



‘FREE TRADE OR ELSE’*

Laurie Robins

Martin Brady

Helen Hughes

Ying Sze Pek

Grace Phillips

Joe Riley

South London Gallery

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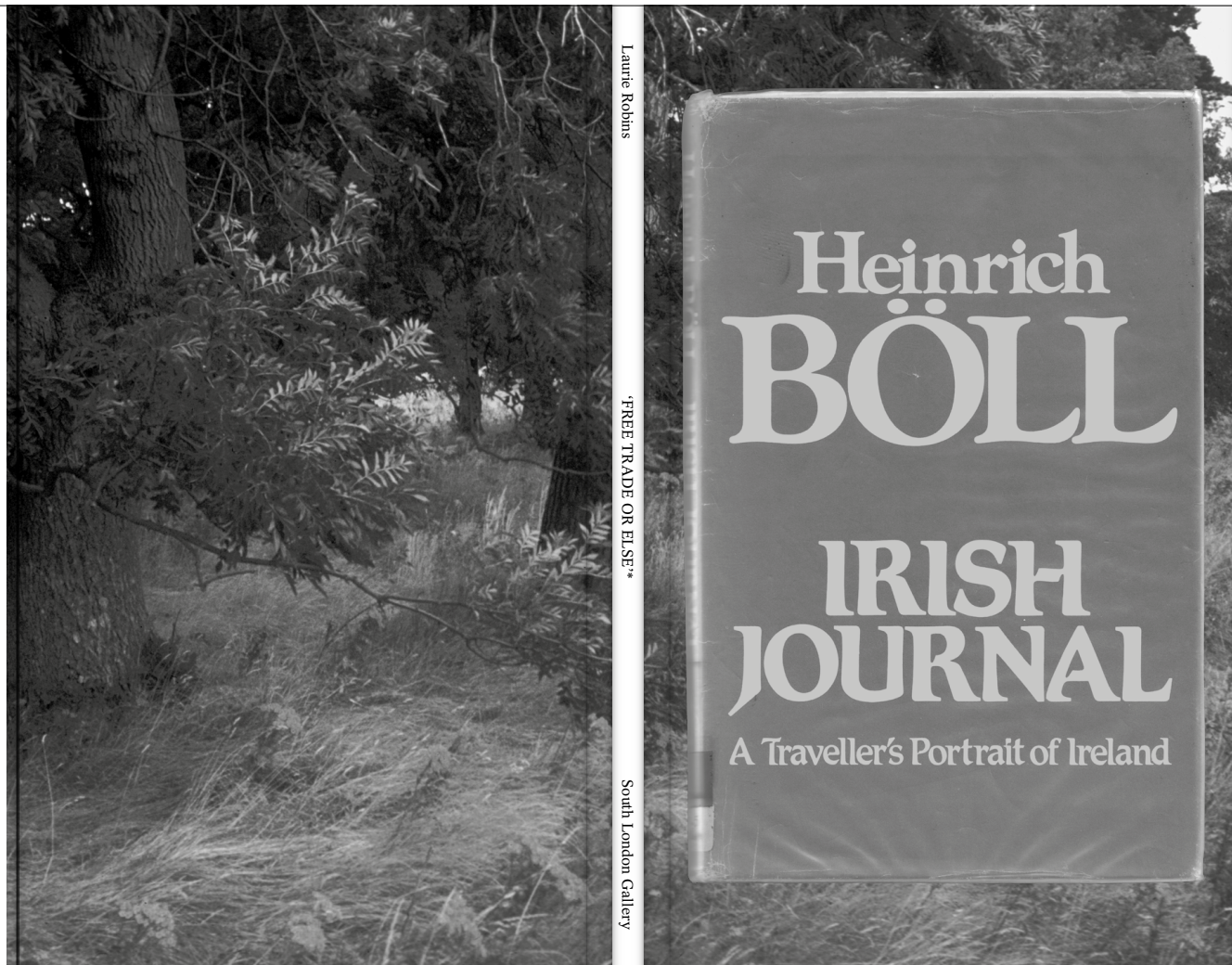
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Irishtown, Co. Mayo
 Ballindine, Co. Mayo
 Drumconlan, Castlebar, Co. Mayo
 Baxter Healthcare, Moneen Road, Castlebar,
 Co. Mayo
 Claggarnagh West, Co. Mayo
 Cahernamart, Westport, Co. Mayo
 Imperial Hotel, Castlebar, Co. Mayo
 Slievemore, Bal of Dookinelly, Achill,
 Co. Mayo
 Dooagh, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Keel, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Dookinella, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Purteen Harbour, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Bun an Churraigh, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Corrymore Village, Keel West, Achill,
 Co. Mayo
 Cloughmore, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Franciscan Friary, Bun an Churraigh,
 Achill, Co. Mayo
 Dugort, Achill, Co. Mayo
 St Thomas's Church, Dugort, Achill,
 Co. Mayo
 Dooega, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Dooagh, Achill, Co. Mayo
 Keel West, Achill, Co. Mayo
 W. Pier, Howth, Co. Dublin

