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Problematic Economics and the Civil Service

Sinn Fein's attitude to the civil service was the subject of media reports a couple of times during 2022. Early last year Mary Lou MacDonald identified the issue as a key challenge for the party if it was to participate in Government, the implication being that she feared high ranking State officials would act to obstruct the implementation of Sinn Fein policies.

Then in November the SF spokesman on Housing, Eoin O'Broin, apologised to John MacCarthy, chief economist at the Department of Finance, after calling for him to be sacked because of his views on housing. O'Broin affirmed that Sinn Fein believed in the independence of the civil service, adding, "*you have to listen to all advices, all opinions, even if you don't agree with them*" (Irish Independent, Gaviija Gataneckaite, 3 November 2022).

The role played by economists at the Departments of Finance and Housing, in the Central Bank and throughout the public service, should indeed be a subject of interest in Irish politics and not just because of the possibility that Sinn Fein TDs will hold Ministerial Office in the not-too-distant future. The nub of the matter is that while these officials are required to execute Government interventions in the economy—in other words, to practice political economy—their training in economics predisposes them to a dislike of Government intervention and an antipathy to politics itself.

O'Broin, with whose approach to politics we would have little in common, not least because of his admiration for the British Leftist, Paul Mason (see the December 2022 *Irish Political Review*), is right when he says that the advice of economists deserves consideration. To dismiss the entire canon of economic thought on the grounds that economists are quintessentially defenders of Capitalism (which they are) would be akin to philistinism. The welfare of people across large swathes of the globe depends

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An EU About-Face?

Lucinda Creighton (a former Fine Gael TD, who was in Renua for a while) writes that:

"Ireland is asleep at the wheel as the EU single market is being undone. The Irish government is alarmingly silent even though we face being hardest hit by the European Commission move to undo the framework that creates a level playing field by prohibiting subsidies to industry across Europe" (*Business Post* 18.12.22).

However, in her analysis she refuses to acknowledge the biggest elephant in the room here—the EU sanctions on Russia. The Green Agenda may have been the slow-burner on this, and is being used as a convenient diversionary cause, but it's the West's support of Ukraine that's the main driver for the relaxation of the EU competition rules. She continues by suggesting that:

"Ireland, like the Nordic states and other small, innovative and open economies in Europe, is asleep at the wheel as the

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Reichsbürger Raid in Germany

— A PR Show Or Averting Danger?

A few weeks ago: Around 3,000 Police Officers and Special Forces of the security authorities conducted the largest ever raid in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Their goal: to stop conspiracy ideologues and "*Reichsbürger*", who were planning a violent overthrow of the Federal Republic!

Around 150 apartments were searched throughout Germany (as well as in Italy and Austria), and 45 people were arrested, around 20 of whom remain in custody as of 27th December.

Amongst these are former officers and soldiers of the *Bundeswehr*, former and serving police officers. One of those

arrested was a former member of the Bundestag representing the right-wing extremist party *AfD* (Alternative for Germany)—who still administers justice as an active (female) judge!

The "*Reichsbürger*" [*Reich citizens*] are a militant, armed, well-connected, right-wing extremist collective movement in Germany. It includes individuals, groups and organisations. They all share a misanthropic, anti-democratic, racist and anti-Semitic ideology.

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on a mixture of capitalism and Government intervention, so the contributions of economists, regardless of the shortcomings of that still young profession, need to be heard and studied.

Back in the 1980s when the effects of a heroin epidemic were being felt in inner city Dublin, the late Pat Murphy, a member of the management team at the *Larkin Centre for the Unemployed* in North Dublin, and a founding member of the group that produces *Irish Political Review*, often used a pithy phrase regarding economic matters. It was: *working class communities need jobs* and it carried the implication that, if wage restraint caused the workings of Capitalism to run smoother, as economists advised, such that the level of employment could increase, then that advice should be taken.

The point about economic advice sometimes having merit is being laboured here because the role of economists in Government currently requires critical evaluation and it is important to place that criticism in the right perspective.

The Story of a Textbook

Not so long ago, when a focus of debate in political circles was the causes and implications of the 2008 Crash, the economic researcher and commentator, Feargus O'Raghallaigh, suggested that someone should make a study of the changes of position and shifts of emphasis expressed through the many different editions of a textbook entitled, *The Economy of Ireland*. The book was then in its eleventh edition, three further editions have since come out, so a comprehensive study of the contributions made over nearly fifty years by some of the most influential Irish economists to this most influential of textbooks would be even more fruitful now.

The book's publishing history is interesting. The first six editions dating from 1975 to 1991 were issued by the *Irish Management Institute* during mostly economically difficult times. Arguably, the spirit of the early editions was captured by T K Whitaker in the Preface to the first edition. He wrote:

“There is, of course, no assurance that even such a searching examination of the Irish economy as is contained in these pages, will point the right way forward. Without such appraisals, however, there can be little hope of our finding the way” (First edition, p. ix).

A seventh edition was published by Macmillan in 1995 when the fortunes of the Irish economy had been turned around. Gill and Macmillan brought out the next five editions, culminating in 2014, and the thirteenth and fourteenth editions were published respectively by Palgrave, and by Bloomsbury Publishing. That the book found commercial publishers from 1995 onwards may reflect an increase in international interest in the Irish economy. As stated in the Preface to the latest edition:

“Ireland has been an interesting political economy case study in recent decades”.

All the editions up to the thirteenth (2017) are available in the National Library of Ireland, thankfully.

The contributors come from a wide range of domestic and foreign universities (most seem to be Irish), but the home base of *The Economy of Ireland* is the Economics Department of Trinity College Dublin. The lead Editor, Professor John O'Hagan of that Department, was an editorial contributor over the forty-six years of the book's existence to date, an impressive achievement whether or not you like the work. The list of contributors includes: T.K. Whitaker, Garret FitzGerald, John O'Hagan, Kieran Kennedy, Moore MacDowell, P. T. Geary, Jonathon Haughton, Dermot McAleese, Philip Lane, Frances Ruane, Francis O'Toole, Carol Newman, Kevin O'Rourke, Alan Matthews, Jim O'Leary, Tara McIndoe-Calder, Micheál Collins, Michael Wycherly, Anthony Leddin, Eleanor Denny, John Fitzgerald, Michael King, Sarah Cantillon, Nina Teasdale, Ronan Lyons, Anne Nolan, Paul Donovan, Ciara Whelan, and Patrick Paul Walsh.

No doubt the textbook has been used on many university courses but there is at least one course where it constitutes the core text: a Masters in *Economic Policy Studies* provided by the Economics Department at Trinity, running every two years and catering specifically for mid-career civil servants. That course is not the only place where civil servants receive economics training but, in the context of the debate about the appropriateness of economists holding influential governmental positions, the existence of that course and its textbook is worth noting.

Three Phases

Three distinct phases can be identified in the evolution of *The Economy of Ireland* over the forty-six years. The first is the *1970s phase*, when the contributions held to basic tenets of economics: like the precept that Government intervention is only justified in the event of market failure, and the commitment to the concept of a *mixed capitalist economy*, while reflecting a shared conviction that the independent Irish State needed to overcome its economic disadvantages through making the best possible use of the latest thinking.

The tenor of the contributions in the 1970s can be characterised as social democratic. Promoting economic growth and reducing unemployment are established as primary objectives. Means by which ‘*indicative planning*’—Government plans to coordinate the development of different sectors of the economy—could be made more flexible and effective are discussed. Essays on fiscal, monetary, industrial, regional, and agricultural policy are all based on the assumption that Government intervention is critical to economic development. The underlying intellectual influence is Keynesian.

The second phase, the *Liberal phase*, emerges during the *Irish Management Institute* years and runs up to the tenth edition in 2008. In these editions a complete thought revolution can be seen. An essay by Andrew John, headed *Primary Policy Objectives*, subsequently dropped in the 2011 edition, makes the case for the market mechanism and the free market economy, citing the neo-classical economist, Milton Friedman. It simply ignores the primary objectives identified in the editions published in the 1970s.

A new chapter by Jonathon Haughton covering the historical background appears in the seventh edition in 1995. A passage on what the author calls the nationalist interpretation of economic history deserves to be quoted in full:

“Stripped of its Irish context, this view [the nationalist view] is comparable to the approach of *dependency theorists*, who emphasise the harmful results of links between peripheral areas and the major industrial powers. The main weaknesses of this approach are that it has tended to neglect the potentially beneficial effects of links with the metropolitan area, and has overestimated the ability of independent states to make wise decisions, as exemplified for instance by Ireland’s disastrous fiscal experiment in the late 1970s.

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Wilde Senior

Wilson John Haire ends his engaging account (*Irish Political Review*, December 2022) of the William Wilde family with: “*You could call it the ruination of the Wilde family, but Oscar gave them immortality...*”

May I suggest that Oscar’s position as the most creative *literateur* of the Wilde family will last only until attention is given to his father’s artful conjurings as Commissioner of the 1851 Census of Ireland.

Ireland’s 1841 Census (Wilde was Assistant Commissioner) totalled some 578 pages. Wilde’s 1851 Census, Parts III and V, Vols I and II alone total 2,467 pages (See <http://histpop.org-Browne<Sir William Wilde>). A masterwork of imagination, it “*contextualises*” Ireland’s mass death by citing planetary eclipses of 495 and 511 AD. Wilde omits all mention of Holocaust Commander-in-Chief General Sir Edward Blakeney and his 67 regiments removing Ireland’s agricultural production to the ports at gunpoint in those years. To ‘explain’ the mass death caused by Blakeney and troops, Wilde, a medical doctor, creates never-before-heard-of fatal diseases.

The Table of Contents Section 1, pages 2 through 40 ‘normalise’ and obfuscate the Genocide by placing it within the context of “*The History of Epidemic Pestilences in Ireland*”. One of its chapters is headed “*Geraldus Cambrensis and other English writers*”. Table of Contents, Section 1, *Table of Cosmic Phenomena, Epizooics, Epiphitics* (sic) *Famines and Pestilences in Ireland*, pages 41 through 211, includes: “*The First Small Pox*” p. 52; “*The Murrain*” p. 54; “*The First Influenza*” p. 82; “*The Barking Mania*”, p85; “*The King’s Game*”, p88; “*The Sweating Sickness*” pp96-100.

While *The Times* reported increased landings of Irish livestock in English ports, Wilde posits a scarcity of meat in Ireland due to deadly epidemics of bovine and porcine diseases!

Wilde didn’t address starvation deaths until page 253. He recorded them as 516 in 1845, 2,041 in 1846, 6,051 in 1847, 9,395 total in 1848-1849, and 2,046 in 1850. He wrote “*The total deaths returned to us under the head of STARVATION amounted to 21,770*”.

One would search all of literature in vain for expressions of creativity that exceed William Wilde’s in that census. There were not only no objectors among the Establishment to Wilde’s concealment of the 1845-1850 Genocide, that same census work was cited as the reason for knighting him in 1864 by which time the success of his concealment was official.

Ireland’s academics approvingly cite Wilde’s fabrications, including his total concealment of one of history’s gravest crimes, but none promote his starvation death toll of 22,770. Why not?

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Julian Assange

[Readers may also be interested in the following letter sent by Chris Fogarty to Cormac Bourke, Editor at the *Irish Independent*:]

US/UK crimes against Julian Assange have reached crisis point.

Some of the Neo-Cons’ war crimes were reported by the New York Times, Washington Post and a few other large-circulation newspapers in addition to Julian Assange.

Criminals in our U.S. gov’t don’t dare persecute those news media as they have done against Assange.

National newspapers have begun to editorialize on behalf of Assange; we of the diaspora want to see The Irish Independent take the side of truth and basic justice.

Time is short! Please act promptly!

