

CONDITIONS OF PEACE

Dublin (ROI), 10/03/2020
Tommy O'Kelly (73) & Brian (73)
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Transcription: Dorone Paris

Dorone: So, maybe first of all we just have to get your consent to use this recording. This project has two stages. First of all your recordings are going to be transcribed and used by the artists in the group to create different artworks in connection to it, and then it's going to go into an archive in about a year to collect all these testimonies in one place. So do you agree?

Brian: Oh, yes.

Tommy: No problem.

D: So, perhaps state your name and your age and bit about your education.

T: Well we're both 73. We're the same age. Near enough. He's much older — 3 months. Both reared in the same place, same background — working backgrounds. You're part of the furniture here, so what else is there today?

B: Education — where did you grow up?

T: We both grew up in Doneycarney — local schools.

B: Well you went to Doneycarney, I went to Marino.

T: Oh, yeah, well, I meant they're still local schools — basically the same place — technical schools.

B: I finished in technical school — I didn't go on after that.

T: I went into marine engineering and engineering.

T: We both went into the reserves at the same time.

B: Around the same time, yeah.

T: 1964. And then, you served longer in the regulars, didn't you?

B: I done 3 years with the regular army during eh, 1976–79.

T: See, when the IRA ran amok, well, both sides ran amok — the North's and the Brits. They were running around shooting each other. The country was in a bit of a crisis so they brought in the reserves at the same rank as sergeant. We were both sergeants — and we were inveigled into the army. So I did from 75 to 77. I think you did longer, but in that time, we did all the security on the railways and the bridges and the central power station — all that stuff but — what was I going to say other than that?

B: Other than that we also done it during the weekends we took over the security installations as in power stations, water stations, pumping stations.

B: Anything important to the state. Our main one we had was the one in Finglas.

T: The biggest station was in Finglas and is still there.

B: Because at that time if that was hit, they decided that would have knocked out Dublin airport, because that was the main route

T: So the army had a big presence there all the time.

B: So they had a 24 hour armed guard on it.

Noa: So the IRA bombed it?

T + B: No it wasn't the IRA — it was the UDA — the Northern Crowd.

If they came down to knock it as they had been doing different places up around the North as far as we know. If they hit that they would have destroyed the power into the airport.

There was never a problem with the IRA in the republic because you don't bite the hand that feeds you — you know the old story.

The difficulty here was for instance — the largest amount of death in the Republic was with the connivings of the British and the UVF — the Ulster volunteers they set off bombs in Dublin and Monaghan

N: And what is the UVF?

T + B: The Ulster Volunteer Force. Well they called it the Ulster Volunteer Force but 1 third of Ulster is in the Republic. It's one of these things you know.

Anyway the largest amount of life lost in one incident was here in one day in the republic, but that was created by the UVF — the British because they wanted to get certain — there was a think going into parliament that one of the bills being passed. Now this is common Knowledge in the Republic. Of course the British would deny it 'til the cows come home. But where did the UVF get the expertise? They didn't have it before that. They never set off anything prior to was what was it '74? '79? Oh it must have been later because O was serving in Leinster Street then. Yeah, it was in the '70s — the height of all the rouble the UVF came down with as far as we're concerned the help of the British and they set off bombs in Dublin. That was to get an act through parliament. The exact act I don't know because it was passed anyway with, you know, as a result of action to that. But yeah, that was the largest amount of people killed so when they talk about the "trouble" in the North, there was more trouble here in one day than there was up there for 6 months, you know?

They, um come back as you're going towards the heat they please going people you know?

The Irish army have the best reputation in the world — the united nations — for peacekeeping. Throughout the world. I was just reading an article recently there was 560 Irish troops abroad serving all over the country — in the world. The main battalion is in the Lebanon at the moment which they spend something like 25 year or some thing in the Lebanon and then they came out and now they've gone back in again! They're part of the main UN force in the Lebanon and they've also been let out throughout Africa whenever there is conflicts in certain places. Actually two of them were injured only last week — we had 2 injuries. They were almost blown up by IEDs as they call them — Explosive devices. Improvised Explosive Devices. There in Mali which is in Africa there's a load of them out there. They've a fantastic reputation for peace. Actually I brought them up because I didn't know what you're looking for so I brought that stuff there up. The first Irish troop to be killed in action or one of the first is actually a local man.

A fella from down the road from where he lives.

Where you live.

Oh, yeah, Clanronnad — that's right he lived on my side — he was killed in the Congo.

And it'll be 60 years killed this November — he was only 18. But they went to the Congo their first mission in the Congo they went off the rest for an Irish winter nearly in tropical Africa!

They wore sheep's wool uniforms — heavy like that in the heat out there in the Congo! Jesus they had to get a loan of uniforms of somebody else — they had no experience for it.

They went out desperately ill-equipped because they had never been outside of Ireland before

half of them and of course...

Now in relation to the peace — everybody wants peace.

Only a fool doesn't — only a fool wants war.

The only one who wins in a war are people that are financing it — they're the only one that'll want it.

But in relation to the situation that's developing in Europe generally even inside and outside the EU. You look at individual countries and you see — it's like throwing balls in the air in a circus. Take the British, now I know I'm harping on about the British but they're the nearest and they're the largest industrial so I have to speak about the, — I can't speak about France or Germany because I know OF them but I don't know ABOUT them. So in terms of the British, they have their presence in Ireland for, well too long in my opinion, but they have their presence still in Ireland and the small minority of people if you look at the population figures — I mean it's like New York holding America to ransom and that's the way the North is. Its one small place holding the rest of Ireland — from our perspective. We can't have peace on a day-to-day basis because you always have that thorn in your side that — I mean take for instance, let's say that at the end of this year when the British are required to leave the EEC. 31st December or 1st January. Now when they leave if Johnson and his mates in England don't have an agreement with the EC, then I'll almost write it down for you: there will be trouble and another war in Ireland. Definitely. It's going to happen because the people that are living in the areas will not tolerate another border. Now the last time it happened it was groups of people — I can only compare with foreign situations like Stern in Israel in Israel initials. Not everybody supported their activities — they did terrible things and so did the other side but nevertheless if it happened tomorrow and Israel was under pressure, people would say well we don't support Stern but we're not having that. That's the element you see there's a connection. And the same way I'm sure the majority of people would not support an armed conflict but on the other hand if it came to a situation of them and us, that's totally different. We would do whatever's necessary to make sure we were okay — whatever that takes it doesn't matter.

The problem the British always had in relation to Ireland and I know I'm going off the mark a bit is that there's so much integration of Irish and British people between the two islands that you can't separate them and they sound like somebody from London or Coventry or somewhere else. They could be originally from Dublin. I don't know — you can't tell. The only difference between the two people is the accent. And even then half the time I don't know where some people is from and I say "where the hell is that? — what part of the country are they from?" and I don't even understand half their English they have such local accents, it's terrible.

But in the European context I can understand certain elements of why Brexit is happening. Now I for instance our hospital service here would collapse without you know the support of people coming in — particular the Thai people — the, Filipinos and people like that. They're vital to the service here because you can see it you go up to any hospital and it's full of them. I haven't got a problem with that. But the other side of the same coin if you go into the city today you'll have — OK I am painting a brush here — Romanians particularly, they're sitting on the streets they're begging they've organised crime gangs. You know all this is going on in the city right now — this morning. Now that's the element that creates a reaction to people coming into the country — not the people that you need for business. Now the British to be fair to them they have said, we're leaving the EEC — now they left it for a variety of reasons. One is

the flag waving which they always did. They never wanted to the the EC because they wanted to be different but leaving that aside there are elements of what they're doing now which I think is correct. They're stopping immigration per-say. They don't want droves and droves of people who basic –what's the word for it — input into the state. They haven't got a lot of education, they haven't got a background in work. So what they're going to do is they're going to introduce a system of — you probably know this — of graded ability if you want to use that word., So if you want to come to the UK, you organise work and when you come into the country you say I've a job with your company or whatever, that's fine. I don't agree with all of it but I can see where they're coming from — controlling it. But the other side of that coin is a lot of people in the north east of England industrially — they think that all their problems are caused by immigration which is not true because a lot of their farm work and a lot of their industrial business is also run by immigrants. Now you have that across the European union. Now where I think the European union is — if you want to use the word “ got it wrong “from my perspective, and I think you might agree that that element I just said about the British letting in people like I think they have Australian system where people come in where they have certain abilities and they don't stop workers coming in where they are going to create and do — what you have now is wholesale family groups coming in you know 10 and 20 people in groups where they are basically — I won't use the word incapable — but not up to working in the community they're going into so they end up on the street or homeless or whatever so they add to the burden so they add to the burden of you know, everything the hospitals and the housing and I think that's what happening in Europe — it's kind of — people are looking and saying you know in Italy there's a lot of unemployment and they're saying before the EC we didn't have this kind of problem you know we grew our own stuff we had our own workers you know. I think that's the element.

The problem as I see it and the way I'm sure you probably see it as well I don't know — where are you from?

Isreal

You know the problem we have is the forecast is always the next world war would be from the middle east — that's happening without a doubt

I believe that too

Now, the problem you have in the Colonial days before around The Turn of the last century. The Colonial people went in; they took all the resources from Britain, France, Germany; The Dutch were one of the worst; there's a book, or part of a book that shows it. They went in, they took all... they went in and got... they were able to take out what they wanted in resources, but when they left, they hadn't implanted that knowledge as to how to get it out or how to have people to run it so with the result that when they pulled out, what happened ? The Warlords came in and took it over. Taking me that they wanted it karma the people that we're running it still owned it and they were employing they were employing, they were still employing them to take it out but all the resources Were being taken out of the country but none of the money from it was coming back into it. now, in the North karma I don't know how long are you in Ireland?

D: How long? I live here.

T: Dorone lives here.

D: Noa has been here for two and a half weeks.

T: She's a half Irish at this stage.

B: Now if you take the North as far as we are concerned here, I don't, I never agreed with what they were doing in the north when it comes to the bombing and all that, but I can understand it. Exactly what I said.

