1		THE TRIBUNAL RESUMED AS FOLLOWS ON THE 15TH OF
2		NOVEMBER, 2001, AT 10:30 A.M.:
3		
4		CHAIRMAN: Good morning everyone.
5		
6		MS. DILLON: Morning, Sir.
7		
8		Mr. Burke, please.
9		
10		MR. RAPHAEL BURKE RETURNS TO THE WITNESS-BOX AND
11		CONTINUES TO BE EXAMINED BY MS. DILLON AS FOLLOWS:
12		
13	1	Q. MS. DILLON: If we could turn to look, very quickly,
14		Mr. Burke, at the question of the entries in Mr. Tom
15		Brennan's diaries.
16		
17		And the first entry is at page 839 of the circulated
18		documents. And it's January of - Friday the 4th of
19		January, 1985. At page 839?
20		A. Yes.
21	2	Q. And you will see that you had a meeting at 10:45, it
22		would appear. That's you, I presume, at the bottom of
23		the page: "Friday the 4th of January, 1985. Ray -
24		Buswells?
25		A. Could have, yes.
26	3	Q. You will see that follows at 10:30 a meeting with
27		George Harrington, that Mr. Brennan had apparently with
28		Mr. Harrington.
29		A. Where is that?
30	4	Q. If you go back up above your name, if you move up four

1			lines, you will see "10:30"?
2		A.	He is in Mileys. He is in Kennys, with Morris, with
3			McGuiness, and with Mileys. Yeah, I don't know.
4	5	Q.	But it would seem that a significant number of the
5			people that he was meeting that day were his solicitor,
6			his valuer, and he was also meeting you at a quarter to
7			11, it would appear?
8		A.	I would have met Tom regularly.
9	6	Q.	Yes. And in the course of this period of time, if we
10			move on to May of 1985; I think you told us there was
11			an election in May, or around May of 1985?
12		A.	The election was actually - I have got the results
13			sheets for it.
14	7	Q	. The date will do?
15		A.	The 20th of June, 1985.
16	8	Q	. And I think it was your evidence yesterday, or the
17			previous day's evidence, that your meetings with
18			Mr. Brennan at this time would have concerned primarily
19			matters such as canvassing, and organising canvassing
20			teams?
21		A.	In the main it would have been about that, yes.
22	9	Q	. If we look at May of 1985, at page 841, and we look at
23			the 10th of May.
24		A.	Yes, I have it here.
25	10	Ç). You see that, "4 p.m Ray"?
26		A.	That would have been a Friday evening before I left
27			town to go out to North County Dublin.
28	11	Ç	2. You will see there, that also the people he is meeting
29			in the course of that day are John Caldwell, his
30			solicitor, "2:30 - Stephen" or "Stephens", and "2:30 -

1 George Russell"?

2	A.	Well, I had no knowledge of his business meetings, but
3		I would have been talking to him on the Friday evening
4		before going out. I can't be absolutely certain. We
5		are talking about 1985 here. But it is quite likely I
6		would have been talking to him about the canvass plans
7		and the programme for the elections at that stage for
8		what was the weekend programme, what I was doing or
9		where I was going, or which churches I was going to be
10		at, and which masses I would be outside, and what help
11		he could offer. That would be the sort of conversation
12		that would go on at that time.
13	12 Q	And it's clear from the diary entries that on that
14		particular day the balance of the people he was meeting
15		were people concerned with his business affairs which,
16		as you know, Mr. Burke, in May of 1985 had crystallised
17		into a very serious dispute involving two banks on the
18		lands on Sandyford.
19		
20		Is it your position that Mr. Brennan did not at any
21		stage discuss any of those matters with you?
22	A.	He would have in a general way, I assume, at some
23		stage, have mentioned his business concerns at various
24		times. In his life he would have mentioned things to
25		me.
26		
27		At that particular meeting - it would be most peculiar
28		if a businessman's diary didn't include his business
29		connections. But I am giving you what I, what I would
30		recall as being the meeting, and the content of the

1	meeting, assuming that's the situation.
2 13 Q	. At page 843, Sunday, the 19th of May at 4:30 there is a
3	reference, as you can see, "PJ Burke". Was that your
4	father?
5 A.	It could have been my father - my father died in
6	September. He would have been in the nursing home at
7	that time. Maybe he went out to see my father in the
8	nursing home. I don't know.
914 Q	. If we turn to page 844.
10	
11	Mr. Burke, if we look at Thursday, the 23rd of May
12 A.	Yes.
13 15 Q	2 we see at 5:35 at the bottom or - 5:35, it is "Ray -
14	Buswells", but immediately preceding that we see that
15	he is meeting Stephen Miley, John Caldwell, Stokes
16	Kennedy Crowley, Hill Samuel, Pat O'Toole, Harry
17	Riddle, Stephen Miley again, and somebody called Joe
18	Shelbourne. And it would appear on that day, that all
19	of these meetings were connected with the difficulties
20	in which he found himself, because they were all
21	persons involved in giving him advice and assistance in
22	relation to the difficulties he found himself
23	
24	MR. HAYDEN: Sorry, Sir. I don't want to delay the day
25	that's in it. Ms. Dillon has indicated that all of
26	those people were involved in giving him advice in
27	relation to problems that had arisen. I am not
28	entirely - my memory may be flawed, but I don't think
29	it's been putt to Mr. Stephen Miley that the meeting
30	was in relation to any particular issue.

CHAIRMAN: I note what you are saying.
16 Q. MS. DILLON: The position, of course, with Mr. Stephen
Miley is that he was advising Mr. Brennan at this time,
and we did deal with that in evidence with Mr. Stephen
Miley. Not that this specific meeting was put to him,
but that he was an adviser of Mr. Brennan's at that
time.
It would seem, Mr. Burke, from looking at the diary,
that the majority of the people that Mr. Brennan met on
that day were people with whom he had dealings in
connection with the difficulties in which he found
himself?
A. And every other day seems to be the same to me, but -
just glancing at the diaries here. But the particular
time that he met me in the evening is a Thursday
evening at 5:35. Dail breaks up at five o'clock. Tom
is in town doing business all day, as per his schedule
of meetings there. And he meets me at 5:35 or 5:30 as
I am leaving the Dail, heading to North County to
continue canvassing and continue my work.
Nothing unusual in that, whatsoever, just fit it in at
the end of his day's work. That's all.
17 Q. There is nothing in the diary so far that we've looked
at to suggest that Mr. Brennan had an arrangement to
meet you anywhere in connection with canvassing teams,
meeting canvassing teams, being out in North County

1 Dublin or anything such as that sort. Isn't that
2 right?
3 A. That's correct. But I would have been meeting Tom
4 about that whole issue at the time in relation to the
5 elections.
6 18 Q. What you had told the Sole Member two days ago,
7 Mr. Burke, is you were meeting him to arrange
8 canvassing teams and going out canvassing?
9 A. Going out canvassing. What he would do is, he would
10 establish teams, send groups of workers out, not
11 necessarily himself, he would send groups of workers
12 out, fellows that would go out and put up posters for
13 us, not just in my constituency but in other
14 constituencies at the time, because Tom was - he was
15 very much involved in helping adjoining constituencies
16 as well. He would be checking with me, how is the
17 campaign. He is a political junkie. When you would
18 know him, all he wants to do is talk politics and talk,
19 "How is the thing going?", "How is the campaign
20 going?", or "What's happening in the Dail?" It's just
21 like a lot of Irish people who like to gossip about
22 politics. Tom is one of those people, and he would
talk to you about "How is it going?", or "What's
24 happening?", "Do you need any more workers? Have you
enough on the ground? Do you want a few guys on the
26 weekend or what's the story?"
27 .
28 That's the type of level of conversation that would
29 take place.
30 19 Q. If we go back then to deal with the question,

1	Mr. Burke, which was: There is nothing in the diaries
2	that we have looked at so far to indicate that
3	Mr. Brennan made arrangements through his diaries in
4	connection with canvassing teams, or meeting points for
5	canvassing teams, or locations of canvassing teams, or
6	anything, in so far as we have looked at it. Isn't
7	that right?
8	A. That would be correct. I had no reason to think that
9	he would put that in his diary, and I would be very
10	surprised if he did.
11	20 Q. But we do know if we look, for example, at Wednesday
12	the 22nd there, that he has noted that there is a party
13	on at 8:30, and we note that he notes that in his
14	diary. We also note that he had an interest in - we
15	also note that he had an interest in the RTE Today
16	Tonight programme, because he has also noted that in
17	his diary, if we scroll up to the top of the page?
18	A. That was from the 22nd, I see.
19	
20	MR. HAYDEN: He seems to have an interest in girls as
21	well.
22	
23	21 Q. MS. DILLON: It seems that Mr. Brennan noted a great
24	deal of things in his diary, Mr. Burke. But he doesn't
25	seem to have noted anything in connection with
26	canvassing. Isn't that right?
27	A. I don't see it there, other than the meetings that he
28	would have had with me at those times.
29	22 Q. Yes. And if we move on to look at the next page in
30	which your name appears, which is at page 845. On