Christopher and Mary Fogarty

Chicago (Ex-Roscommon and Limerick), 22.12.22

Membership of the European Union has not made the nationalist view completely obsolete, but it has been stripped of its Anglophobic character. There remains space for a nationalism, or perhaps localism would be a better term, to counteract the tendencies of the EU to regulate from the centre what would be better done at a much lower level of government” (Seventh edition, p. 45).

Needless to say, this account is very different from the historical background provided in the seventies’ editions.

A telling feature of Haughton’s account of recent economic history is that he downplays the transformative effects of the Government that came into office in 1987, while conceding that, “*the 1987 reform worked*” (Eleventh edition, p. 23). In a later edition he expands that point as follows:

“The 1987 reform worked, not only because it addressed unsustainable macroeconomic imbalances [presumably Haughton means the Budget Deficit, the import/export—current account—deficit and the debt to GDP ratio], but also because of deeper changes in economic policy that began to tackle structural problems” (Fourteenth edition, p. 27).

Later on the same page he defines what he means by structural problems: the privatisation of State enterprises. Actually, Jonathon Haughton is here showing an ignorance of political history: the 1987 Fianna Fail Government resisted the privatisation agenda throughout its term.

Other reforms introduced by that Government—which had lasting effects and which are not mentioned by Haughton—are the creation of both the *International Financial Services Centre* and the *National Treasury Management Agency*. Nor does the author mention the success of *Social Partnership* in those years or—indicative of a pettiness in Irish liberalism—the fact that the Government was headed by Charles Haughey.

The final phase, the *Orderly Retreat phase*, covers the years 2011 to 2021 and four editions of the textbook, the eleventh to the fourteenth (the latest). Admittedly, the continued production of a textbook explaining Irish economic life through the prism of liberal economics in the wake of the Great Crash is a daunting task. Staging the equivalent of an orderly retreat in such circumstances requires ingenuity and resilience, qualities much in evidence in these editions!

Firstly, essays showing ideological bias on the side of neo-classical authors—like Andrew John’s piece on primary economic objectives in which he defers to Milton Friedman—are removed. Then an essay by Michael King on equality, poverty and social justice, subjects ignored during the Liberal phase, becomes a regular feature. Elsewhere in the text we see terms like ‘*political economy*’ cropping up, although usually having a disappointingly vague meaning. And the subject of the Crash itself is addressed in an addition to Jonathon Haughton’s historical background piece.

Haughton handles the Crash by summarising the objective facts; the issue of what caused it, especially the role of liberal ideology, is studiously ignored. It is notable that, in the reading list at the end of the historical background chapter, the authoritative account of the Crash from an Irish perspective—*The Fall of the Celtic Tiger* by Donal Donovan and Antoine Murphy (2013)—is not listed. The authors of that work did not hold back from investigating concepts like *Efficient Markets Hypothesis* which became dominant in Finance courses in US universities, later causing havoc in international financial markets (see *Lessons of the Irish Crash* by Dave Alvey, *Irish Political Review*, March 2018 https://www.academia.edu/47770319/Lessons_of_the_Irish_Crash).

It is unfortunate that—rather than acknowledging that the application of market fundamentalism was the primary cause of the Irish financial Crash, as O’Donovan and Murphy come close to doing—the mainstream of the Irish economists’ profession have taken a damage limitation approach. The recent editions of *The Economy of Ireland*, having followed that path, are fatally flawed as a result.

Arms Trial Syndrome

The 1970 *Arms Trial*, in which two Cabinet Ministers (Neil Blaney and Charles Haughey), a senior intelligence officer (Captain James Kelly), and other prominent figures (Northern nationalist John Kelly and Belgian businessman Albert Luyckx) were tried for importing arms illegally for use in Northern Ireland, was a seminal event in Irish politics which has cast a shadow over wide aspects of Irish public life, including history-writing and economic policy-making.

In a nutshell, what happened was that the British Government, learning of the arms importation, applied pressure on the Irish

Government, headed at that time by Jack Lynch, to abort the exercise. Responding to the pressure, the Lynch Government chose to deny official knowledge of the importation and place the blame for it on an illegal conspiracy. As has since been shown in a number of books on the subject, the importation of arms had in fact been officially sanctioned. The lasting significance of the controversy is that, in a moment of crisis, an influential element inside the Irish Establishment decided that the nationalist legacy of the State was not to be taken seriously, that, behind a façade of nationalist rhetoric, Ireland, or at least its elite, should see itself as a satellite of the UK.

The first effect of what should be termed, *Arms Trial Syndrome*, was that the writing of Irish history was taken in hand by Oxford and Cambridge; the story of Irish historical revisionism is well known. While the Arms Trial took place in 1970 it took many years for its implications to be worked into the fabric of public life. It really only gathered a publicly obvious momentum after the signing of the *Good Friday Agreement* in 1998.

Reviewing the phases undergone through the writing of *The Economy of Ireland*, it is possible to see how *Arms Trial Syndrome* has influenced economic thought in Ireland. Contributions published in the 1970s reflect a belief in Irish independence, whereas later contributions depict such views as delusions from a bygone era.

Surprisingly, an honest account of the historical background published in the first edition was by Garret FitzGerald. Here is an excerpt:

“Ireland’s deficiency in key minerals does not, however, fully explain the failure of industry to develop on a substantial scale. Historical circumstances also operated to inhibit industrial development. The colonisation of Ireland by England, which was attempted on a systematic basis from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards operated to prevent the growth of industry in Ireland even before the Industrial Revolution” (First edition, p. 1).

FitzGerald is adamant that national self government allowed the nations of Northern Europe to pursue prosperity for their peoples, while its absence in Ireland caused the country to lag far behind. By way of contrast, Jonathon Haughton’s historical background has been de-politicised and is consequently far less coherent than FitzGerald’s.

An essay that stands out in the second edition of the textbook is by Kieran Kennedy. Simply headed, *A Reply*, it had first been published at an economics symposium and was a reply to an essay on inflation by P. T. Geary (not the famous statistician, R. C. Geary), also published in the second edition. It is worth quoting at some length.

“In regard to inflation, the two central questions to which economists and policy-makers in Ireland should address themselves are, in my view, as follows: what degree of autonomy do we have in controlling inflation? And what are the costs and benefits to other major economic and social objectives of using that degree of autonomy? I, therefore, do not see the issue as one of no inflation in Ireland while rapid inflation proceeds abroad. Rather, it is a matter of how far, and for how long, we could hold our inflation rate below that of other countries. Moreover, I do not see it as a question of less inflation at any cost. Rather, it is a matter of the degree to which less inflation, and the manner in which we achieve it, will help or hinder our other economic concerns. The discussion should, therefore, be set in the context of Ireland’s central economic and social problem, namely, that since independence there have been insufficient job opportunities for the natural increase in the labour force.

Potentially, the most dangerous fallacy in Irish economic thinking is that because we have only limited autonomy, we can do nothing at all, or that the little we can is of no consequence...” (Second edition, p. 218)

Kennedy’s belief was that domestic wage increases were adding to Irish inflation and that this could be controlled. Like Garret Fitzgerald’s essay, Kennedy’s provides a sharp contrast to the approach taken in Haughton’s historical background. The following paragraph by Haughton, first published in the seventh edition and repeated with only minor amendments in all subsequent editions, encapsulates a core message of *The Economy of Ireland* in its Liberal and later phases.

“As a practical matter Ireland has less and less room for pursuing independent economic policies. Fiscal restraint is needed because persistent expansionary fiscal policy does not work well in a small open economy, as the experiment of 1978-87 shows. Monetary policy can only play a passive role once the exchange rate is fixed, whether to sterling or within the EMS [European Monetary System] [monetary policy is now governed by the European Central Bank]. Industrial policy is increasingly circumscribed by the rules which have applied since 1993 to the Single European Market. Recognising

the need for greater efficiency, the country has privatised or closed down several state-owned enterprises. As the twentieth century closes, Ireland has become a district of Western Europe, perhaps with little more autonomy than a typical state of the United States, but with an economic future which is increasingly congruent with that of Western Europe” (Seventh edition, p. 47).

There can be no doubt but that the above paragraph by Haughton, like many of the arguments emanating from the liberal, anti-State camp within the economics world, has a plausible and persuasive ring to it. Its credibility, however, wears thin when set against the actual course of Irish economic history.

Within the covers of the many editions of *The Economy of Ireland*, writings by ‘old school’ economists like Kieran Kennedy live alongside the contributions of anti-nationalist liberals like Jonathon Haughton. But which approach is more valuable from a Political Economy perspective?

The following few lines from Kennedy’s obituary (he died in 2013) tell us much about his contribution to public life.

“Mr Kennedy (77) was director of the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) from 1971 to 1996, and in 1982 was recruited by Taoiseach Charles Haughey to help formulate the economic plan “The Way Forward”. Although Haughey was not returned to Government in the subsequent general election, The Way Forward was credited as being the blueprint for remedial measures taken when Haughey did return to power in 1987. Of his experience working with the politician, Kennedy is reported to have said he never encountered a person with such an incisive mind and intellect as Haughey” (Irish Times, 6 Feb 2013).

Regarding Haughton—and the many Irish economists who would concur with the opinion that, economically, Ireland should be viewed as a mere district of Western Europe with little more autonomy than a typical state of the United States—it can be said that their approach has not served Ireland well. Whereas Kennedy lent his expertise to helping to formulate a strategy that was a factor in turning around the Irish economy, the liberals followed an international consensus uncritically which eventually ended badly; the latest estimate of the net cost of the Irish Crash, as of the end of 2021 is €45.7 billion and that estimates only the monetary cost.

Conclusion

It is impossible to know what ideas

hold sway with economists in the employ of the State, or how much of the advice of economists is followed by the political leadership. Perhaps the requirements of the job pull them away from theoretical abstractions towards the practicalities of political economy. Yet the orientation of Housing policy since the aftermath of the Crash suggests that reliance on market forces continues to guide the policy debate.

The evidence of recent editions of *The Economy of Ireland* indicates that the detrimental effects of liberal ideology have not been faced up to. Neo-liberalism is still dominant in economics circles. That problem is aggravated by the Arms Trial mentality of many in the upper echelons of society. State intervention must be minimised and the spirit of independent Ireland must be subjected to caricature.

The distrust voiced by Sinn Fein representatives regarding the civil service is to be welcomed, but can even that party be trusted to re-establish continuity with the tradition ably represented by figures like Kieran Kennedy and Charles Haughey? Sinn Fein has dropped its ‘*failed State*’ rhetoric recently, but the old attitude of wishing *a plague on both your houses*, referring to Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, must surely still linger.

Independent Ireland has always been governed as a mixed economy. For the future the challenge is to shake off malign influences like neo-liberalism and its twin brother, anti-nationalism. Making progress along those fronts affords the best opportunity for getting right the balance between public and private sectors.

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The Brian Murphy osb Archive

Sean McGarry—outline of his life

continued from December *Irish Political Review*

McGarry and Dail Eireann 1922

On Tuesday, 28th February 1922, Sean McGarry seconded the nomination of Ernest Blythe as Minister for Trade and Commerce and proposed Michael Hayes for the Office of Minister of Education. These were Ministers without Cabinet status (*Dail Eireann Minutes*, 28 Feb. 1922, p91 and p93).

It was noted that this session of Dail Eireann began almost an hour late and that only twenty members were present (*Irish Independent*, 1 March 1922).

On the same day, in the evening session, McGarry made a strong speech in favour of the Estimates, the very proposal of which serves as a reminder that, in the midst of all the turmoil, the Government of Arthur Griffith was trying to function normally. "I propose the adoption of the Estimates", McGarry declared, continuing:

"I agree with the President that the tactics here are obstructive and nothing else. We have heard a lot about the dishonesty of people in the past. We heard a lot about the dishonesty of John Dillon, John Redmond, Joe Devlin and other people, but they were saints compared with the people who are opposing us just now" (*Ibid.* p116).

