 years", Jack Lane, overlooks one key researcher; Dr. Herbert O Mackey, the Irish author of a number of books on Casement, as well as of a medical textbook which went into numerous editions: "*A Handbook of Diseases of the Skin*". As well as a Casement biography and a pamphlet *I Accuse*, Mackey published *A Guide to the Forged Diaries* (1962) and *The Forged Diaries* (1966).

INTERPOLATED WITH INCRIMINATING MATTER

The first book focused on the stories of various persons connected with the pursuit and trial of Casement as well as the stories of some of his supporters. It furnished a lot

of background information but did not go into the forgery question in great detail. Mackey, anticipating that the Diary originals would be released for perusal by researchers, had, at his own expense, undergone training in the basics of document examination. When they were so released in August 1959, he was ready. After examining them over 6 days in August and September of that year, using magnifying equipment, he concluded that the diaries had been originally Casement's own diaries into which various pieces of material had been entered by other hands. Comments had been added at the beginning and end of blocks of text. Sometimes a single word had been erased and replaced by another word. At other times whole sentences had been erased using bleach and replaced with incriminating matter.

The second book contained much which overlapped with the earlier one. However, it was much more focussed on the forgery question and the accompanying technical concerns. Various instances of where writing was, according to Mackey, deliberately changed to give a very different meaning, were described. He presented a list of dates from the 1903 and 1910 diaries where he believed "*evidence of forgery*" in the handwritten entries could be perceived.

Some, but by no means all, of the anomalies Mackey believed he had discovered, have since been shown not to have been valid. Mackey's writing was underscored by a passionate Irish nationalism. It is easy to imagine that by times his passionate enthusiasm led him to get too carried away.

AUTHENTICITY CONCLUSION INTERROGATED

The recent book *Anatomy of a Lie* by Paul R. Hyde takes a fresh look at the Diaries controversy. A new approach is employed in that the emphasis is placed on rigorously interrogating how the conclusion of authenticity has been arrived at. Especially since the 1990s there is now much more relevant archival material available. Hyde has mined this archival resource and come up with results which provide little comfort for devout Diary believers. He managed to locate the report from the 1959 "*forensic examination*" conducted by a Home Office expert, a Dr. Harrison, which, not very surprisingly, found for authenticity. This report had been thought to have been lost. The scope of the report was not ambitious. It amounted to three paragraphs; 93 words in total.

All the four alleged forensic examinations which in one way or another inclined towards supporting a contention of authenticity are surveyed. None of them were found to amount to very much, though the last one, conducted in 2002 by Dr. Audrey Giles, in terms of level of detail, came closest to resembling a serious scientific inquiry.

He goes into the archival background to the alleged affairs Casement is supposed to have conducted with two young men. One of these was Adler Christensen, a Norwegian seaman who accompanied Casement from New York to Oslo, Norway and then travelled with him to Berlin. The testimony attributed to Christensen and others is analysed thoroughly and found to be dubious at best.

Casement, according to the 1911 diary, is alleged to have purchased a motor cycle as a present for a young man in Belfast named Joseph Millar Gordon. However, there is no evidence in his bank account records of Casement taking hold of the considerable amount of money required. The bank records had been seized after his arrest. Gordon was not interviewed by the police.

Hyde concluded the story had been manufactured.

The very last section *Epilogue* is inspired. It deals with the diary entries for 19th to 23rd December 1911, when Casement arrives in Pará, Brazil (now known as Belem). It is thought provoking. It goes on to state:

"The entries in the typescript for these days show a level of incoherence and contradiction which defies all comprehension and is impossible to reconcile with the Casement known in 1911, knighted that year and appointed by Foreign Secretary Grey to this delicate and dangerous mission."

The present situation, whereby the Diaries are held to be authentic by something approaching a consensus in the media and academia, Hyde attributes to four biographers of Casement. These books are by Brian Inglis (1973), R.L. Reid (1976), Roger Sawyer (1984) and Séamas Ó Síocháin (2008). Of these Inglis was by far the most influential and he set the tone for those that would follow him.

All these authors are accused of "*information management based on omission, distortion, deceit and innuendo*" (p103).

But could there be a simpler explana-

tion? Humans are more rationalising beings than rational ones. We tend to decide to support something for our own subjective reasons and then rationalise the decision afterwards. Inglis used believe in forgery. Then he was approached by Peter Singleton-Gates, the Intelligence-connected Fleet Street character. Singleton-Gates, by way of his strong personality and clever arguments, convinced Inglis the Diaries were genuine. It was a similar story with Roger Sawyer. Reid, the American literary academic, claimed he was convinced by the way events in the Diaries corresponded with other contemporary archival information.

These people were human beings. Human beings tend to ignore data which contradicts things they have decided to believe in. Something that appears to be an effort to deceive the reader may actually be the writer deceiving himself. Hyde has demonised these writers unfairly.

The book creates the impression that there is no evidence (as distinct from proof) for authenticity. But the handwriting at least appears to come from Casement. The events correspond with his known movements. Characters are referenced in diary entries that are known to have had contact with him.

According to Jack Lane, in his review, "*But what was shown was typescripts...*", taking his lead from the book. However, nobody in the public domain, in the century up to the appearance of *Anatomy of a Lie*, noticed this.

Commentators, whatever their position on the authenticity question, referred to "*photographic representations*" or else "*photographs*" being shown along with typescripts. If merely typed matter was circulated, surely a good number of people would have twigged that most peculiar lacuna, whereby there was no evidence connecting the distinctive handwriting pattern of Casement, with the incriminating diary subject matter?

Tim O'Sullivan

To be continued

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Banks And Money Creation

I feel that John Martin and I have both fairly completely stated our understanding of how banking money is created. We are in danger of just repeating ourselves. So in this response I take a somewhat different approach which may clarify the difference.

John Martin, in his June 2019 *Irish Political Review* article, states:

"Martin (Dolphin) is mixing up the accounts of the bank with the accounts of the borrower. The bank records the transaction as an increase in its loan assets of £x and a reduction in its money assets, whether in the form of cash or its deposits in the central bank."

This is not my understanding of how a bank records a loan transaction.

Consider an economy with just two banks BA and BB of broadly similar size.

Let us assume that, before a loan is made, bank BA has a balance sheet that looks like this:

BA Assets £		BA Liabilities £	
Reserves	300	Shareholders	300

Let us assume before a loan is made that a bank BB has a balance sheet that looks like this.

BB Assets £		BB Liabilities £	
Reserves	100	Shareholders	100

Assume bank BA approves a loan of £500 to a customer CBA1. BA's balance sheet now becomes:

BA Assets £		BA Liabilities £	
Reserves	300	Shareholders	300
Loan	500	Customer CBA1 Account	500

Assume bank BB approves a loan of £400 to a customer CBB1. BB's balance sheet now becomes:

BB Assets £		BB Liabilities £	
Reserves	100	Shareholders	100
Loan to CBB1	400	Customer CBB1 Account	400

This is what is referred to as a bank expanding its balance sheet by making loans.

Eventually the borrowers will spend their borrowed funds. Assume that CBA1 uses his £500 to buy something from customer CBB2 of Bank BB. How does BA's balance sheet change?

BA Assets £		BA Liabilities £	
Reserves	300	Shareholders	300
Loan	500	Customer CBA1 account	0 when the loan is spent
		Reserves due to bank BB	500

Assume customer CBB1 uses his £400 to buy something from customer CBA2 of bank BA. How does BB's balance sheet change?

BB Assets £		BB Liabilities £	
Reserves	100	Shareholders	100
Loan to CBB1	400	Customer CBB1 Account	0 when the loan is spent
		Reserves due to bank BA	400

The reserves owed by bank BA to bank BB are £100 greater than the reserves owed by bank BB to bank BA.

After appropriate interbank clearing the final positions of the banks' balance sheet are:

BA Assets £		BA Liabilities £	
Reserves	200	Shareholders	300
Loan	500	Customer CBA1 account	
		Customer CBA2 account	400
BB Assets £		BB Liabilities £	
Reserves	200	Shareholders	100
Loan to CBB1	400	Customer CBB1 Account	
		Customer CBB2 Account	500

This is what Keynes means when he states that every movement forward by an individual bank may weaken it. In the above example, because bank BA has loaned £100 more than bank BB its position (in terms of reserves) is reduced by £100. Nevertheless, the balance sheets of both banks have expanded and the expansion is not dependent on them having 'loanable funds'.

I would be interested to see how John Martin would see the balance sheets of these banks changing in this example as they make their loans.

The analysis of the Northern Rock crash that I quoted in the May 2019 *Irish Political Review* claimed that Northern Rock was expanding its balance sheet faster than other banks and financing the difference by borrowing in short-term commercial funds market. Its faster expansion was weakening Northern Rock in the manner

described by Keynes. When that market froze due to the American sub-prime crisis, Northern Rock could no longer borrow and the Government stepped in as lender of last resort.

In fact the Northern Rock loans were mostly good and the loan from the £28 billion loan from the Government was quickly paid back. Northern Rock had no exposure to the sub-prime lending, unlike NatWest.

Martin Dolphin

pockets, they were to be shot down. *"The more you shoot, the more I will like you, and I assure you that no policeman will get into trouble for shooting any man."*

The garrison, all Irishmen, told Smyth that he was a murderer, and stripped themselves of their arms and resigned from the force. Tudor threatened them with Courtmartial, but despite the semi-military nature of the RIC they were not liable for that procedure. Similar resignations followed in Killarney and Tralee.

I read the account of the Listowel incident in *"Kerry's Fighting Story"* over 65 years ago, though, unlike Keane and his clan I have no Kerry relations.

Constable Jeremiah Mee's *Witness Statement* to the Bureau of Military History is available online. The *Irish Bulletin* of 12th July 1920 gives an account of the incident. Volume 2 of the reprints of the *Irish Bulletin* covers the incident. on page 720.

On 29th JULY 1920 the Bulletin carried an Instruction from Sinn Fein HQ in Dublin to all Sinn Fein Clubs, headed—

"Now that the English-controlled police forces in Ireland are breaking up, the country should take cognisance of the position individual ex-members of these forces under the new regime."

It continued—

"Every man of Irish birth should get a chance of becoming a loyal citizen of the Irish Republic, and of earning an honest living in Ireland.