1 Monday, the 27th of May, we see a meeting at 5 p.m.
2 with J Keenan, who I presume was the same Mr. Keenan
3 who did the plans for your house?
4 A. I have no idea of that. Probably - I assume it is.
5 Jack was an architect for me.
6 23 Q. We see at 5:30 he is meeting you in Buswells. And we
7 see at 6:45 he is going to the Berkeley Court. Again
8 there is nothing there to indicate he was involved in
9 any way with providing canvassing services, or going
10 out meeting canvassing teams, or doing anything such as
11 that sort. Isn't that right, Mr. Burke?
12 A. That is right, according to the interpretation that you
13 are putting on the diaries. I am telling you the way
14 the period in question, in 1985, the way life was. And
15 if you look through his diaries in other elections
16 you'll see similar things, where he has been helping in
17 campaigns.
18 24 Q. Do you have Mr. Brennan's diaries in other elections,
19 Mr. Burke?
20 A. I don't have.
21 25 Q. Have you seen them?
22 A. I haven't seen them. I am assuming. I haven't seen
23 them. I never saw diaries of Mr. Brennan's until this
24 Tribunal started. I am just assuming that he would
25 have the same thing.
26 .
27 And as I said to you the last day I was in the box
28 here, I am amazed that there is only these number of
29 meetings, that I would have assumed there would have
30 been more.

1 26	Q	. You will see that the balance of the people, or the
2		majority of the people that he met on that day were
3		also people related to his business affairs, and people
4		from whom he was seeking or obtaining advice in
5		connection with the difficulties in which he found
6		himself?
7	A.	Yes, but that runs true of nearly every page on the
8		diary where I am not involved at all. You can make
9		whatever connections, which you will, for yourself.
10		That's your job, as I understand it. But if you look
11		through the other days, you will see that he is
12		meeting, as any businessman is, he is meeting the
13		people that he's doing business with, nothing to do
14		with me.
15 2	7 Ç	9. Yes. But in so far as you have said, and your evidence
16		was that the purpose of your meetings during this
17		period of time was for the purpose of setting up
18		canvassing teams, organising the canvassing teams in
19		North County Dublin. It would appear, Mr. Burke, in so
20		far as these diaries reflect anything, they do not in
21		any way identify either the election or canvassing or
22		arrangements in relation to canvassing teams in North
23		County Dublin on the diary. Isn't that right?
24	A.	That's true. And neither does it indicate about any of
25		the meetings that he has with anybody else on that
26		diary, from what I can see, as to what the contents of
27		those meetings were about, or what were the discussions
28		with all of his business connections with various
29		names. There is lists of names here of people that he
30		met. There is no suggestion of a follow-up. Most

1	people write in their diary, "had a meeting" - put it	
2	in their diary as to the intention to have a meeting.	
3 28	Q. Yes. If you turn to page 848, Mr. Burke, you will see	
4	that at 1 p.m. on Thursday, the 6th of June, 1985, you	
5	again appear to have met Mr. Brennan in Buswells. You	
6	will also see at 10:30 he met Mr. Stuart Harrington,	
7	and that there were other meetings set out. He was	
8	meeting Mr. Russell, for example, at 3:30, and again he	
9	is meeting at 11 a.m. Mr. J Keenan, again I presume	
10	that's the same Mr. Keenan who was the architect of	
11	your house?	
12	A. Well, you keep repeating this, that he was the	
13	architect of my house. Mr. Keenan was an architect	
14	for, I am sure, thousands of houses in this country, as	
15	well as my home. My home had been built in 1972. We	
16	are now into 1985. Again, it would be - in fact, if	
17	you look at Thursday, the 6th of June, the Dail would	
18	have been sitting on the 6th of June, on a Thursday. I	
19	would have been in the Dail and would have slipped	
20	across to Buswells to meet Tom for a bite of lunch or	
21	to have a chat with him. As I told you already, and I	
22	told you many times, I don't want to delay this	
23	morning, the purpose of those meetings at that time	
24	would have been in general about the election.	
25 29	Q. Not about canvassing or arranging canvassing teams?	
26	A. It would be about canvassing, about "How is it going?"	
27	"How is the campaign going?" "What's it look like?"	
28	All of the normal chitchat between a political worker,	
29	somebody who helps in campaigns, somebody who arranges	ļ
30	for others to help in campaigns, that type of general	

1		chitchat, quick chat about, "How are things going?" I
2		can't say whether at one o'clock I could have had lunch
3		with him, I don't know, because we often had lunch
4		together.
5	30	Q. Because you had told the Sole Member, as you recollect,
6		Mr. Burke, that the purpose of these meetings was
7		solely for the purpose of arranging canvassing teams,
8		of putting people on the ground, organising cars,
9		organising areas, that is an entirely different thing,
10		Mr. Burke, to a political chitchat
11		A. The political chitchat would be about the campaign,
12		"How is the campaign going?" "What help do you want on
13		the weekend?" "How did last weekend go?" "Do you want
14		extra people in?" "Do you want workers in?" "How many
15		cars are you going to plan to need on polling day?"
16		That sort of general political conversations that take
17		place with people who are going to help in elections.
18	31	Q. Did you have a campaign manager, Mr. Burke?
19		A. I did most of my own campaign work in 1985 myself.
20	32	Q. Did you have a campaign manager, Mr. Burke?
21		A. My campaign manager would have been my brother-in-law,
22		who was the Director of Elections in the constituency.
23	33	Q. And did Mr. Burke have similar contact with - did
24		Mr. Brennan have similar contact and communication in
25		relation to organising canvassing teams in matters such
26		as that sort?
27		A. They would have come into the constituencies. But it
28		just - it wasn't just about my constituencies, it would
29		have been about other constituencies at well.
30	34	Q. You will see on Document 848, that at 10:30 he had met

1 Stuart Harrington, whom, as you know, Mr. Burke, was
2 the person who was negotiating on behalf of Canio
3 Limited to sell the Canio lands to a Local Authority.
4 Is that right?
5 A. From what I've seen of the transcripts of the evidence
6 of the Tribunal, I very much doubt it was about that,
7 because Mr. Brennan made it quite clear that he wasn't
8 in favour of that sale of that land, if I recall.
9 35 Q. You've also seen the documentation where Mr. McClune on
10 behalf of Dun Laoghaire Corporation made an offer to
11 buy the lands. Isn't that right? You'll have seen
12 that in the circulated documents?
13 A. It would have been from Dun Laoghaire Corporation, yes.
14 36 Q. And if we turn to page 851, Mr. Burke, you will see
15 that you have a meeting on June the 24th, at 5 p.m., in
16 Buswells Hotel, again "Ray"?
17 A. On Monday, yes, before the election.
18 37 Q. You will see that
19 A. Just after the election, sorry. The election was the
20 20th. We would have been gossiping about the election
21 and how it went. It would have been a question of
22 congratulations all around, about how successful we
23 would have been in the campaign.
24 38 Q. I see. And you will see again that immediately after
that he meets a financial adviser called Mr. Taylor,
and immediately before that he is dealing with one of
27 the bankers from Lombard & Ulster?
A. I would be very surprised if a businessman's diary, on
29 a daily basis - and if I go through his diaries, you
30 will see that he is meeting everybody and anybody,

1 bankers. The next day he is meeting - the following
2 day he is meeting different bankers. Nothing to do
3 with me, whatsoever. He is meeting Mr. Russell. He is
4 meeting all sorts of people.
5 39 Q. And at page 852 on Thursday, the 27th of June, we see
6 at 4:30, again, "Ray - Buswells". Isn't that right?
7 A. Yes.
8 40 Q. If we move on to 583 on Monday, the 1st of July, at 3
9 p.m., we see he is again meeting you in Buswells?
10 A. Yes.
11 41 Q. Followed by a meeting with Mr. Stephen Miley?
12 A. Sorry?
13 42 Q. Followed by a meeting at 4 p.m. with Mr. Stephen Miley,
14 and 5 p.m., Mr. Don Reid?
15 A. I don't see those on the copy I have here.
16 43 Q. 853 on the screen, Monday, the 1st of July.
17 A. Don Reid and Stephen Miley. One is a solicitor and the
18 other was his tax adviser.
19 44 Q. Yes. And it would seem that the majority of the people
20 that - with whom Mr. Brennan had meetings in the course
21 of this period were people from - with whom or from
22 whom he was seeking advice in connection with the
23 difficulties he had in connection with the Sandyford
24 lands, other than yourself. And it is your evidence,
25 Mr. Burke, that other than discussing this with you in
26
27 .
28 MR. HAYDEN: Again it goes back to the objection I had
a few moments ago. Ms. Dillon is portraying all of
30 these meetings, all of these personnel as having met