B: I can understand how it happened and why it happened. And it happened because...

T: Civil rights.

B: Now, you're living in the North, you're one side of the coin. I'm on the other side. I come up or the roads come up. I don't own my own house, I don't have a vote.

T: You can't get a job

B: I cant... I'll get a menial job but I wont get any of the jobs where there's guarantee of income or 'all the rest of it'.

N: Yeah.

T + B: Now they wanted to bring in... they were on the streets. They were peacefully going along looking to get their own civil rights. There was a bit of trouble, a little bit of trouble and the protestants who we... I'm not bringing religion into it in that respect... The unionists as they are... They started to attack.

The catholic population basically.

Basically the catholic side. Right? What happens? Eventually a bit of stone throwing and all that came about. But what to the british army do? they use the heavy hand as always.

they brought in the army to protect the nationalist sides. they were like getos and they were grand! The soldiers were on the streets. The people in the houses were bringing the out tea and coffee and the lads that were in holding the peace — they thought they were in Spain having a holiday. But then during a march what happens? They claimed that somebody started to shoot...

Firing on them which they didn't.

That changed the whole thing then. Then the army became the opposite way around. And they brought in the same as they done — if you — I don't know if you follow the history — if you follow in India, it happened, it happened in Dublin and they were doing the same thing up in the North.

In cyprus...

Well Cyprus is a different matter altogether.

Ah well still they were involved!

But they sent in what was called the B specials who were ex military and ex police who of course were all Royalists sides or they were ex-first world war, or second world war, and they made them a reserve force. But they were vicious — absolutely vicious.

Same as the black & tans.

But they would burst in that hall door there — even if you were not doing anything and they'd ransack the house.

Now what's gonna happen? The British army — the behaviour of the british and the troops that they sent in — they went in the worst — they were one of the most notorious units that the British army have and they were the ones they sent into belfast and Derry. They went in and when it changed then, it bred the IRA to become militant.

The best recruit..

So if you want peace — the only way you have peace is by dialogue. And turn around and say “right, OK, we have to improve your situation” but if you keep them under their thumb and take away peoples rights, take away peoples houses, burn them down or whatever you do. What do you expect? Somebody comes in your door and tries to burn your house, you’re not gonna sit there!

T: At the time — you probably know the history of it — at the time that that happened in Belfast and the first bloody Sunday happened as they called it. What happened the next day? The British Embassy in Dublin was burned down in Dublin by the people in Dublin — to the ground — and the people were thrown out of it on the streets. The army and the guards stood back. They couldn’t do anything because half of Dublin city went down and burned the Embassy to the ground. And that was the result — What year was that 60...? What year was that?

B: Eh it would have been around ’77...

T: No it wasn’t that..

Well it was after the... Oh, no, sorry, eh, the riots of ’69 that started — started in ’68 — the trouble in ’69 — where the hell were we in ’69?

’69, it started — I was guard commander in Gormanstown delighted it started — ha ha ha Yeah, we were somewhere — we were in the military in ’64 — long before it even started, but it was never on the cards before that really sure it wasn’t? For the first couple of years we were in the reserve. Serving. There was no sort of obvious trouble on the horizon, but when this thing started to come to the fore. Now you might be wondering what the hell has this got to do with what we’re talking about today — about peace? That’s fair enough — you’re right in saying that to a certain extent. But without painting a big picture you can’t see the nitty gritty as to why that’s happening, you know what I mean? SO, if you’re saying about the possibility of another war...

It’s inevitable.

I don’t think there’s any doubt that it will happen, it’s only a matter of when.

And it’s not that far away.

I don’t think that. Now let’s put this way — if we’re gonna be talking brass tax here right? Let’s put it this way: If your friends out there in Iran get a nuclear weapon, I don’t need to tell you for one second what’s gonna happen next, because Israel is gonna be getting it and they are gonna be getting it in return. That’s one way. They go to war, the Americans get in on that side and the Russians get in and that’s it. And that’s a good scenario — that’s possibly on the cards.

N: Why did you decide to go into that?

T: It was the thing to do!

B: No, no, we went into it because at that stage when we went into the reserve, sure it was our passtime.

N: Was there a draft here then?

T: Nonono, there was never a draft in Ireland. Now I’ll tell you something now this is a fact...

N: I mean like did you have to go for...

T: No, not like Israel or other countries.

B: We never had conscription

T: No we never had... Do you know why it is? Now I'll tell you why it is and it's still today and Brian will probably agree with me or not. But in the Republic — in Ireland generally, because of our history and because of the way irregulars if you want to call them that — civilian armies took on the British without any official army behind them, there's always an element in the back of the minds of people running the state that you can't let the reserve get too strong.

B: Yeah.

T: They don't like the reserve to get too strong. They don't like the reserve — they never have. We don't have many reserve police here because they are always afraid there's an underlying current of "these reserves can get strong". That's why they're afraid of Sinn Fein because within their ranks of their people even though politically, I mean, there's nothing wrong with Mary Harney — she's a very clever woman.

B: Not Mary Harney!

T: Mary Lou McDonald rather — Mary Harney was another politician. But Mary Harney is gone, isn't she? But Mary Lou — there's nothing wrong with her — she's a clever woman. She started in Fianna Fail which is a centrist party. And then she left them and went to Sinn Fein. And she's from Rathmines which is a little bit up-market so she's not from, you know, she has a good background. But the thing about that is that there's an underlying... I mean they're not gonna come out and say it to you directly — oh, no — but you know and I know the army never trusted the reserve because the reserve are the people on the street who are armed which is — they don't want that because of the way the state was founded. It was founded on ordinary people like my grandfather. I don't know about yours?

B: No, my grandfather actually served in the British army and I have a photograph of him in India in uniform.

T: Did we not shoot him, no? I thought we shot all the Brits — the Brits supporters. No we didn't? No? Ok!

T: But I'm just saying the difference between the people you know? That initially my grandfather on my father's side was an ordinary joe — Sean T. O'Kelly namesake — He's the man who was president of Ireland. he was also one of the IRA people and he was the man who stood on the steps of parliament down here and announced the republic because you know, the British brought in all kinds of regulations about why we couldn't have a republic but then they just said "up yours" we're having a republic. And he's the guy who announced it, so our namesake is a famous person in Ireland.

B: You got away from the question you were asked: the reason we joined...

B: At that stage the FCA as it was called which is the army reserve. The FCA was more a localised unit...

T: Military force...

B: Each part of it was localised. Now we originally had what was called the Artane Company of the North county Dublin battalion.

T: There was lot's of units all joined together.

B: In that company there was a company in Artane, there was a company in Swords, there was a company in Howth, there another company in Fairview, they were localised. And of course as we grew up, this was very much, all those areas were all working class.

T: Any decent person was a member.

B: No it wasn't, we went into it for a social because we'd all socialise together. We all went to school together.

T: Did you ever hear of "corner boys" or "teddy boys". Teddy boys was slang for you know local "yoyos". They were the only one who weren't in it. Everybody was part of it, you know?

B: And they were built up and my two brothers were in it before me.

T: So were mine.

B: Now there was 11 or 12 year between my two brothers and me but in actual fact, they were shall I say, I won't say hi-jacked into it, but they were sidelined into it.

T: You were almost obliged to join — it was part of the whole...

B: through our ex taoiseach Charlie Haghey...

N: And what age would [they have been] ?

T: 17, well you were supposed to be 17...

B: You were supposed to be — a lot of them were in it at 14.

T: Very few — I mean I think the majority probably joined at 16. They wanted to get weapons, you know?

B: Even outside the FCA. We all went to the same dances. We went to school together. We went out after school together. We took up jobs in the same area. We more socially went into it than anything. I mean we were not going around saying "ah Jesus, we have to join the army — "gung ho" or anything like that. Sure, we had more fun in it than we had anything else.

T: Initially — yeah — for the first 5 years. But then the shit came in in the North, you know.

B: We had the serious side of it, I mean before the North broke up, or before the "trouble in the North"

T: '68.

B: I had... You had a couple, and I had 3 army rifles in the house.

T: I had 5 in my house one time. All my brothers were in it. 303 rifles with ammunition.

B: All of us that were in the FCA would train one night a week and occasional weekend or maybe a Sunday exercise. But we brought our rifles home and we had them in the press in the corner. But it was more for a social side that we got into it. But then of course a lot of fellas only lasted maybe two or three years but

T: But we stayed in it right through from the beginning of the end of the trouble in the North. We left in 2006.

B: 43 years.

T: I mean I finished in 2006. 2006 I finished. That's my mother and me in the barracks in 2006.

B: But after '76 I had a... Where I was working I hadn't got guaranteed work and I got the opportunity. The two of us actually...

T: We got the opportunity to go into the regular army and we did.

B: On a temporary basis.

T: Yeah, you joined the regular army and you did the regular duties, but you had the option of staying with your regular reserve unit or going in with...

B: You did — I didn't have that option.

T: I had the option of going in as a sergeant in the regular army and staying in it.

B: Yeah, so had I.

T: But it's like you're saying, you know, "where the peace broke out", I can see the future and you know...

Roisin: Right now, the army is not very good because the problem is, that you are only given a 5-year contract. When we joined originally, (you joined at 17 and left at 39), so you did 21 years' service, which, you know, it covered most guys, you weren't obliged to leave at 39 if you were in a job of administration, you may not be running around shooting people but you could certainly do administration jobs. So, a lot of guys when they got to that age and older, they stayed within the ranks and it was a career but it's not a career any more. The army now, in Ireland, in my opinion, have gone the wrong way altogether, what I would do tomorrow, and it's the opposite word, we should be doing away with armies. I would have a huge reserve and a small army. So that the reserve is part of it, they have something like that in Israel as far as I know, you have a kind of reserve, kind of, everyone is in the military... But you have to have, for your situation, and I wouldn't blame you.

B: Where Ireland is concerned, you know, I have the argument with many people, what the hell are we doing with an army, why do we need the army? In our situation, I'm not talking about America or Russia, they are a different kettle of fish to where we come from, they have allowed the army in this country to deplete so much, right, but the army has two roles, OK, you have the military side of defence, if anything happens, no one is going to try to invade us, I don't believe it, if we are dragged into it, we will be dragged into it by others.