This is true even of those Irishmen who are so unfortunate to be engaged doing the work of the enemy in Ireland as members of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Many of these men joined without any clear understanding of what they were doing. They were young; they had no knowledge of Irish history. The national tradition may have been weak in their own families and in their native district. It should be made clear to that those who now resign will not be regarded as enemies of Ireland but will be granted every opportunity to make up for the past..."

Perhaps, *ninety-nine years later*, those Irishmen and Irishwomen with little knowledge or understanding of their country's history, now *"engaged in doing the work of the enemy"*, might be encouraged to become loyal citizens of Ireland, cease spreading enemy propaganda, and given *"the opportunity to make up for the past"*.

How about it, Fergal?

Donal Kennedy

Fergal Keane

Julianne Herlihy's piece (*Irish Political Review*, June 2019), reading the version of this published in May reckons that I said Keane had been dropped by the BBC and the Irish Studies Department of Liverpool University.

My point was that *he would certainly be dropped if he repeated his desire for a Truth Commission* in his article in London's *Independent* some years ago.

Ms Herlihy's piece will probably have set the cat among the shitehawks who would attack her and me.

Putting everything in the public domain should blow Keane's reputation and that of his friends to shreds.

The Irish Cultural Centre in Hammett & Queen Mary College (Strawberry) Hill are part of the British Council stable. Ivan Gibbons, formerly a Hammersmith Labour Councillor has written stuff attacking 1916. Queen Mary College has a complete Archive of the *Irish Post* (if it hasn't redacted everything published with Breandan MacLua was Editor).

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On 2nd November 2015, in this space, I exposed *Some Thoughts On Fergal Keane OBE*, *Some Thoughts On Fergal Keane OBE*, many of which I had revealed to readers of *Irish Post* and *The Irish World* over previous years. Though my criticisms were severe they were never challenged, let alone refuted, and I'm convinced that they should stand the test of time.

Mr. Keane expressed a wish for a *Truth Commission* on the unpleasantness in the North of Ireland, and events connected to it further afield since 1968.

His wish was expressed in *The Independent* of London. I doubt he would express it again in the British Media, not on General Nick Carter's Watch, nor that of the current British Government. He might risk an even more painful fate than being dropped by the BBC and the Irish Studies

Department of Liverpool University. The British Dog of War is a Jealous Dog and welcomes Truth like a Flea in its Ear.

Mr. Keane complained that British Crown Forces killed during the 1919-1921 didn't get proper funerals in Ireland. Well, one RIC man, *Tobias O'Sullivan*, shot in Listowel, Co. Kerry, by the IRA in April 1921, got a huge funeral through the centre of Dublin to Glasnevin, which can be seen on *YouTube*, and there was no attempt by Ireland's democratic forces to disrupt it. It may, perhaps, console Mr Keane, that most of the Crown Forces who fell in that War, got similarly conducted funerals, with no interference from Ireland's National Democratic Forces, and many of them were recorded for Pathe News.

Mr. Keane was perturbed that ten Volunteers of the Democratic Forces, hanged and buried in quicklime in 1920 and 1921 were exhumed and given State funerals 80 years later.

Mr. Keane's family comes from Listowel, and I find it hard to believe that anyone considered an authority on modern Irish history cannot be unaware of events in the Royal Irish Constabulary Barracks there on 15 June 1920 when it was visited by the Force's newly installed Commander, General Tudor, hand-picked by Winston Churchill, who later proudly introduced another of his favoured warriors, to Josef Stalin, as a *"cut-throat"*, and the newly appointed Divisional Commander for Munster, Smyth, recently transferred from the British Military.

Smyth addressed the RIC Garrison, telling them that they would henceforth patrol the country at least five nights a week, that they would lie in ambush. Civilians who didn't immediately obey the order to raise their hands were to be shot down. If they had their hands in their

Lemass In The De Valera Era —Some Economic Assessments

James Meenan, the Professor of Political Economy and National Economics at University College Dublin, whose lectures on Economic History I found thoroughly riveting in the late 1960s, hailed from an elite Catholic bourgeois family that had already been well established under British rule, and he himself would serve, successively, as Honorary Secretary and Chairman of the Royal Dublin Society. A militant Fianna Fáil "Soldier of Destiny" he most certainly was not.

Meenan's thoughtful contributions to the proceedings of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland can be read in the online reproduction of that Society's Journals, via a name search, at www.ssis.ie/journals.php—most notably his paper, "Some aspects of the Italian corporative organisation" (October 1934); his paper, "The impact of the war upon Irish economy" (January 1940); his Presidential address, "The political economy of development" (September 1957); as well as his contribution to the discussion on the paper by F.T. Lloyd-Dodd, "The economic and social organisation of National Socialist Germany", (March 1938). Meenan's own first paper was to be further developed into his 1944 book, *The Italian Corporative System*'.

When Meenan came to write his 1970 magnum opus, *The Irish Economy Since 1922*', no party political preferences or prejudices got in the way of his presentation of the facts of economic history as he found them. He related:

"The Fianna Fáil party, which was founded in 1926, was free to combine opposition to Arthur Griffith's politics with support of his economics. As early as February 1928, six months after the party had entered the Dáil, Lemass moved a resolution declaring that the Tariff Commission was not sufficiently expeditious in its examination of applications for tariff protection... This policy rested securely on the accepted beliefs of generations of Irish nationalists. Its adherents argued with growing conviction that as all-round protection had been adopted by the United States, the countries of continental Europe and even by Great Britain, an extension to Ireland could not be impossible. A little

later, they could claim that their views had been expressly approved by the most influential of contemporary economists. In April 1933 J. M. Keynes delivered a lecture in University College Dublin... The following passage in his lecture made a deep impression on his audience ... 'If I were an Irishman, I should find much to attract me in the economic outlook of your present government towards self-sufficiency'..." (pp 319-320).

On 19th April 1933, de Valera and his Cabinet had packed the front benches of the Physics Theatre in University College Dublin for that lecture by John Maynard Keynes on "*National Self-sufficiency*". Eighty years later, in the *Irish Times* of 15th April 2013, Charles Lysaght related:

"The Wall Street crash of 1929... undermined... the blind faith in free markets that had been the economic gospel of the booming 1920s. Various forms of state intervention, including tariff barriers, were being tried in different countries as a way out of the worldwide depression that had followed the crash. In Ireland there was an added dimension. Éamon de Valera's government, first elected in 1932, was locked in an economic war with Britain... The British government took measures effectively closing its market to cattle, our main export earner. The Irish government retaliated... In January 1933 de Valera was re-elected with an enhanced majority on a programme of economic self-sufficiency, features of which were industrial protection and the promotion of tillage to serve the home market and provide more employment in agriculture. Keynes took as his subject 'national self-sufficiency'. He was wavering in his former commitment to free trade which was then, as it has become again, the conventional wisdom of economists. De Valera, who was present, was doubtless gratified to hear the great economist say, 'If I were an Irishman I would find much to attract me in the economic outlook of your present government towards greater self-sufficiency'. This ringing endorsement survived in folk memory. It was forgotten, even by historians, that 'as a practical man' Keynes had gone on to encourage the Irish to enter into an economic arrangement with Britain to retain her traditional market for agricultural products. He had added that 'a terrible wound would have been

inflicted on the fair face of Ireland if within two or three years her rich pastures were ploughed up and the result were a fiasco'—a remark that provoked de Valera's 'Irish Press' to retort that 'Mr Keynes's words show how unwise wise men can be when they speak on countries with economics different from their own'. But Keynes, for his part, had been more impressed meeting de Valera than by his predecessor Cosgrave whom Keynes described privately as 'such a 19th-century liberal'. His counsels of caution were designed to guide rather than discredit the aspirations of an Ireland which, he remarked, had 'lifted a lively foot out of the bogs to become a centre of economic experiment'. When he returned to England he nudged friends in government towards a settlement with de Valera."

'*Keynes in Dublin*' is the title of a book by Mark C Nolan, published in 2014. In a review in the *Irish Examiner* on 9th March 2014, T. Ryle Dwyer wrote:

"Instead of spending money on unemployment, Keynes advocated that people should be employed to do constructive work. 'If I had responsibility for the Government of Ireland today, I should most deliberately set out to make Dublin, with its appropriate limits of scale, a splendid city fully endowed with all the appurtenances of art and civilisation on the highest standards', he argued. Spending money in this way was not only better than dole, but could actually eliminate the need for dole... Even though there was much that was attractive about Irish efforts to achieve greater self-sufficiency, the Free State did not have the natural resources 'for more than a very modest measure of national self-sufficiency to be feasible without a disastrous reduction in a standard of life', Keynes warned... The de Valera government did not start the Economic War with Britain, as Keynes seemed to believe, but did welcome the opportunity it afforded to introduce tariffs against British imports. Lemass was the driving force of this protectionism..."

In another review in the *Irish Independent* on 17th March 2014, Ronan Fanning, the late Professor Emeritus of Modern History at UCD, wrote:

"Robert Skidelsky, Keynes's distinguished biographer, has pointed out that his 'Dublin lecture, indeed the Irish visit, was a political event'. The timing and acceptance of the invitation to come to Dublin, in November 1932, was especially significant. De Valera's government was then dependent on the Labour party for its parliamentary majority and the British government was doing all it could to corrode de Valera's support in the hope that it might bring about the return to power of the pro-Treaty government of 1922-32. But that strategy fell apart when

de Valera won an overall majority in the snap election he called in February 1933. Thereafter, whether they liked it or not, de Valera was the man with whom the British had to do business, a consideration that would not have been lost on Keynes when he came to Dublin two months later in his self-appointed role as peacemaker in the Economic War between Britain and Ireland that had begun in 1932..."

"During their long, private meeting, de Valera impressed Keynes 'distinctly favourably' as being 'ready to listen to his excellent Civil Servants and determined on the whole to avoid foolish mistakes if he could'. In a letter to his mother, he admitted that he 'came away feeling that I could most easily work with Dev if I were an Irishman'—and the familiar use of the 'Dev' diminutive is as suggestive as is his disparaging dismissal of WT Cosgrave as 'such a nineteenth-century Liberal!' But Keynes got it wrong when he concluded that 'if only some means could be found' de Valera would be 'only too glad to find a way to reaching a settlement'. For de Valera, as Dr Nolan reminds us in his introduction, always insisted that 'Ireland's economic well-being was secondary to his desire to make it as politically separate as possible from its nearest neighbour—in keeping with Sir Horace Plunkett's observation that in Ireland 'Political Economy' is spelled with a large 'P' and small 'e'.' The weapons in the so-called Economic War may have been economic, but de Valera's objectives were overwhelmingly political. Those objectives were achieved when the new constitution he enacted in 1937 made Ireland the independent republic he wanted. Only then, was de Valera 'too glad to find a way to reaching a settlement'."