McGarry's words were symptomatic of the rancour and acrimony that characterised most of the Dail sessions. When it came to a vote, McGarry voted against two opposing amendments by Daith Ceannt and de Valera and voted in favour of Griffith's motion on the Estimates, which was passed by 52 votes to 44 (*Ibid.* pp 130,131).

While these meetings of the Dail attempted to preserve some semblance of constitutional normality, the rejection of the Dail's authority by Rory O'Connor and a section of the Army on 22nd March highlighted the danger of armed confrontation. This danger was increased when O'Connor and his followers occupied the Four Courts on 13th/14th April 1922.

The Dail, however, continued to meet

and on Wednesday, 10th May 1922, issues of Trade and Commerce were discussed. The debate, with detailed questions on the effect of British legislation on the Irish cattle trade and on Irish margarine, again illustrated the efforts that were made by Griffith's administration to do business as usual in difficult times.

There was a general recognition in the Dail that industrial and social conditions in the country were very bad and Sean McGarry used his speech to blame the anti-Treaty side for their contribution to the poor state of the country. He asserted that "there is no trade in Ireland at the present time", and invited those in the House to come to his business and see "how many men are idle" (*Dail Eireann Minutes*, 10 May 1922, p382).

He maintained that the real problem was not the lack of support for Irish manufactured goods, which the anti-Treaty supporters had claimed, but—

"it is the obstruction to the work of the people who want to carry on. Anybody in business in Ireland will tell you that there is no business. The lack of business is due to the obstruction to the Government of the country, and the feeling of insecurity that exists. People will not build a house, start a factory, or buy a motor car, because they do not know when some brigand will come in and take their goods away" (*Ibid.* p382).

McGarry accepted that things were bad before the Treaty but felt that they were now "a thousand times worse". He concluded by stating that making detailed plans for the economy was futile, "when the country is going to the dogs; when the country is starving". McGarry obviously spoke from personal experience and his record was acknowledged by an opponent, John O'Mahony, who admitted that "Mr McGarry has done his part for Irish industries" (*Ibid.* p383). The motion on Trade and Commerce was put and accepted at the end of the Debate (*Ibid.* p387).

At the same session of the Dail (10 May 1922), the *Peace Committee*, which had been set up on 3rd May, reported that, after meeting eleven times to find "a basis of an agreement. We failed to agree on a basis" (*Irish Independent*, 11 May 1922).

Michael Collins and Harry Boland, however, faced by the imminent meeting of the adjourned Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis (three months after the 22nd February meeting) and the need to secure agreement for the coming General Election, persevered in talks that were to culminate in the Collins/de Valera Pact of 20th May 1922.

McGARRY AND THE COLLINS/DE VALERA PACT

The Pact attempted to preserve, as far as possible, the unity that had existed in the Sinn Fein organisation and in the national movement before the division over the Treaty. It was agreed that—

"a National Coalition Panel for this third Dail, representing both Parties in the Dail, and in the Sinn Fein organisation, be sent forward on the ground that the National position requires the entrusting of the Government of the country into the joint hands of those who have been the strength of the National situation during the last few years" (*Irish Independent*, 22 May 1922).

Several practical decisions were taken to implement this proposal: firstly, the composition of the Coalition Panel was to be based on "the present strength in the Dail" of each party. Secondly, that—"every and any interest is free to go up and contest the election equally with the National-Sinn Fein Panel"; and, thirdly, that

"after the election the Executive shall consist of the President, elected as formerly, the Minister of Defence, representing the Army, and nine other ministers, five from the majority party and four from the minority, each party to choose its own nominees. The allocation will be in the hands of the President" (*Ibid.*).

Many members of Dail Eireann were present on Saturday, 20th May 1922, when the Speaker read out the terms of the Pact. Arthur Griffith, who on the day previously had raised the matter of a General Election for the twenty-six Counties of Ireland on 16th June, proposed that acceptance of the Pact be linked with his call for a General Election. The Speaker put this proposal to the House and it was carried unanimously (*Dail Eireann Minutes*, 20 May 1922, pp 479,480; *Irish Independent*, 22 May 1922).

A few days later, on Tuesday 23rd May,

the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis met and gave its approval to the Pact.

Not all pro-Treaty members, however, were happy with the Pact. Griffith felt that too much had been conceded by the pro-Treaty side and even for Collins it was viewed as a necessary compromise to ensure that an election might actually take place (Laffan, *Resurrection of Ireland*, p.388).

Sean McGarry, in a rare criticism of Collins, bluntly maintained that he was wrong to enter into the Pact with de Valera: "If he had not agreed to it", McGarry argued later, "there is very little doubt that most of the Anti-Treaty candidates would have been defeated in the General Election" (McGarry, *Collins*, p19).

In this context McGarry even expressed the opinion that Collins "was not an astute politician".

However, the most significant opposition to the *Pact* came from the British Government. The response of Lloyd George and his officials affected not only the planned Election but also the final formulation of the Free State Constitution, which, from the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis in February, had been directly connected with the Election.

Winston Churchill, the Colonial Secretary, advised the British Cabinet on 23rd May 1922 to reject the Collins/de Valera Pact and recommended that, "if a Republic were proclaimed before or after the election then that is war" (*Note on meeting of British Representatives*, 23 May 1922, NA Kew, CAB 43/1; see Murphy, *Framing of the Constitution*, p.140 seq.).

Speaking in the House of Commons on 31st May 1922, Churchill asserted that, both the terms of the Pact, and of the Free State Constitution, must conform with the Treaty. He noted in particular that if, after the Election, the four anti-Treaty Ministers, provided for by the Pact, were prepared to adhere to the Treaty, that would be acceptable; but, if they refused, then "the Treaty is broken by that very act" (*Irish Independent*, 1 June 1922).

On the next day, 1st June, Lloyd George informed Arthur Griffith (significantly Collins absented himself from this final meeting) that the Constitution must "conform with the Treaty". Griffith fully accepted this stipulation, with the result that the draft Constitution which Collins received on 12th June, on his last visit to London, had lost most of its republican aspirations.

It was this draft Constitution which finally appeared in the national press on

16th June, the morning of the Election, in an attempt to fulfil the agreement that the electorate should have an opportunity to see it before they voted.

McGARRY AND THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 16 JUNE 1922

On the very same day, 1st June 1922, that Griffith agreed to Lloyd George's demands concerning the Free State Constitution, Sean McGarry was nominated to stand on the National Coalition Panel for his former constituency of Mid-Dublin. This decision was made in accordance with the terms of the Collins/de Valera Pact. There were 68 Coalition Treaty and 59 Coalition Republic candidates.

On the day that the announcement of this divided panel was announced, representatives of both sides, including McGarry, came together to pay their respects to Joseph McGuinness, their former comrade and the famous victor of the Longford By-Election of 1917. McGarry and his pro-Treaty colleagues were joined by Sean T. O'Kelly, Harry Boland, Count Plunkett, and other anti-Treaty supporters, in offering their sympathy to the McGuinness family.

However, after this brief show of unity, debate took place in the Sinn Fein movement as to the way in which the Pact would be implemented in the coming election. The focus of the debate was on the precise manner in which voters were bound to respect the National Coalition Panel. The anti-Treaty view was expressed in the journal, *Republic of Ireland*, edited by Erskine Childers, which suggested that voters were bound to elect 59 Coalition Republic candidates.

This interpretation of the Pact was immediately contested by Darrell Figgis. He maintained, in a letter to the press of 2nd June 1922, that the republican interpretation failed to acknowledge that section of the Pact which allowed other National interests to vote as they wished. Figgis concluded that "it would be outrageous to seek to compel any voter to record a vote for any candidate with whose action and purpose he disagrees" (*Irish Independent*, 2 June 1922).

Michael Collins, in a speech in Cork on 14th June 1922, expressed the sentiments of Figgis in more strident terms, when he declared that he was—

"not hampered now by being on a platform where there are Coalitionists. I can make a straight appeal to you citizens of Cork to vote for the candidates you

think best of" (*Cork Examiner*, 15 June 1922).

Coalition Republicans were annoyed with this speech by Collins and they were also aggrieved that the Free State Constitution only appeared in the morning papers on 16th June, the day of the Election.

It was against this background that the Election took place on the basis of proportional representation. In accordance with the *Pact*, the pro-Treaty candidates were described as Coalition Treaty; the anti-Treaty candidates were described as Coalition Republic.

The result of the election revealed that there were other issues in Ireland apart from the Treaty.

On 20th June 1922 the count for the constituency of Mid-Dublin was completed and Sean McGarry (Alderman), secured re-election for the *Coalition Treaty Party* in third place with 4,295 votes First Preference votes. Behind him, in fourth place, was Sean T. O'Kelly (also an Alderman), *Coalition Republic*, with 1,941 First Preference votes. Top of the poll was Laurence O'Neill, Lord Mayor of Dublin, standing as an *Independent*, with 9,465 votes and, in second place, was Alfred Byrne (also an Alderman), *Independent*, with 7,899 votes (Walker, *Parliamentary Elections*, p105; *Irish Independent*, 21 June 1922 for full details of transfers).

The quota was 5,826 votes. McGarry's re-election depended, to a large extent, on the transfers from the Independent candidates, O'Neill and Byrne—the only two candidates to exceed the quota.

Kathleen Clarke and Phil Shanahan, who had held seats in the constituency for Sinn Fein in the 1921 Election, were not returned, but their transfers were vital to O'Kelly's election in last place.

The pattern of this election result was reflected in varying degrees across the country: Independents, Farmers, and Labour did far better than anyone had expected or predicted. The final result was as follows: Coalition Treaty, 58; Coalition Republic, 36; Labour Party, 17; Farmer's Party, 7; Independents, 6; and Dublin University, 4.

Commenting on these results on 21st June 1922, and making specific mention of the Mid-Dublin result, the *Irish Independent* commented that:

"the failure of the Anti-Treaty nominees has, indeed, been the most notable feature of the contests. Of the eighteen members who now represent Dublin

city and county, only Alderman Sean T. O'Kelly, opposes the Treaty, and he only succeeded in securing election on the last count" (*Irish Independent*, 21 June 1922).

Making more general observations, the editorial noted that only two of the six women who had opposed the Treaty had retained their seats and that one of them, Mrs. Kate O'Callaghan, had been assisted by the Panel arrangement which had prevented a contest in her Limerick constituency. The editorial also claimed that—

"the remarkable success of the Labour candidates and of the representatives of Agriculture and Commerce are not merely an assertion that these interests are no longer to be neglected; they are a condemnation of the men and tactics that have thrown thousands into the ranks of the unemployed."

This lawlessness, another editorial maintained, extended to actions taken against the minority Protestant community, against whom "*murders, evictions, and threats have been recorded recently*" (Ibid.)

How far the anti-Treaty party were directly responsible for this social and religious unrest may be debated—forces outside their immediate control had, to a high degree, been unleashed—but the election result revealed that the people of Ireland desired most of all that the day to day issues of living should be the Government's priority. A new political landscape, reflecting this practical reality, had been created. Not only had the election result of 1921 been completely overturned but so also had the result of 1918. The Irish Party had disappeared and the unity of the Sinn Fein Party had been irreparably damaged. The clear message of the electorate was that social, industrial and farming issues should be addressed but divisions over the Treaty made it impossible to tackle these matters inside the normal political process.

On 21st June 1922 de Valera gave his view of the Election result, in which he attempted to place the blame for Ireland's disorder on the pro-Treaty side's co-operation with England. He stated that—

"these results seem indeed a triumph for the imperial methods of pacification—outrage and murder and massacre, and then threat with concession" (*Irish Independent*, 22 June 1922).