T: The Americans and the British would not allow it 'cos we are too strategically placed.

B: Where we do need it, we should have a small army, OK, but with a big reserve because in the event of a disaster, take Canada or Australia, the fires, right, you cannot build up a unit like that, somebodies missing, all the neighbours come in, how long does it take to get them together? And to organise where they are going? If you have your standing unit, it doesn't have to be armed, right? you can then turn around and say well, "you take your group and go that way, you take your group and go that way", it's a standing unit and everybody knows who is in charge, you have to have to have somebody at the top to say whether 'you do that or you don't do that'. Otherwise, you have 200 or 400 people come out and no one knows exactly what they are doing. That's where your army comes from, my basis of it.

T: Are you of the opinion yourself that, looking at the thing in general, that there would be a war and what elements in that give you that impression? The way the European Union is breaking up in that sense or is it bigger than that?

N: I think if you look at the wars in general, especially the last two world wars and also the war in Yugoslavia, when there is a disproportionate growth of the middle class at the expense of production, this is the disbalance and growing inequality that mobilises fascist forces within countries to protect their own, you know. Tommy and Brian agreed, saying 'Yes' in the background.

T: In a funny way, if communism could work, it would be a great system if it could work, but it won't work because some people are more equal than other people. (Tommy laughs.)

B: If you take what's happening in the Middle East, there are so many different factions and as you say, the one who is suffering is the one on the bottom. They have to get out of wherever they are because although they're not involved, they're the ones that are getting blown up and all the rest of it, they're all heading they want to get into Europe, 90% of them want to get into Britain.

N: 5.42 The question is, like you said, the Brits and the French with The Size Pheko Agreement and so on created a lot of artificial divisions in the Middle East, of which Israel is only a part. It's the same in Africa, all these were not divided by ethnic divisions, it was totally almost arbitrary.

T: (interjects and agrees) Colonial lines.

N: If you look now at the last 15 years in the Middle East, if there was no intervention but...you know, if Bush did not come and kill Sadam... we would still have a stable Middle East. So, if NATO did not intervene, so what is the responsibility, you cannot have NATO come in and destroy everything and then say 'Oh, well, sorry, we don't want the consequences.

B: This is exactly what you are saying, they went in, they killed Sudan but they had nobody to take over who would get control of it and ended up splitting everything.

N: Well, they didn't want anybody because they wanted the oil.

B: Yeah, that's the whole thing, whoever has the oil is controlling the economy in the world nearly, you know, with the trouble in the Middle East and coming through Turkey and Greece, if they let all the refugees just come straight over, the bulk of them, sure the Greek and Turkey economies would be completely overrun, they would collapse tomorrow if that happened.

N: They already did.

T: The only thing I see that talking about the peace element, you see, larger countries like the Americans, the British, French and Germans, who are ex-colonial Masters, if you wish to call them that, they see themselves as righteous from the point of view that we are trying to do this and do that for example. But they set up the situation in the first place. A very quick example of that is... You know better than I do... You had your Holocaust in Israel that came about as result of Hitler and Germany and other people who connected with them but if you run the tape back to the beginning of that, the first world war, as they called it, was an imperial war.

The British were under no pressure whatsoever to fight that war. It happened because they wanted it, they looked at Germany and said they are getting very powerful, we can't have that, they used, I think, the pretext of little Belgium, I mean they were willing to go out and fight WWI and kill millions of people on behalf of little Belgium but little Ireland was already fighting 6 revolutions and they still didn't see the reason why they should leave us alone. Do you understand what I mean this is the thing that I cannot never understand.

The British will say we fought WWI for freedom and all the rest of it. What about Ireland?

I have a book down there 3,000 pages, 90% of them are revolutions and war in Ireland, we lost millions of people here, now getting back to the story. The thing is that at the end of

the first world war which I don't consider, I think it was an imperial war, at the end of that, what happens next? the French and the British, they got together and they wanted the resources of the Ruhr Valley in Germany, this is a fact, the history is there and because of reparation damage to the German people, rightly or wrongly, I'm not defending them, I mean in fairness, the Germans helped us in our Revolution with the Brits so we don't hate the Germans.

The only enemy we ever had in Ireland were the Brits. Israel, anybody else in the world are our friends, the only enemy we ever had in our country were the Brits.

But the point I'm making is at the end of the war they want the resources of the Ruhr and the French and the Germans or the British and what did they do?

They crucified the German people for more money and they wanted those resources and the result was, what happens next? Hitler, he comes out in the ashes and we don't need to tell you how that went. Had they not seen that originally, there would have been no Hitler and probably no Holocaust. Right, am I wrong? Now, having said that, you sit down today and talking about peace and trouble in the world, the same people who are sitting in the United Nations at that time are not the same people obviously sitting there but the mentality is still sitting there.

The Russians are there, then the Soviets, the Americans are there, the British are there and they have certain hollow views about things and they don't see the long term. I mean, what was the point of the Vietnam War, 20 years of what, because the French had the Indo china French originally with the MBM pool in 1954 they started the war with the Vietnam people who wanted to get rid of them. They start a war. They drag in the Australians and they drag in The Americans. It's exactly the same scenario and today I believe that, I don't think there will be a war in Europe itself, not between European countries.

Because, one, the French have nuclear weapons, so do the British, right, you can't have a war with your next-door neighbour, it's like the Indians and Pakistanis, they are so close together and they are all the one people anyway. But they can't have a war because... to what end. It's mad... y'know... Mutual destruction, they are a great store to each other. Can't do it. French or the British are the same, they couldn't have a war even if they wanted it. The Germans don't have the wherewithal anymore. They have done fair play they won't be let and they don't want nuclear weapons and that only leaves in Europe, only leaves Russia, it's not in Russia's interest to start a war with anybody, they are doing OK, why rock the boat? The only fly in the ointment is North Korea.

B: The one thing that is destroying and destroys everything is greed, greed and whoever has the power financially is the one that, they want more and more and more and maybe they're going to get a lesson now at this present time, they could be in for a hell of a... the people with the finance because there's a crash coming, there is another crash coming, there is no question about it.

T: Its already here

N: Yeah.

B: Yesterday, they closed the stock exchange in America for a couple of hours, they've never seen a drop like it. It's all about.. if you're going to try to keep people down and make them work for nothing or whatever, it's finance that causes the problems and it's the greed of some,

the greed of the high power that create the problem because they want you to make the money for them but they are giving you nothing for it and that's where you get your upheavals.

D: We have certainly questions around peace but they are not here yet. What is your occupation? What is your work status today and before? So, we kind of touched on this a tiny bit, so, you are retired?

T: We are both retired

B: I'm a carpenter by trade

D: That's connected to the O'Kelly family a bit with the tradesman.

B: We are both tradesmen, I stayed in the building trade.

T: I finished service manager in Chubb Ireland, lock and safe company, electronics, I was a good few years in that.

B: I stayed in the building trade

D: So, what is your living standard? Perspective today, has it gone up or down relating to your parents and grandparents?

T: Well, it's gone up greatly in relation to the parents and grandparents.

B: No comparison

T: Well, they were relatively well off, at the standard of their time, they had cars, they had good houses both sides of the family so they certainly weren't well off, but they were comfortable, both sides, would you agree with that? Were yours the same?

B: You were better off than my family as my father was an invalid for many, many years and also had a major accident.

T: Both sides of the family were relatively well off, relative to their time, in the '30s and '40s. There were reasonably well off, good jobs and whatever.

N: I'm wondering how would the next generation be compared to your generation?

T: Very poor, well I can speak for myself; I think we are the last generation of people who could afford to buy a house with their salary and buy a house like this one or similar. Would you agree with that? It's very difficult now.

B: The living standards and everything else is changing so much and from an economic side where the salaries for (I hate using a phrase, class) but the middle class, will do well out of it but the lower class will suffer very badly and they will go downhill in comparison to what we had. In fact, it's nearly going back for the lower classes a hundred years.

T: Very much so, it's actually happening in the UK and everywhere else. Let's put it this way, all my 3 girls have degrees in college and their jobs are not spectacular, well, Maeve is now a family person, she has 3 sons, but apart from that, the other two girls, they are in ordinary jobs but they are all well-educated. They don't expect to own their own property cos they could not afford it and unless they marry into somebody else who has a reasonable job themselves, they have not a hope in hell of getting a house on the market here, not a chance. You couldn't buy a house in this area now as a young person like my daughters, no way, not the way we did.

B: Just on that, when we grew up, the houses that you grew up in and I grew up in, mine was slightly earlier than yours, but you bought the houses from the local authority, corporation or council, right, with the result, that rents were more in proportion in relation to your salary of course but also the interests that you were paying were not as high as they are today and also taxes were completely different because of course, if the money was not there, they can't take it off you.

T: Brian, in respect of that, I remember, we paid 14 percent at one stage on our mortgage in this house but we could afford it because we could afford to, it was a good standard of living, with two wages, you could afford to stay in a house like this but you couldn't do it now.

B: But the thing was, from the time you got your mortgage, the 14 per cent, the amount that you mortgaged, the 14 percent didn't knock you out, even with degrees now, you couldn't do it.

T: You couldn't do it, it's impossible. And in actual fact, coming back to the story at the very beginning when we rambled on about the situation in the country, you may or may not be interested in. The Sinn Fein element, this is where the rise of Sinn Fein in Ireland, relative to, other countries have their own things, the rise of these left wing non centrous parties in Italy and other places, is similar to here because Sinn Fein are saying to the young people who don't know their back ground they are saying to them. 'We will give you all social houses, we will give you a better standard of living'.