But, in anticipation of a European war, if not yet the full World War that would develop, had that not been the right course of action to pursue? And, having sniffed at Keynes's "*disparaging dismissal*" of Cosgrave, why then did Fanning employ his own disparaging tone when writing of Dev? Moreover, a small 'e' is particularly appropriate regarding the Professor of History's own grasp of the Economy in its own right, as indicated by the tenor of his review.

Anti-Dev blinkers were most recently in evidence this February 22nd, in an '*Irish Independent*' editorial entitled "*A trade war over Brexit will have no winners*", but which also sought to pontificate on Irish history:

"The Dublin ballad collector Frank Harte wrote: 'Those in power write the history, while those who suffer write the songs.' The final verses of the 'Brexit Lament' have yet to be written, but its

discordant notes already grate. George Orwell believed the most effective way to destroy people is to deny and obliterate their own understanding of their history. Brexit seems to have done precisely this. The decades of peace in Europe which Britain made such sacrifices to secure are taken for granted. The economic war between our islands has also been forgotten along with its hardship."

"We should remind ourselves that when Fianna Fáil swept to power in 1932, Éamon de Valera rolled up his sleeves and cut the 'land annuities' and ended the Oath to the King, for good measure, in 1933. Before long, Britain reacted; the cutting of the money was something they could not countenance—whatever about taking the snub to the king on the chin. So a 20pc tariff was slapped on trade with the Free State. This effectively meant Irish beef was no longer on the menu in Britain or the North. Not one to turn the other cheek, Dev hit back with a tariff in the opposite direction. This effectively was the flea biting the elephant, but when the elephant decided to bite back there was real penury and the economy shrivelled up. We found ourselves bereft of coal and steel as the Empire struck back... This country was crippled by de Valera's 'burn everything British except their coal' lunacy. Finally, after five years, in 1938 the two countries signed an agreement to end the trade war. But the damage was incalculable..."

The '*Indo*' hasn't changed its Blueshirt version of Irish history. To repeat Ryle Dwyer, "*The de Valera government did not start the Economic War with Britain... but did welcome the opportunity it afforded to introduce tariffs against British imports. Lemass was the driving force of this protectionism.*" And, as also previously stated, for a retrospective assessment of the economic policies pursued during the subsequent period, it is of greater benefit to switch from the political historians and biographers to the economic historians.

In his 1970 book, James Meenan related:

"At its convention in October 1917 Sinn Féin abandoned the Hungarian policy for a new aim, both wider and more narrow. It declared its aim to be: 'securing the international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic...' ... The country was now committed to a republic both by the proclamation of Easter Week and by the Sinn Féin resolution... It was not long before Sinn Féin became the dominant force throughout the country outside the north-east... The General election of 1918 brought as decisive a change as that of 1885... In January 1919 the Sinn Féin members of parliament met in Dublin and adopted three declarations. The first was a Declaration of Independence, which ratified the declaration of the Republic.

The second was a message to free nations, asking for recognition of the Republic and of Ireland's right to be represented at the Peace Conference at Versailles. The third was a democratic programme... A skeleton government was set up later, as a *de jure* government which gradually assumed the functions of a government *de facto*, controlling many of the local authorities, instituting courts, and successfully floating a loan. This went on until Dáil Éireann... was suppressed as a 'dangerous association' in September 1919. From 1919 until the Truce in July 1921 a guerrilla warfare gradually developed... The number of regular troops in Ireland was greatly increased. Eventually, in 1920, the British government introduced bodies of irregular troops, known since as the Black and Tans. From then onwards, the fighting became more savage" (pp28-29).

"It has been argued that this last Anglo-Irish struggle was unnecessary and that as much might have been obtained without fighting. Griffith's policy, indeed, had been in favour of passive resistance. But that had been framed ten years before, in the very different circumstances of a long peace. In 1919 physical force and republics were in the air; it could not be expected that the most prudent courses would be followed when barely known nationalities were emerging all over Europe. There was also, above all, the plain fact that no promise of a British government would have been trusted after the fate of the Home Rule Act... The events of 1919-21 took place within a strictly political framework. The third declaration adopted by the Dáil in January 1919 envisaged far-reaching social programmes... It may be, as P.S. O' Hegarty suggests, that this declaration was taken seriously only by its authors. In any case a government and Dáil that was 'on the run' had more immediate problems to solve... After a prolonged discussion the Dáil ratified the Treaty in January 1922. By that time, the Sinn Féin movement was visibly divided. That split was primarily a split in the Dáil and in the Irish Republican Army. Those who spoke and voted for the Treaty did not do so because they favoured a Free State as such but because it provided, in Collins's phrase, a stepping-stone to freedom... It was a true division on a political issue, unaffected by social or economic factors. No doubt the propertied interests favoured acceptance of the Treaty; so did the Labour Party" (pp 29-31).

"Economic policies since 1922 are the subject of the pages that follow... The Cosgrave government's policy ... will be commented on favourably in this book. It is fair to remember that they obtained some advantage from the sequence of events. Following its defeat in the civil war, the major opposition party went through a period of difficulties and dissensions. In 1926 Mr. de Valera

founded the Fianna Fáil party, and in the following year he took the oath and entered the Dáil. Between 1923 and 1927, therefore, the government had a secure parliamentary majority... By 1927, the main lines of policy had been laid down and the revival of agriculture, under the vigorous direction of Patrick Hogan, was well advanced. That policy was overwhelmed at the beginning of the 1930s by the Great Depression. The prices of some Irish products were better maintained than those of other primary producers; cattle prices held up relatively well as late as 1931. The depression, however, brought a temporary ending to emigration and the return of many who had gone to the United States in recent years. This provided an obvious argument for more energetic State policies. Hogan believed that the depression would pass and his policies of efficiency in production and marketing would bear fruit eventually, but his was an increasingly lonely voice. To many in Ireland, as elsewhere, it seemed as if the depression would go on for ever and that the long reign of the exchange economy had ended, to be replaced by self-sufficiency. This feeling was immensely strengthened by the weight of nationalist tradition which was heavily protectionist. The devaluation of sterling by abandoning the gold standard in September 1931 and the decision of the new British government to reverse the traditional policy of free trade conveyed a deep symbolism... The general election of 1932, therefore, brought a change of government. This transfer of power needs to be carefully examined. It was a change of government from those who had won the civil war ten years before to those who had lost it. It took place without incident; the decision of the electorate was accepted by outgoing ministers (but here Meenan 'overlooked' their subsequent Blueshirt challenge to the democracy, and how Dev and Lemass had to face them down—MOR), the civil service, and the army. Equally, the incoming ministers made no changes in the personnel or structure of the administration which their adversaries had created. It is difficult, it is perhaps impossible, to think of a parallel in modern Europe. Mr. de Valera's first period of office, from 1932 to 1948, was almost equally divided between peace and war. In his earlier years when an Irish government had some freedom of action, his economic policy was based on high protection for industry and agriculture, dictated by a desire for self-sufficiency. Politically, he felt his way towards a position of external association with the British Commonwealth. Both these policies received added strength from the dispute over the land annuities which dragged on from 1932 to 1938. Before this was composed by the Anglo-Irish agreements of 1938 he had achieved his aim of framing a new constitution to replace the original which dated from 1922. The agreements might

have initiated a new turn of policy; but in the event, the country was forced into more stringent self-sufficiency by the outbreak of war in 1939..." (pp 35-37).

"There was no obstacle (in 1922) to putting the Sinn Féin policy into operation. Indeed, the difficulties were fewer than Griffith could have foreseen. If the new State had comprised all Ireland the Belfast industries would certainly have opposed a policy of protection. But, for good or ill, the Six Counties opted out in 1922; and as a result the case for protection looked all the stronger... But the industrial policy of the first government was not protectionist in principle. Priority was given to the development of agriculture; this did not imply any neglect of industrial production. It rested on the assumption, which could hardly be controverted at that time, that the prosperity of Irish manufacturers depended on the prosperity of Irish farmers, and that any measure, such as an all-round tariff, which damaged agriculture would inevitably delay the development of Industry... Griffith died in August 1922, before the new Irish government could settle down to the framing of policy. His followers reproached the new ministers with abandoning his teaching. They were answered by Kevin O'Higgins in a remarkable speech: 'The propagandist political writings of any man cannot be accepted simply as revealed truth, requiring no further investigation, something that must be accepted for ever as beyond question, beyond doubt, beyond the need of examination.' Typically uncompromising, this attitude did less than nothing to reconcile the protectionists to government policy. This perhaps did not matter very greatly in the middle twenties when... the mood of business still favoured free trade... It did mean, however, that the Fianna Fáil party... was free to combine opposition to Griffith's politics with support of his economics... A short extract from the speech (by Lemass in February 1928) represents the economic philosophy which inspired public policy after the change of government four years later: 'We believe that Ireland can be made a self-contained unit, providing all the necessities of living in adequate quantities for the people residing in the Island at the moment and probably for a larger number.' This philosophy rested securely... on the accepted beliefs of generations of Irish nationalists. In the second place, it was increasingly fashionable everywhere after 1929. Its adherents argued with growing conviction that as all-round protection had been adopted by the United States, the countries of continental Europe and even by Great Britain, an extension to Ireland could not be impossible... The advent of Fianna Fáil to power in 1932, therefore, brought a thoroughgoing policy of protection by tariff and quota pursued without check until the Anglo-Irish Trade

Agreement of 1938. The Agreement would certainly have involved some modification of policy, had its terms been implemented. That did not occur on account of the war. In very recent years emphasis has been placed on the reduction rather than the maintenance of tariffs. Initial reductions were made early in 1963 and again in 1964. For exactly thirty years therefore, the economy experienced a policy of all-round protection" (pp 318-321).