He was also critical of the draft Free State Constitution. However, his comments on the Constitution were

more restrained than those of Erskine Childers. Childers made his remarks in relation to the proposed Coalition Ministry which the Pact had proposed should come into effect after the Election. Writing in the *Republic of Ireland*, Childers asserted that the Constitution—

"destroys all hope of unifying the Army. But to us it seems utterly impossible that any Republican should co-operate with those who stand over this Constitution and mean to impose it on Ireland. It seems equally impossible that the important body of men who have turned the scale for the Treaty—Army officers and others—solely on the guarantee of their leaders that this Constitution would be on Republican lines, can stomach this unconditional surrender to King and Empire" (Ibid).

The remarks of de Valera and Childers strongly indicated that the election result, and the draft terms of the Free State Constitution that had accompanied it, marked an end of the Collins/de Valera Pact. Confrontation, rather than conciliation, seemed inevitable. This confrontation, which had been simmering towards armed conflict

since Rory O'Connor had occupied the Four Courts in April 1922, turned into outright Civil War, even as the last election results were being announced.

On 23rd June, as the final count was being made in Mid Cork, the newspapers announced the assassination of General Sir Henry Wilson in London. Michael Collins, who headed the Cork poll with over 17,000 votes, was called upon by the British Government to take action against the IRA contingent in the Four Courts.

Significantly, in First Preference votes, Bradley, Labour, was in second place and Vaughan, Farmer, was in third. (*Irish Independent*, 23 June 1922; Walker, *Parliamentary Elections*, p105).

In his capacity as Chairman of the Provisional Government, Collins ordered an attack on the Four Courts on 28th June 1922. The civil contest for the republic had entered a new phase of outright war. In that armed conflict Sean McGarry continued to remain a committed supporter of Collins and Griffith.

(To be continued)

EU About-Face?

continued from page one

most important and beneficial principles of the European single market are being undone."

It's not that Ireland and these other countries are "*asleep at the wheel*". It's that the greatest moral crusade in modern history has been politically framed by the liberal leaderships of the EU in ways that have paralysed any capacity of these countries to respond in ways that might protect their national interests.

However, this is not the case when it comes to German national interests. Germany has, with the authorisation of the EU Commission, already in August been given permission for a 27.5 billion euro State Subsidy scheme to—

"compensate energy-intensive companies for higher electricity prices resulting from indirect emission costs under the EU Emission Trading System ("ETS")" [see: https://portal.ieu-monitoring.com/editorial/germany-eu-commission-approves-e27-5bn-compensate-energy-intensive-companies/385255?utm_source=ieu-portal].

Then, in September 2022, Germany nationalised its energy giant, Uniper, while in November Germany was permitted to pay out 225.6 million Euros to buy SEFE (previously, *Gazprom Germania*: see: <https://www.energylivenews.com/2022/11/14/eu-approves-e225-6m-german-state-aid-to-acquire-gazproms-german-arm/>).

And then only last week the EU has endorsed a German 1.8 billion Euro electric vehicle subsidising package

[see: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/ip_22_7668].

It takes a very determined journalist, particularly one whose specialism is Economics, to refuse to see that the main context of the subject of her article is the Ukrainian conflict and instead leaves the cause of her complaint hanging out there with no visible means of support.

The reason why Germany is being given enough rope when it comes to EU competition rules is precisely because it possesses an economy that relies on making 'real things'. And it's Germany's capacity to make 'real things' that has underpinned what made the European Union possible over the last 30 years or so. And it's the fact that in turn that ability of Germany to make 'real things', while relying on cheap Russian energy, that

makes Germany unique.

Without Germany there would have been no Europe as we now know it, and without Russia there would have been no Germany as we now know it.

The EU's decision to do the bidding of the Anglo-Saxons in confronting Russia has essentially ensured that the conditions which made it possible for it to develop as it has no longer exist and, insofar as the EU continues to exist, it will have to destroy what it was.

A core feature of that new existence will require an acknowledgement that the main economy at its centre, which made 'real things', can now only be sustained through a loosening of its competition rules—the subsidy that previously took the form of cheap Russian energy will now have to take the form of direct State Aid.

And so this is how it had to be, once the

decision was made to join Washington's war on Russia.

The problem for economies that don't predominantly make "real things"—those for instance that rely disproportionately on things like financial services and the like—is that the evolving new relaxation on the rules on State Subsidies will not be as beneficial to their national economies.

Eamon Dyas, Jack Lane

PS: By the way, under the Protocol the EU state aid rules apply in N. Ireland and it is ironic that EU did not intervene to assist competitors of the Bulb energy company who appealed to this aspect of the Protocol in their case against the state aid to Bulb (which operates in N. Ireland), considering that, in the course of its nationalising and denationalising, the Government has spent something in the region of 6 billion pounds on the company.

So what happened to make the Federal Government take action against a right-wing movement like the "Reichsbürger", deploying a huge force of over 3,000 police officers and with such a propaganda fanfare?

1. A representative survey of citizens, recently conducted by the public opinion research institute, "Forsa", showed that only 29 percent of citizens still assume that the State can fulfill its tasks. In fact, two-thirds of the citizens surveyed consider it to be "overwhelmed".

IPSOS, another well-known German Institute, states: "8 out of 10 Germans say that the year 2022 was the worst year for Germany so far".

The trust of German citizens in politics is at an all-time low, according to this survey. The prevailing opinion is that the current governing coalition (the so-called traffic light coalition of the red Social Democratic Party, the yellow Free Democratic Party and the Green Party) is incapable of acting.

Never in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany has a governing coalition lost voters' trust so quickly as the traffic light coalition in power today.

continued from page 1

Reichsbürger Raid

They are all convinced that the Federal Republic of Germany is not a legal state under international law and therefore does not exist as a State. In their view the "German Reich" (Empire as well as the Third Reich), in its former borders, continues to exist in a legally valid form, albeit currently without actual state authority.

The Reich citizens reject current democratic and constitutional structures, such as parliament, laws or courts. The aim was to storm the Bundestag, overthrow the German State, and seize power.

Such neo-fascist/right-wing extremist associations/organisations are nothing new for the Federal Republic of Germany.

The first was the 1951 "Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann", a tightly-organised neo-Nazi paramilitary group, and the most recent was the fascist "Baltic Corps", which was banned on 7th May 2021. In all, 77 such movements have been discovered and closed down over the years: without attracting much public attention.

However, such right-wing extremists and neo-fascists did not have the slightest chance of establishing themselves in East Germany, the former GDR, since the GDR identified itself as an "anti-fascist German state". It consistently suppressed even the slightest neo-fascist movement in the country. It was only after the unification

of the Federal Republic and East Germany in 1990, that right-wing extremism spilt over into the former East Germany.

After 1990, the then respective State Governments making up the Federation were repeatedly warned of the right-wing extremism that was continuing to emerge—and now across the whole of Germany. There were calls to take decisive action against it.

But, even when the right-wing extremist terrorist group NSU (National Socialist Underground) murderously swept through the country between 2000 and 2006, committing nine racially-motivated murders of people with a migration background, the Government remained rather cautious.

But, even years before that, when the right-wing populist/right-wing extremist party AfD (Alternative for Germany) was founded in Oberursel (West Germany) in 2013, politicians showed little interest and reacted rather sluggishly. Today, the right-wing populist AfD is the fifth largest party in the Bundestag with 83 seats, and it is also represented in the parliaments of all 16 Federal States.

But down the decades none of this prompted any Government in Germany to take decisive action against the right.

It is only the most recent development that made the politicians at least wake up.

2. Consequently, there is sheer panic in governing political circles that the civic middle ground is shifting towards the so-called people's parties.

There is a danger that these circles will turn away from basic democratic values and from politics: either withdrawing into private life; or, alternatively, adhering to the right-wing populists and extremist groups such as the "Reichsbürger".

After all, we Germans know that it was the bourgeois Centre of the Weimar Republic which bore the greatest responsibility for the strengthening of the Nazis.

3. Many people no longer feel that the issues which are important to them will be tackled politically, resulting in positive change. These include the Climate Crisis, as well as the Energy and Electricity Crises. Practically every day, coming out of the blue, crises emerge that had been inconceivable in the past. The latest is the crisis in Children's Hospitals, or Clinics; or the crisis in the supply of medicines and in the health sector in general—even simple cough syrups are scarce or no longer available. Officials are recommending that people help each other out with medication when they are ill—it's hard to believe.

The "fourth largest industrial nation of the world", as the Federal Government likes to describe its Germany, is not able to

house its population—the Housing Crisis in Germany is very real. According to the *Parity Poverty Report 2022*,

“poverty in Germany has reached a sad new high with a poverty rate of 16.6 percent in the second year of the pandemic (2021). 13.8 million people in this country must currently be counted among the poor: 600,000 more than before the pandemic”.

All the other crises in Germany are internal crises, made by German politicians themselves; German policy is solely responsible for them.

At the moment, the Federal Government is only trying to solve problems created by itself.

Let’s talk about the energy crisis—the impending shortage of gas has turned almost all German politics upside down.

For 40 years, Germany obtained inexpensive natural gas from Russia with no difficulty. This allowed German industry to grow and to prosper for decades with not a problem. Russia never created a shortage, or even an interruption to the supply. For the Russians, the following applied to this gas business: Deliver as ordered, and this for years to come.

(By the way: for years, Russian oil and gas was also delivered to the GDR via the so-called *Druzhba Pipeline*, for which purpose a large refinery (PCK-Schwedt) was built in Schwedt on the Oder.

Here, however, there was an ideologically-related interruption due to a NATO intervention—the so-called *Mannesmann pipe embargo* imposed by Germany, intended to prevent the export of piping to Russia. (This was “an embargo imposed on the countries of the Eastern bloc—especially the Soviet Union—which almost completely prohibited the export of large pipes for use in delivering gas and oil from 1963. The pipe embargo... implemented a decision of the NATO Council, which pursued the policy of small pinpricks during the Cold War in order to hinder the development of the Eastern bloc as much as possible... However, the completion of this and other pipeline projects was only delayed”: quoted from German *Wikipedia*.)

So, even in those days, NATO, and West Germany as well, adopted an insolent ideological stance, which continues seamlessly today, after more than 50 years!

Today, PCK-Schwedt is one of the largest crude oil processing sites in Germany. The Russian stake in PCK Schwedt (Rosneft) was recently nationalised by Germany, allegedly to prevent Russian influence.

In recent years, the Nord Stream 2 oil pipeline was built as a German-Russian project, and a few months before the pipeline was completed it was extensively destroyed by sabotage (blasting)—perpetrators unknown??!!

After the Elections to the Bundestag in December 2021, the so-called *Traffic Light Coalition* was formed, producing the current government of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Green Party and the liberal FDP were now able to govern in a coalition together with the Social Democrats.

In this coalition, the Green Party is obviously the leader.

Caught up in a green chaos ideology, and probably also endowed with a portion of Russophobia, the Green Economics Minister Robert Habeck immediately terminated the gas supply contract with Russia, shaking German industry to the core. There has already been talk of Germany’s de-industrialisation—not without reason, by the way.

Both the so-called danger of depending on Russia, and the war against Ukraine that Russia had started, had to be used as justification.

For this, Federal Minister Habeck traveled halfway around the world, but especially to the Arab world, bowed deep in the dust to murderous Arab despots, and asked them to deliver LNG to Germany—so much for Human Rights or a values-based order!

So that the self-made gas crisis does not also turn into an energy crisis (electricity), two German nuclear reactors are being restarted, and climate-destroying coal-fired power plants are being reheated—previously their shutdown was the Green Party’s highlight policy to protect the climate.