They may or may not but the point is that's where it is coming from and the young people are voting more towards and away from central establishment, like Fine Gael for instance who were the government up to a few weeks ago and who are now in transit. Now, the attitude of the young people towards Fine Gael is they are a money party, they are not interested in social class, they are only interested in money, I'm painting a big swath here, I don't mean everything, in terms of their philosophy, they are right wing, down the middle, money is everything and business. Now that's good for the state, good for the country, because a lot of Americans, they won't come to a country that's socially is rampant. So, there is an element of usefulness in that. That's why today, as we speak, right now, Fine Fail are meeting Fine Gael, now those two parties, I mean, would not even speak to each other, 30, 10 years ago, they would not even go into the same room.

But now because of the threat from the Socialist Party, they are getting together and I'm coming to the point here, that element is happening all over Europe, the same thing and you are saying the rise of different parties in Europe, that's what's causing it. The money element and the upper classes, if you want to call them that, I don't like the word class, I don't believe there is any such thing as working class, you know, even the pope has to work or whoever is in charge of the state or the religion, whatever he is, which I've no time for, but anybody like that, everybody works, the king of England is supposed to work or the Queen in that case, I don't believe that philosophy about working class, it's all crap!

But the reason why young people can't afford to get anything, there is nothing on the horizon, they are going to go towards these parties and that's what you are talking about. The breakup of the original solid base, if you want to call it that, I think that's what's causing it.

D: So that will continue on to the next question. What is the main difficulty you encounter to day? So, do you think it is the housing crisis that you are encountering or I mean, are your children having problems?

T: Are you speaking nationally or personally?

D: Personally.

T: Personally, we are not affected because we are both wealthy guys. Well we are, look, we own our own houses, we own our own vehicles, we have no debts. Not that I know of, unless the wife is selling jewellery...buying jewellery on the side. I, personally have no problems, except for obviously the medical side, it's a different thing altogether. On a financial and lifestyle, I am very happy with my situation, I don't know about him.

But in terms of the children, our children, I call them children, they are in their 30s, but anyway, I wouldn't be happy about them at all. My daughter has just come back here, she lived in a house in Clontarf. Miriam has come back. I mean, 1,250 euro for a 1 bedroomed apartment on an ordinary wage, it's extremely expensive, how can you do it? 'Cos she has come back to me, I don't have a problem, they can all come back to me, there are 3 rooms upstairs but they don't want that either. They want to get away from the old geezer, get away from him, he is a nightmare. So, from that point of view, it's the children I can't see a future from. We are not in that boat? We are the last of the generation who. Would you agree that we did reasonably well?

B: We didn't become rich but we...

T: We got through very nicely, I think, look what you are after doing with him. You are encouraging him. Joking. Did that answer your question?

D: Which group of people would you most count on? Family, colleagues, neighbours, friends...

T: (still joking) I would not count on him, he would let me down in a flash. Both laugh, dog barks. I suppose family generally. In fairness, we are both members of an army association, if you are talking about in general, what sort of problem. Are you talking about life in general?

N: If you had some sort of personal problem or financial problem, who would you call?

T: I'd say family first, as you know we have a big family, we have a lot of people in our family. I don't know about yours. Yours is a bit smaller. You are down to about half a dozen.

B: I have only one sister left apart from myself and I can't really call on her at the moment, she is in serious trouble health wise and her husband, he has motor neurone and she has hurt her back recently. She has had a lot of major problems and also apart from that, she is down the country, Tommy interrupts.

T: I'd say generally family and then on a broader scale, the likes of association, army associations.

B: Personal or family matters, you would go to family. If I had a problem in the house or something is wrong, I'd give him a shout or I'd give one of the other fellows a shout. So, it would be family first.

T: Does that answer that question?

D: Absolutely, yes. Do you represent and are you represented in your home country and where you are living now?

T: Sorry, say that again, how are we represented? (Not understanding the question)

N: Do you feel that you are Irish?

T: I'm afraid that I have to answer truthfully to these questions, as in court. Just put up a union jack in Dublin and you will know if I'm Irish or not. Laughter.

N: Do you think the Irish state to be what you would wish it to be?

T: Well obviously, I mean, in what state in the country, I mean you have it at home, I'm sure, not everything is perfect, I'm happy with country generally. The only thing I'm unhappy with is that within that context, the problems the young people are having in particular and because they can't progress greatly, which they're not going to, that's a problem, I don't like that but then I look around and it's no different anywhere else. I watch the BBC constantly and I watch *Question Time* every week and I see it's exactly the same, I look at things and I say 'that's happening at home'

I don't know about France and Germany, I'm sure it's the same there. There is another element too in all this, though, that to a certain extent, I can't speak for further away, like Israel or whatever. But in a lot of countries, the concept of having your own home is not strictly adhered to in a lot of countries, like Sweden and Denmark, they don't have houses, well, they do obviously like this, but they don't have a problem with living in apartment blocks and having an apartment. That's a common thing across France and Germany, now, we don't have that, we have a kind of attitude of, I think it comes from traditional wars here about land, centuries of fighting over property. If you want to have a war in Ireland, just try to take over a bit of property, then you will see what happens. Land and property are vital in Ireland.

B: Land in Ireland was always a very contentious issue.

T: Yeah, very sticky.

Peter, Tommy & Brian: ... War between two farmers over which side of the hedge they owned. It could just be that much (a hand gesture must have been made here) to a lot of extent inheritance here made a big difference eh, in Ireland generally speaking, particularly where farmers were concerned the farm and the estate went to the oldest son, even if there was 3 older sisters, the girls got nothing out of it. (**T:** Yeah, the girls got nothing out of it) In that respect as you say, are we represented today? (**T:** But the laws are changing Brian) Isn't that what the question was? I think so. I think so. It just it is becoming, (**T:** It's more difficult for the mass population, it's the bulk) **B:** You have to...I suppose....it doesn't...I think we are fairly well represented, I mean we put in the government we want that we have voted for than some... (**T:** Oh yeah, I'll be quite happy if Fianna Fail and Fine Gael get together...I'd be quite happy, it doesn't affect me the overall picture is, I want stability and I want peace and you're going to get that with these two main parties even though they fight each other because they're like that (presume a hand gesture showing opposition to each other) in terms of the civil war, any of those books you read they are always about two sides, and that happened from the time of the treaty, so called, you know what I mean, you've pro and against, and a lot of good people got killed after the treaty was signed, after the civil war, which went on for a year and a half, so, including Michael Collins, the most famous guy of them all, he was killed in the civil war, so, and a lot of good people, you know.

D: Are there groups which you are engaged with? In what way?

T: Engaged? Well we're ex-military.

B: Do you mean clubs?

T: Oh yeah, well the army of course in both our cases.

B: I'm with the ex-service club, and I'm also a member of the golf club, and I've played in the golf club for years I always take part in the social club, there is also a multi sports club. Now

I'm also part of the..... I was part of it but actually got on to the tennis club this year and, I was part of it, but got onto the committee this year and I represented our local tenant's association so I try to keep myself active.

T: Eh, I, we are both connected with the military things in the barracks and stuff like that...

B: But you're the anti-social whore though...

T: no no, I'm also involved with the numismatic Society (coins) and philatelic group (stamps). I like those things, and eh, indirectly they are people.

D: Are you politically engaged?

T: Oh, no, no, no. I suppose back in the day we were both Fianna Fail really, back in the day...

B: Nope, Tommy; did you never vote Charlie? I never voted for Charlie Haughey in my life... Never like that... I...

T: And who did you vote for... the bleedin (sort of bad language) blue shirts?

B: No, no.

T: By the way that was the name that was plastered on Fine Gael, the Blue Shirts, because at the time of the Spanish Civil War, they formed a name, you know like the Nazis, they wore a brown shirt, and the other crows, and in Ireland we had the blue shirts, Fine Gael. Even though it's long gone they're still called Blue Shirts.

B: You're talking about Franco... They supported.

T: Yeah, Franco, they supported Franco against the socialist who had been elected, so, and they never lived that down and if you want to insult them in parliament today you'd references, I don't know what you'd say in Israel, but here, it's Bloody Blue Shirts. And that sticks like, well you know they haven't been Blue Shirts for the last fifty years, or more, since 1937 or something, since the war, it stuck, and it never left them, and even now when politicians are arguing with each other, on television it often slips out, you know, Bloody Blue Shirts.

B: (Laughs) But you're the only one who uses that...

T: I am and my arse are you joking me (laugh) it's on the television every week (laugh).

D: OK, so let's say the question the proper one, OK what does the word Peace mean to you?

B: Stability.

T: Yeah.

B: Security (**T:** hmm in agreement) And fairness. If it doesn't come down to fairness, and fairness from all levels, you know, people working get a reasonable, fair wage, and the idea of two people doing the same job and not getting paid the equally.

T: Like women for instance.

B: But the other... That, that is it, Peace... People... Some people require, should be getting more attention, when I say services if you want to put it that way, and if it's not. I can see the trouble for the likes of, for instance drug addicts and that, you're gonna have terrible trouble that's individually it's not overall.

T: Are you saying state peace, or peace individually?

B: Sorry, I'm just saying peace, peace is just fairness everywhere, if you get fairness everywhere then nobody, nobody, you're not going to get trouble between people, If you get a fair deal everywhere, but you don't get that, and to strive to get that is what you want.

D: (To Tommy) Do you agree with that?

T: Mostly yeah. Its where peace comes from though...

B: We wouldn't agree... We wouldn't...

T: We wouldn't agree on the weather

B: (Laughter)

T: My philosophy is, I know it's terrible to say it, and, you guys are in the same boat by the way, you have nuclear weapons right... (Some muffled disagreement from Brian) No, no excuse me, I'm just saying... (More muffled talk) No, no I'm just saying, Peace comes out of the end of a barrel of a gun, if necessary, but peace in my opinion is everybody doing the right thing, being nice to their neighbours, but you have to have an element of, built in protection in that sense. I'm not saying you use it, but unfortunately the necessity to have it is there, otherwise, don't talk to me about peace, because, you guys have it, everyone else has it, and hopefully some people won't get it, you know, and that's what's holding peace together at the moment. Peace is a great idea, I think it's wonderful.

D: Well that's gonna continue the next question... You're in a place where there is no war, do you think there is peace here?

B/T: Yeah, ah yeah.