"In the circumstances of 1932 the most obvious, and most facile, means of industrialization was to impose tariffs on imported consumer goods so that it would be profitable to manufacture them in Ireland... There was an increased consumption of farm produce as a result of the increased earning power created by industrial employment. On the other hand, the tariffs affected the prices of many materials and goods that were necessary for agricultural production. The result was to inflate costs. That did not matter very greatly during the depression. It has mattered increasingly since 1945... The comparative, if inevitable, artificiality of industrial development thirty years ago (the mid to late 1930s—MOR) had further results. In a number of cases the imposition of a tariff induced British firms, which had been traditional suppliers of the market, to open branch factories... Employment was increased but little else was achieved. There was not the ploughing-back of profits which is so necessary for a business in its early years. Again, because attention was directed towards the replacing of imported finished goods, the corresponding Irish industries were stimulated; but these industries were not necessarily related in a way that would form a basis for common growth... There were other handicaps which had nothing to do with tariff policy. Many concerns applied themselves to supplying the home market. This may have been unadventurous; but it was natural enough in the early stages of growth. The difficulty was that they had to supply a wide range of goods to a comparatively small market. The result was over-diversification which caused short production runs and higher costs of production" (pp 322-3).

"The results of thirty years of all-round protection should now be reviewed. The most advertised objective of that policy was to end emigration by absorbing the drift from agriculture. The most recent statistics show that the total number of persons at work fell from 1,224,000 in 1936 to 1,063,000 in 1967. The numbers employed in agriculture, forestry, and fishing fell in that period from 600,000 to 322,000. The numbers engaged in manufacturing industry rose from 113,000 to 187,000. It is fair to add that these figures do not necessarily tell all the story. It can be argued with much justice that emigration and the loss of

population would have been far greater had there been no industrialization. Especially in the years after 1945 the normal drift from the land was magnified by the exodus of 'relatives assisting'. It is not necessarily a failure of protective policy that it could not cope with a social revolution. It might be added that those at work, both in agriculture and in manufacturing, in 1967 were a great deal more fully employed than the larger numbers at work in 1936. It is also notable that industrial employment has increased sharply in recent years. The Second Programme suggested that the numbers employed in all industries covered by the Census of Industrial Production would increase by 69,700 between 1960 and 1970. By the end of 1967 an increase of 42,200 had already been made. That is a considerable achievement. But the hopes of thirty years ago, when it seemed so simple to channel the drift out of agriculture into industry, have been disappointed" (pp 321-2).

"There is a sense in which the Irish people were never sure of their place in the world for years after 1922. Until then, the Irish question had convulsed British politics; governments had been unmade, ministerial careers had been wrecked by it. All this happened on the stage of the world because so many of the world's affairs was settled at Westminster. In 1922 Ireland stepped out of the limelight, no longer with any power to make or break the government of an Empire which itself was not quite what it had been in the confident days of Gladstone and Disraeli. For a time, Irish nationalism became arid, introspective, and unsure of itself. The first solvent of that aridity might, with some paradox, be traced to a policy which was criticized as being negative and insular—the maintenance of neutrality between 1939 and 1945. That demonstrated, as nothing else could have done, the sovereignty of the new state. It was conducted with superb skill by Mr. de Valera. Perhaps at no time in his long career did he command such universal support as when he defended it against the attack of Mr. Churchill in a famous broadcast at the end of the war in Europe. But there were other consequences. The apparent imminence of invasion in 1940 led to a hasty expansion of the regular and volunteer defence forces. The volunteers came from all sides, from members of the pre-Truce IRA as from those in the National Army and post-Treaty IRA who had fought each other in the Civil War. They were joined by many others who had fought in the last campaigns of the Irish regiments (of the British Army—MO'R). It was an impressive demonstration of an underlying unity: *idem sentire idem velle idem nolle de re publica* (to feel the same, to accept the same, to reject the same, in the public cause—MO'R)" (pp 37-38).

"The procedure of the incoming Fianna

Fáil government ... was well described in 1932 by the new Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr. Lemass, when he said: 'We had to proceed by a system of trial and error if you like, but we have the duties there'; and again 'the disposition is in favour of protection... Protection is given unless facts coerce us to modify them in some particular way.'... The move towards all-round high protection was greatly strengthened by the outbreak some months later of the dispute between the British and Irish governments over the annuities. This caused the passing of the Emergency Imposition of Duties Act of 1932 which, in the words of Mr. MacEntee, the new Minister for Finance, gave 'powers essential to deal with the situation created by the action of the British Government proposing to impose penal duties on Irish agricultural produce.' ... All these measures changed the position of the Free State dramatically. For a few months at the turn of 1931 into 1932, between the introduction of the British tariff and the change of government in Dublin, it was the last surviving example of a predominantly free-trading state left in the world. Within another few months it had passed to being one of the most heavily tariffs countries that could be found... The zenith of protectionist policy in this period was touched in 1936-7... The outbreak of war and the growing scarcity of goods enforced a revision of policy. The protective duties were suspended for all practical purposes in 1942. They were gradually revived as supplies became more freely available in the post-war period. In November 1953 the Dáil was informed by Mr. Lemass, then Minister for Industry and Commerce, that a systematic review of the operation of the protective tariffs would be held: 'It will be directed to investigating the efficiency with which productive operations are carried on here and the need for protection at existing rates or the possible consequences of its modification in some instances'... (pp 141-143).

"The policy of high protection has yielded one very important gain. Opportunities for development have been seized even where no industrial tradition had existed. A pool of skilled labour and of managerial experience has been created and can be extended. This development is not uniform throughout the country nor throughout the economy; there is still an astonishing variation between the efficiency of firms engaged in the same industry. The CIO (Committee on Industrial Organisation) reports constantly refer to the shortage of managerial skill and the lack of technicians. Nevertheless the situation is very much better than it was even ten years ago. Now (1970) that a nucleus of Industry and industrial manpower has been formed, new factors affect development.... Paradoxically enough, granted that Ireland is a country of high emigration, the worst problems of future growth may be found in the

supply of labour... There is a total shortage of some forms of skilled labour required by foreign firms engaged in forms of production hitherto unknown in this country. It can be met by bringing back people who have emigrated and learnt such skills abroad or by training programmes. Neither course presents insuperable difficulties but these shortages should be foreseen rather than made good after they have arisen. New industries do not appear overnight, and their needs can be calculated in advance" (pp 323-4).

"It should not be inferred that the bias of policy now (1970) runs altogether in favour of free trade. Nevertheless, there has been a change of atmosphere which may be illustrated not unfairly by quotation from the speeches of Mr. Lemass. As early as June 1958 he said: 'We can no longer rely for industrial development, to the extent we require it, on the policy of protection.' Seven years later he declared that 'we see no permanent remedy of our economic situation in an intensification of protection; on the contrary, and notwithstanding the rise in imports, we see advantages in resuming soon our movement in the opposite direction'. Since then the reversal of policy has been symbolized by the (1965) Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement. It may be that the pressures of a busy life have prevented Mr. Lemass from reading the works of Friedrich List, from whom Griffith drew inspiration. If he ever does so, he will realize that he has fulfilled List's cycle of the development by protection from industrial infancy to free-trading maturity" (p 321).

Lemass had been the architect and driving force of the State's protectionist era, from start to finish, until a new departure was clearly required.

'The Economic Development of Ireland in the Twentieth Century' is the title of a 1988 book authored by Kieran Kennedy, Director of Ireland's Economic and Social Research Institute from 1971 to 1996, in conjunction with Thomas Giblin and Deirdre McHugh. It bore all the hallmarks of Kennedy's conscientiously consistent and sober approach, in both narrative and assessment:

"The volume of industrial production grew rapidly—by nearly 50 per cent between 1931 and 1938. Given that the purchasing power of agriculture was depressed, and that the world economy was in turmoil, it is highly improbable that an expansion on this scale, albeit from a low base, would have been achieved at that time without the protectionist measures. Not all of the increase is attributable to protection, however, since there was also an expansion in building activity due largely to the government's housing policy: over 70 per cent of all

new house construction from 1923 to 1938 was undertaken after 1932... Total industrial employment, as measured in the Census of Industrial Production, rose from 110,600 in 1931 to 166,100 in 1938, an annual average growth rate of over 6 per cent... From June 1930 to June 1940 emigration averaged only 14,000 per annum, compared with 35,000 in the previous ten years, and indeed there was a small net inflow in 1932. This reduction in emigration, however, must be ascribed more to the Great Depression and US immigration policy than to domestic activity or policy. While the increase in total employment was probably the first since the Famine, it was nevertheless slight" (pp 47-48).

"It should be stressed that the supply and demand conditions which secured rapid export growth in Ireland since the 1950s were unattainable in many respects in the inter-war period. As regards the demand side, export markets were not buoyant then and, following the Great Depression, the universal drift was toward protection than the opening of market access... On the supply side, Ireland could have chosen to adopt an outward industrial strategy rather than protection. In doing so, however, not only would it have found unpromising demand conditions abroad, but it had a very weak indigenous base from which to start. Furthermore, it should be noted that the post-war industrial strategy has not yet (by 1988) as yet succeeded in building a strong indigenous export-orientated sector, despite favourable foreign demand conditions: there would have been far less chance that it could have done so in the conditions of the inter-war period. Finally, export-orientated multinational enterprises, on which so much of the post-war expansion has depended, were simply not available on anything like the same scale in the inter-war period. It therefore seems highly improbable that an outward-looking strategy based on the kind of policies adopted from the 1950s could have achieved comparable results in the inter-war period" (p 195).

"In retrospect, the failure to establish an export capability is hardly surprising. The disturbed conditions of international trade in the 1930s and during the Second World War was scarcely a propitious environment... The chief benefit of protection in developing an industrial base was that it led to the establishment of many firms that would not have existed without it. Indeed, in the conditions of the 1930s, it is hard to think of any other approach that would have achieved as much. Nevertheless, because the strategy lacked a longer-term vision of the evolution of Irish industry, and because of indiscriminate implementation, the nascent industrial base remained weak and vulnerable" (pp 235-6).

"Independent Ireland came into

existence with a tiny manufacturing sector after a century of laissez-faire. While the nationalist view that laissez-faire itself was responsible for this state of affairs may be exaggerated, it certainly did not provide a strong industrial base. Since independence two interventionist strategies have been tried; both produced quick results but in neither case were the results lasting. The protectionist phase ran out of steam because of the small size of the home market and the inability of the protected enterprises to enter export markets. The impressive initial gains during the outward-looking phase depended heavily on attracting an increasing stream of new foreign enterprises, and when this stream largely declined in the 1980s, there was insufficient impetus to sustain expansion" (p 247).