Cover Images:
 Heinrich Böll, *Irish Journal*
 (London: Secker & Warburg, 1983)
 The Pale Ditch, Balally, Patrick Healy, 1979
 Courtesy: South Dublin County Council



Kilmainham Gaol, Inchicore Rd, Dublin
 Dublin Bay, North Dock, Dublin
 Eastpoint Business Park, North Dock, Dublin
 Custom House Quay, North Dock, Dublin
 Custom House Harbour, Dublin
 IFSC, Custom House Quay, North Dock,
 Dublin
 Hibernian Road, Dublin
 Beresford Place, Dublin
 St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin
 Abercorn Road, Dublin
 Marrowbone Lane, Dublin
 Parnell Street, Dublin
 St Nicholas of Myra, Francis St,
 Swift's Alley, Dublin
 Arbour Hill Cemetery, Dublin
 Parnell Square North, Dublin
 Pearse Railway Station, Westland Row, Dublin
 O'Connell St, Dublin
 Waterstown House, Glassan, Co. Westmeath
 Monksland Industrial Estate, Athlone,
 Co. Roscommon
 Castle St, Athlone, Co. Westmeath
 Ericsson Software Campus, Athlone,
 Co. Westmeath
 Sacred Heart Hospital, Ardsallagh Beg,
 Co. Roscommon





An Index

Grace Phillips

1808: Goethe publishes *Faust I*. According to Adorno, it presents a vision of the devil whose innermost operating principle is “the destruction of memory”.¹

“It would indeed be easy to draw up a series of modern quotations and intersperse them with Tudor sayings, without any difference of thought to be discerned so uniform are the workings of ignorance through the centuries when the knowledge of history is set aside. We have seen the well of a primitive world, where a hood-winked horse treads his darkened round of monotonous labour: so it may happen that in Europe, [...] statesmen and nations may turn blind-folded in an endless circle of experience, ever renewed and ever forgotten and unregistered. It is for this reason that Irish history cannot safely be ignored. Its study is needed to correct a whole series of misconceptions which have been for generations instilled in the minds of English and Irish alike – prejudices which have been the source of fatal errors.”

– Alice Stopford Green, 1908. A historian and supporter of Irish Home Rule, Stopford Green writes *The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing* as a history for the fight for independence, in opposition to an English view of Ireland as undeveloped and without civilisation.²

“The current amazement that the things we are experiencing are ‘still’ possible in the twentieth century is not philosophical. This amazement is not the beginning of knowledge – unless it is the knowledge that the view of history which gives rise to it is untenable.”

– Walter Benjamin, 1940. As a Jew and seminal theorist of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory, Benjamin is forced to flee occupied Europe and writes this final essay, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, before an unsuccessful attempt

1. Theodor W. Adorno, “The Meaning of Working Through the Past”, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, trans. Henry W. Pickford (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005): 89–103.