T: I'll put it this way, the Gardai are unarmed, the police have no weapons, except for special groups like, obviously. The ordinary cop on the street is not carrying a gun. Id much prefer to be here than New York, I don't know if they carry, they probably do in Israel, but on the continent they all have weapons, they're armed to the teeth. Now the only thing they have here no is they're developing teasers, which are not lethal, hopefully in their own right, but, that's the way I see it, we have relative peace, because, the reflection of that is the Gardai are not armed, and most people respect the Guards.

B: Basically, they're not armed, okay there are armed elements...

T: ah yeah, but they're necessary for bank raids and stuff, but the ordinary policeman is not, or woman.

B: That's quite good....

T: Yes, that's the answer to that.

D: What is the sound of war, and what is the sound of pace?

T: The sound of war? (Some muffled laughter)

Question: Connect to your artistic side now, Tommy...

T: I have to be honest with you, I'm kind of doing this (some gesture to interviewer)... I can't say it because... Israel is unfortunately involved and I'm not, in any way condemning Israel for doing what they do, but, what I think a sound of way to me is, when you have the likes of Trump, going out to Netanyahu, and they're agreeing on 'we'll do this we'll do that and all, that's creating war and there is no use in telling me it's not... that is creating war. Well, I don't like to insult people who are visiting, but the point is it's there, it's happening, and it's happening as we speak. So, I'm not gonna say it isn't happening and you're doing a wonderful job, it's unfortunate, but it's there, and in that, I say to you that I'm afraid I'm going to say that I'm afraid the likes of Trump liaising with Netanyahu, is that his name, and that element together, is a dangerous element in the middle east. Now, on the other side of the coin of course, you have the Russians running around in Syria and doing their thing, that's the other side of the coin.

B: That again comes back to the control of the world really. That again comes back to the domination... Not domination, control of the world really, is in the middle east, the oil is the main thing and everybody's trying to think, well, I'm going into your land for one reason... they.... where they moved the embassy to...

T: Yes, that was a bad mistake.

B: That city, in the position it is in should be an open international city...

N: Well we tried that but it didn't quite work...

T: No, but if look it from outside, looking in...

B: When you think you think who owns it, looking in...

N: No, but if you look at 1948 when the state of Israel was founded, Jerusalem should have stayed an international city, but you saw what happened.

T: Trump, Trump has created that problem now, and I use the word problem... It's not really a problem if people agree to work together, the problem is that if you look at it from outside of Israel and outside of the world where we are, we couldn't be further away if you tried, net stop is Australia.

N: No, not fair to the problem because the problem was created for international cooperation to exploit the Palestinians.

(Laughter)

T: I feel better that you said that, more hilarity... Do you think that problem can be solved with the Palestinians?

N: I think that today there has to be a reorganisation of the whole middle east...

B: I agree with you.

N: ... And create a specific Israel and Palestinian conflict... Because Jordan foreclosed on its economic responsibilities and Syria doesn't exist now...

T: It's an invented county anyway... (muffled discussion here) Jordan is invented...

N: And after 10 years of war, just imagine how much effort and time and money will it take to rebuild it... Iraq doesn't exist...

T: But again, if you go back to something we said much earlier, the Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan, they're made countries, they didn't exist, originally.

N: But nobody existed...

T: No no I don't mean that but, I'm just saying, Ireland, we were here five thousand years ago...

N: The people were there but our people killed after the colonial conflict they didn't have a concept of a nation state.

T: No, no.

N: And this is what the mandate did they brought in the concept of the nation states, and divided into states, there was... Under the ottoman empire there was different kind of social relations.

T: And when they divided up the countries a lot of people got separated on the other side. And do you something, there's a great parallel, a great parallel between Northern Ireland, and the situation in Palestine, because the British moved in, they shoved out the people, the plantation, they shoved them out and brought in the Scots foreigners. Ironically the Scots people were actually Irish people because that's where they came from, the Scots, as a nation, came from Ireland originally. That's where the name is Irish, the Picts were there before them. But having said that, the element of the Northern Ireland situation will never change, because... there was a guy on one night on the television who was talking about going out into their country and digging this and digging that, and another guy said hold on a minute, take a shovel, go out in your garden, and no matter what you dig up, it's Irish, you can't dig up anything only Irish there's a point.

B: One of the problems in relation to anywhere, is it doesn't matter where you are is, the populations are getting bigger and bigger and bigger, you can't make the world bigger, so the more people that come on that land, and.... this is where war, in the first world war particularly, the amount of people....war, like that is... were all going to die sometime, but if the population becomes too heavy, where do you put them? Ireland, a hundred years ago had, about four thousand people, how many people can Ireland cater for?

T: Four million you mean...

B: Hold on, how many people can we cater for, in the long term? The world population is growing every year and there's only so much space and there's only so much we can produce that can feed and cater for that amount of people...I'm not talking about tomorrow and the next day I'm talking about if it continues to go, with the peace, if you have peace everywhere, right, it's going to multiply, and multiply and multiply, war, to a certain extent, keeps populations under control.

T: And viruses...

B: And that's another war, it's a war against infection, and if you have, if you have 10 people here and they have the bug, the minute they open, it's going everywhere. Right, now, Italy at the moment, is, it's so outlandish now the way it's after spreading...you have to control, you have to control people to a certain extent I'm not saying you control them nailed to the floor, but the more people that come up, people that are disadvantaged, are going to create problems.

T: That's why we have problems in Ireland. Young people have nothing.

B: That's what causes that's....

T: That goes back to what we said earlier, that's why young people voted Sinn Fein.

B: That's the way it is....

T: Because Sinn Fein are offering them all they want.

B: We have to, we have to... work... the... If you don't create the right atmosphere, you're not going to get peace. That's the basis of the whole lot, you see, you can't create the atmosphere and the standard, I'm not talking about us all driving big cars and everything else, we'll be going to a stage when we won't have a car and that's the only thing...

T: I think actually that eh, in relation to the continent it's the global economy that's protecting the likes of Italy in particular, and parts of France and Germany, it's the global economy that doing that, I mean, look at the situation here...

B: (agreeing with Tommy) We've doubled the population here....

T: Look at the markets are, yeah, but Brian, we've doubled the markets here, look at the population here, we had 10 million people in Ireland in 1800, what are you talking about...

B: Yeah but, ...

T: It's only because of the famine and the ethnic cleansing here the part of the British, that's what it was, call it what you want, ethnic cleansing. We were part of the British Empire in 1860 and when we had the famine in Ireland, they did nothing, they took food out of the country...so I'll let that go. But the global economy now is, it's actually destroying individual countries, because they haven't got the production and they won't have, for their own populations, there's an element of truth there in what he's saying there about, the more people you have, like, what have you got, what 20 million, what have they got in Italy?, about 60 million, yes 60 million, now if their population increases and they don't improve on their situation, manufacturing and industrially, how can they cater for the rest of the people who are coming along? Something has to give. How you do that internationally I have no idea.

B: The one thing Tommy, is there is only so much resources and it will have to be distributed it in a reasonable way.

D: That leads us to then the next question. It's peaceful relations with oneself? Is it between people or states...

T: Trying to clarify... Sorry, the future relations...

D: The peaceful relation... With oneself...

N: When we talk about peace at what level are, we are talking about is it personal, international personal relations... Is it...

T: Internationally... Well OK, I'll reiterate what we said earlier, I didn't mean it as a joke, the weapon thing, the weapon thing, right, the reason why we have peace in Europe, relatively speaking, I think is because of the element of weapons, the idea that, you know this MAD, mutual destruction, that's a fact, now if you have that there as an underlying current all the time, like the Japanese have not taken on board any weapons of any big time, the Germans haven't, both countries heavily involved in wars, big time, and lost out and were destroyed, that's always going to be in their thinking, so the peace, peace itself is just a word, but it's a word for the way countries and people exist relative to each other, and I think if you want to use the word peace, because you have a weapon and I have a weapon, that's fine, I can accept that word peace, because it means it's enforced on us really, psychologically and factually it's there. Now, apart from that there's other elements of peace, locally, it's just peace between people and there's no other outside influences there involved in that. Does that answer the question or what?

D: Sure, yeah. In current political situation, what do you consider as the main split and polarisation in regards to power?

T: The main situation in Ireland, right now, as from this morning because the parties are literally meeting today, right now, this day, is centrist parties and extreme left, and that's happening right now. Sinn Fein and the left-wing element are over there (presume hand gesture) and that's happening right now, that's where the country is.

D: Does this have a threatening or motivating effect on peace?

T: It has a threatening effect because if Sinn Fein are successful, in my opinion, if they're successful and the left-wing parties are successful, it has two effects, I'll tell you the two effects,

now it's not going off and fighting world war three in the North or taking on the Brits, that's not the element, what will happen is, we have a huge influx in Ireland, particularly Ireland, of American corporations. Without American influence, and some element of British and German in Ireland, and Chinese as well, with the stability of the country under the centrist parties, the people don't mind investing in Ireland, they'll invest in Ireland, like the Googles and all these companies because steady economy, steady people, peaceful country relatively speaking, invest. But, if you look over the horizon, and they see Sinn Fein, who are fundamentally a republican activist party, not only activists in their politics but also in the weapon end through the IRA and so on, that element is still there, you can say whatever you like, it's still there, because they had it after the election when they started singing songs, 'Up the IRA'. Now, because of that element, that would have a...break the balance of the country. If they were successful and were in power for a couple of years, what would happen then is that, there's a possibility, I wouldn't say that it will happen, but the probably is that large corporations on the one hand might say may say, 'well it's getting a bit dodgy there', let's move to a safer country, France or Germany or somewhere else, Israel or whatever, you know, we'll move somewhere else. Now a lot of companies in Ireland are starting to move to Poland, that's supposed to be 'the country'. And then on the other hand, you will have other corporations who are not here yet, who might look at the country and say 'we don't like to see Sinn Fein getting into power there' it's a bit dodgy, maybe we'll look at it later, we won't go there at the moment. Both of those elements will have a long-term financial effect on the country, I think. That's where I think it's going to go, if they get into power. But the two centrist parties at the moment, are literally as I speak now, they're sitting down in government buildings now, and trying to form a government to block Sinn Fein, for that reason, they don't want them in power, because they are dangerous. And I think that's exactly where we are right now. What do you think?