1	Mr. Brennan for a single purpose. There	has been no
2	evidence to that effect at all. All of these	
3	individuals who are named in the diaries,	clearly, for
4	many years before and many years after the	nis - these
5	number of months, Mr. Brennan met the s	ame people.
6	Because, as you've heard, Sir	
7		
8	CHAIRMAN: Broadly speaking	
9		
10	MR. HAYDEN: these were solicitors	doing business on
11	behalf of these various businesses, the ba	nk and so
12	forth.	
13		
14	CHAIRMAN: I've got the message.	
15		
16	MR. HAYDEN: I am not trying to - I am	ı just looking
17	after Mr. Brennan. But it has been portra	yed on the
18	part of Mr. Brennan as if a certain state o	f affairs
19	existed, which was never put to him by M	fr. Hanratty.
20		
21 45	Q. MS. DILLON: In so far as - can I deal	with them this
22	way: As the majority of the people that N	Mr. Brennan
23	had entered in his diary were advisers, so	me of whom
24	were advising him about the difficulties t	hat he had at
25	the time, as we know. Even if we take it	at its
26	barest, and as My Friend has suggested, i	n that they
27	were all business meetings, or the majorit	ty of them
28	were business meetings, is it the position	that your
29	meetings with Mr. Brennan were also bus	siness meetings?
30	A. No, my business meetings with Mr. Bre	nnan - I wouldn't

1	have had business meetings with Mr. Brennan in 1985. I
2	was out of business at that stage. It would have been
3	political meetings. I was gone out of business. I was
4	a full-time politician at that stage.
5 46	Q. And is it your evidence that the main purpose of these
6	meetings over this period of time were to do with
7	organising canvassing teams, arranging drivers, cars,
8	as you've previously described to the Sole Member of
9	the Tribunal?
10	A. Yes. And if you look at the 1st of July - on the 5th
11	of July was the day that I took over and was elected as
12	Chairman of the Council. And it's of no surprise to me
13	at all that Tom would be meeting me on the 1st of July,
14	after a long weekend, when we hadn't got the full
15	majority. We were hoping to get the Chairs and the
16	Vice Chairs of the Council, et cetera, and the various
17	committees. And it is of no surprise to me at all that
18	Tom has it down there, at three o'clock, that I was
19	meeting him. I have no doubt that he was following,
20	habitually following at that time what was going on in
21	relation to the forthcoming Chairmanship election of
22	the Council.
23 47	7 Q. Yes. But in so far as you have described to the Sole
24	Member that the purpose of these meetings was the
25	organising of canvassing teams, drivers, getting people
26	out on the ground, knocking on doors and matters such
27	as that sort, I suggest to you, Mr. Burke, that
28	whatever else, yourself and Mr. Brennan were discussing
29	during this period of time, it does not appear to be
30	related to matters such as that sort?

1		A.	Well, on the contrary. I would suggest to you that
2			exactly with the time frames and the days of the week
3			that the meetings were, it would indicate exactly the
4			point that I have just indicated to you. And there
5			isn't one screed of evidence to suggest anything
6			different.
7			
8			And as I said to you the last day, I am surprised that
9			there are so few meetings indicated in the diaries,
10			because it would be my normal procedure in those sort
11			of campaigns, that Tom would have been in touch even
12			more often than that. And he could have been in touch
13			by phone. He would have been checking to see how the
14			thing was going. You will also notice in the diaries
15			that he's not just talking to me, he is talking to
16			other councillors and other people. He would have been
17			helping in other constituencies as well.
18	48	Ç	2. Is it your position, and is it your evidence,
19			Mr. Burke, that the reason you say these meetings were
20			to do with the election is because of the time
21			connection, that these meetings take place in or around
22			the time that the election happened? Is that the
23			connection that you are making?
24		A.	It's not the connection I am making, it's the reality
25			of the situation.
26	49	Ç	2. Well, what you've said in your previous answer is,
27			"Well, on the contrary, I would suggest to you that
28			exactly within the time frames and the days of the week
29			that the meetings were, it would indicate exactly the
			point that I have just indicated to you." Which

1 clearly suggests that you are making a time connection,
2 Mr. Burke, which means that your evidence is based on
3 the coincidence of the Local Authority elections and
4 the diary taken together?
5 A. I am basing it on my memory of talking to Tom during
6 that period, and I am - in that election and in other
7 elections in relation to the scenario. I can't give
8 you, Mr. Chairman, here, the details of every item of
9 conversation that took place during meetings that took
10 place in 1985, in May and June. I am giving you my
best recollection of them in the context of - that they
12 are set.
13 50 Q. And it's your best recollection that Mr. Brennan
14 throughout this period did not discuss in any specific
15 way the difficulties he was having with the Sandyford
16 lands?
17 A. Not in specific ways. He would not have discussed it
18 with me at all.
19 51 Q. If I could turn to the question, very briefly, again,
20 Mr. Burke, in connection with the voting to do with
21 Fortunestown, Tallaght, County Dublin, and a statement
that you made to the Garda on the 24th of the 7th,
23 1974, in connection with same?
24 52 Q. "There was a motion proposed to Dublin County Council"
25 - this is your statement. I want to ask you about the
26 statement.
A. I just want to get up the statement.
28 53 Q. I don't wish you to use the statement. I wish you to
29 give your evidence from your recollection
30 .

1 MR. WALSH: Sir, this is something that's happened in
2 1974, and he is asked out of the blue about a
3 statement. Surely he is allowed to see the statement,
4 identify it and then he can be asked questions on it
5.
6 CHAIRMAN: All right. All right. Mr. Burke can have a
7 look at his statement for the purpose of refreshing his
8 memory, even though it's not contemporaneous with the
9 event.
10 .
11 Now, Mr. Burke
12 A. Which page is it, please? There is a number of pages
13 in this statement.
14 .
15 54 Q. MS. DILLON: Page reference 38 and 39 at the top.
16 A. 38 and 39.
17 55 Q. Starting with page 38: "I am member of Dail Eireann."
18 A. I have it here.
19 56 Q. Consider the first paragraph of that?
20 A. Give me a moment. I'll read it, Mr. Chairman. Yes, I
21 read the first paragraph of it, yes.
22 57 Q. This is a statement that you made in July of 1974 in
23 the course of the Garda inquiries, isn't that right?
A. That's right, yes.
25 58 Q. In fact, it would appear, and I think you have been
26 furnished with the full documentation. It would appear
27 that, in fact, the Gardai furnished their report in
28 relation to this matter to the Garda Commissioner for
29 onward transmission to the Office of the Attorney
30 General on the 7th of August, 1974?

1 A. That's right. Yes.

2 59 Q. How is it, then, that Mr. Casey was getting an
3 authority from you on the 18th of August, 1974, to
4 interview your bank manager?
5 A. I have no idea.
6 60 Q. Because the actual report in connection with this
7 matter, page 5449, please, as we see, was, in fact,
8 forwarded to the Office of the Attorney General by the
9 Gardai on the 7th of August, 1974?
10 A. I see that.
11 61 Q. Yet you had authority directing your bank manager to
12 assist Mr. Casey is dated the 18th of August, 1974?
13 A. Well, maybe they came back for something in addition in
14 relation to the house. I have no idea.
15 62 Q. In any event, if we go back to the statement that you
16 made to the Gardai in connection with this matter, and
17 dealing very briefly with it.
18 .
19 As I understand what you are saying there, Mr. Burke,
20 and you may wish to correct me if I am wrong, is that
21 there was a proposal to put a Compulsory Purchase Order
22 on certain lands at Tallaght in which
23 .
24 MR. WALSH: Could I just make a point? There has been
25 no evidence called on anything to do with this before
26 now, so I don't see why it's fair for Ms. Dillon at
27 this late stage to be going into this matter, which is
28 of historical record some 26 years ago, 25 years ago at
29 this stage.
30 .