2. Alice Stopford Green, *The Making of Ireland and Its Undoing, 1200–1600* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1908): 492.

to cross the border into Spain in September 1940 ends in suicide.³

“That fascism lives on, that the oft-invoked working through of the past has to this day been unsuccessful and has degenerated into its own caricature, an empty and cold forgetting, is due to the fact that the objective conditions of society that engendered fascism continue to exist.”

– Theodor Adorno, 1959. After the Institute for Social Research (Frankfurt School) is reinstated in 1953, Adorno undertakes research on the persistence of national socialism in post-war Germany. His essay “Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit” (“What does Coming-to-Terms-with-the-Past Mean?”) is first delivered at an education conference in 1959, and later broadcast on Hessischen Rundfunk as part of his radio lectures.⁴

“Comrades, you are on the right path, not only since yesterday, but from your origin [...] Furthermore, you have remained politically united. I want the future to foster brotherhood and unity, which is needed to steadily become stronger and to be consolidated. I want especially that you, the young generation that follows sport, become the first soldiers of those who will guard against every nationalist assault [...] You must be united; you should cherish and strengthen the brotherhood and unity of our nation. That is our socialist way.”

– Josip Broz Tito, President of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 1972. In an address to the members of the Velež Mostar Football Club on its fiftieth anniversary, Tito emphasises the WWII Yugoslav Partisan slogan and official ethnic policy of socialist Yugoslavia, “brotherhood and unity”.⁵

“For the Jews, the doors were closed. We never understood that. Even President Roosevelt kept the doors closed. Why? The boat, St. Louis, was turned back. What was the world afraid of? I don’t

3. Walter Benjamin, “Theses on the Philosophy of History”, *Illuminations, Essays and Reflections* (Random House Inc, 2002).

4. Theodor W. Adorno, “The Meaning of Working Through the Past”, *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*, trans. Henry W. Pickford (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005): 89–103.

5. Mills, Richard. “Velež Mostar Football Club and the Demise of ‘Brotherhood and Unity’ in Yugoslavia, 1922–2009”, *Europe and Asia Studies: The Yugoslav Communist Legacy* 62, no. 7 (September 2010): 1107–1133.

understand. Thank God, now we live normal lives with our family and friends. But this question always stays on my mind. At a party, the Europeans always drift to one another. We always ask one another, ‘Where were you, where did you live, how did you get out?’

Somehow the conversation always leads to the concentration camps and the ghetto. Our children lived a little bit of our lives. I don’t know if it is so healthy for them, because our kids are more serious than American children. It unbelievable that we had the strength to survive such a fire.”

– Rae Kushner, Holocaust survivor and the grandmother of senior advisor to President Trump, Jared Kushner, 1982. Kushner gives her memories of the Holocaust to Kean College of New Jersey for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum’s collection of oral testimonies.⁶

“Today, it is difficult to say what is the historical truth about the Battle of Kosovo and what is legend. Today this is no longer important.”

– Slobodan Milošević, June 1989. The infamous St. Vitus Day Speech on the Field of Blackbirds marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo draws a million people to the Gazimestan monument, and is seen as a deliberate attempt by Milosevic to heighten intense ethnic tensions between Kosovar Albanians and Serbs as a method of gaining domestic political support in Serbia.⁷

“This is the hour of Europe.”

– Jacques Poos, Foreign Minister of Luxembourg, June 1991. As the chair of the European Community’s Foreign Affairs Council, Poos comments just before flying to Yugoslavia to mediate talks between the prime minister and president of the seceding republics of Slovenia and Croatia, and the Yugoslav prime minister. The statement would become an ironic symbol of the failure of European diplomacy in Yugoslavia.⁸

6. Rae Kushner, Transcript of an oral history conducted 1982, in *Oral History Interviews of the Kean College of New Jersey Holocaust Resource Center*, Research Institute Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives, RG-50.002*0015, Union, New Jersey.

7. Slobodan Milošević, “St. Vitus Day Speech”, (Gazimestan, Kosovo, 28 June 1989), <http://www.slobodan-milosevic.org/spch-kosovo1989.html>.