B: Well I think they should be part of the shower (government). People have this thing, and your one of them as well, But Sinn Fein were elected, to take up so many seats, they took the biggest majority of the seats....

T: No, they didn't...

B: Will you stop...

T: They took the most votes, not the most seats...

N: OK, never mind.

B: They are a powerful unit, but, if the other two can't get together and say they cannot, or they are just too pig-headed...

T: They will, they will do it...

B: To being them into the government, as a minor party. Sinn Fein. And I'm going back...I'm not going back. Sinn Fein is a political party, the biggest problem that they had, and I think they could have done a lot better, if they could have got rid of, and the photograph and everything after they won the seats, of the leader. (*possible Gerry Adams being referred to here*) Not Mary Lou. If he was out of that... that was their downfall, because the people related that back to the years of the troubles. Now, we want to get out of that troubles, get out of that conflict, get out of that problems. It will still be an element up in the six counties up the North, but by bringing them into the power they can't say that they were excluded. Again, they don't have the brains to do that because they don't want to let that power go, again it's a power struggle,

that's what it is, we want to keep the power in our hands, because they're the two money parties.

T: A month before the general election, and this is a fact, a fact, don't take my word for it, you can read it, Mary Lou Mc. Donald, the leader of Sinn Fein, said in a statement, you can read it, 'I don't want to see either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael in government under any circumstances'. End of statement, now, because there is an element of the two centrist parties getting together and wiping out Sinn Fein — because they will never be strong enough to take them on — Sinn Fein taking on the centrist parties, because of that, now she's saying, 'oh well we won a lot of seats in the government we should have a say' and he's saying it. I don't, I say, up yours, you're a left wing socialist republican dangerous party, and I don't want you in power, definitely not, and I'll vote for Fianna Fail in the morning for that reason. Definitely.

D: Okay, do you practice peace in your own surroundings?

B: Yes.

T: Absolutely. Only when he's not here (indicating Brian...laughter)

D: Do you see yourself individually, collectively or socially responsible for bringing or maintaining peace and in what way?

T: Well we only deal in the past because of military.....

B: No, no hold on... No, that's a different altogether. Yes, if you become involved in community work you will, because you're doing the best, for the community. I take part in a number of things around — I think yes you can.

N: What kind of things?

B: Community association where you keep an eye on all your neighbours and everything else, you know what's going on around you...

T: It's called being a nosey parker (laugh)

B: No! if you don't know what's going on around you, in your own locality... I can't do anything for anyone in Cork, but I can in my own locality.

T: Generally, I'd say there would be an intention to do it, rather than what you're actually doing. I'd have no problem with it, if somebody knocked on the door and said will you do something, I'd say certainly, no problem.

B: Yeah, yeah.

D: OK, we move on. Are there, or were their institutions that are responsible for bringing or maintaining peace?

T: Well... Like a religious people and that kind of thing?

D/N: No, no, like the state or the welfare state, trade unions or political parties.... or NGO's...

T: Well, you see eh, again it comes back to... Fundamentally, right, at the very bottom of everything, regardless of even us two or anybody else in Ireland, we as a people, as a race, we... you won't get riots in the streets in Dublin, not today, like in the UK, they had a poll tax and they had riots in the streets and people got killed, it was a nightmare. We never had that in Ireland, because fundamentally we're kind of a people that...not that we don't care, it's just that we're peace liking people, we accept things....

B: We more accept things...

T: Yeah, we accept things and say, well we're not going to rock the boat because we feel that our neighbours don't want any trouble, so we don't cause any trouble. Its kind of an underlying thing, it may be because of years em, warring together against outsiders like the Brits and other people like that, mostly the Brits, but, it's that togetherness of the people. The same way say, if a fella comes on television and starts going on about something, and a guy says to him, Jesus, will you cop yourself on, now c'mon, get a grip and it's that element of...your just one of us so why are you getting all upset about something. you know where I'm getting at. it's that kind of underlying levelness about the people, yeah.

D: So you're actually touching the next question which is peace a result of ones personal or generational historical experience ?

T: It is a generational experience thing, definitely.

B: It's generational, yeah.

T: The last time we had strife and death on the streets of Ireland well obviously during the revolution but before that we had a thing called the Great Strike of 1913. That was the last time.

B: Yeah.

T: I know it's going back but I'm just saying that element was totally, that triggered it got out of hand, and the police ran a mock and the Brits were still here.

B: There was no trade union at that time it was only starting off.

T: Excuse me did you never hear of James Larkin?

B: That's who I'm talking about

T: He's the one who organised it for fuck sake, then what are you saying then?

B: I know. It wasn't the trade union as we have it today.

T: That's down in O'Connell street that's James Larkin. There on the main street is like that, James Larkin and he's the one who organised the Great Strike of 1913. I rest my case.

N: But now that grew up a generation that didn't experience, more than 1 generation, that didn't experience the troubles, like personally. they had stories about it but they didn't

T: Young people aren't interested in the main.

N: But do you feel that there's a different approach in because they don't have this kind of view that the Troubles will come back do they have a different approach to peace and do they value it less, are they more militant?

B: No!

T: No, they are less militant. I'll tell you why it's because young people are watching television, YouTube all this stuff all the time they are more international. you know what I mean, they would say, even people they look at the Royal family in England and they see the royal and the prince comes here last week, the future king and your woman, and they are greeted and welcome. and the young people they say, why wouldn't you welcome them, they are nice people. so they dont have that element that we might have had in our day, possibly. what do you think about that? You agree?

B: Yeah, there's no problem.

D: Do people volunteer to go to war or is it a personal choice?

T: Oh, it's a personal choice in Ireland.

B: No, well it will be in Ireland. Personal choice, yeah.

T: you mean go to war on behalf of who?

N: Of Ireland.

T: Only within the context of the United Nations. Because we never had and still don't have any overseas element like for instance,

N: If something happened in Northern Ireland, will people here go and form themselves local brigades or would it be a State organised operation?

B: It wouldn't be state. First of all, in that respect, they may go on their own accord. but the state could never afford to get involved in a war. they would not have the equipment enough, even going into the north.

T: For 2 reasons, they would not have where of all, I mean who would they fight? the British are 50 times bigger than we are, in terms of military power and everything else, the only way, and that's why I cant understand the war in Syria, which your man in Syria is, if I was out there and I was involved in that country I would say to my fellows don't do anything, stop everything, right. don't do anything. some back to where it was sand then we'll bomb him off. just individually bomb, like shooting a president. individually, don't drag all the people into a war you cant win. Especially against Russia. Individually, yeah. But around the border area in NI, like the other counties o

B: We'll never get into it.

T: No, we wouldn't have. but the state wouldn't get involved anyway because we have international treaties, we've signed on the line treaties and with those treaties in mind, we've recognised the North. but what is there is that if people of NI the 6 counties, if they agree in principle in the future because of Brexit let's say, which they wont, but if they did, they could agree that they want to have a united Ireland, and they have a clever side and then that would be agreed. but leaving that aside, as long as they want a majority to stay in the UK then that's it. there's no argument. (1:35:00) and the majority of people here will feel the same way. now there would be elements of an IRA type group which is still there around the border areas like Donegal, Cavan, Monaghan, they're still around. and they are always ripped up because it effects them more directly. and they're also to get going about the thing because they live there. But leaving them aside, I mean as far as Dublin is concerned, NI might as well be China. it doesn't matter to us you know.

D: Who is profiting from war? (1:35:34)

T: Big business mostly.

B: It is, well from the interlike, the middle-lead, the palace when I say the middle-east the island countries are armament countries, armament countries.

T: Which Saudi?

B: They're the only people that will gain in the long run.

T: Wealthy people gain from war.

B: Yeah.

T: Sure the Americans were selling stuff to the Germans during the Second World War. Electronic equipment from America.

D: And how does that affect the post-war politics?

T: How does it affect..?

B: Again it's the same thing. The world's economy is controlled by very few people, the whole world's economy is dependant, when I say not dependant but, the whole world economy is run by a car, if you want to put it, a cartel business. of the most wealthy people in the world. that's how, they're the only people who really, they are the ones that profit.

T: They always did.

B: They're investing the money in armaments and everything, and at the end of the day the men who are out there doing the fighting wont matter.

T: They're just soldiers.

D: And did anyone in your family fought in a war? did they tell you about the war?

T: Not directly. When you said fought in a war, engaged in the war yes, my father spent all his time in the UK.

B: Fought in it.

T: No, no, you mean fought as in military?

N: Yes.

T: No. They wouldn't be let Irish people in the main.

B: Now having said that I don't know, my grandfather could have been involved in world war, I don't know. I know he was in the military in India but I never met him.

N: But non of your families were in war in the Troubles or...?

T: Oh, in the Troubles? Well, my grandfather now he was involved with the gun running with the IRA, they have a thing called the *Asgard* in Howth, in Country Dublin, and they went down and collected guns from our friends, our friends from Germany at the time.

N: And did they, did he tell you anything about it?

T: Oh, no, no, he died long before I was born. He died, he was only 58, he died in 1939 just before the war started and in the First World War he didn't want, they didn't have conscription in Ireland they avoided it here, they went on the streets to avoid it, and he was involved with the IRA and I had an uncle who's locked up for gun running with the IRA.

B: That's the only involvement isn't it?

T: Yeah, but apart from that no.

N: And there were no family stories about...?

B: Not direct with the war.

T: Now, there were people who are related to my grandparent, now they were involved in the war. Now my grandmother's brother was in the Navy, the British Navy and he was killed and there was other things like that, now I don't know anything about those people because it's very hard to get information on that and a lot of information was destroyed in Ireland because of the Civil War, the central offices in the city were blown up and hundreds of years of information gone you know. Census population and all this stuff, it's gone.