1 No evidence has been called from anybody on this topic
2 before. Mr. Burke is here to answer for himself and
3 for any evidence that has been called, for evidence to
4 be put to him.
5.
6 CHAIRMAN: We'll proceed for the moment and we'll see
7 how far your objection
8 .
9 63 Q. MS. DILLON: As far as I understand your statement,
10 Mr. Burke, it appears that the position was that there
11 was a proposal in Dublin County Council to place a
12 Compulsory Purchase Order on certain lands at
13 Fortunestown, Tallaght, County Dublin. Mr. Brennan had
14 an interest
15 A. Yes.
16 64 Q in those lands. You voted against the Compulsory
17 Purchase Order?
18 A. Yes.
19 65 Q. And you told the Garda that Mr. Brennan put the views
20 of the company personally to you?
21 A. That's right.
22 66 Q. And that you were impressed by them?
23 A. That's right.
24 67 Q. Right. Did you disclose to the Garda, when you were
25 making this statement, the extent of the financial
26 support, or the extent of your financial relationship
27 with Mr. Tom Brennan?
28 A. The extent of my financial
29 .
30 MR. HAYDEN: Sir

1		
2		CHAIRMAN: Just a moment. A question has been asked.
3		I want to hear the answer.
4	A.	Of course the Guards were aware of my connections with
5		Mr. Brennan
6		
7		MR. WALSH: Sorry, Mr. Burke. Sorry, Sir, evidence of
8		this allegation of financial support should have been
9		adduced in evidence before this question was put to
10		Mr. Burke. There has been no evidence
11		
12		CHAIRMAN: Unless you were not with us yesterday
13		afternoon, my recollection of the whole afternoon
14		related to financial support that he was receiving.
15		
16		Now, let me be quite clear. Financial support he was
17		receiving, I am not saying in any way improperly. He
18		was certainly in receipt of a monthly cheque from the
19		firm in relation to his activities as an auctioneer,
20		and he also was subsequently in receipt of substantial
21		sums, which the witness says were political donations.
22		
23		Now, there is no reason why - that this can't be
24		inquired into.
25		
26		MR. WALSH: My objection is to the phrase "financial
27		support". The evidence before you is professional fees
28		were paid on a monthly basis, of approximately ú1,000 a
29		month, over a couple of years. That is different from
30		financial support. Financial support implies a gift or

1	a present, or something like that. And there hasn't
2	been any evidence of that. And there is no evidence of
3	that.
4	
5	CHAIRMAN: The evidence before the Tribunal is that
6	money was paid for services, which the witness says was
7	for services rendered and/or political purposes. Now,
8	that's the evidence.
9	
10	MR. WALSH: Sorry at 1972, '73, '74, there was no
11	political contribution. There was no evidence of
12	financial support at that stage. So it's incorrect
13	
14	CHAIRMAN: Just a moment. One person only.
15	
16	MR. WALSH: It's incorrect for Ms. Dillon to phrase it
17	"financial support". And the interpretation of that
18	phrase that you appear to be taking, Sir, is that it's
19	equivalent to the political contribution and the
20	political
21	
22	CHAIRMAN: that funds were moving. I am not taking
23	I am making it quite clear that at this moment in time,
24	I take the witness's statement that he was receiving
25	payments for services rendered.
26	
27	MR. WALSH: I can have no difficulty with that phrase,
28	if that's the phrase that's used, Sir.
29	
30	CHAIRMAN: That's the phrase that I am using.

-

1	
2	MS. DILLON: There is no difficulty about that. Just
3	so the record is absolutely clear, the evidence of Mr.
4	Brennan and the evidence of Mr. Burke has been that in
5	addition to the off-shore payments that were made by
6	Messrs. Brennan and McGowan, and in addition to the
7	auctioneering arrangement with PJ Burke (Sales)
8	Limited, it was the habit of Mr. Brennan and his
9	companies to offer financial support in Ireland to
10	Mr. Burke at election time, from the time he first
11	stood for office, which, as far as I understand this
12	witness's evidence, to be from 1972.
13	
14	MR. HAYDEN: Just
15	
16	MS. DILLON: That was my understanding of Mr. Brennan's
17	evidence.
17 18	evidence.
	evidence. MR. HAYDEN: If I might just say, Sir. My objection
18	
18 19	MR. HAYDEN: If I might just say, Sir. My objection
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 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 	MR. HAYDEN: If I might just say, Sir. My objection was that Counsel on behalf of the Tribunal, in the clear knowledge of what the evidence has been from Mr. Brennan and Mr. McGowan, that the payments made were in relation to the monthly sum fees from Kilnamanagh and the Brennan and McGowan companies. That was converted into a financial contribution by Mr. Brennan in the question from Ms. Dillon. And again, Sir, you are not a jury. And I understand that,

1	MS. DILLON: I've already said I will rephrase the
2	question.
3	
4	CHAIRMAN: All right. The question is going to be
5	rephrased. Now, I want to get business finished with.
6	And this sort of interruption is not really getting us
7	very far.
8	
9	I accept that you have a right to interfere -
10	interrupt, but we must get moving on. I must be - it
11	must be assumed that when I read a transcript, I am
12	reading the entire transcript and assessing what I
13	think is the end product. It's not just one phrase
14	here or there.
15	
16	68 Q. MS. DILLON: Did you disclose to the Gardai that your
17	company was in receipt of ú1,000 per month by way of
18	Standing Order from Kilnamanagh Estates, a company with
19	which Mr. Brennan had a close association and a
20	substantial interest?
21	A. I wasn't in receipt of my fees at that stage, in 1974,
22	in the manner in which has been outlined. But the
23	Gardai were well familiar, and went through all my
24	records in relation to my business relationship with
25	Oakpark and with the Brennan and McGowan Group in
26	general terms.
27	
28	As far as the document that you have just brought to my
29	attention is concerned, I made a statement to the
30	Guards, as not only did I, but everybody else who was

1 on the Council did.

-	
3	The Guards fully investigated the proposals in relation
4	to the proposal being put forward by the company. In a
5	cross party vote, the proposal was adopted in relation
6	to the allocation of some land, 163 - according to the
7	Garda report here, 163 acres of the land from the
8	consortium went to the Local Authorities. 700 acres
9	went to the - of the 700 acres, 163 were given to the
10	Local Authority. That was a cross party vote.
11	
12	This matter was fully investigated by the Guards, and
13	the DPP decided that, he considered that the very
14	thorough and painstaking Garda investigation had not
15	disclosed any evidence warranting a prosecution, and
16	that was the view suggested by the Guards to the DPP as
17	well at the time, to the Attorney General per the
18	report here.
19	
20	So there was absolutely nothing improper and I - I or
21	none of the other people from across the party divide
22	had any case to answer.
23	
24	And this was all investigated. And the DPP
25	congratulated the Gardai in the thorough way they
26	investigated it.
27 69	Q. If we can go back to what you said in your statement,
28	you said: "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company
29	personally to me. I was impressed with what he
30	proposed, as it was in line with what I felt and with

1 Fianna Fail Party policy, of encouraging free
2 enterprise. At no time was any inducement offered to
3 me to influence my voting."
4 .
5 If I could just ask the question and then you can
6 answer it, Mr. Burke. Is it the position, then, that
7 in so far as Fortunestown, Tallaght was concerned,
8 Mr. Brennan made a personal representation or
9 submission to you in connection with it?
10 A. In 1974, in line with every other councillor in the
11 Council. If you read the Garda file, you will see that
12 the case in relation to each of the - in relation to
13 the proposal being put forward - Mr. Brennan was only
14 one part of a consortium of, I think, about five or six
15 companies or more involved in a consortium. And the
16 case was put to each member of the Council.
17 .
18 You'll see statements in the Garda file from every
19 member of the Council.
20 70 Q. Did you understand the question, Mr. Burke?
A. Yes, I've answered the question.
22 71 Q. If you would mind answering it.
23 .
24 Is it the position that Mr. Tom Brennan made a personal
25 representation to you in connection with the
26 Fortunestown, Tallaght transaction?
A. Yes. You could call it a representation. He outlined
28 his point of view, yes.
29 72 Q. And in what you describe in your statement, that he did
30 so personally, do I understand that to mean that you