8. Alan Riding, “Conflict in Yugoslavia; Europeans Send High-Level Team”, 29 June 1991, *The New York Times*, <https://www.nytimes.com/1991/06/29/world/conflict-in-yugoslavia-europeans-send-high-level-team.html>.

“Today, we pay tribute to the victims of a terrible crime – the worst on European soil since the Second World War.”

– UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, July 2005. In his message to the commemorative ceremony on the 10th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre in the territory of Republika Srpska in eastern Bosnia.⁹

“All states in the Western Balkans should have the opportunity to join the European Union if they fulfill the accession requirements.”

– Angela Merkel, Chancellor of Germany, 2014. One hundred years after the start of WWI, Germany hosts a conference for the representatives of the former republics of Yugoslavia (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Kosovo, Slovenia, and Montenegro), Albania, Northern Macedonia, Austria, and France to initiate what will become known as the “Berlin Process”. It is a new framework to organise Balkan accession to the EU after European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker announces a five year pause to the EU enlargement process.¹⁰

“There’s nothing I can do.”

– Jared Kushner, senior advisor to President Trump, January 2017. Kushner’s alleged reply when Gary Cohn, chief economic advisor to the president, confronts him about Trump’s executive order on immigration barring entry to the U.S. for citizens of seven Muslim-majority countries, given the two men’s common history of Jewish asylum-seeking ancestors.¹¹

“I can’t believe this is still happening in 2017!”

– Most Americans the author knows.

“If the French, quite rightly, are proud of their emperor, and Britons of [Horatio] Nelson and [Winston] Churchill, then we

9. Kofi Annan, message to ceremony marking the 10th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre, delivered by Mark Malloch Brown, (Potocari-Srebrenica, Bosnia and Hercegovina, July 11 2005), <https://www.un.org/sg/en/subsite-section/kofi-annan?page=100>.

10. “Merkel Seeks to Strengthen EU Ties To Western Balkans”, 29 August 2014, *EURACTIV.de*, <https://www.euractiv.com/section/enlargement/news/merkel-seeks-to-strengthen-eu-ties-to-western-balkans/>.

11. Vicky Ward, *Kushner, Inc: Greed. Ambition. Corruption. The Extraordinary Story of Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2019).

have the right to be proud of the German soldiers’ achievements in the two world wars.”

– Co-founder of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) Alexander Gauland, September 2017. In a speech at an AfD event in the state of Thuringia in the run-up to federal elections.¹²

“Because we appear to be the third strongest party, the next government formed needs to be prepared. We will chase them. We will hunt down Angela Merkel, or whomever. We will chase them.”

– Alexander Gauland, September 2017. AfD’s historic election makes them the first far-right party to enter the Bundestag since the end of World War Two.¹³

“I don’t think they ever lifted a stone, never mind turned it.”

– Claire Rogan, wife of a victim of the Loughinisland murders, September 2017. In 1994 in the village of Loughinisland (Northern Ireland), three gunmen entered a pub and opened assault rifle fire on the crowds watching the Republic of Ireland play in the World Cup. Six people were killed and five wounded. Rogan’s comments on the unsolved nature of the murders feature in an investigative documentary on the massacre. Two investigative journalists involved in the making of the film would be arrested one year later for the alleged theft of confidential documents concerning the police’s handling of the murder investigation.¹⁴

“Can I make a submission to the consultation early on, can I tell the Secretary of State in all candour that there are many on these benches who will not be prepared to traipse blithely through the lobbies in order to support the setting up of any institution which would scapegoat our military veterans to pander to Sinn Féin.”

– Mark Francois, former defence minister and Tory MP, May 2018. Francois responds to the government’s launch

12. Judith Mischke, “Far-right leader: Germans should be ‘proud’ of their soldiers’ world war service”, 15 September 2017, *Politico*, <https://www.politico.eu/article/far-right-leader-germans-should-be-proud-of-their-soldiers-world-war-service/>.

13. “How AfD reached the German parliament”, Channel 4 News, 25 September 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hClzhZVLYRs>.