So, the "*Whitaker/ Lemass 'Economic Development' miracle*" had an even shorter lifespan than protectionist age of de Valera / Lemass before it, ending up with the economic limbo of those dismal years of

the 1980s which preceded Social Partnership. Search www.ssis.ie/journals.php again for my paper—"*Economic Management in Ireland*"—read before the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland on 18th February 1999—the 30th anniversary of the death of that outstanding Irish Trade Union leader, James Larkin Junior.

Of Whitaker's "*outward-looking phase*", it is no less true that, to quote again what Kennedy had written of the earlier protectionist phase: "*Nevertheless, because the strategy lacked a longer-term vision of the evolution of Irish industry, and because of indiscriminate implementation, the nascent industrial base remained weak and vulnerable.*" Perhaps, before concluding this series, I should take a closer and more critical look at one more biography, that of Whitaker himself.

Manus O'Riordan
(To be continued)

Poverty in the UK— *the other man-made catastrophe*

The sound and fury over Brexit (still signifying nothing at the point of writing) has drowned out the publicity that was properly due to a landmark report on poverty in the UK. On 16th November 2018, **Professor Philip Alston, United Nations Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights**, published his "**Statement on Visit to the United Kingdom**". As you will see from the following extracts, it is well worth reading, especially for NIPSA members working in the sectors he reported on.

"Introduction

The UK is the world's fifth largest economy, it contains many areas of immense wealth, its capital is a leading centre of global finance, its entrepreneurs are innovative and agile, and despite the current political turmoil, it has a system of government that rightly remains the envy of much of the world."

And yet we see—

"the immense growth in foodbanks...., people sleeping rough in the streets, the growth of homelessness, the sense of deep despair that leads even the Government to appoint a Minister for suicide prevention and civil society to report in depth on unheard of levels of loneliness and isolation."

Citing the various statistics around poverty ("14 million people, a fifth of the population live in poverty"), Professor Alston acknowledges—"*the full picture of low-income well-being in the UK cannot be captured by statistics alone*".

"...But through it all, one actor has stubbornly resisted seeing the situation for what it is. The Government has remained determinedly in a state of denial. Even while devolved authorities in Scotland and Northern Ireland are frantically trying to devise ways to 'mitigate', or in other words counteract, at least the worst features of the Government's benefits policy, Ministers insisted to me that all is well and running according to plan."

"... In the area of poverty-related policy, the evidence points to the conclusion that the driving force has not been economic but rather a commitment to achieving radical social re-engineering."

"Key elements of the post-war Beveridge social contract are being overturned. In the process, some good outcomes have certainly been achieved, but great misery has also been inflicted unnecessarily".

**UNIVERSAL CREDIT AND
'AUSTERITY' AS POLICY.**
Examining Welfare Reform Professor
Alston concluded—

"Universal Credit and the other far-reaching changes to the role of government in supporting people in distress are almost always 'sold' as being part of an unavoidable program of fiscal 'austerity', needed to save the country from bankruptcy. In fact, however, the reforms have almost certainly cost the country far more than their proponents will admit. The many billions advertised as having been extracted from the benefits system since 2010 have been offset by the additional resources required to fund emergency services by families and the community, by local government, by doctors and hospital accident and emergency centres, and even by the ever-shrinking and under-funded police force."

Professor Alston isn't alone in his views. Frank Field MP, Chair of the all-party Work and Pensions Committee stated on behalf of his committee on 11th April 2019—

"The Government has ploughed ahead with massive, often untried reforms, making huge budget savings on the backs of the poorest, without ever stopping to find out if they actually work or can justify their external financial, or human, costs."

You know you are on the wrong side of history when the *Daily Mail* joins in too, declaring— "*Universal Credit is 'making it harder for parents to get back into work' as thousands are waiting months to receive childcare repayments*".

To be fair to Frank Field, he has been consistent in his concern and back in September 2012 he wrote an article in the *Guardian* taking issue with the central claim made for Universal Credit—that it will make work pay by removing disincentives. Frank Field argued that the way Universal Credit payments will gradually "*taper*" as claimants' wages increase, represents—

"the ultimate form of means-testing. It obviously gets extra money to hard-working families who earn low wages, but in doing so it rots the soul..."

Recipients have to be saints not to take the loss of credit payments into account when deciding whether to work longer or to train for a more highly paid job."

For his part Professor Alston came to similar conclusions, stating—

"...but it is the mentality that has informed many of the reforms that has brought the most misery and wrought the most harm to the fabric of British society. British compassion for those who are suffering has been replaced by a punitive, mean-spirited, and often callous approach apparently designed to instil discipline

where it is least useful, to impose a rigid order on the lives of those least capable of coping with today's world, and elevating the goal of enforcing blind compliance over a genuine concern to improve the well-being of those at the lowest levels of British society".

He even cites—

"One Conservative Party MP with whom I spoke criticized DWP for adopting a military-style command and control approach rather than seeking to empower their clients and instil confidence."

On the particulars of Universal Credit, he notes—

"No single program embodies the combination of the benefits reforms and the promotion of austerity programs more than Universal Credit. Although in its initial conception it represented a potentially major improvement in the system, it is fast falling into Universal Discredit."

"The Universal Credit system is designed with a five week delay between when people successfully file a claim and when they receive benefits. Research suggests that this "waiting period," which actually often takes up to 12 weeks, pushes many who may already be in crisis into debt, rent arrears, and serious hardship, requiring them to sacrifice food or heat."

One of the key features of Universal Credit involves the imposition of draconian sanctions, even for infringements that seem minor.

Endless anecdotal evidence was presented to the Special Rapporteur to illustrate the harsh and arbitrary nature of some of the sanctions, as well as the devastating effects that resulted from being completely shut out of the benefits system for weeks or months at a time. As the system grows older, some penalties will soon be measured in years.

Professor Alston's report also covers the Government Transformation Strategy—"Digital by default" noting that behind the notion of a "*Digital Welfare State*"—"We are witnessing the gradual disappearance of the post war British welfare state behind a webpage and an algorithm."

NOT SO UNITED KINGDOM.

Sometimes things are easier seen from the outside and Professor Alston acknowledges—

"Devolved administrations have tried to mitigate the worst impacts of austerity, despite experiencing significant reductions in block grant funding and constitutional limits on their ability to

raise revenue. Scotland and Northern Ireland each report spending about £125 million per year to protect people from the worst impacts of austerity. And unlike England, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and Wales have continued to provide access to welfare funds for emergency hardships.

However— Northern Ireland's mitigation package runs out in 2020, leaving vulnerable people facing a "*cliff edge scenario*."

But more broadly, it is outrageous that devolved administrations need to spend resources to shield people from Government policies.

Professor Alston's **Conclusion** is stark and comes with a warning—

"The experience of the United Kingdom, especially since 2010, underscores the conclusion that poverty is a political choice. Austerity could easily have spared the poor, if the political will had existed to do so. Resources were available to the Treasury at the last budget that could have transformed the situation of millions of people living in poverty, but the political choice was made to fund tax cuts for the wealthy instead.

As the country moves toward Brexit, the Government should adopt policies designed to ensure that the brunt of the resulting economic burden is not borne by its most vulnerable citizens."

CHEERING FROM THE SIDE-LINES.

For those of us in Northern Ireland it seems clear that a change in Government will be required to effect a change in policy and approach and we might be heartened by the growing strength of the Labour Party in Britain and the collapse in confidence in the Tory Party. Certainly Jeremy Corbyn and John McDonnell have indicated their opposition to Neo-Liberalism and their commitment to greater public spending. But they are not masters in their own house despite the assertions of the right wing media. Unfortunately, their party is still infected with too many MPs from the era of Tony Blair, who had embraced Neo-Liberalism wholeheartedly and actually championed this mean spirited approach to welfare, which has been condemned as a form of "*conscious cruelty*" by Christian anti-poverty campaigners. Alas, whatever transpires at the next General Election, the one certainty will be that we will be reduced to cheering from the side-lines. The Labour Party still refuses to allow its (thousands) of members in Northern Ireland to fight elections in their name. A battle for another day.

Michael Robinson

This article first appeared in the journal of the Trade Union, NIPSA

Blackshirts, Hitler Shirts, Blue Shirts, And The Enigma Of Fine Gael

In October 1939 Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty, Winston Churchill spoke on the wireless—"I cannot forecast for you the action of Russia. It is a riddle, inside a mystery, wrapped in an enigma."

The old scoundrel had a way with words, some of which he stole from others without acknowledgement, a trick of the artists praised by Oscar Wilde. And, like Wilde, he had no scruples about lying, nor dispensing with Queensbury Rules.

I'm pretty perplexed about what Fine Gael did in the past and flummoxed about what it's doing and planning now.

Over forty years ago I read Maurice Manning's book on the Blueshirts, and having read it concluded that I had known more about them before I opened the book than I had when I'd finished. Maurice sat in Seanad Eireann and Dail Eireann, is Chancellor of the National University and oversaw planning for the Decade of Centenaries, and these are only some of glittering prizes he picked up in a busy career.

Many of the founder members of Cumann na nGaedheal, and Blueshirts/Fine Gael were still hale and hearty when he wrote his book, but their story remained a riddle and a mystery to me after reading it

In a previous piece I quoted from "Great Irish Speeches" the contribution of John A Costello on the *Wearing of Uniform (Restriction) Bill* in Dail Eireann on 28th February 1934. Fianna Fail had introduced the Bill, following the passing similar

Bills in European democracies to maintain public order, when opposing parties wearing uniforms were threatening civil war.

Costello said, *inter alia*—

"The Minister (for Justice) gave extracts from various laws on the continent, but he carefully refrained from drawing attention to the fact that the Blackshirts were victorious in Italy and the Hitler Shirts were victorious in Germany, as, assuredly, in spite of this bill and in spite of the Public Safety Act, the Blueshirts will be victorious in the Irish Free State."

The Bill passed the Dail, but the Free State Senate, with Unionists and Redmondites supporting Fine Gael, prevented it becoming law. No similar Bill was introduced later. When IRA men, in the 1970s marched in uniform in Dublin, without attacking anyone, at least one pig-ignorant Fine Gael spokesman publicly asked why there was no law against political uniform.