N: And inside the family they didn't speak about it?

B: No.

T: Oh, no, no, never, no. My mother's side now, they were very reserved. He was a very reserved man, he was a goldsmith and all this and you know he wouldn't get involved in anything like that. Very peace loving man. My grandfather on the other side was totally different.

D: Do you think peace has advanced the society we live in?

T: Well it's made things, because you have more money, if you have peace you have a few bob in the bank and you develop you know. like peace everywhere, peace is bound to help. You know, it cant do any harm.

B: Yeah. (1:40:00)

D: So that's connected as well to the next question, is peace connected to distribution or redistribution of wealth/ownership of property?

T: I was gonna ask the rest of that question by saying peace with honor and justice. That's the other side of side...

B: That's the other side.

T: Peace as one word means nothing, but peace with honor and justice that's the other side of it and that answers the far end to that question. if everybody treated fairly, as Brian said earlier, then you don't have a problem. But unfortunately you know, it's very hard to get justice because people look at justice in different ways. You know, like...

B: It does contribute to it there's no doubt.

T: And an example of that, a bad example of that is that in the days of the famine in Ireland the British thought it was great justice to just put most people in work homes and starve them. That was a great idea. They thought that was justice. Again it was their standpoint.

N: And what do you mean when you say the word honor?

T: It's really an extension of treating people with respect, respect and honor and justice. In other words, we have peace there's your job, there's your family, there's the home you're living in, get on with your life, no one is going to interfere with you.

B: You have certain traditions and everything else according to your group that you're with, whether it will be religious or otherwise, and as long as people turn around and say well that's what they do, it's not doing anybody else any harm, it's their way of their religion part their work and everything else, as long as you are not interfering with others and you're not taking anything from them, to keep your own going then you got no problem.

T: I believe this sincerely right, I mean it baoslutely up front, I think the greatest curse to mankind is religion, the great curse. look around the world, the Middle-East is a mess. Muslims are fighting other Muslims because they are not Shia or the other crowd. You know, and I'm sure you have it in other things as well. Christians are fighting other Christians, Protestants are fighting Catholics in the North.About what? the same bloody religion both of them have and the problem is non of them have any religion that's what's wrong. if they had religion they wouldn't have been doing it in the first place, that's what's wrong. So religion is a curse in my opinion.

D: I'll quote you on that.

T: Yeah, do, absolutely.

D: Can a state be run by a working class person?

T: A State? Well put it this way...

B: Well, what's a working class person? There's your answer.

T: I'll give you the answer to that and the only one that comes to mind immediately.

B: I mean is it the man in the pit?

T: Lech Wałęsa was the president of Poland and he was an electrician, a working man and he was a good president, am I right? Of course they can.

B: I mean what makes him more qualified? If he has the education and knows how to do the job, being a president of a country is a job, if he knows how to do the job, it doesn't matter what he is.

T: He was a union organiser, you heard of him of course, Lech Wałęsa?

D: Yeah.

T: He is a good example in my opinion. And here's another thing and again there's always parallel things, another parallel is you take for instance a good example that is years ago it used to be said in the British army in particular and even here, unless you had a certain education you couldn't be a good soldier. What, a good soldier, a purpose of a soldier is to kill the enemy. That's what they tell you when you go in to the army, that's your only function, that's what you're there for a legally given order, that's legal, kill the enemy that's your function. Now you don't need brains to do that, all you need is the where of it all and how to do it now getting back to the other thing. The British army used to send a million men all across the British Empire and they were run by a bunch of fools. Lions led by sheep. Because the officers were all middle class, they hadn't a clue, they considered the ordinary Joe who's doing the work on the ground he is a working class clown, he doesn't know we are the people with brains. And what happened then? When they got their ass kicked off after the Boer War they took off the red uniform and then they had to build Sandhurst which is the main officer court training and then they got a Joe from the street who know what he was doing and they made him an officer and now, that's why they have a better army. Now that's the answer to that but that's true

B: The ordinary Joe can become a great politician.

T: Of course he can, why not?

B: Politics is the case of knowing what is needed and instigating plans to get it done. If he doesn't know the answers himself, then he needs to get someone who does know but he still watches what he's doing. No problem.

T: I mean, Lech Wałęsa was a great man at his time and Nelson Mandela boils into it, why not?

D: What is solidarity for you? Is it practiced in your surroundings?

T: Solidarity? Funny you should say solidarity because that was Lech Wałęsa's... So, what is it?

B: Yes, I would say so, it's practiced in your own surroundings, if that's what you're asking, yeah.

T: It's living in a stable community, so...

B: It's practiced in your own surroundings and taking part in it. And working with people and not against them unless you know, you want to correct it, it is being led on. But solidarity, yes of course.

N: And do you need solidarity for peace?

T: I don't think you necessarily need it for peace because within that solidarity you have, like in Ireland you have different parties operating against each other like you have Sinn Fein and Fianna Fail hate each other basically because they are blue shirts and they are not. But that doesn't stop from being related to the state in the sense that we are all apart of the one country.

N: But how does that relate to solidarity? Where do you see this solidarity?

B: Co-operation.

T: I'll tell you, and it's actually a good point there what Brian is saying, because the latest thing, with the virus thing, despite all their indifference, they're fundamentally agreeing with the temporary government which is, wasn't elected the last time, but they are in power at the moment because the government hasn't been formed. that's solidarity. even though they disagree with each other politically and otherwise, they do agree that the policies that are now being adopted of stopping all the usual, that's solidarity at itself. and what comes out of today's meeting, literally today, will also decide but it's solidarity. Even if Sinn Fein are in it, it will still be solid. the people wont, it's not like, when I say Sinn Fein are not acceptable to me, it doesn't mean that if they are in power tomorrow in the morning that I wouldn't respect them any less... What?

N: There's a bell?

T: No, it's the washing machine, it goes ding ding until it stops. but you know where i'm getting at? Even though they disagree, the solidarity of their traditions, you know, they are just different parties but they're basically the same people. That's the solidarity side of that you know.

D: How does wage labour bring you together with or separates you from other workers?

B: It can separate you, very much so.

T: Oh, very much so.

N: In what way?

B: Generally speaking and it's personal experience as well, people on a higher wage don't, and that's generally speaking, they don't really interact with lower paid. Not in Ireland anyway, you know.

T: Well, one, they live in a different element.

B: They have the class distinction, we are the big people with the money, we don't associate with that lot. Now there are certain instances where they have to do it, but as a general thing they wont. it's, I can put it very quick, we have the biggest division in Ireland is the South Side and the North Side.

T: The **Liffey**, and yet they are the same people.

B: The same house, you can have 2 houses like this right, here you'll be paying 300k for it, go to Dún Laoghaire or Blackrock and you'll be talking 600 thousand. It's only because... and that's why the South side of the city has a slang name.

T: It's more of an attitude really.

B: No it's a slag name for it, it's called west Britain. Because that's where the big houses are

N: And what's the line of divide?

T/B: The Liffey.

D: And a lot of them are actually Protestants?

B: Oh, yeah, a lot of them are so, if you get closer down to Mulhuddart where we were reared.

T: There was a divider where we 2 groups.

B: A divider between the 2 parts of Donnycarney, Donnycarney East and Donnycarney West.

T: Donnycarney North.

B: Donnycarney North and Donnycarney West. But when they were built in the '40s, '30s and '40s actually back to '28 but one side of it was known as the Snobs. They had big houses, but the difference the 2 co-operations.

T: They are both the same group.

B: No, they are not the same group. Complete different patterns, but one was built slightly earlier than the other but the difference between them was, when these houses were built they were rent houses. for when the other ones were built they were built as purchase houses so we were the snobs.

D: Sure, sure.

B: And yet the houses, there wasn't much difference between them. We all played along with the co-operators anyway. that the same thing you know, there's always a division within a parish, most of our side of the parish went to school in Marino, where their side went to Donnycarney.

T: My brothers went to Marino. Because Donnycarney didn't exist. My brothers went to Marino as well, it was all a lot of non-sense. And you had the same teachers in both classes in school you know. all crap. I hope we are answering the questions.

N/D: Yeah, yeah. We are going through them we are doing really well.

D: Has socialism, the EU, or the prospect of joining the EU brought peace to your area?

T: Oh, absolutely. Joining the EU was the best thing that ever happened to Ireland. And you know why it was, as now...

B: It opened up the markets.

T: No, but apart of that, as now it has separated us from the British at last and that was the main thing in my opinion.

N: In what way?

T: Well, first of all, well i'm going back to 2000, we adopted the Euro currency. The British still have Sterling. Now admittedly, we didn't have Sterling, we didn't have since 1928, but even leaving that aside, psychologically, we became more of an independent country because of the EC because we are a part of a European community, whether our flag in Europe and so on. Now the next thing that Ireland is going to do and it's a fact, they're going to join the European army.

B: I don't think so, I don't think there will be war.

N: There will be one.

T: Absolutely. If a European army is formed, Ireland will definitely join them for 2 reasons. 1. It gives them more protection globally but secondly it also has the advantage of European army can come in here and help us out if we have a problem with the Brits. So that's twofold. That's a fact. But the European Union has done more for Ireland, I mean I...

B: We have gained significantly from it.

T: I used to drive, the roads were terrible. Until about 1970 the roads were awful. Now we have the finest roads in Europe, near enough, same as any other modern country as a matter of fact, our roads are so good now that the people in the North who used to look down at the South and say 'oh you haev fuck all there, you have nothing' you know now they are saying 'look how good the roads are in the Republic, jesus theyre great' you know and the reason for that is, the European community. It's developed our end, no end, terrific. and it will go on

D: So how does European peace relate to internal immigration?

N: Is internal immigration the price for this...

T: Well you see immigration, traditionally in Ireland going back to you name it, we've always immigrated.

B: No emigration

N: Immigration and emigration.

T: No, in natural fact, I think we have a tremendously open country now at the moment, now you go down to St. Annes or Dublin City, walk up Grafton street and you'll hear a 100 languages.

B: You'll be looking for an Irish accent.