On top of all that, important elements in this German Government, failing on the domestic front, suddenly want to play the strong man in foreign policy. Within the Coalition there is a call for Germany to play a leading role in the global conflict with *authoritarian states*, which primarily means Russia and China. Thus developing Armaments and upgrading the *Bundeswehr*, is part of the Federal Government programme. There is a 100 billion Euro special fund for the military, which is to be equipped with 36 US F35 stealth fighter-bombers: so Germany’s nuclear participation is secured.

So why the Reichsbürger Raid?

This large-scale raid on citizens across the state was staged in order to conceal political failure in domestic affairs and to distract from the megalomania in foreign policy. *Look here, these raids mean that our democracy is in strong hands; we are able to defend ourselves; , nobody will endanger our state—not from within, nor from without! And our free and democratic basic order is safe!*

But hardly a soul in this country has a word to say about this Reich bogeyman!

In most of the German media, this Government official 3000-man round-up was and remains cause for ridicule.

You can’t fight right-wing radicalism and neo-Nazism like that—especially not in Germany!

Herbert Rimmel

Russia:

a rogue state?

On behalf of the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak has labelled Russia a *Rogue State*.

England/ "Great" Britain/ the "United" Kingdom, was long ago labelled "*Perfidious Albion*" by her neighbours.

She is in dispute with them today over a *Protocol* she signed quite recently. She has been and has continue to be a Warfare State with no interludes. With the possible exception of the days of the Spanish Armada, she participated in aggressive campaigns when neither her territory nor her legitimate interests were threatened.

These were not conducted in a chivalrous manner and she treated her own lower ranking servicemen with as much unnecessary cruelty as she did to her acknowledged adversaries.

She has always lied, not merely as a battle tactic to fool her enemies, a temporary ruse, but as a Strategy to dupe her own population and those of other countries until Kingdom Come.

Today the lies about Germany—spread from 1904, the year of the *Entente Cordiale*—and the secretive *Committee of Imperial Defence* are replicated in anti-Russian propaganda.

The BBC is not free to broadcast the

truth or features that would reveal facts unpalatable to British Propaganda. It has had MI6 Spooks and ex-Cabinet Secretaries on its Board of Directors.

The Foreign Office has admitted that its largest section, with some 1,300 members, was dedicated to propaganda: Including the promotion of a *coup* involving over a million murders.

The other day BBC Diplomatic Editor Mark Urban was talking about Ukraine. I remember that ex-Army Officer describing the Bloody Sunday Murders as a *Public Relations Own Goal*.

I have worked in Dublin and in London with numerous ex-combatants from various conflicts. Not one of them were braggarts.

The present British Cabinet is full of Braggarts.

Tom Tugendhat, Minister of State for Security at the Home Office, presents as a cross between Clive Barrow and Salvatore Guiliano in his Narcissism, boasting of an eight-hour gunfight against overwhelming odds.

Defence Secretary Ben Wallace is little better.

And both are anxious to take over from Sunak. Perhaps they should fight it out with Bullshit Shooters at Dawn?

Meanwhile TV has a series on the psycho-pathic founders of the SAS, written by an apparently ex-Spook commentator from *The Times*.

When the SAS stormed the Iranian Embassy in 1980, *The Times*, with unusual courage, raised an Editorial eyebrow. The SAS had performed an extra-judicial 'execution' on a disarmed prisoner. The paper has not shown such courage since.

When the SAS behaved similarly in Gibraltar, and a woman witness revealed what she had seen, she was traduced by the British Media and called a *Whore*.

The Irish Establishment has joined in the stone-throwing at Russians led by the British. It has jettisoned the rational, ethical and constructive policies pursued by de Valera at the League of Nations and by Frank Aiken at the United Nations.

It is in breach of the Constitutional requirement of promoting the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

Donal Kennedy

Paddy Heaney Memorial

The *Offaly Express* of 30th November carried a report of a commemorative plaque, in Cadamstown, Co. Offaly, to local man Paddy Heaney who died on 29th April 2022, aged 91.

The plaque reads:

**Paddy Heaney, Cadamstown,
Historian, Storyteller, Musician.**

One of Paddy's lifelong passions was the people and history of the Slieve Bloom mountains and surrounding area.

Eoghan Harris had the idea that urban Protestants are tame and complacent, while rural Protestants experienced sectarian victimisation and are now finally prepared to speak out. One of his big projects was a film called *An Tost Fada* (The Long Silence) in which a Protestant clergyman discusses killings in West Cork in 1922.

There was a limited number of such episodes which might be plausibly alleged to be manifestations of essentially Catholic bigotry driving the Republican independence movement. A few years prior to the *Tost Fada* film, Eoghan Harris publicised such a case in Coolacrease, near Cadamstown, Co. Offaly, in which he alleged two young Protestant brothers were murdered by the IRA as part of a sectarian land grab.

Harris's frantic propaganda was widely espoused and supported by media and academics. In this case, Paddy Heaney was able to provide factual information which comprehensively debunked the Harris story, leaving him and his media and academic acolytes with a large quantity of egg on their faces.

What about Harris's urban-rural theory? Protestant supremacism/Orangeism was

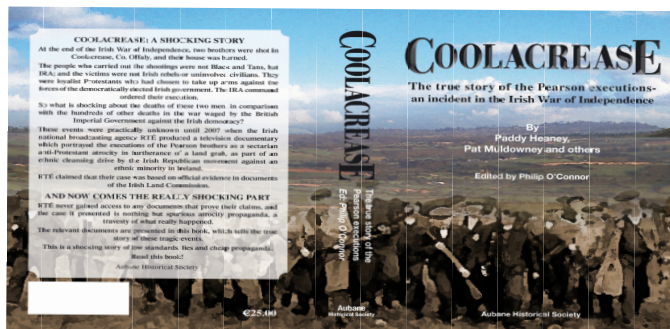
common enough in the eighteenth century. Outside Ulster it faded away once the Tithes issue (taxation of Catholics to maintain the Established Protestant Church of Ireland) was settled in the 1830's. Church Disestablishment followed in 1870.

In the twenty-six counties a certain amount of Protestant privilege continued into the twentieth century. But not enough to fuel sectarian conflict. The Catholic population had centuries' experience of pulling themselves up by their bootstraps and were not easily distracted from that effort by irrelevancies.

My own personal recollections of rural Protestant landowners, businessmen and industrialists were that they were good employers, and involved themselves in social activities such as community health services. Many (but not all) were "posh", which was a bit off-putting. But even if they wanted to, there were not enough Protestants in the community at large to enable any widespread discrimination. So, in my own rural area at least, it didn't happen to any extent that actually mattered.

Paddy Heaney's extensive local knowledge confirmed this. Eoghan Harris seems to never have got past his essentially Cork urban outlook. His hysterical propaganda has failed.

Pat Muldowney



Coolacrease. The True Story of the Pearson Executions in Co. Offaly, an Incident in the War of Independence by Paddy Heaney, Pat Muldowney, Philip O'Connor and others. 427 pp. ISBN 978-1-903497-47-0. Aubane Historical Society. 2008. €30, £25

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

Ireland's Shameful Two Years

On The UN Security Council

The Irish Department of Foreign Affairs issued the following statement to the United Nations Security Council on 20th December 2022:

“Mr President,

Ireland, like others, is seriously concerned by the ongoing obstruction of the Lachin corridor, which began on 12 December and has severe implications for the local population.

Without the free movement of people, goods, food and medical supplies through this vital corridor, the people of Nagorno-Karabakh will surely face a humanitarian crisis this winter.

As a Council, we must do everything we can to avoid this and prevent another man-made catastrophe emerging on our watch.

Ireland therefore calls on the Azerbaijani authorities to immediately and unconditionally restore freedom and security of movement along the Lachin corridor, in line with the Trilateral Statement of 9 November 2020...

Ireland supports a negotiated, comprehensive and sustainable settlement of the conflict, including on the long-term status of Nagorno-Karabakh. We maintain our full support to the international format of the OSCE Minsk Group to pursue this objective.

We strongly support the continued, active engagement of the European Union to support the sides in their important work to peacefully resolve remaining issues, including through the Brussels dialogue process.

Together with our EU partners, Ireland supports the common goal of a South Caucasus where people can live in peace, security and prosperity. I encourage all of us around this table to do the same.

Thank you.”

No Resolution was adopted by the UN Security Council.

It is obvious from both the tone and content of the statement that Ireland's Department of Foreign Affairs, along with other Western nations, knows little about the conflict in Karabakh, which is in Azerbaijan.

Some education is therefore required for our career diplomats who have been temporarily serving during 2021-22 on the lofty heights of the UN Security Council.

First of all, what exactly is this “*ongoing obstruction of the Lachin corridor*” that has been termed a “*blockade*” by Armenia?

Since 12th December a few dozen environmental activists, including representatives of non-governmental organisations and volunteers from Azerbaijan, have been holding peaceful protests on the Lachin-Shusha-Khankandi road, close to the Russian peacekeepers' temporary deployment area.

The protesters hold posters and chant slogans in Azerbaijani, Russian and English without creating any actual hindrance to traffic in both directions along the road. They demand a meeting with Russian peacekeepers' commander Andrei Volkov, along with the establishment of structures to monitor the illegal exploitation of Azerbaijan's natural resources, and the cessation of Armenia's environmental damage to Azerbaijani land.

While the Trilateral Agreement of November 2020, which ended the last Karabakh War, charged the Russians with a peace-keeping role along the Lachin Corridor, nowhere did it give any authority to prevent Azerbaijani citizens authorised by the Baku Government, such as the Environmental Ministry, from entering their zone of operations within Azerbaijan. The protesters say they are not going to leave the area until their demands are met.

The participants in the protest action are demanding an end to the use of the Lachin Road for military purposes, as well as no more looting and removal of natural resources from Azerbaijan.

During the three-decade-long occupation of Azerbaijan's Karabakh and surrounding regions, Armenia illegally looted and exploited the natural resources of the occupied territories, removing large quantities to Armenia and for sale abroad.

It should be noted that the Lachin-Shusha-Khankandi road, on which the protest takes place, is on the sovereign territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan. In the *Trilateral Declaration* it was agreed by the three parties to that Agreement (Azerbaijan, Armenia and Russia) that all sides

would agree on a plan for the construction of a new traffic route between Khankendi/Stepanakert and Armenia along the Lachin Corridor.

When the route was created, the Russian Peacekeeping Contingent would be re-deployed from the existing road to protect it. Azerbaijan, fulfilling its part of the agreement, completed this road well before the deadline.

It was also agreed that internally displaced persons and refugees would return to Karabakh and the surrounding areas under the supervision of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. So far the extensive land-mining conducted by Armenia during the occupation, and the sheer destruction of settlements and infrastructure in a “*poisoning of the wells*” policy, has greatly obstructed this process. It will probably take Azerbaijan at least four years after the ending of the 2020 War to resettle even 100,000 of the original 750,000 inhabitants and families back on their homeland.

Those who formerly lived in the Armenian-populated rump of Nagorno will probably have to wait until after the departure of the Russians, perhaps in 2025 or later.

It was also agreed that all economic and transport links in the region would be reopened. Armenia undertook to take steps to provide transport links between the Azerbaijani mainland and the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic. This would be overseen and secured by Russian border guards. It was agreed by all parties to ensure the construction of new transport communications for this purpose.

Yerevan has intransigently obstructed this process since November 2020, leading to the building of frustration in Azerbaijan. The frustration has boiled up into a number of serious border clashes over the last few months that have led to the deaths of hundreds of soldiers on both sides.

Undoubtedly the protests on the Lachin road are just one manifestation of this growing frustration in Azerbaijan.