1 did that on a one-to-one basis?
2 A. I don't know whether he came to a group of councillors,
3 as a group, or whether he came to - in what manner, I
4 am not sure. Whether it was done in writing, I am not
5 sure.
6 73 Q. If it is likely that you had met Mr. Brennan in the
 company of other councillors, or Mr. Brennan was in the
8 company of other developers, would you in all
9 likelihood have described it in your statement as
10 "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to
11 me"?
12 A. Well, I am not sure exactly how it was done, going back
13 to 1974, when the statement was. But the meeting took
14 place - if I just look at the Garda file here. The
15 meetings took place in June - no, the meetings took
16 place in '73, I believe.
17 74 Q. So is it the position, Mr. Burke, that you would have
18 described, if you had met Mr. Brennan in the company of
19 other councillors, or in the company of other
 other councillors, or in the company of other developers, you would have said in your statement,
20 developers, you would have said in your statement,
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 20 developers, you would have said in your statement, 21 "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to 22 me"?
 20 developers, you would have said in your statement, 21 "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to 22 me"? 23 A. Well, obviously, in reading that, it was that he was
 20 developers, you would have said in your statement, 21 "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to 22 me"? 23 A. Well, obviously, in reading that, it was that he was 24 personally there. Whether he was in the company of
 20 developers, you would have said in your statement, 21 "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to 22 me"? 23 A. Well, obviously, in reading that, it was that he was 24 personally there. Whether he was in the company of 25 others or not, I am not sure.
 developers, you would have said in your statement, "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to me"? A. Well, obviously, in reading that, it was that he was personally there. Whether he was in the company of others or not, I am not sure. .
 developers, you would have said in your statement, "Mr. Brennan put the views of the company personally to me"? A. Well, obviously, in reading that, it was that he was personally there. Whether he was in the company of others or not, I am not sure. . There would have been, just reading it as it is there,

1	- rather than by writing, I am not sure.
2	75 Q. Because you go on to say, "I was impressed with what he
3	proposed, as it was in line with how I felt and with
4	Fianna Fail policy, of encouraging free enterprise."
5	That does not suggest, Mr. Burke, that there was
6	anybody else present when this meeting took place?
7	A. I am just trying to - I don't want to say one way or
8	another, because I don't know at this distance in time,
9	and I don't want to be picked up on something that I
10	say that I can't stand over.
11	76 Q. But you did support Mr. Brennan?
12	A. I supported the consortium.
13	77 Q. Of which Mr. Brennan was a part?
14	A. Of which Mr. Brennan was a part. I supported the
15	proposal that it should be a shared - rather than the
16	Dublin Corporation moving in on the whole area, that
17	there would be a shared proposal, and that shared
18	proposal was that the private enterprise would develop
19	one part of it, and that 160 acres or something,
20	according to Garda report here, just looking at it at
21	the moment, I wasn't expecting to be asked this, so I
22	haven't studied it carefully; that 106 acres would be
23	given to the Local Authority out of the overall
24	package.
25	
26	MS. DILLON: I have no further questions for Mr. Burke
27	at this time, Sir. And I understand that Mr. Hayden
28	has some questions, and Mr. Walsh.
29	
30	CHAIRMAN: Well as Mr. Walsh is the witness's counsel

30 CHAIRMAN: Well, as Mr. Walsh is the witness's counsel,

1	Mr. Hayden goes first.
2	
3	THE WITNESS WAS THEN CROSS-EXAMINED AS FOLLOWS BY MR.
4	HAYDEN:
5	
678Q	. MR. HAYDEN: Just in relation to the last topic, it's
7	handy in time, Mr. Burke. In your statement to the
8	Guards that we've seen now, of the 24th of the 7th,
9	'74, you made no issue of the fact that you met
10	Mr. Brennan?
11 A.	Absolutely not. It's - everybody was entitled to lobby
12	in relation to issues.
13 79 🤇	2. Precisely. And that information was made known to the
14	Guards at the very outset, and the Guards formed their
15	report and sent it, as I understand it, on the 7th of
16	August, 1974, to the Attorney General. I think that
17	letter is also in the Garda file. And it was sent - I
18	think the AG at that time was Mr. Declan Costello?
19 A.	Yes. And what it says, I am just going down through
20	the report. It says, "All members of the County
21	Council, past and present, have been interviewed
22	except", and he mentions a couple of names. I don't
23	want to bring them in at this stage. Some of them are
24	dead.
25	
26	"They state, without exception, that at no time were
27	they improperly canvassed for their vote on any of the
28	issues raised in the newspaper articles, and we
29	completed the" - all of the cooperation with the
30	Guards. The Guards completed their report and said -

1		Superintendent Joy, Chief Superintendent Joy, that - he
2		said that - "the attached records with enclosures
3		referred to therein, and the result of investigations
4		carried out by Detective Inspector Casey and Detective
5		Sergeant Walsh of the Central Detective Unit, Dublin
6		Castle. I agree with them, that the investigation on a
7		number of aspects, of which I have had discussions with
8		them, do not disclose a breach of a criminal law."
9		
10		And that was followed by a letter from the DPP saying
11		that he considered that the very thorough and
12		painstaking Garda investigation had not disclosed
13		
14		CHAIRMAN: Mr. Burke, may I point out to you, that that
15		document is part and parcel of the documents in the
16		knowledge of the Tribunal, and it is not necessary to
17		read it out.
18		
19		I am aware of its existence. I see the point that you
20		are making, that you were being lobbied, and that you
21		claim the lobbying was perfectly in order.
22		
23		We don't need ten minutes wasted in putting a Garda
24		report, which is already on the files of the Tribunal,
25		on to the record.
26		
27		Now, please let us get on with the business of this
28		Tribunal with a degree of precision as to what we are
29		doing.
30	A.	I had been asked about it, Mr. Chairman. I was

1	responding.
2	
3	CHAIRMAN: Could we have shorter and briefer answers in
4	the response, please.
5	
68	0 Q. MR. HAYDEN: All I was asking you was effectively the
7	Guards - you confirmed to the Guards such contact as
8	existed. The Guards looked into it, and that was
9	looked at, and a decision made, and the matter sent to
10	the AG, who made his decision at that stage on the
11	basis of the information?
12	A. The DPP made the decision.
13 8	Q. And for the recommendation to the AG.
14	
15	Just a final matter on that issue. I think it wasn't
16	Mr. Brennan's application, it was his company, I think
17	that made the application
18	
19	CHAIRMAN: Mr. Hayden, may I point out that you,
20	likewise, are offending on exactly the same principle.
21	You are now becoming virtually a professional witness.
22	
23	MR. HAYDEN: Sir
24	
25	CHAIRMAN: I mean, if you want to ask a question, by
26	all means, do so. But it doesn't have to be pressed by
27	a long statement of fact which you believe, and I have
28	no doubt you may
29	
30 8	32 Q. MR. HAYDEN: Ms. Dillon keeps saying Mr. Brennan does

1 things personally, whereas, in fact, it's his company.
2 .
3 Could you tell the Chairman who was - of the
4 consortium, what was the entity that represented
5 Messrs. Brennan and McGowan?
6 A. Fortunestown Holdings was the name of the company. It
7 was a group of companies of - I am not sure of the
8 numbers, and I don't want to go through it here. I
9 don't want to delay, with the instruction of the
10 Chairman.
11 .
12 There were about, I think, about ten companies
13 involved. I am not sure of the exact number. But they
14 put a consortium together in relation to a land holding
15 of about 700 acres, I think.
16 83 Q. Yes. My instructions are there were nine others, but I
16 83 Q. Yes. My instructions are there were nine others, but I17 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown
17 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown
don't know the exact. And it was FortunestownHoldings.
 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. .
 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. . Moving on quickly, then.
 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. . Moving on quickly, then. .
 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. . Moving on quickly, then. . . Ms. Dillon has gone through the diaries, and I don't
 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. . . Moving on quickly, then. . . Ms. Dillon has gone through the diaries, and I don't propose to rehash all of the various entries.
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 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. . Moving on quickly, then. . . Ms. Dillon has gone through the diaries, and I don't propose to rehash all of the various entries. . If you could, perhaps, indicate, the offices of Miley & Miley at that time were where, to your recollection?
 don't know the exact. And it was Fortunestown Holdings. . Moving on quickly, then. . . Ms. Dillon has gone through the diaries, and I don't propose to rehash all of the various entries. . If you could, perhaps, indicate, the offices of Miley & Miley at that time were where, to your recollection? A. They could have been South Frederick Street, which is

which is just about five doors, well, it could be ten
doors down.
Q. Molesworth Street. And I think the offices of
Mr. George Russell, Reid & McNabb, I think, were
similarly quite close to the Dail?
A. I am not sure of that. I think they were South
Frederick Street as well, if I recall from the
letterheadings that I've seen.
Q. And in relation to the other individuals identified on
the various lists; Mr. Caldwell, I think, Binchys at
that stage, were in Fitzwilliam Square?
A. I don't know.
Q. The point I am making is, from a point of view of being
in town, it would have been all quite close to the
Dail, the various offices, for whatever business
purposes Mr. Brennan was attending to various
individuals?
A. Yes. I assume they are - like most of these

- 19 professionals, they would be at the centre city.
- 20 88 Q. I think the only exception the furthest away would
- 21 have been Mr. Don Reid, which would have been up in SKC
- 22 at the time.
- 23

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9 86

13 87 Q.