John A Costello was a brilliant lawyer but his speech is one which reflects no credit on him. On the same day Sean Lemass answered him analysing the various stages of fascism which had brought dictators to power in Europe, finally brandishing that day's Evening Herald and its headline *Critical Day for Austria. Nazi Ultimatum to the Government Expires*".

Now that was an analytical, constructive, responsible speech at a critical time in Irish and European

history deserving a place in any anthology of Irish speeches.

But I only became aware of it by reading "Lemass in the de Valera Era" by Manus O'Riordan in *Irish Political Review*.

Mr Costello's "Hitler Shirts" better known as the Brownshirts didn't last much longer than his Great Speech.

On the long *Night of the Long Knives*, 30th June-2nd July 1934, Himmler's SS, Goering's Police, and Hitler himself surprised the "Hitler Shirts" in their Nightshirts and murdered them. Ernst Rohm, Hitler's earliest disciple, didn't understand why his leader had turned against him. In an unusual show of humanity Hitler offered him the chance of shooting himself, but Rohm told Hitler to pull the trigger. Instead an SS man did the job. Hitler got up in the Reichstag claiming there had been a plot against him and he, Hitler was the judge.

Anyhow I've been looking at another entry in the collection of *Great Irish Speeches*. It was given at Cork City Hall on 21st May 1972 at the Fine Gael Ard Fheis by the Party Leader, Liam Cosgrave. It ended with the following comradely passage—

"The party now faces what might be the most critical stage in its history. Some members of the party have given their time to building it up when they might have been better occupied to their own advantage. They have made it possible for members to come into the organisation and squeak and bleat about something which they knew themselves they could not achieve.

I don't know whether some of you do any hunting or not, but some of these commentators and critics are now like mongrel foxes, they are gone to ground and I'll dig them out, and the pack will chop them when they get them."

Donal Kennedy

British Troops In Carryduff

Last month I recalled some vignettes of US troops in Carryduff, County Down during WW2. What I saw of the British Army in our area of Carryduff was one of a tranquil army. A nearby camp had Brit soldiers playing cricket on a manicured cricket pitch while other soldiers watered the flower beds. You could walk into the camp to chat to them.

One bizarre scene was of a German reconnaissance plane streaking across the sky with them looking up casually and then carrying on what they were doing.

I was 12 years old and aware of what the Soviets were doing on the Eastern Front. The Brit soldiers were enjoying their NI posting. They came to our school to demonstrate their military hardware of machine-guns and armoured cars and later in the evening they held a similar demo in a field for the adults.

They spent most of the time drinking bottles of Guinness and flirting with the girls.

I think the local Protestant community felt it was England's war but that England wasn't too keen. The Protestant community certainly resisted conscription when Westminster brought up the subject. Whitehall felt there would be trouble in conscripting the Catholic population and the idea was dropped. There was already large painted signs on the entrance to the Falls Road (the Catholic West Belfast):

'Out of bounds to British Troops.'

They were put there by the Unionist Government and stayed there until well into the 1950s.

Then the US Army arrived in Carryduff, took over the British camp, and ploughed up the flower beds and the cricket pitch with their heavy trucks, put up barbed wire and posted sentries. You knew then somebody meant war.

Those German reconnaissance kept coming. This time they wouldn't be photographing flower beds and soldiers playing cricket.

Wilson John Haire

Arrogance And Alan Shatter—Two Views

Shatter claims 'arrogant' jibes had anti-Semitic connotations

The *Irish Independent* reported complaints by former FG Justice Minister Alan Shatter in his new memoir, *Frenzy and Betrayal —The Anatomy of a Political Assassination*, that there were anti-Semitic connotations to suggestions he was an arrogant politician (see *Irish Independent*, 31.5.19), declaring that he was merely defending his record and correcting inaccurate information circulating during the avalanche of justice crises which defined his tenure and resulted in his resignation.

In a memoir he alleged that the "arrogant Jew" is a "centuries old anti-Semitic depiction of Jewish people who stand up for themselves, have the courage of their convictions and who are neither servile nor compliant".

"Accusations of my being 'arrogant' were commonplace by the date of the confidence motion and surfaced several times during the debate.

"I assumed that most, if not all, of those who resorted to it had no understanding of the backdrop to the narrative used by them, were not consciously anti-Semitic and would be outraged if accused of anti-Semitism".

The following letter, replying to Mr. Shatter, was submitted to the 'Irish Independent' on May 31st, but was denied publication.

An arrogant politician

Philip Ryan reports that "former justice minister Alan Shatter claims there were anti-Semitic connotations to suggestions he was an arrogant politician" (*Irish Independent*, May 30). Respected members of the Jewish community, like Mervyn Taylor, Ben Briscoe, the late Bob Briscoe and the late Gerald Goldberg, all served the nation well in the high public offices they held, and it would have been unbelievably outrageous if any one of them had ever been described as an arrogant politician. Quite apart from his own demonstrable lack of self awareness, Alan Shatter has done a distinct disservice to the honourable record of those distinguished public representatives.

Manus O'Riordan

LIB-FIB-LEFT-BEREFT

What do we call ourselves
when they steal our labels
with reason expelled.
They took the clenched-fist
salute
and added it to their cognitive
dissonance.
They fly as friends to make a
war zone
where only the dead keep their
beliefs,
the rest are ready to be honed
as they advance
their notion of a Western cargo
cult
to their
post-traumatic-stress-disordered
dolts.

DRILL MUSIC

They rap of pain,
of revenge, of lost love,
jealously, blame,
regaining territory,

manors they once
had
as inheritory,
then buckle on their blades,
check the ammunition,
prime the guns
and
make a blood-spattered glade
where once lambs skipped
with joy.
But that's what makes heroes,
bawling threats
to annoy.
Hoods up now,
march to the rap:
Britannia Rules the Waves.
Not young blacks!
Not young blacks
filling
a desert cultural gap!
It's the British Army
with Drill Music.
Think anything else
and you're barmy.

WJ Haire. 30.8.2018

Does It Up

Stack ?

ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION. (EP).

Every child knows that if you suck a coloured Smartie for a minute or so and then take it, uncrunched, out of your mouth, the outside colouring will be gone and the Smartie will now look grey. What you are now looking at is titanium dioxide which is a coating on the Smartie to keep the outside colours from combining with the sugared inside of the Smartie. Titanium dioxide is an inert mineral mostly found in Australia and it is thought by geologists to have come here from outer space by way of meteorites. It is useful because it is chemically inert—it does not readily combine with anything else. Fortunately, no wars are fought over it.

MORE GEOLOGY

The manufacture of toothpaste and modern A4 paper is heavily dependent on limestone—ground limestone—which is why modern paper is so heavy.

Scientific progress is responsible for almost all the changes in our environment and much of the scientific progress is good but much of it is bad or useless.

Take for example—an electric kettle. Nearly all electric kettles are now made of plastic which is harmful to the environment when its useful life is over. Was it not good enough for us to use electric kettles made of metal? Metal can easily be recycled and its useful life is much longer. And so, when we can show that plastic kettles are harmful to the environment and can readily be replaced with metal electric kettles—why does the State not ban by law the manufacture and use of plastic electric kettles? Direct action in favour of the environment is that simple and so let's do it.

GOVERNMENT LEGISLATION

What the Oireachtas must do is to enact a Statute authorising the Minister for the Environment to make Regulations which make illegal the manufacture or sale of products and substances which are harmful to the environment. Such as Aluminium cooking foil—it is proven that when heated in the cooking process the foil releases harmful ions which are bad for us whereas grease-proof paper and baking paper is

not bad for us. Certain chemicals used in house decorating paints are very harmful and should be banned. As should most chemical week-killers which, where used, will inevitably leach into our food chain and drinking water. We know of most of these damaging products and it does not stack up that the Government is not taking steps to implement a regulatory framework to ban the use of such products.

When all is said and done, the best material to make dinner tables and chairs is renewable and recyclable timber and any other material is unnecessarily harming our environment.

HAVE YOU LOST A CAT RECENTLY....?

Like most people, I have only a vague idea of what a catalytic converter is. It looks like a silencer on the exhaust pipes of cars and vans and, just as the function of a silencer is to mute the sound emitted by the repeated explosions which drive the engine, the catalytic converter somehow deals with the gases given off by the engines' explosions. The catalytic converter is a portion of the exhaust pipe—the most expensive portion and the most valuable. Stealing cats (as they are familiarly known in the motor industry) has become a good line for mechanically-minded thieves.

They (the thieves) usually work in pairs. They are equipped with a car-jack and a cordless metal-cutting saw. They quickly put the jack under the front axle of the intended target, lift it up, cut out the cat, let the target down, throw the tools and the cat into their van and off they go. Thieves can do this; it seems, so fast that traffic is not even held up. A couple of minutes and the whole business is done. The Toyota Prius is a very profitable target—it usually has two catalytic converters in line. Replacements can cost up to two thousand Euros.

The reason for the thefts is the high value of the materials in the cats—platinum and other metals with a high scrap value.

Education is no load as my grandmother used to say and I would still like to know exactly what does a cat do and why is it used on hybrid electric cars and vans?

PRECIOUS METALS

Speaking of precious metals reminds me of Afghanistan. Apparently the wars in Afghanistan are mostly about control of oil and precious metals and rich minerals. Similarly wars in the Democratic

Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda are fuelled by mining precious metals. Children as young as seven years old are sent down the mining holes. You have that on your conscience every time you buy a phone, a computer or a TV because these are the top products that use all these materials.

One of the most polluted places on Earth is reported to be a lake in Inner Mongolia created by mining for precious metals. The lake is three times as radioactive as normal back-ground radiation.

An awful lot of human suffering and environmental damage is a direct result of overuse of IT devices. Of the 1.5 billion iPhones produced since 2007, it is estimated that only half of them are in use today. They may not be designed to last but even so, techies will junk their devices when a new device emerges into the market. That's a lot of junk! And it contains quite a quantity of non-recyclable material. At the same time, there is enough gold in a ton of old iPhones to exceed 100 times the gold in a ton of gold-bearing ore.

But, cyanide is used to extract the gold. Cobalt and Lithium are used to make the batteries. The vibrator in phones is made from Tungsten. Over sixty different materials go into the making of an iPhone.

The lesson to be learned is that we should not be stampeded into changing our IT devices. We should keep them going as long as possible. We should also persuade the manufacturers such as Apple, Samsung *et al* to build devices which will last. There is one way to penalise built-in obsolescence—do not buy the product.