With regard to the environmental issue, the Azerbaijanis are protesting at the preventing of ecological monitoring in the Gyzybulag gold and Demirli copper - molybdenum mines and other places on sovereign Azerbaijani territory.

The demand is that Baku should be able to exercise its sovereign rights in the form of assessing the damage caused to the environment by illegal mining and have full access to the territory under

temporary Russian control for related monitoring purposes.

They are also demanding the monitoring of the inflow of military equipment and the outflow of plundered precious metals, including the installing of customs and border checkpoints at the entrance to the new Lachin Corridor, ensuring that movement is, therefore, properly controlled by State authorities.

According to Article 6 of the 10 November 2020 Trilateral Declaration, it is the Republic of Azerbaijan that

“shall guarantee the safety of citizens, vehicles, and goods travelling along the Lachin Corridor in both directions”

with the route itself remaining under the control of the Russian ‘peacekeeping’ contingent.

Moscow views its duties as limited to the protection of the road, without the carrying out any checks on materials passing along it.

Far from being a “*blockade*”, vehicles carrying humanitarian cargo, passengers, as well as ambulances and other humanitarian vehicles are not obstructed and can move freely past the demonstration. Protestors are not interfering with the movement of other civilian vehicles.

A hotline was created by the Azerbaijani NGOs to promptly resolve any access problems of residents of Armenian origin living in the Karabakh region. There are, therefore, little grounds for allegations that residents of Armenian origin are allegedly under any kind of “*blockade*”. What is taking place is the normal exercise of legitimate political protest, as seen everyday on the streets of the UK and other Western countries.

The Armenians have resorted to the usual hysteria of “*humanitarian catastrophe*” and “*genocide*”: the sort of allegations that they routinely trot out against “*Turks*” to push the right buttons among Western humanitarians. Armenian *diaspora* organisations are calling for a “*Berlin-style airlift*” by the West in an attempt to bring about a serious conflict between Washington and Moscow or Baku. This is all part of the objective of “*internationalising*” the Karabakh conflict, in order to reverse the result of the recent War, which ended the three-decade long Armenian occupation of nearly 20 per cent of Azerbaijan’s sovereign territory.

Despite passing four Resolutions in 1993 condemning Armenia’s occupation of Azerbaijan’s territory, the UN Security

Council, as the main body responsible for protecting peace and security in the world, effectively turned a blind eye to—

the occupation of Azerbaijani land by Armenia for 30 years, the policy of ethnic cleansing, the Khojaly massacre of over 600 in a day, the expulsion of 750,000 Azerbaijanis from Karabakh and surrounding regions, the deliberate destruction and looting of the cultural heritage of Azerbaijan, and the policy of illegal settlement.

In the Department of Foreign Affairs Statement to the UN Security Council it is said that:

“Ireland supports a negotiated, comprehensive and sustainable settlement of the conflict, including on the long-term status of Nagorno-Karabakh. We maintain our full support to the international format of the OSCE Minsk Group to pursue this objective.”

Ireland seems not to have noticed that the entity known as the “*Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast*”, created by Lenin and Stalin in the early 1920s, no longer exists!

“*Nagorno Karabakh*” was a Soviet construction aimed at solving the national problem between Armenians and Azerbaijanis within the Socialist context of the USSR. Its resurrection from the dead in a world of capitalist nation-states is wholly inappropriate.

The Armenians, by forcing two wars over the territory in a generation, have emphasised the failure of the Socialist project of autonomous development, quite apart from the fact of the demise of the USSR. There is no going back to a construct that regenerates national antagonism, irredentism and war on a continual and generational basis. Its place on the map is over.

Karabakh has only one status—its internationally-recognised status as part of the sovereign territory of Azerbaijan. That is a status recognised by practically every state in the world, including Armenia, and the United Nations. Any future internal arrangements that facilitate the incorporation of the Karabakh Armenian population are a matter entirely for the Republic of Azerbaijan, of which this small population of less than 100,000, in a total population of over 10 million, forms a part.

Ireland also ridiculously reaffirms its commitment to the *OSCE Minsk Group*, with its US/France/Russia Chairs, as the

major instrument of peace between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Is it comprehensible that such an alignment could promote peace in the South Caucasus whilst waging war against each other in Ukraine?

After all, Minsk OSCE failed in the nearly three decades of peace that existed between the West and Russian Federation. So how could it be expected to succeed under present circumstances or in the future?

The Minsk Group was a major cause of the Karabakh War of 2020 in that, in 28 years of diplomatic effort, not one kilometre of occupied territory was returned to Azerbaijan. In the end military action had to be applied to the situation to achieve what international law recognised but which diplomacy failed to achieve. But Ireland insists on “*flogging the dead horse*” of the failed Minsk Group!

In conclusion, the present writer does not ascribe Ireland’s proclivity, among others, to bolster Armenian disinformation and propaganda to any inherent hostility to Azerbaijan or Turkiye. The attitude of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs is simply part of the general ignorance of the West, which makes it prone to swallowing the Armenian narrative to the extent of negating its own commitment to International Law and the very Resolutions of the United Nations Security Council it presumably supports.

Pat Walsh

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Some Belfast Recollections!

I am old enough to remember life without the NHS. I was 16 years old before it was brought in. When I was 4 years old in 1936, living in Belfast, back then tonsils were removed by surgery (antibiotics does the job today). I remember the operating theatre of the Hospital for Sick Children, the red rubber mask being put over my mouth.

What I remember most was the Hospital Almoner asking my mother how she was going to pay for this operation.

This was during mass unemployment. When she didn't have the full money, she was told to put something in the Poor Box. Sixpence was all she had, but she put it in the Poor Box. That could have bought half a dozen eggs or six herrings.

All you heard was people complaining about their health. Women could have varicose veins all their lives, children were dying from various illness, and quite a lot of that was the fault of hospitals saying their illnesses were too severe and would cost too much to treat. Men hobbled around from leg and knee injuries.

People generally had an unhealthy pallor and looked wan. Coughing and spitting in the street was common. Everywhere you looked there were signs on walls against spitting and warning of a £5 penalty. The signs were also in trams and buses.

In the countryside to visit a doctor cost 10 shillings, which was the average weekly rent. Visiting meant the bus fare on top of that for a long journey to the nearest town. It wasn't unusual for the person going to the same destination, behind you in the bus, to be suddenly vomit. Ambulances were for people who were terminally ill.

It was impossible to pay for dentistry, so, there were a great number of people with missing or rotten teeth. At my elementary school a dentist and his assistant suddenly visited to our surprise. The drill was operated by foot peddle and situated at the back of the classroom. You were told not to look around or you would have more than a toothache.

Drilling for a filling was very painful. It was done without anaesthetic. As was the pulling of teeth.

The whole day it was the sound of the drill whirring, and the screaming of young children.

At least it was free!

It was WW2 and children were being-

made fit for war, when they grew up.

Then the optician came round to test eyes at the school. But that meant you had to go to an optician in Belfast, the tester's business if you needed glasses, and you had to pay for that.

My father suspected that too many children were being recommended for glasses. He decided I had to opt out of the scheme. He was right, I didn't need glasses until I was near 50 years old!

Most of the parents of the pupils didn't have the money, which was probably good for the majority of the children.

Being made fit a possibly long world war wouldn't encroach on the profits of the optician. I was never to trust opticians after that!

When the NHS came in 1948 the Unionist government was against it. It seemed that people needed to be tough, and handouts wasn't good in forming the Ulster character of the up and coming generations. The British socialist Government forced it on them.

What a relief to have free modern dentistry and free glasses, if required, free hospital treatment and free GPs.

Wilson John Haire

A Federal EU ?

There appears to be growing social unrest in Germany, based on an awareness of the prospects facing the country as a result of its sanctions policies, with There appears to be growing social unrest in Germany, based on an awareness of the prospects facing the country as a result of its sanctions policies, with barracking of politicians on occasion. This will eventually manifest in a political as well as economic dissent from the route the EU has chosen—a route that its present leaders have ensured will result in a test of strength between the idea of the EU versus the reality of national interests.

The seminal point of that test will arrive when the decision comes for Germany to actually, rather than theoretically, redirect its available energy capacity to other EU states under the energy-sharing arrangement.

The behaviour of the EU visionaries and their *apparatchiks* reveals that they see the Ukrainian Crisis as an opportunity for forging a federal identity for the EU. They possibly adopted this viewpoint in 2014: which would explain their agreement to be “fucked” by the US at that time (to use Victoria Nuland’s memorable term). The realisation that the US was determined to use Ukraine to de-stabilise Russia presented them with a gift horse that they just couldn’t resist.

This awareness, combined with an understanding that Europe—composed as it was of many Eastern European states whose body politic was saturated with anti-Russian sentiment—led to the inevitable conclusion that the EU was incapable of standing up

to the US. Seeing the writing on the wall as an opportunity for forging a common European identity in the fight with the common Russian enemy, the EU visionaries grasped it with both hands. Then—when the Sanctions began to show signs of back-firing—like all visionaries, rather than change course, they doubled down in the belief that a shared European adversity would produce the same shared European identity outcome that was their goal.

This politically ignorant position was reinforced in the meantime by the arrival in the German Government of the Greens ideologues. The Greens, pursuing their own agenda, which at least had the underlying attraction in the call for social responsibility—albeit one that itself came from a supra-national perspective—provided the EU visionaries with a political position that could claim a wider relevance than the aim for a Federal Europe.

As far as I can see, what we are now witnessing is a kind of coalition between the EU visionaries and the Green ideologues determined, each for their own reasons, to prevent a resolution of the Ukrainian Crisis for as long as possible. This makes them very useful to the US/UK as the most effective political obstacle to any emerging national sentiment among the EU states—a sentiment that will inevitably grow as the repercussions of the Sanctions policies begin to bite in earnest. In that sense, the EU, the Greens, NATO, and the US/UK have gambled everything on the outcome

of the Ukrainian Crisis.

This is a very dangerous position and it seems to me that the only hope for the planet will be if national sentiment begins to assert itself in Europe in ways that effectively break that coalition of the visionaries, the ideologues, and the believers in manifest destiny.

It should be added that there are also significant implications for Ireland in the event of a damaged EU emerging from America's proxy war on Russia. These implications are not lost on Britain, even though it appears that little thought is currently being devoted to them in Ireland.

The loss of the EU as the mainstay of

Ireland's capacity to see beyond the large island that physically and economically stands between itself and Europe will inevitably create a re-focus that will generate the conditions for a renaissance of the revisionist agenda.

Britain's attitude to the Protocol is likely to see a re-emergence of a land border in Ireland as a necessary boundary between the EU and Britain. That border will remain relevant and necessary for as long as both entities remain on their present footing. The question is, which of these entities is likely to suffer most and lose their footing as a result of the continuation of America's war on Russia?

In all likelihood, any retreat into a European arrangement that is based on narrower national interests will weaken the EU entity as a counter-ballast to British influence on Ireland. Britain, on the other hand, is likely to emerge as a less damaged entity. While disrupting Ireland's relationship with the EU is obviously not the main object of Britain's policy on Ukraine, I'm sure it's something that Whitehall is aware of and planning for.

Ireland's slavish compliance with a US/UK policy that is designed to lead to significant damage to the EU is short-sighted and the hostile official Irish reaction to Sabrina Higgins' recent letter calling for peace talks to end the Ukrainian conflict is indicative of the extent to which Irish politics has been denuded of any sense of where Irish national interests actually lie.

Another Swipe At De Valera!

The *Decade of Centenaries* will end this year but certain aspects will continue, and one of these is regular 'swipes' at de Valera, with examples of his alleged malevolence. And of course every political tendency will acquiesce in this: including the party he founded, Fianna Fail.