3 85

- 24 So ---
- 25 A. Don't know.
- Q. You did indicate, and Mr. Brennan himself indicated in 26 89
- 27 his own evidence, that he's known your family, your
- 28 father for quite a long number of years, and that there
- 29 was a strong friendship, not was, is a friendship
- between the families? 30

1 A. It goes back to the '60s, yes. My father and himself
2 were both mailmen, and when Tom came back from the
3 States they met, and that was sometime in the mid-'60s.
4 And I met Tom in the late '60s, sometime at the end of
5 the '60s.
6 90 Q. In the context of meeting you, apart altogether - at
7 that particular time in relation to the diaries that we
8 have seen, there was the election on. But would it
9 have been your habit to meet over the years anyway for
10 a drink or a bite to eat?
11 A. We would meet regularly for a bite to eat, either in
12 Buswells or various - whatever hotel we happened to
13 pick, which was close to the Dail. It would normally
14 be a day that I was in the Dail and I would be able to
15 get out at lunch time, get the permission of the Whip,
16 and you would get away for an hour, have a bite at
17 lunch. This was a regular - a fairly regular thing.
18 91 Q. You had a social relationship?
19 A. Very close, yes, social relationship.
20 92 Q. You regularly met?
21 A. We regularly met.
22 93 Q. I think in fairness to you, you described Mr. Brennan
23 as somewhat of a political junkie. It is one of his
24 topics of great interest, I think. I think even the
25 Chairman had heard of that quite regularly from
26 Mr. Brennan when he was in the witness-box. That and
27 horses, I think, were the two things that Mr. Brennan
28 seems to get very interested in?
A. I heard so much about horses and breeds and - over my
30 head But he would talk politics and horses to you all

- head. But he would talk politics and horses to you all

1 day.
2 94 Q. Politics were a big interest to him?
3 A. Yes.
4 95 Q. I think from your own experience in relation to
5 politics, Mr. Brennan did regularly go out on the door
6 on behalf of - on your behalf?
7 A. He did, yes.
8 96 Q. And I think that certainly takes a level of interest
9 that goes beyond just merely discussing matters?
10 A. He canvassed for me regularly.
11 97 Q. Yes. Ms. Dillon has sought to suggest, in the context
12 of the fact that other people in the same part of the
13 town were in the diary on the same day, that it was in
14 some way connected to the difficulties that, or the
15 issues that had arisen in relation to the Lombard &
16 Ulster and AIB. I think you've indicated to the
17 Chairman your position in relation to it, and I think
18 it's Mr. Brennan's also. I will just formally put it
19 to you.
20 .
21 His view was he was helping, he knew you, knew you very
22 well, you regularly met, and politics would have been a
23 major issue. And at that time, with the election
24 coming on, he did give evidence to this Tribunal of
25 going out on the door and organising people to assist
26 in relation to the door to door canvassing.
27 .
28 Is it your evidence to this Tribunal that he did
29 actually perform those duties and functions?
30 A. Yes.

1 98 Q. In relation to - if I can just change topic.
2 .
Can I ask you to turn to page 5373.
4 .
5 I think it's your evidence to the Tribunal, in the last
6 number of days, that you did pay for - to Kilnamanagh
7 or to Oakpark a sum of money in relation to the house?
8 A. That's correct.
9 99 Q. You might be able to help me in relation to this, once
10 you have the - it's
11 A. I have it up here in front of me. It's on the screen
12 here.
13 100 Q. Yes.
14 A. I'll get the hard copy of it. If you bear with me a
15 moment. Yes.
16 101 Q. That's a document that, I think, you indicated, arose
17 out of an inquiry vis-a-vis the house, and was
18 furnished to the Gardai by you?
19 A. Yes.
20 102 Q. Ms. Dillon has put to you that the - that document
21 post-dates the earlier document of the 7th of August,
22 1974, to - from - to Superintendent Joy, enclosing the
23 report to the Attorney General.
24 .
25 But at this remove are you able to remember - recollect
26 why the later query arose?
A. He must have come back and asked for further
28 information in relation to the house. I don't know.
29 103 Q. Yes. Because the first statement doesn't deal with
30 that issue at all.

1	
2	Obviously, the - a further inquiry was raised by the
3	Gardai, and the consent given to access the
	documentation
	That's right.
	at that time. And that letter furnished?
7 A.	That's right.
	. Quite considerable inquiry back and forth has occurred
	in the context of whether you had a loan account, or
10	whether the monies were drawn down.
11	whether the monies were drawn down.
12	But if you might bear with me for a moment. It is the
13	evidence of the directors of Oakpark, such as their
14	recollection is, that you did pay, and I think that's
15	also your evidence, that you did pay. But in relation
16	to that letter of the 20th of August, 1974, at 5373, it
17	states the following: "The above gentleman was granted
18	bridging loan accommodation at this office on the 24th
19	September, '73, to the extent of ú15,000." And that
20	was secured.
21	
22	The Letter of Undertaking is at page - you can bear -
23	you can take my word for it, it's at page 5437. But
24	there is no need to put that up on the system. It's
25	quite a short letter. It just states:
26	"On the instructions of our client, Mr. Burke, and in
27	consideration of the facilities afforded by your bank
28	to him, we hereby undertake to lodge the cheque on
29	receipt of same."
30	

1	That Letter of Undertaking is the 28th of September,
2	1973. As we see from the letter of the 20th of August,
3	1974, which at the time was prepared in response to -
4	on behalf of the bank, they indicated in that that the
5	loan accommodation was granted, "Bridging loan
6	accommodation at this office on the 24th of September,
7	1973." And it was to be done on foot of a Letter of
8	Undertaking from the solicitors, Oliver Conlon &
9	Company, but the Letter of Undertaking post-dates it.
10	
11	It seems that the Letter of Undertaking was a
12	precondition to the facility.
13	
14	And in relation to it, you'll see, if you can just go
15	to page 5437, if you see from the Letter of
16	Undertaking, "On the instructions of our client in
17	consideration of the facilities afforded" - which seems
18	to suggest the facilities have already been afforded at
19	this stage - "we hereby undertake to lodge"
20 A.	Yes. They had been taken up on the 24th, before the
21	letter went through on the 28th?
22 106	Q. Yes, the letter is in the past tense, the facilities
23	have already been afforded to you.
24 A.	I see.
25 107	Q. It goes on in the second paragraph of the letter on -
26	of the 20th of August, '74:
27	
28	"Interest on this bridging loan at that time was
29	chargeable at 13 percent, and to alleviate this burden
30	Mr. Burke transferred the sum of 15,000 on the 12th

1	October, 1973, from his personal joint account in this
2	office, which has been accruing interest at the rate of
3	9 percent, thereby saving himself 4 percent interest in
4	the interim."
5	
6	And it would appear from that paragraph that what
7	Mr. Delany is saying, is that the burden of interest
8	that you were meeting was 13 percent on the loan. The
9	benefit of interest you were getting was 9 percent on
10	the deposit, and by doing what you did, having had the
11	loan for a short period of time, it would appear you
12	reduced that exposure by - you saved yourself 4 percent
13	interest?
14 A	. That's precisely it, yes.
15 108	Q. I have to put it to you that that paragraph in itself
16	quite clearly suggests that there was a facility in
17	existence for a period of time, in which you bore the
18	burden of a 13 percent interest rate, which was
19	subsequently reduced in the manner that you've
20	indicated, that you decided, "Why pay the extra loan
21	interest" when you could reduce it by lodging the
22	monies?
23 A	. That's a reasonable interpretation.
24 109	Q. When one goes to the next paragraph, that sentence
25	states: "We wish to clarify that this bridging loan is
26	still available to Mr. Burke, should he decide to avail
27	of same."
28	
29	I put it to you, in that context it seems to suggest