T: It will be hard for, you know the guys, the start guys driving the lous railway the tram system, you know it's everywhere. In all the hospitals, half of the staff in every hospital is foreign. From any country. So we have a very much open economy here, very much.

N: And what about emigration?

T: Emigration will always be here because...

B: We have a big, actually I think there wouldn't be an awful big difference between the number that immigrates and emigrates. Because our own, cant try to survive, they are struggling here where a a lot of our immigration is coming in from war-torn areas, disrupted areas, as they are in England and all over the continent. But they are working for so much less, that ours...

T: They are undermining...

B: They are undermining the standard of pay here. I mean if you take somebody here, working in the shops or whatever, 10 euro an hour, and they're doing, if they're doing 40 hours a week that's 400€ by the time they pay their social welfare, before you get your wages, the taxes here are so high, and it's not only that. Here the cost of living is so high, and the cost of living...

T: It's a dear country.

B: It is a very dear country, it's one of the dearest in Europe and you can't get accomodation, there's, I dont know if you may read it, they talked about Hong Kong and all the rest of it I saw a program about it the other night, where they, somebody living in Hong Kong the have a bed one of top of the other right? but in Crumblin, or out in Clondalkin, there was a fella had a house rented out and he had all renters in it. There was 15 of them sleeping in one room. In one room!

D: That's criminal.

B: That's what I'm saying.

T: Immigration and the emigrant element is that

B: But them coming in, they are working at such low cost they are working for so cheaply or not getting paid at all, that they have no option. Because they cant afford to rent you know.

Even if you get 6 people to a house like this, which would be 6-7 to a house like this, which would be quite common for a family, you know your own, I'm talking about your own people in here you know, 6 or 7 in the house will be your max, where do you put but because there are 6/7 is there and you bring 6/7 together, 6/7 people coming at today's level they couldn't afford the rent.

T: Yeah.

B: Because a rent on a house like this will be 16 or 17.

T: On the emigration side, the reason why like, if my daughter more than likely, if my daughter she lives in Clondalkin, if she come in there today now she'd say to me I'm going to Australia, I wouldn't even blink an eye at it. Because there are so many Irish people in Australia, New Zealand, America, Britain and everywhere else, it's simple, it's very easy, there's no reintegration to any of those people. We can go there at a drop of an eye and you'd fit there straight away because not only you meet an Irish community, but even if you didn't, you can still go there and it doesn't matter because they think you're English so it doesn't like, they are so and they are well educated as well. Our education system is marginally better than the UK because one of the complaints they have in Northern Ireland all the time, is that their young, what they call Protestant kids are not getting the same facilities and education as their counterparts the Republicans, so that an element of their side you know but for our young people here there's one advantage and apart from the EC which is very good for the kids going abroad, they can go anywhere in the world where they speak English and they fit in immediately. and that's one of the up sides of having the English language you know.

D: How does peace relate to relations with countries in other continents, which you just touched, and immigration from here?

N/B: I think we answered that (1:59:00)

D: OK, next one, how does peace relate to climate change?

T: I don't think it's relevant in terms of the word peace. I think what's happening is that, if you could stand back here let's say, and here they are bringing some precarious legislation about tax or the petrol which is all taxed off the wall and it's one element, ironically, that Sinn FEin are good at, they don't want taxes on people to pay for carbon tax and stuff. that's really nothing to do with the ordinary person. They keep saying they had things like change your behaviour, change your way, what can I do? if I go down to the shop and I buy a packet of biscuits and it's inside cellophane, what can I do? I can't empty it up on the floor and say I don't want the paper. You know you can only, and then you have with peace the likes of Poland, China, Australia, they have mountains and mountains of coal they are burning it and they are building stations everyday of the week, so how do you relate to that? it's very difficult.

B: The problem is war creates pollution to a certain extent particularly after the war when they start to use atomic bombs and even in practicing exploding you are putting effect into the atmosphere. right. the biggest polluted we have in the world in my estimation is plastic. Now they've discovered this years ago, they've discovered this many years ago that plastic is the problem right? but they are still using it so much no matter what you get delivered it's covered in plastic. The next one is bad is styrofoam, styrofoam you cannot even bring to the waste disposal, because they have no way of getting rid of it, so why in the name of Jesus are they still manufacturing this stuff and use it. Right, we are destroying the earth, we are

destroying it and until we get out of the fact, you say it's wrapped in plastic, I served in a shop when I was a kid, I was in school right, the biscuits came in a tin and you took them out and weighed them, and sold them. everything today is convenience. Convenience. Being in the building trade I go out and want cement, I want plaster all these things. what happens? they come along, the pallet is there, there's cement, plaster everything is there and he covers it with plastic. why not put a net over it which you could take off and hang back on and you can use it on the next one.

T: Correct, they wrap it.

B: Look at the farmers, I was on the Malahide road there a few weeks ago, and there's fields and all you can see is lines and lines and lines of plastic. To help the growth.

T: Growth tunnels.

B: Nothing grows tunnels, this is just plastic to improve the growth to stop leech coming out, what the hell do we do with plastic? There's a minimum amount of plastic that can be recycled, I don't know if you may have seen it, I don't know I've seen it there the other day it was on the news programme last week or the week before and where's all the plastic going to? It's going to Indonesia.

T: Oh no, they stopped that now. They told us to send it back.

B: But you want to see it.

T: Oh, it's terrible.

B: I mean, the amount, the site that they showed it on television was the side of Dublin full of plastic.

D: Unbelievable.

B: Right now, we create more rubbish that is unusable again, it is a once off use but it's not disposable.

T: I don't think the average person has control on that really. I'm getting back to the fundamental question...

B: I mean...

T: If your neighbours in other countries won't follow the line, it's very difficult.

B: Yeah, but as kids will tell you today, it starts with you.

N: I don't think there's a contradiction. I think that everyone of us should contribute but still the individual citizen is not the main problem.

T: No, no, manufacturers are.

N: Yeah.

T: And it's big business.

N: You know when there is a political decision like in France now to stop using plastic...

T: We were the first country to do it here.

N: Yeah, and here also.

T: The same as smoking, and they stopped that,

B: Likewise, and other thing, how many, I'm sure you're travelling quite a lot, how many paper cups would you use in a month?

D: Well, now I'm very conscious about it so I don't use very much.

B: So, you see, you're starting exactly where you should be, right? How many milk cartons do we throw away? Right? Why isn't the milk bottles not being reused? It's dearer to recycle a milk bottle.

T: That's what I mean, Brian, it's economical.

B: No, no, no, but it's worth putting it into audio, I wanted to say in a story here, I remember coming out and the milk man came around with a milk in his jar and he put the milk into your bottles or into your jug. You know and he came twice a day. twice a day. We need to come back on creating the pollution. Because otherwise, they're even finding the plastic in the fish they eating them in this stage.

D: And we eat the fish.

B: And we eat it.

D: OK, one last question, would you consider peace building a political endeavor?

B: On a personal or general basis?

N: Both

B: Yes, yes, it should be.

T: I think it's essential.

B: Yeah, it is essential.

T: Absolutely essential. Definitely, yeah. I mean, you haven't any option, if you're going to live together and have a peaceful world, you have to enduveare to be peaceful. But unfortunately...

B: Conflict.

T: Invariably what happens is that when you had the colonial powers, if you take out a map of Africa and look at the straight lines in it, what happened there was as happening in Ireland, people are caught up on the wrong side of the line so you have half of a tribe say of whatever the Bantums I heard about, half of their people live on another country and they don't like it and they want to come back. but they are not allowed to by another state who ran the country. so that element of carving out people and voiding people that causes a lot of the trouble and the reformulation of all those things will help the world immensely. but I don't know how they're going to solve all the, I dont know, it's, what I can never understand is and it's a puzzle to me all the time, where is the benefit for, I mean I know the other idiot — Trump, he got out of Afghanistan and other places because politically it suits him, it looks good for his cv for the next election until that's over, but where's the benefit for say Russia?with your man Putin. I mean he's there in Syria bombing innocent people in camps now he's also bombing other people as well but he's killing a lot of innocent people and blowing up hospitals. where is the benefit, I cant figure that out logically in my own head, why did they do it? What did it contribute to him?

B: Control of the interest that is there.

T: Yeah, but Syria is the country, he won't run the country in the long term.

N: No, I don't think, I don't even think that he cares so much about Syria, I think that he wants...

T: What's in it for him?

N: First of all political prestige, and putting Russia back on the geopolitical map, that's the main, he's not really, Syria doesn't have any resources he can be interested in first of all the Americans are controlling the oil and second he has enough oil of his own and he doesn't, so it's not about that but for now, it's also kind of a problem with the spinning because now they are saying how Erdogan and Putin and so on they are sending the refugees to...

T: The border with Greece.

N: Yeah, but the only thing that everybody already forgot because it was only 2 weeks ago, is that the whole thing started because Trump pulled the forces out of Syria.

T: He let Erdogan do what he wanted.

N: And yeah, exactly.

T: Because it suits him.

N: Yeah, because, you know, he wants only the oil, he became really cynical, he left the people guarding the oil and nothing else.

T: And I'll tell you something, it's always the way in the world, it's very unfortunate that to get rid of Trump now is going to be impossible. Because look at the way the democrats are reacting in America. They are there fighting each other.

B: They're coming in.

T: They are not going to do anything.

B: They are all backing up.

T: It doesn't matter.

N: And the worst thing is that we don't know that Biden is going to be any better. He'll be more pleasant, more fine.

T: You know what's wrong with Biden? He's too nice, he's not nasty enough.

B: You don't know that.

N: I think he's nice in his words and nasty in his deeds.

T: Well, probably, yeah. No, what I mean is that he comes across as too nice, I think you have to be a nasty bugger, I mean Trump had a neck to say that the virus thing was a hoax.

D: I'm gonna stop this interview.

T: No, wait until I tell you something about all this waffling that we've been doing, did you get anything of any relevance?

D/N: Yes, of course we have, this is fantastic, thank you so much!

T: Is there anything else you want to ask before we finish up?

D: No, thank you.