Professor Colum Kenny joined this chorus in a letter to the *Irish Times* about the unrelated, esoteric issue of whether Northern Ireland was ever part of the Free State. He could not resist making a 'swipe' saying that:

"Months before the talks in London that he refused to attend personally, he then said that any county in Northern Ireland should have the right to vote itself out of an Irish state.

De Valera's astonishing statement received little attention because it was made at a private session, although it dismayed some republicans. It suited many later to ignore it. Part of the noble Dev myth would soon be that the Treaty was responsible for permanent partition and that the Civil War was an attempt to reverse that tragedy" (2.1.23).

The Professor does not tell us the half of it!

What de Valera actually said was:

"I cannot accept office except on the understanding that no road is barred, that we shall be free to consider every method. For example, the question of voting out of counties or provinces. That would be a way, if that came up, a way in which a certain result could be obtained. I would be ready to consider that. We should be able to give our reasons. If we are not

able to stand on these proposals by the reasons we give, then turn us out" (Dáil, Private Session, 23rd August 1921).

He said this before the Plenipotentiaries were appointed, in order to make his position clear. And that was, not only could it be considered that Counties could vote themselves out of Independent Ireland, but Provinces also: and that meant one —Ulster.

This did indeed dismay some Republicans, and a typical response was from the great colleague of Collins—later a great Treaty supporter, leading Free Stater, leading Fascist and first President of Fine Gael—Eoin O'Duffy:

"Deputy O'Duffy stated that he did not agree with the statement made that Ulster wished to be left alone. England said so, but as far as they in Ulster were concerned they thought force should be used against Ulster. There were sufficient Volunteers in Belfast to hold it for Ireland. The Ulster people had very little force themselves if unaided by British armed forces. So far as Ulster was concerned they could not meet them by concession. He had dealt with them by force in Monaghan, Fermanagh and Tyrone, and these people were now silent. There was no Ulster question as far as Ulster was concerned. They realised they could not exist without the rest of Ireland..." (Dáil, 22.8.1921).

These were two very contrasting views on how to deal with the Ulster issue and readers can judge for themselves which was the most realistic and which was likely to exacerbate the situation in Ulster.

Why such differing views, likely to produce such divergent consequences?

De Valera's Vice-President of Sinn Féin was Fr. Michael O'Flanagan, a two nationist: and no doubt de Valera took note of his views.

De Valera would no doubt also recall that the Irish Republican Brotherhood and Connolly ordered that there be no Rising in Ulster, as they knew very well that it would be a very different war there to the one they planned.

De Valera was raised in an *All for Ireland* family, which meant an awareness of the three Cs approach to Ulster Unionists—*Confidence, Conciliation and Consent*.

O'Duffy came from the Redmondite tradition and his views articulated it exactly.

The Professor's attitude is the simple-minded one of: why in the world did de Valera have a problem with the Treaty if he could accept Counties and Ulster opting out of the Republic?

The reason is that there was something even more important than WHAT was agreed with the British, and that was: HOW was it agreed.

And the most crucial thing of all was Cabinet unity on whatever was agreed.

He foresaw plenty problems and serious differences and saw the absolute need to prepare for this and be ready to deal with it.

He did not see it as being as simple and easy as O'Duffy and his supporters. Nobody else was making such preparations:

"It is obvious that whenever there are negotiations, unless you are able to dictate terms you will have differences. Therefore it is obvious you will have sharp differences. The policy of the Ministry (the Cabinet, JL) will be that which they consider would be best for the country. The Ministry itself may not be able to agree and in such a case the majority would rule. Those who would disagree with me would resign. But I am looking at the worst possible thing that could happen, that if the plenipotentiaries go to negotiate a treaty or a peace, seeing that we are not in the position that we can dictate the terms, we will, therefore, have proposals brought back which cannot satisfy everybody, and will not, and my position is that when such a time comes I will be in a position, having discussed the matter with the Cabinet, to come forward with such proposals as we think

wise and right. It will be then for you either to accept the recommendations of the Ministry or reject them. If you reject them you then elect a new Ministry. You would then be creating a definite active opposition.

I anticipate there will be differences of opinion in that case and I anticipate there is a possibility of non-agreement. Therefore I want you to understand I have not my mind made up as to anything. I have kept my mind in a fluid state as long as I am in a responsible position to the country and it is only on that basis that I can accept office" (23 August 1921).

Could anything be made clearer by a Head of State, who was about to take on "the masters of the Universe"?

For the life of me I cannot see anything malevolent, Machiavellian, cowardly, and vain or any of the multitude of negative epithets ascribed to de Valera's behaviour.

Jack Lane

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Article by **Song Luzheng**, *China Daily Asia*

Ukraine: *Victim Of Western Falsehoods*

The "*largest war*" in Europe after World War II—as described by the West led by the United States—seems to be continuing amid the constant flow of arms to Ukraine from Western countries, especially the US.

More people now realise the Russian/Ukraine conflict has been the inevitable product of the Western-dominated international order as well as anti-Russia manoeuvres by the US.

To begin with, from the perspective of the geographic regions, this is an internal war of Europe. No matter how one interprets European civilisation, one thing is indisputable: Europe is a region within which wars broke out very frequently in the course of human history. Even after paying an immense price, the continent is yet to resolve the issue of war and peace.

From the view of civilisation, it is an internal war of the white Christian world, rather than a war between different civilisations and races. From this viewpoint, the paradigm of a "*clash of civilisations*"—that was raised by American political scientist Samuel Huntington—is wrong.

What truly threatens world peace is not the conflict between and among different civilisations, but an internal war of the white Christian world.

The history of Christianity shows that it lacks tolerance, which is demonstrated not only through its atrocities against so-called heretics, but also through the in-fighting between and among the different sects within a religion.

The most serious religious war in Europe was between Protestantism and Catholicism. Lying behind today's Russo-Ukrainian conflict is Orthodoxy and Catholicism.

Third, no matter how the Western civilisation evolves, the contemporary world is still a jungle society that lacks justice. Even in the case of a powerful country like Russia, it has been repeatedly humiliated and suppressed by the West.

In its nature, the action launched by Russia counts as the reckoning of all the acts of the West after the Cold War.

The West attacks Russia by claiming that it has violated the UN Charter. Nonetheless, not long ago, the West just did everything that Russia has done. In just one example, it rushed to recognise the independence of breakaway republics which led to the dismemberment of Yugoslavia.

It is just that the West has the means to speak louder. For example, in 2019, Ukraine introduced a law "*on ensuring the functioning of Ukrainian as the state language*", which stipulates that all local self-governing bodies must use Ukrainian rather than Russian. If this kind of thing had happened in China, the label of "*cultural extinction*" would have been posted long ago. But the West has said nothing to Ukraine.

Fourth, under the current international system, a country's security serves as its highest national interest and strategy, but pursuit of security by Western countries often is a zero-sum game. The eastward

expansion of NATO maximises its own interest—which resulted in Russia, for the sake of its own security, choosing to send troops to Ukraine.

Looking back at history, a world dominated by the West can neither eliminate wars, nor bring long-lasting peace. Instead, the East Asian order led by China can achieve sustainable peace.

The Chinese civilisation lays stress on stability and harmony with diversity, which requires peace and order.

No doubt the lessons of Ukraine are thought-provoking.

First, it did not focus on economy and people's livelihood. When the Soviet Union collapsed, Ukraine, then the second largest state in Europe, was filled with hopes for the future.

What none could have imagined, however, was that after its democratisation, Ukraine's economy had a disastrous performance, and its people's living standards plummeted.

Second, the Ukrainian political elite has not been able to comprehend the West's stand, and thought it can really join the European Union or NATO, failing to understand that Ukraine will hardly ever be able to meet the conditions—it is required to complete draconian reforms to adapt to more than 200 EU directives and nearly 150 rules.

In 2013, the Ukrainian Parliament overruled some Bills that were aimed to help meet the EU's demands, due to their high economic cost. This triggered massive protests and the then Government of former president Viktor Yanukovich was toppled, directly leading to the Crimea incident.

The West, led by the US, only uses Ukraine as a tool to deal with Russia, and it is in the interest of the West to let Russia consume its energy on Ukraine.

Third, there is the bitter price of "democratisation". Ukraine's political system was established overnight by transplanting the so-called democratic system of the West.

From the point of view of geopolitics, Ukraine is sandwiched between Russia and the West. Each side fully penetrates through Ukraine's system, supporting its own political forces that align with their wish. This is why after democratisation Ukraine began to see continuous "colour revolutions".

Ukraine's internal contradictions today appear indissoluble, and its external gaming is also a zero-sum game. Sadly, Western democracy has magnified these two factors to the maximum.

The author is a Chinese political scientist based in France and a researcher at the China Institute, Fudan University in Shanghai. (7.5.22.)

Some bizarre aspects Of President Biden's Draft Budget

The mammoth package funds a 'Ukrainian Independence Park' and expressly forbids border officers from securing the border

Within the 4,155 pages of the US Congress' latest spending bill are funding boosts for almost every Government department, a \$47 billion windfall for Ukraine, \$70 million to salmon, a 'Michelle Obama Trail', and pandemic "surveillance".

North Carolina Republican Dan Bishop condemned the bill's "egregious" provisions.

Unveiled by Senate leaders... the \$1.7 trillion package would fund the Federal Government through September 2023. With a vote due, Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer and Minority Leader Mitch McConnell have called for bipartisan unity in passing it, with both citing the provision of more economic and military aid to Ukraine as a vital priority.

In the House of Representatives, however, Republicans have threatened to obstruct the policy priorities of any Republican senator who backs the legislation, once the GOP retakes control of the lower chamber in January.

The mammoth proposal increases funding for 19 Government Departments, according to analysis from the American Action Forum. The Pentagon is set to be the biggest beneficiary of congressional largesse, receiving a \$69 billion funding boost to bring its 2023 budget to a record \$797 billion.

Poring through the bill, Republican Dan Bishop noticed some particularly bizarre provisions.

While US Customs and Border Protection will be allowed to acquire drones and other new "technology and capabilities," it cannot use these tools "to acquire, maintain, or extend border security".

However, the Bill allocates \$410 million toward securing the borders of Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt, Tunisia and Oman. Other foreign spending includes funding for an online-only 'University of Afghanistan', \$23 million for "democracy programs" in Bangladesh, and an unspecified bounty for "gender programs in Pakistan".

Back in the US, the Bill sets aside more than half a billion dollars for a subdivision of the National Institutes of Health focused on "structural racism," \$335 million to prepare vaccines and "surveillance tools" for a future "influenza pandemic," and more than \$575 million to promote family planning in areas where "biodiversity" is threatened by population growth.

A share of the \$2.6 billion in funding for US Attorneys will be set aside specifically to prosecute the Trump supporters who took part in the January 6, 2021 protest on Capitol Hill, while \$7.5 million will be allocated to "developing a better understanding of the domestic radicalization problem," which President Joe Biden has already equated with support for Donald Trump.

Additionally, Washington DC will get a 'Ukrainian Independence Park' and monuments to journalists, Georgia will get a \$3.6 million 'Michelle Obama Trail,' and outgoing House Speaker Nancy Pelosi will get a federal building in San Francisco named in her honor.

The US salmon population is also set to benefit from the bill, with \$65 million allocated to restore Pacific salmon populations and \$5 million to study the impact of construction on the fish. The draft also calls for the establishment of an 'Alaska Salmon Research Task Force.'

RT: 21.12.2022

Contributed by Jack Lane

Readers are invited
to send in their Trade Union news

Organised Labour!

Workers could have their wages taxed at 40% to pay for a new Universal Basic Income under proposals examined in a report today (Irish Independent, 20.12.2022).

Research by the *Economic & Social Research Institute* (ESRI) reveals that rolling out a payment worth €1,200 a month per person, regardless of their income, would cost almost €50bn.