1 afforded, repaid, but if you wished, pending the
2 drawdown of the loan cheque, which Mr. Conlon had given
3 an undertaking in relation to, the facility of a
4 bridging facility was still available to you, if you
5 wanted to take it up?
6 A. That's right.
7 110 Q. And it does no more than that. It just says that if
8 you still want to use it, having used it, cleared it
9 off, it's still there for you, pending the availability
10 of the loan cheque?
11 A. That's precisely it, yes.
12 111 Q. As I understand it, in the context of the loan cheque
13 from Property Loan and Investment Company Limited,
14 which itself was a subsidiary of Bank of Ireland, its
15 preconditions in relation to releasing the - a
16 precondition of the Property Loan, as a bridging
17 facility was the production of a report?
18 A. Yes.
19 112 Q. Satisfying - satisfactory to Property Loan and
20 Investments Company Limited, that the house was built,
21 I presume?
A. Well, that's the standard thing, but there had been a
23 series of correspondence - they had been looking for
24 the title deeds, first of all, and then they - the last
25 thing they had been - if I recall from yesterday's
26 exchange through the correspondence, I don't want to
27 delay the Tribunal by going back on it, my recollection
28 is that the last letter, I think, refers to surveyors,
29 examination, or it's referred to in there, anyway.
30.113 O All Lam saying is that the - before you were going to

30 113 Q. All I am saying is that the - before you were going to

1 get the proper loan, the full home loan, so to speak, 2 there was yet an action to happen. So if you wished to 3 avail of the bridging facility, it was going to still 4 be there for you, pending that period of time? 5 A. That's correct. 6 114 Q. There is - Ms. Dillon made some emphasis in relation to 7 the paragraph - paragraph 3 of the final sentence, 8 "which is expected to come to hand in the very near 9 future." 10 11 I think at that stage that the bank were taking a view - well, you still hadn't said you were not going to 12 13 take up the facility. You still hadn't taken up the 14 loan, so to speak, from Property Loan and Investment 15 Company Limited, but they felt it was going to come to an end, it seems. A decision was going to be made one 16 17 way or the other by this stage. And the Chairman has 18 seen the correspondence asking for what you were doing. 19 I think you've indicated your answer? 20 A. I've already indicated my answer in relation to it. I 21 eventually decided that, for the reasons that I 22 outlined yesterday in relation to - that I had already 23 paid for it, and rather than taking a 20-year mortgage, 24 the interest rates had gone up, I just didn't bother 25 taking it. 26 115 Q. Yes, you didn't bother. That's all. 27 28 We then go to the final paragraph: 29 30 "The balance of the joint deposit account which stands

1 in the name of Raphael and Patrick Burke on 12 October
2 1973 was ú17,559.50 from which sum Mr. Burke withdrew
3 ú15,000 and lodged this to his bridging loan account."
4 You see that sentence?
5 A. Yes.
6 116 Q. For there to be an account - as I understand it, in the
7 operation of a banking facility, to be able to lodge it
8 to a bridging loan account there must be a loan account
9 in existence. If there isn't a loan account in
10 existence, there is a facility letter in existence
11 which offers you the facility to draw down the loan.
12 There is either one or the other. Either you have
13 drawn down the loan and there is a loan account for
14 which this money is to be lodged into, or there is a
15 facility letter which offers you the facility of a
16 loan. But once you've drawn down the loan, there now
17 exists a bridging loan account?
18 A. Mm-hmm.
19 117 Q. For you to be able to lodge the ú15,000 to any account,
20 there must have been a debit in existence, in other
21 words, the monies must have been drawn down?
22 A. Yes.
23 118 Q. So it would appear from the letter, worded not perhaps
24 as Ms. Dillon would prefer or like, there is clear
evidence from that letter that a sum from a deposit
account, which can only ever exist in a credit, you
27 can't have - in bank you cannot have a deposit account
28 except in credit. You can have a zero credit or - but
29 you can't have a minus.
30 .

1 There was money withdrawn from a credit account, your
2 deposit account, in the sum of ú15,000, and lodged to
3 another account described by Mr. Delany as a bridging
4 loan account
5 A. Mm-hmm.
6 119 Q which meant that there had to be a debit, a loan
7 drawn down for it to be lodged to.
8 A. Mm-hmm.
9 120 Q. So, therefore, it would seem to accord with your view -
10 with your evidence that you had availed of the facility
11 for some period of time, made the decision you made, as
12 we know from the evidence you've given yesterday, and
13 even from the contents in paragraph 2 of Mr. Delany's
14 letter, wished not to bear the burden of the full 13
15 percent, and therefore cleared off the loan, the
16 bridging loan account?
17 A. That seems a reasonable assessment. I am not a banker.
18 It seemed a reasonable outline that you have given.
19 .
20 In addition to that, if I - I would say to you that the
21 only accounts that - we haven't been given a copy from
22 the bank of the bridging loan account, but anything
that we've been given, it doesn't go back any further
than '74. The first one on '74 on that deposit account
25 of Raphael Patrick and Patrick, shows it's December of
26 1974, and it shows that the balance at that stage is
27 2347, which
28 121 Q. Means the 15
A. Confirms that the 15 had gone and that was it. It
30 wasn't anywhere else.

1 122 Q. Well, I didn't know what your deposit account
2 statements looked like
A. That's what it says, as presented by the bank to us.
4 123 Q. I am sure that the Chairman has had the opportunity to
5 read all of that stuff.
6
7 But it does appear, certainly, from Mr. Delany's
8 letter, that there was a deposit account with
9 ú17,559.50 in it, and as you just indicated to the
10 Chairman, from the accounts that still exist, that you
11 now have, which obviously would have been well in
12 existence in August of '74, when Mr. Delany was doing
13 this, but from what the records can now show, it shows
14 that that deposit account had been reduced to the sum
15 of ú2,559, in other words, the 15 has been taken out?
16 A. Whatever - it would be reduced to ú2,347.15. The
17 15,000 was gone.
18 124 Q. Was gone. And the bank - the alternative situation
19 would be that there is another ú15,000 of yours
20 somewhere that the bank have kept to their benefit,
21 never to tell you ever since. You have enough trouble
22 without me suggesting more.
23 .
24 But the bottom line of it, as I say
25 A. I don't think I have a problem in the world
26 125 Q. Unfortunate phrase. Unfortunate phrase on my part.
27 .
28 But as I say, the evidence of the directors of Oakpark
29 is that they always understood that you had paid. It
30 would appear from this, that the loan - bank bridging

1	facility did exist and was subsequently cleared. So
2	such documentation as does exist this many years later
3	supports that?
4 A.	Precisely.
5 126 🤇	2. Then if I can just go to the next topic.
6	
7	Yesterday we were talking about roods and perches and
8	all the rest of it for quite a while.
9	
10	Overnight I had the opportunity to figure out this 40
11	perches and one rood and four rood and one acre. This
12	was all news to me.
13	
14	But the thing I would like to draw your attention to,
15	in relation to it, is that Ms. Dillon has identified
16	the initial deed on page 3010, and there is - and that
17	talks about one acre, no roods, 27 perches.
18	
19	Then there is a Deed of Rectification, which is at page
20	3017, which talks about one acre, one rood and 21
21	perches.
22	
23	There is then the letter, which is at page 4006 from
24	the Land Registry, and that identifies that in relation
25	to the deed itself in February of - the original deed
26	in February of 1975, that that the map annexed with
27	that actually would contain, if one was to measure it
28	off the map annexed, one acre, 0 roods and one perch.
29	
30	So what you have was an amalgam of three documents, all

1	with different numbers. But as I understand your
2	evidence to be, it's that you bought something with a
3	ditch around it, and it didn't matter whether it was a
4	rood, a perch or a rod, but that's what you were
5	buying.
6	
7	I think, if one does the map of it, where the 34
8	perches comes from, is that is that one has to
9	between the deed, which is 1027, and the actual 1 acre,
10	one rood, 21, the differential between the 27 perches
11	and the 21 perchs gives you six. That's where the 34
12	perches come in. But it's less than a quarter of an
13	acre, which is something that already had a defined
14	boundary.
15	
16	Of significance, in relation to that, it would appear,
16 17	Of significance, in relation to that, it would appear, Mr. Burke, that when the deed was lodged with the Land
17	Mr. Burke, that when the deed was lodged with the Land
17 18	Mr. Burke, that when the deed was lodged with the Land Registry, and when you actually executed the deed,
17 18 19	Mr. Burke, that when the deed was lodged with the Land Registry, and when you actually executed the deed, there was no Certificate of Area at the date of the
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 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 	Mr. Burke, that when the deed was lodged with the Land Registry, and when you actually executed the deed, there was no Certificate of Area at the date of the original transfer in 1975, because when one looks at the letter from the Land Registry in paragraph 2, the area transferred is stated in the Deed of Transfer to be one acre, 0 roods and 27 perches. So that - and then it goes on to say a Certificate of Area is not enclosed on the map. So even in the context of what was the position then,

1	the true size of what you were getting, which was the
2	field, with the boundary. But nobody identified that
3	at the time, because there was no Certificate of Area
4	actually obtained, which would be the normal practice
5	in conveyancing at that stage. Well, I think most
6	stages. But you would normally have, for the
7	satisfaction of the parties
8	
9	MS. DILLON: It's really for Mr. Walsh to interrupt in
10	relation to this.
11	
12	I don't know where this speech is going, but in
13	fairness to Mr. Burke, if there is a question in it
14	somewhere, and perhaps in fairness to me as well, it
15	could be identified and put to him.
16	
17	I don't wish to interrupt in any way, but in fairness
18	to Mr. Burke, I don't know quite how he is meant to be
19	following what Mr. Hayden is saying. But I don't see
20	that any question or proposition has yet been put to
21	Mr. Burke arising out of what is at least two and a
22	half pages of transcript.
23	
24	CHAIRMAN: I have actually been looking at it here on
25	the screen, and it has reached 46 lines. And at this
26	moment in time I haven't heard the question, I haven't
27	heard the interrogative aspect of it yet.
28	
29	So would you please, please shorten and get to the
30	point.