If Sweden's Greta Thunberg got that message out—I can guarantee that her media presence would be swiftly terminated. She is still their global ambassador, feted everywhere like Al Gore before her, and the latter made his massive fortune from his preaching—let us see what hers will be.

Michael Stack ©

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POLLS continued

326 votes in the South Constituency. However, the request was withdrawn after the recount started and did not indicate any substantial discrepancy in SF's favour.

Barry Andrews (FF) and Deirdre Clune (FG) have the two 'Brexit' seats respectively in Dublin, and the South Constituency.

Bye-Elections:

The TDs elected as MEPs will effectively leave the Dail on 2nd July 2019.

"Taoiseach Leo Varadkar's power to call four Dail by-elections is likely to be taken from him, under rules which allow the Opposition have a say.

"Following the election of Fine Gael's Frances Fitzgerald, Fianna Fail's Billy Kelleher and Independents4Change's Clare Daly and Mick Wallace to the European Parliament, their Dail seats have to be filled.

"Under law, the by-elections must take place within six months from the time the seats are vacated.

"For that to happen, the Dail must be sitting, so the writs could not be moved during the summer break, making the suggestion of holding of the by-elections in September, as has been suggested, unlikely" (*Irish Examiner*, 8.6.2019).

Labour Party vote-European Parliament: Quota 72,790

Dublin: Quota 72,790; Alex White 18,293; 5.03%; -2.34%

Ireland South: Quota 119, 866; Sheila Nunan 22,075; 3.07%; -1.54%

Midlands N.W.: Quota 118.986; Dominic Hannigan 12,378; 2.08%; -2.86%

What an endearing picture of the newly elected M.E.P.s for Ireland South: Sean Kelly, A.S.T.I. activist and recipient of an A.S.T.I. award with Mike Wallace, the €1.4m tax dodger. Lucky Sheila Nunan, the Labour candidate and former General Secretary of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation and President of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions had the wit to avoid a photo-call like that!

Senator Alice Mary Higgins, daughter of our President and former Chairman of the Labour Party, stood as an Independent in the Dublin Euro constituency. Alice Mary recorded 10.846 votes, a commendable effort as an Independent. "Although a member of the Labour Party through her 20s and into her early 30s, Higgins has always run as an Independent" (*British Daily Mail*, Dublin edit. 27.4.2019)

Where to next, Alice Mary?

Another candidate was Eilis Ryan (Workers' Party) who polled 3,701 votes in Dublin Euro. Eilis who is a daughter of former Senator Brendan Ryan of Cork, initially joined the Labour Party but "as soon as they went into Government [2011], I saw the policies they were pursuing and realised it wasn't the party for me" (*The Echo*, Cork-3.4.2019).

Turnout: European Parliament
Dublin: 42.9%; Ireland South: 53.4%;
Midlands N.W. 50.3%;
Six-Counties: 50% approx.

Northern Ireland

European Election, 23rd May:

Turn-out was 577,275 (45.14%), down more than 6% from the 2014 poll.

The election was held using the STV, making it the only area in the United Kingdom not to use the party-list system.

Martina Anderson topped the poll for Sinn Fein with 22.17% of the vote and was re-elected. Diane Dodds for the DUP got 21.83% votes and won the second place.

The third seat was won by Naomi Long (18.5%), the Alliance leader, who took the seat from the UUP.

It is the first time that there have not been two Unionist representatives in Europe: and a contributory cause for this sea-change is that there was no Unionist anti-Brexit party in the contest.

There has been much media attention paid to the fact that all three MEPs are women.

Alliance leader Naomi Long hailed her party's electoral success as a watershed moment for Northern Ireland politics, a point which featured in many commentaries — which took that to be the beginning of the end of community politics in North-

ern Ireland. Besides winning the third European seat, Alliance saw a rise in its representation: from 32 councillors to 53. However, the 65% increase was from a very small base! However, it is likely that the increased Alliance representation has more to do with Remain Unionists seeking a political expression in elections that do not affect the Union as such.

Local Elections, Northern Ireland

These were held in on Thursday, 2nd May, on the Single Transferable Vote (STV) system. 819 candidates contested 462 seats across 11 Local Government districts. While 305,384 people were eligible to vote; 52.7% of the electorate turned out.

The DUP and Sinn Fein were returned as the two biggest parties, but the DUP lost eight seats, dropping from 130 to 122. Sinn Fein kept the same overall total of seats.

A total of 254 councillors from Sinn Fein, SDLP, Alliance, Independents, Greens and People Before Profit were elected compared to 206 councillors from the DUP, UUP, TUV and PUP.

The table below shows seats won by the larger parties.

	Councillors	Seats %	+/- seats
DUP	122	24.1	-8
SF	105	23.2	same
UUP	75	14.1	-13
SDLP	59	12.0	- 7
Alliance	53	11.5	+21
Green	8	1.7	+ 4
People B P	5	1.2	+ 4
Trad.U. Voice	3	1.3	- 7
Prog. U Pty	3	0.6	- 1

Sinn Fein won 105 seats: the same number of councillors as in 2014.

The DUP, UUP and SDLP all saw losses. UKIP and NI21 lost all of their seats in the region, while Aontu and Cross-Community Labour Alternative won their first seats. Alliance did well on transfers, while the Greens improved their position.

Other smaller parties and independents also made significant gains.

A detailed analysis by Niall Meehan of People Before Profit voters' transfers in the last Assembly election showed that the two candidates PBP elected drew their support from the 'Green' community (see *Irish Times* 11.5.2016).

POLLS continued

Local Election Constituencies:

Carlow County Council (18 seats): 3 candidates; 2 seats; 8.8%; -4.15%. Sinn Fein lost 2 seats. P.B.P. won their first seat. F.F. got 49% of the total vote

Cavan County Council (18): 2 candidates; 0 seats; 2%; +1.60%
S.F. lost 3 seats. Aontu won one.

Clare County Council (28): 1 candidate; 0 seats; 1%; -2.16%

Cork City Council (31): 5 candidates; 1 seat; 6%; -0.38%. A Labour gain of 1 John Daniel Maher. Workers' Party held their seat. S.F. lost 3 seats. Joe Harris, Ind., brother of Eoghan Harris, political commentator lost his seat.

Cork County Council (55): 4 candidates; 2 seats; 3%; -3.95%. **One Labour T.D.**

Donegal County Council (37): 2 candidates; 1 seat; 3%; -1.09%. Martin Farren took a seat for Labour in Carndonagh.

Dublin City Council (63): 13 candidates; 8 seats; 10.2%; -2.47%

Fingal County Council (40): 9 candidates; 6 seats; 13%; +1.87%. **Two Labour TDs**

Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council (40): 8 candidates; 6 seats; 12%; -1.35%

South Dublin County Council (40): 7 candidates; 2 seats; 8%; -1.80%

Galway City Council (18): 3 candidates; 1 seat; 7%; -3.87%

Galway County Council (39) 1 candidates; 0 seat; 0%; -3.23%
Cllr. Tomas O Curraoin, Republican S.F. held his seat for a third term in Connamara South.

Kerry County Council (33): 4 candidates; 2 seats; 4%; -2.10%

Kildare County Council (40): 9 candidates; 5 seats; 13%; -0.73%

Kilkenny County Council (24): 3 candidates; 2 seats; 8%; -3.65%

Laois County Council (19): 2 candidates; 1 seat; 6%; +1%

Leitrim County Council (18): *No candidate*

Longford County Council (18): *No candidate*

Limerick County Council (40): 5 candidates; 3 seats; 4%; -2.62%. **One Labour T.D.**

Louth County Council (29) 3 candidates; 3 seats; 8%; +2.96%

Mayo County Council (30) 1 candidate; 0 seats; 0%; -0.74%

Meath County Council (40): 3 candidates; 1 seat; 2%; -2.68%

Monaghan County Council (18): *No candidate*; -0.87%

Offaly County Council (19): *No candidate*; -1.81%

Roscommon County Council (18): *No candidate*; -1.85%

Sligo County Council (18): 1 candidate; 0 seat; 1%; -2.72%

Tipperary County Council (40): 4 candidates; 1 seat; 5%; -2.84%. **One Labour TD**

Waterford County Council (32): 4 candidates; 4 seats; 8.3%; -0.30%

Westmeath County Council (20): 5 candidates; 2 seats; 10%; -3.45%. **One Labour TD**

Wexford County Council (34): 6 candidates; 2 seats; 9%; +0.487%. **One Labour TD**

Wicklow County Council (32): 4 candidates; 2 seats; 5%; +1.53%

Final Summary

Sinn Fein lost almost half its seats (78)
Solidarity/ PBPA lost more than half its seats (17)
Labour regained only 6 of the 81 seats it lost in 2014.
Social Democrats, contesting the election as a body for the first time, won 19 seats.

Spoiled Votes

European Parliament: 73,766
2016 Gen. Election: 18,368
2019 Local Election; 33,988

For example, Sinn Fein's Eoin O Broin noted a significant increase in the number of spoilt ballots in his Dublin constituency. He recorded that in 2014 there were 404 but this time around that figure had risen to 1,004.
"Some with double One's or X's", he said.

In the Clontarf ward, Cathal Haughey, grandson of former Taoiseach, Charles Haughey dipped out when a number of alleged FF votes were spoiled. Approximately 100 votes in the area were spoiled after voters ticked the boxes of both of the FF candidates.

Maybe they took Ken Livingstone's advice: "If voting could change anything, they wouldn't have Elections."

Pat Leahy, a political correspondent for *The Irish Times*, came up with an article on June 1st, "Ten lessons from the local and European elections", dedicated a single line to the serious issue of citizens' indifference to the electoral system.

"We need to get better at counting votes. The counting of votes is

preposterously slow. This is not an argument for electronic voting or counting; it is an argument for counting the votes more quickly, whether that requires better management or more staff or whatever. Irish people's attachment to and sense of ownership over their utterly transparent electoral process is a priceless strength of our democracy".

Some 'attachment'—half of the electorate didn't even bother to vote!

"There are way, way too many spoiled votes. A voter education campaign should be one of the first things of the agenda of an electoral commission.

"There were too many candidates in the European elections. One of the reasons the counts were so long was the length of the candidate list. It's hard to see how our democracy is served when half the candidates have no chance whatsoever of being elected. Of course everyone who wants to run should be allowed but to get on the ballot paper they should be required to demonstrate some level of support for their nomination. At present if you're not a party nominee you can either get 60 signatures or pay a deposit of €1,800. The bar should be set higher." (ibid.)