The report says a Universal Basic Income would be an unconditional payment that is made regularly to everyone over 18 and would be “*sufficient to live on*”. It would not be means-tested and people would not have to work to get it.

The report says recent policy proposals to afford such a scheme would mean replacing the lower 20% rate of tax with the higher 40% rate.

To put this in context, it says, total spending on all Social Welfare programmes in 2019 was €20.9bn.

“*Regardless of the type of universal basic income you’re thinking about, it would be very costly and require profound changes to taxes and the welfare system*”, said Dr Paul Redmond, senior research officer at the ESRI and one of the report’s authors.

He said the concept receives a lot of attention in public debate but very little is known about the impact of such a policy.

* ** *

Employers who refuse to engage with unions may face penalties under new proposals (Irish Times, October 4, 2022)

The Government is expected to approve a report by the High-Level Group on Collective Bargaining, which was set up by Tánaiste Leo Varadkar last year.

It is understood that it recommends a new “*good faith*” proposal that means non-Union employers must engage with Unions, even if they do not recognise them when it comes to workplace bargaining.

Unions will be able to enter talks on

behalf of workers where they represent at least 10% of them in a single grade or category in a workplace, under the proposals.

Where the employer refuses to engage and ignores a Labour Court decision on this, a Union can seek a Circuit Court Order for implementation against the employer.

Sources said the penalties are not specified in the report, but will be in legislation when it is finalised. They could include fines.

The recommendations are seen as a landmark change for industrial relations in workplaces across the country.

It may impact employers like *Amazon*, which is opening its first fulfilment centre in Dublin. A company spokesperson said in August that it does not think Unions “are the best answer for our employees”.

Mr. Varadkar set up the high-level group last year under the Labour/Employer Economic Forum to review collective bargaining and the industrial relations landscape.

It is chaired by Professor Michael Doherty of Maynooth University, and members include Maeve McElwee of IBEC and Patricia King, former General Secretary of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

The recommendations are set to form the basis for legislative amendments.

The wording of the draft EU Directive means Member States in which collective bargaining coverage is less than 70pc are required to take measures to promote it. This includes drawing up an action plan to promote collective bargaining.

About a third of Irish workers are covered by collective bargaining.

Sources said another recommendation by the group relates to reforming a

bargaining mechanism for some sectors, known as Joint Labour Committees. The Committees set statutory minimum pay and conditions for workers through agreement.

Unions sources said thousands of workers would benefit from better pay and terms and conditions following implementation of the recommendations.

They said employers will be required to engage with Unions and the measures would strengthen and broaden collective bargaining coverage across many sectors.

Sources said it would align the country’s industrial relations procedures with other EU states.

Ministers are to sign off on an 80 cent increase to the minimum wage, bringing it to €11.30 per hour from January 2023 (Irish Examiner, 13.9.2022).

Tánaiste Leo Varadkar is also expected to recommend that the Living Wage, which is not mandatory, be set at €13.10 for next year, when Cabinet meet tomorrow morning.

Railroad workers have expressed dismay at President Joe Biden’s proposed solution to a looming Strike that threatens to derail the US economy, a solution which they say belies his image as the most pro-Union President in generations (*The Guardian*, 1.12.2022).

As a 9th December 2022 deadline looms for the long-running labour dispute between the largest US railway companies and their Unions, Biden has called on Congress to intervene and block a strike that could cost the US economy about \$2bn a day by some estimates.

“*Joe Biden blew it*”, said Hugh Sawyer, Treasurer of Railroad Workers United, a group representing workers from a variety of rail unions and carriers, continuing:

“He had the opportunity to prove his labor-friendly pedigree to millions of workers by simply asking Congress for legislation to end the threat of a national strike on terms more favorable to workers. Sadly, he could not bring himself to advocate for a lousy handful of sick days. The Democrats and Republicans are both pawns of big business and the corporations.”

DAIL continued

an ambassador in Washington, permission was also sought specifically for the initiation of diplomatic links with the first country mentioned on the general list of broadly sympathetic nations 'Russia,' or as the formal Dail motion rightly worded it at the time 'the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.'

"The complex story of Irish-Soviet relations since that date in June, 1920, should not allow us to overlook that historical decision. Or to forget the fact that the Soviets were in fact the first foreign power thus approached, who actually recognised

the Irish Republic declared by the Dail in defiance of Britain.'" (Nollaig O Gadhra, Cork Examiner, 7.4.1989)

COLIVET, Michael Patrick (1884-1955) T.D. Limerick City 1918-21. S.F.

Spoke and voted against the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Said that he described himself, and was elected, as a Republican and would never willingly become a member of the British Empire. Hoped that the Treaty could be put to the country without creating a split in Sinn Fein. One of a group of Republicans who decided at a meeting with IRA council to end Civil War hostilities.

Manager, Shannon Foundry, Limerick. (Anthony White, *Irish Parliamentarians: Deputies and Senators-1918-2018*, IPAM 2018)

FAHY, Francis Patrick (Prionsias O Fathaigh) (1879-1953). S.F./F.F.

Elected Dail member 1918-1932. Ceann Comhairle 1932-51. Fought in Four Courts 1916. Interned. Adopted moderate position on Treaty and attempted on behalf of Gaelic League Peace Committee, to organise a truce in Civil War in December, 1922. Teacher and Barrister. (ibid.)

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Brain-Washing?

... Ukrainians have been zombified for only 30 years (admittedly the Galician far west for 400 years), but Western Europe has suffered a full thousand years of zombification, first under the pyramid-scheme and racketeering of feudalism ('give us your cattle, corn and coins, or else we'll send in the knights from the castle'), today under neo-feudalism ('pay your taxes and shut your mouths, or else we'll cut you off from your bank card and deprive you of everything that makes your life worth living').

Dezombifying Western people? Well, if you can drive a wedge between the people and the elite, you have begun. But the whole problem of the Western mentality is one of the self-flattery of infallibility. It began 950 years ago, as the Western Pope was declared infallible, then it trickled down to all Catholic clergy, but since then the Reformation democratised infallibility to Western men, then in the last hundred years to Western women, and in the last fifty years to all who accept the Western mentality, regardless of their sex, race, creed and, as they say now, 'sexual orientation'. This is the foundation of the totalitarian 'liberalism' of Secular Humanism: *'The West is Best and therefore so am I'*.

Flatter yourselves in your delusions, if you want. It won't last. The end-game is on the horizon.

The Saker

The Ukraine war is unusual in the attempt to enforce wartime levels of unanimity of narrative on the population, in western countries which are not only not combatants in the war, but not even formally allied to Ukraine. The United States was a party to the Vietnam War, but it was still possible for Americans to criticise that war without having all media access banned. Today you cannot criticise Ukraine in the state or corporate media at all, and your social media access is likely to be severely restricted unless you follow the official propaganda narrative.

This is the Establishment's strongest method of control – the labeling of opposing opinion as "misinformation" or "disinformation", even when there is no genuine evidential base that makes the official "facts" unassailable, as with Douma or the Skripals. To ask questions is stigmatised as traitorous and entirely illegitimate, while official journalists simply regurgitate government "information".

Yet, despite this interwoven system of dampening all dissent from the neoliberal agenda, the Establishment remains terrified of the public reaction to the crisis that is about to hit.

Craig Murray

<https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2022/08/the-great-clutching-at-pearls/>

A Debate!

Watched a discussion amongst politicians, consisting of a Chinese, a Japanese, and an American, put out by Al Jazeera.

The American was as usual belligerent and full of entitlement, the Japanese was being towed behind him, and the Chinese turned out to have the most independent mind of all. It was communism at its best with some harsh truisms for the other two.

The American was ranting on about democracy, at which the Chinese reminded him of US Imperialism over the years and pointed out that the US had so many military bases in so many countries. The Japanese, in kow-towing towards America, was made to look like a browbeaten teenager as he tried to justify the US bases in his country and explaining that this was approved of by the Japanese people.

The Chinese reminded him that the US invaded Japan during WW2 and never left, also pointed out that the Japanese masses didn't approve of US bases in their country, adding that the US push for Japan to acquire nuclear weapons – by a country that dropped them on Japan – was yet another disaster for the Japanese people.

The panel was also reminded that the Chinese economy was once on the level of Japan's, while now it is 350 times that of Japan. China was also, a free, independent, country unlike Japan.

He put out facts that the American tried to dispute, but could only fall back into aggressive insults and fantasy.

The Chinese spoke very good clear English and kept his facts simple, making the American a liar and the Japanese a frightened client of the US.

Wilson John Haire



Ireland/Russia 1920

"It was becoming increasingly difficult for the members of Dail Eireann to meet. A secret session of Dail Eireann met on June 29, 1920. Forty-six deputies were present—nearly all of them persons for whom the police were actively searching" (Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, Corgi Books-1968. Originally published in Great Britain by Victor Gollancz Ltd. 1937; *Irish Press* edition published 1951).

After agreeing to a proposal by Arthur Griffith, Acting President, he moved:

"That the President [Eamon de Valera] be empowered to expend a sum not exceeding \$1,000,000 to obtain the recognition of the Irish Republic by the Government of the United States."

"The Dail carried this motion and another moved by Arthur Griffith authorising the President to appoint consuls and diplomatic agents to several countries, and to despatch a diplomatic mission to the Government of the Russian Socialist Soviet Federal Republic with a view to establishing diplomatic relations with that Government." (Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, Corgi Books, 1968.)

". . . the Bolsheviks, who had come to power in October, 1917, were the first to accord international recognition to the struggling Irish Republic that had been declared—and at a time when, in the context of the Versailles Conference, the de Valera led administration greatly valued international recognition of any type." (Nollaig O'Gadhra, *Cork Examiner*, 7.4.1989)

"Thus, at a private session of Dail Eireann, on June 29, 1920, the Acting

President, Arthur Griffith, proposed 'That the President [Eamon de Valera] be authorised to appoint Consuls and Diplomatic Agents to the following countries: Russia, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland and that he also be empowered to appoint one Director in each of the following cities in the United States, namely: Chicago, New Orleans, San Francisco and Boston, to organise and direct Irish opinion in these centres. That the names of a number of persons suitable for these posts be supplied to the President by the Ministry and that the agents be selected by the President from amongst the persons so nominated.'" (Nollaig O'Gadhra, *Cork Examiner*, 7.4.1989)

"The proposal was seconded by Cathal Brugha, Minister for Defence."

"Deputy M. P. Colivet (Limerick City) wanted to know however why none of the new Republics were included in the resolution. Griffith replied they would not confine Irish diplomatic efforts to the older established states and Brugha said it would be well to amend the resolution to enable Consuls to be sent to places

other than those specifically mentioned in the motion.

"Deputy Colivet stated he had in mind India and Egypt—then both parts of the British Empire of course, but containing a large number of people who were sympathetic to the Irish Republican cause.

"Griffith, Acting President, then proposed that the words "and other" be inserted in the motion, after the word "following." Defence Minister Brugha seconded. The motion as amended, was then put and carried by the Dail.

"It now began 'That the President be authorised to appoint Consuls and Diplomatic agents to the following and other countries.' And top of the list of countries specifically mentioned, again? 'Russia, France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, Denmark and Switzerland . . .'

"The Acting President [Arthur Griffith] then moved 'That the Ministry be empowered to appoint an Ambassador to Washington in the United States of America.'

"Mr. Griffith then, immediately after that moved: 'That the Ministry be authorised to dispatch a Diplomatic Mission to the Government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with a view to establishing diplomatic relations with that government.'

"This motion was seconded by Prionsias O'Fathaigh (Galway South), put and carried.

"Thus, while it is clear that there were, of course, special circumstances concerning the Dail's relations with the Irish community in the United States, it is interesting to note that on the very same day it was decided to try and establish

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