14. *No Stone Unturned*. Film. Directed by Alex Gibney. London: Kew Media Distribution, 30 September 2017.

of a public consultation process on the Troubles: “Addressing the Legacy of Northern Ireland’s Past”. The inquiry outlines plans for a historical investigations unit to investigate over 1,700 unsolved murders and the creation of an independent commission to retrieve information on deaths only if requested to do so by families.¹⁵

“A huge political embarrassment.”

– Nataša Kandić, Serbian human rights activist and director of the Humanitarian Law Center, July 2018. Kandić’s take as the Westerns Balkan Summit in London closes without the reps of Macedonia, Serbia, Kosovo and Montenegro agreeing to the establishment of the truth and reconciliation commission many years in the making: the ‘Regional Commission for the Establishment of Facts on War Crimes and Other Serious Violations of Human Rights in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia’ or RECOM.¹⁶

“I didn’t understand things like when elections are fought, for example, in Northern Ireland – people who are nationalists don’t vote for unionist parties and vice versa.”

– Karen Bradley, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and Tory MP, September 2018.¹⁷

“[...] and you know this Irish Border Question. I think this has got to stop being put forward as a red herring [...] It’s being weaponised. Its being used to obsficate and make negotiations more difficult. The Irish Border Problem does not exist.”

– Nandine Dorries, Tory MP, September 2018.¹⁸

“A very delicate process and really what the process was trying to do was to say look: you’ve got a problem here which is a historic

15. “Northern Ireland Troubles Soldiers’ Prosecution ‘Patently Unfair’, Says PM”, *Belfast Telegraph*, 9 May 2018, <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/politics/northern-ireland-troubles-soldiers-prosecution-patently-unfair-says-pm-36889715.html>.

16. Sven Milekic, “Balkan Govts Dodge Signing Truth Commission Declaration”, *Balkan Insight*, 10 July 2018, <https://balkaninsight.com/2018/07/10/west-balkans-states-not-singing-recom-declaration-07-09-2018/>.

17. Rory Carroll, “Karen Bradley admits ignorance of Northern Ireland politics”, *The Guardian*, 7 September 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/sep/07/karen-bradley-admits-not-understanding-northern-ireland-politics>.

18. “Episode #1.1”, *Peston*. Directed by Erron Gordon. 26 September 2018. London: ITV.

problem, which goes back to, well you know, 700 years, 800 years, whatever beginning point you want [...] you’ve got to stop thinking about identity as being monolithic. So if you asked the question – ‘Are you Irish or British? Do you want a united Ireland or do you want to stay part of the United Kingdom?’ – you were only going to get polar opposite answers [...] The British used to always superciliously joke about the Irish that whenever the Irish question was about to be solved, the Irish would change the question. And actually changing the question was a really good idea. So instead of saying, ‘What is your identity, and are you willing to die for it’, you said, ‘What could you live with? What way of thinking about identity would be okay so that you could actually get back to some kind of normal life?’ And what they came up with was a very very brilliant, delicate, complex arrangement which said [...] ‘It is the birthright of everyone in Northern Ireland to be Irish, or British, or both, as they may so choose.’ Very radical rethinking of what identity means, to say your identity might be multiple, it’s a matter of choice, so therefore it’s in your head, and because its in your head, it could change, it’s contingent, it’s open.”

– Fintan O’Toole, Irish critic and editor, October 2018.

Explanation of the Northern Ireland peace process at a World Affairs forum in San Francisco.¹⁹

“The AfD leader asks “Is it any wonder the British see bad faith behind every manoeuvre from Brussels?”

– Jacob Rees Mogg, Tory MP, March 2019. Mogg retweets a quote and video of Alice Weidel’s (leader of the AfD), speech in the German parliament.²⁰

19. “Fintan O’Toole: Brexit: Ireland and the English Question”, 11 October 2018, *World Affairs and Global Philanthropy Forum*. Moderated by Jane Wales. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JvDAW5SjdaE>.

20. Jacob Rees-Mogg, Twitter post, 31 March 2019, 7:57 pm, https://twitter.com/Jacob_Rees_Mogg/status/1112428768193404935.