And we all thought that was one of the bulwarks of democracy: people participation.

India had a nationwide general elections a couple of weeks ago. There were approximately 879 million eligible voters. More than two-thirds of voters cast their ballots in the 2014 general elections. The Election Commission of India (ECI) uses Electronic Voting Machines (EVM) to conduct elections.

India's enormous election took six weeks to hold, but organisers have allotted just one day to count all the ballots cast by some of the 900 million eligible voters using electronic voting machines.

The country is divided into 543 Parliamentary Constituencies, each of which returns one MP to the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Parliament, i.e. Single seat constituencies.

Of course, that would be too practical for the "Silicon Valley" of Europe!

Labour Comment will go into this issue in fuller detail over the Autumn.

Luke 'Ming' Flanagan and Clare Daly are giving up their Dail seats.

Mark Durkan, a former leader of the SDLP, stood for Fine Gael in Dublin, and polled 16,473 votes.

Sinn Fein sought a recount after Ms O'Sullivan, a Senator from Tramore, Co Waterford, overtook Liadh Ní Riada by

continued on page 29

POLLS continued

pulling in the party.

Declan Bree, former Labour Party TD, topped the poll in Sligo/Strandhill; Michael Kilcoyne, topped the pole in Castlebar with 2,598; and fair dues to Martin Coughlan in Macroom, a former stalwart of the party, who got elected as an Independent on 1,666 votes.

Labour's 'friend'

And of course, the supreme fiasco of all in this election: Mark Durkan, the former leader of the Social Democratic & Labour Party in the Six Counties, and Mr. Howlin's comrade in the Party of European Socialists (PES) in Brussels coming South to stand for Fine Gael and coming within 1,800 votes of Labour's own candidate, Alex White—Who needs enemies with comrades like that?

You just have to ask: who are what does Irish Labour really represent?

"The Labour Party did not see the revival it hoped for—too many votes went to the Greens for that—but it did see some reason for hope, grafting out strong performances in places like Dublin and Louth. Yes, the Euros were a bit of a flop, but the party beat the Greens share of the vote nationally in the locals and beat Sinn Fein in places that will encourage Labour's foot soldiers. It's not a comeback, yet; but it might be a sign that one is possible" (*The Irish Times*, 28.05.2019).

Senator Aodhan O Riordain has suggested there should be consideration of merging Labour with the Social

Democrats and the Greens, questioning the point of three centre-left parties competing with each other.

Mr. Howlin has stressed they are "different parties".

Meanwhile, Mr. Howlin is meeting Deputy Ryan, leader of the Greens to discuss co-operation and no doubt, preparing the handover to Varadkar or Martin to save the country! Not Again, we thought we saved it in 2011!

"Sadly, Labour's slide into the shadows continued. There are many reasons for this but one must be the decision, organic or deliberate, to become an adjunct to public sector unions rather than a voice for all workers" (Editorial, *Irish Examiner*, 27.05.2019)

European Election, 24th May:

There were three Constituencies, electing a total of 13 MEPs on the Single Transferable Vote—an increase of two, consequent on the UK leaving the EU. However, these two successful candidates will not take up their seats until Brexit is finalised (when Northern Ireland will lose its three MEPs).

Results

The table below shows seats won by the larger parties.

Fine Gael	5 Seats	29.59%
Ind./Oth.	3 Seats	23.92%
Fianna Fail	2 Seats	16.55%
Green Party	2 Seats	11.37%
Sinn Fein	1 Seat	11.68%
Labour	0 Seats	3.14%
S&PBProfit	0 Seats	2.53%
Social Dem.	0 Seats	1.21%

13 seats in 3 constituencies:
49.7% turnout.

Turnout: European Parliament
Dublin: 42.9%; Ireland South: 53.4%;
Midlands N.W. 50.3%;

(Six-Counties: 50% approx.)

1,678,000,000 valid votes were cast.
Fine Gael polled 496,459 votes, 29.6% of the vote, an increase of 7.3%: gaining one seat on account of Brexit
Fianna Fail polled 277,705 votes, 16.6% of the vote, a decrease of 5.7%, gaining one seat on account of Brexit
Sinn Fein polled 196,001 votes, a drop of 7.8%, losing two seats.
Greens polled 190,755 votes, an increase of 6.5%, gaining two seats.
Independents 4 Change polled 124,085, gaining two seats.
Labour Party polled 52,753.

Elected were:

Midlands—North-West: Mairead McGuinness FG; Luke 'Ming' Campbell, Ind; Matt Carthy, SF; Maria Walsh FG

Dublin: Ciaran Cuffe Gr; Frances Fitzgerald FG; Clare Daly Ind; Barry Andrews* FF

South: Sean Kelly FG; Billy Kelleher FF; Mick Wallace Inds. for Change; Grace O'Sullivan Gr; Deirdre Clune* FG

* Will not take up their seats till Brexit goes through.

Local Elections

The election was held on 24th May, with 949 seats to be filled. Turnout was 50.2%. In Tallaght (South Dublin) just over one quarter of the electorate turned out and according to the RTE, the State broadcaster, only 14% turned out at one polling station in Finglas (North Dublin); in Limerick, one area had a 7% turnout.

In any other democracy this problem would be taken really seriously, but then again, it suits the established parties to have low polls. The social sectors most apathetic are working class and substantial swathes of the unemployed and those on permanent social welfare.

First Preference Votes

	Seats	Per Cent	+/-
Fianna Fail:	279	26.9%	+ 12
Fine Gael:	255	25.26%	+ 25
SF	81	9.48%	- 78
Labour	57	5.73%	+ 6
Greens	49	5.54%	+ 37
SDs	19	2.28%	(new)
Solid./PBP	11	1.83%	- 17
Ind/Others	198	22.40%	

All 949 seats filled; 31 constituencies complete; 49.7% turnout.

Comments:

Fianna Fail is the biggest group on Dublin City Council for the first time in two decades.

Fine Gael did well: it is the first time in 20 years that a party in Government grew its vote in Council elections.

Sinn Fein Five years ago the party won 159 council seats. It lost over a dozen in the years since. It departs these elections with a total of 81 seats, a massive decline.

Labour With a vote slightly down on 2014, it finished up with an extra 6 seats at 57. New councillors were elected in Waterford, Cork and Louth.

Green Party Rose from 12 to 49 seats across the country.

Social Democrats In a first council election campaign, the party won 19 councillors across Dublin, Kildare, Cork, Limerick City and Galway City.

Solidarity-PBP Fielding over 70 candidates, Solidarity-PBP lost 17 seats, leaving it with 11 councillors.

Independents' vote was down three points compared to 2014, but 187 were elected across the 166 local electoral areas

Others: 11 other councillors elected, including three for the Independents 4 Change group; three for Aontu, the new party formed by ex-Sinn Fein, Peadar Toibin and others; and one each for the Workers' Party and Renua.

continued on page 30



Election And Poll Results

The conservative American publisher William F. Buckley surprised the world by running for the mayoralty of New York City in 1965.

He was asked: "What is the first thing you will do if you win the election?"

He replied: "Demand a recount!"

There are a plethora of results to report on in this issue.

Republic

Divorce

At the weekend the Divorce Referendum passed in a landslide victory, with the vote on reducing restrictions around divorce winning by a huge margin of 82.1% to 17.9%.

As a reader (Patrick Turley) pointed out in a letter to the *Irish Times* (11th May), the ballot paper asked two questions but only allowed for one YES or NO. Voters had to vote on eliminating the four-year waiting period before starting divorce proceedings, allowing it to be set by the Dail (with a two-year period mentioned); and on whether to recognise foreign divorces. (As far as we know, foreign divorces were already recognised in Ireland!)

Elected Mayors

Waterford and Cork voters rejected new elected mayors in a plebiscite, while Limerick narrowly voted for the office.

Waterford voted 22,437 to 21,718 against. In Cork, the plebiscite was also rejected, when 33,364 voted Yes, but 34,347 voted against—a margin of just 983 votes. However, Limerick said Yes by 38,122 to 34,573

The Limerick mayor, once elected, will receive a salary of €129,854 plus benefits, along with between €313,000 to €450,000 to run their office. The Office has executive powers, including oversight of Limerick City and County Council's budget and development plan, but with no influence over individual planning decisions. The mayor will serve for five years.

However, legislation has still to be passed in the Dail to provide for the change.

General Remarks

Fianna Fail won the Locals, Fine Gael the Euros. But there's little between them. If there was a General Election now, there would probably be no more than a handful of seats between them at the end, and the advantage could go either way. The 'Young' Pretender has failed to open a serious distance between Fine Gael and his New Fianna Fail.

For a reigning administration, Fine Gael more than held their own and exercised great vote management in the Euro election.

Fianna Fail made moderate gains in the "Locals" but made a hash of it in the "Euros", especially in the Midlands/N.W. constituency, a heartland of "Old" Fianna Fail, where they failed to take a seat!

Sinn Fein had a very bad day, extremely bad! They were not far from losing half their Local Government seats—if this were replicated in a Dail election, a 10% drop in their vote, they would suffer a serious loss in seats.

"Having sacrificed their former president Gerry Adams, like Iphigenia, to ensure a fair wind for Mary Lou McDonald, they may well wonder if they have not made a disastrous miscalculation" (Pol O Muiri, *Irish Catholic*, 13.6.2019)

Sinn Fein lost some very good public representatives—appealing to the Dublin 4 and its Neo-Liberal social agenda is a recipe for disaster, they should have learned that from Labour—build on your own strength and principles: the rest will fall into place. Indeed, this set-back could well be the makings of Sinn Fein!

Labour Party

Their 'friends' in the Media and Fine Gael admit it was a poor day for "New Labour". Just what does the future hold for the Irish Labour party? Is it really a genuine part of the labour movement.

"Labour had a not-so-bad day in pockets—but it is still hard for them to talk up a revival. And the breakaway Social Democrats did upstage them" (*Irish Independent*, 27.5.2019).

Former LP members

Incredibly, if you took the number of ex-LP members who got elected on the same day, it would 'god-damn' near equal the party's own elected representation. Again, no party in this state has had the turnover in membership of some the finest and most decent people, particularly young people and most left totally disillusioned with the political opportunism and wire-

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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
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