1.
2 127 Q. MR. HAYDEN: Nobody obtained a Certificate of Area on
3 the day of the transfer in 1975. That would appear to
4 be the case?
5 A. Well, I don't know. As I said to the Tribunal,
6 Chairman, yesterday, as far as I am concerned, I bought
7 a field as a willing purchaser from willing sellers.
8 That was the field. Everybody knew what was being
9 done. The field had boundaries on it, of hedges. It
10 was a clear stand-alone piece of property, which I
11 further delineated by lines of trees. And as to what
12 happened with solicitors and Land Registry and
13 everything else, I made a comment about solicitors
14 yesterday and I don't want to repeat it today.
15 128 Q. Well, it's the engineers usually who do the
16 measurement.
16 measurement.
16 measurement.17 .
 16 measurement. 17 . 18 At the end of the day, Mr. Burke, in '75, there was no
 16 measurement. 17 . 18 At the end of the day, Mr. Burke, in '75, there was no 19 Certificate of Area. And a Deed of Rectification was
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 16 measurement. 17 . 18 At the end of the day, Mr. Burke, in '75, there was no 19 Certificate of Area. And a Deed of Rectification was 20 perfected in February of 1994, which states, in 21 paragraph 3, at page 3017, that "through inadvertence 22 the entirety of the plot was not transferred"? 23 A. That's the situation, as I understood it, yes. 24 129 Q. So what everybody finally figured out, is that the 25 numbers, as per the original transfer on the map, 26 didn't reflect what everybody thought the agreed 27 transfer was, there was no difficulty, all parties

1 And the point I made is that that error was not
2 identified until '94, because there was no deed, there
3 was no Certificate of Area obtained in 1975 when the
4 transfer was initially put in train. And had it been,
the numbers would have been amended, or the map would
6 have - or the numbers on the deed would have been
7 amended accordingly?
8 A. If that's the procedure, I accept what you are saying.
9 130 Q. In relation to the evidence of donations, I think you
10 did indicate over the years that donations were
11 furnished to you on behalf of the Brennan and McGowan
12 companies?
13 A. Yes, at election times, yes.
14 131 Q. And you weren't aware of, or did you know Mr. Ottiwell
15 at all?
16 A. I met him a number of times.
17 132 Q. Yes. In relation to the monies that you would have
18 received from the Brennan and McGowan companies, you've
19 heard the evidence of Mr. McGowan. How did you get the
20 money off - who gave it to you?
A. My understanding of this - I got the - I gave the
22 details of my bank accounts to Mr. McGowan
23 133 Q. These are - I understand the - I know the transfers. I
24 am talking about the annual sums?
A. There were no annual sums. There were no annual sums.
26 The money that I got from Mr. McGowan or Mr. Brennan
27 would have been through General Elections, at the time
28 of General Elections, to help with General Elections.
29 134 Q. That's what I meant.
30 A. They are not annual sums. They were at the time of

1 General Elections or local elections, and that's the
2 scenario. There was no such a thing as an annual sum.
3 135 Q. You are quite right. I mean, over the years, I think
4 would be a more accurate way of putting it. It would
5 have been given to you in the context of events pending
6 local elections, General Elections, or whatever was
7 needed in the context of what was coming through?
8 A. Precisely.
9 136 Q. But you've heard the evidence of - the Chairman has to
10 make his decision on that.
11 .
12 Certainly, there were monies - some monies paid over
13 the years for an event or events, be it
14 A. At elections, and then I received others, the donation,
15 the political donations that are on the record here,
16 and the bulk of that is still remaining.
17 137 Q. Yes. The Chairman has heard the evidence in relation
18 to that.
19 .
20 The only matter - Mr. McGowan has no recollection of
20 The only matter - Mr. McGowan has no recollection of21 being given the details in relation to what bank
21 being given the details in relation to what bank
21 being given the details in relation to what bank22 account for those latter transfers in relation to the
 being given the details in relation to what bank account for those latter transfers in relation to the matter?
 21 being given the details in relation to what bank 22 account for those latter transfers in relation to the 23 matter? 24 A. That's not what he said in the witness-box. He said -
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 being given the details in relation to what bank account for those latter transfers in relation to the matter? A. That's not what he said in the witness-box. He said - I would have given him the details in relation to Jersey, but he would not have had the - he did not
 being given the details in relation to what bank account for those latter transfers in relation to the matter? A. That's not what he said in the witness-box. He said - I would have given him the details in relation to Jersey, but he would not have had the - he did not recall receiving the details for the Isle of Man.

1 139	Q. That's what I said. He has no recollection of it. I
2	am not putting it any stronger than that. My
3	instructions are that he has no recollection of that
4	event. And the Chairman has his evidence in - such as
5	his recollection - has his evidence of that.
6	
7	Sorry, Sir. Thank you, Sir.
8	
9	CHAIRMAN: Thank you. Mr. Walsh?
10	
11	MS. DILLON: If you were going to take a short break
12	this morning, it might be an appropriate time to take
13	it, Sir, just before Mr. Walsh
14	
15	CHAIRMAN: 12 noon.
16	
17	THE TRIBUNAL THEN ADJOURNED FOR A SHORT RECESS AND
18	RESUMED AGAIN AS FOLLOWS:
19	
20	MR. WALSH: With your permission, Sir, I think I'll
21	proceed with my cross-examination of Mr. Burke.
22	
23	CHAIRMAN: Certainly.
24	
25	THE WITNESS WAS THEN EXAMINED BY MR. WALSH AS FOLLOWS:
26	
27 140	Q. MR. WALSH: Mr. Burke, I want to ask you a number of
28	questions in this Brennan and McGowan Module. But
29	before that, just a couple of introductory questions.
30	

1 I think this Tribunal was established legally by an
2 instrument from the Minister for the Environment on the
3 4th of November, 1977. Isn't that correct?
4 A. That's correct.
5 141 Q. And it had been flagged by debates in Dail Eireann
6 shortly before that, isn't that correct?
7 A. That's correct.
8 142 Q. And after the appointment of the Flood Tribunal, what
9 did you do in relation to your ministerial position and
10 your TD seat in North Dublin?
11 A. Well, prior to the actual resolution being passed in
12 the Dail, it was made clear by the Government that it
13 was the intention to establish a tribunal. And I felt
14 that as there were serious matters going to be
15 discussed, and I was going to take all of my political
16 - all of my time to fully cooperate with the
17 forthcoming tribunal, and I wanted to clear my name
18 fully, I felt that I should resign my ministry. And
also, I felt that it was appropriate for me to resign
20 from the Dail as well, so that I could concentrate all
21 of my efforts on clearing my name from the allegations
that have been made.
23 143 Q. And I think you are referred to in the Terms of
24 Reference by name in one place as well. Isn't that
25 correct?
A. I think at least once, yes.
27 144 Q. And since you retired, what efforts - in a very summary
28 manner, what efforts did you make to assemble
29 documentation and so on to assist the Tribunal?

1	approaches to banks. I've gone through all my own
2	personal records and files and answered Discovery
3	Orders, signed consent documents for the Tribunal.
4	There were - they dealt - I dealt with my solicitors
5	practically on a daily basis. I responded to literally
6	hundreds and hundreds of letters from the Tribunal in
7	various queries that they asked of myself or my
8	family's personal affairs, and tried to cooperate in a
9	general way.
10	
11	As well as that - I think the Tribunal is now sitting,
12	what, 325 days, I suppose, of that, 300 of them would
13	have been in some way directly or indirectly related to
14	myself, and I would have been reading the transcripts
15	and keeping in touch with what was going on.
16	
17	So it's been a full four years of my life.
18 145	Q. Was there any time to do anything else during that four
19	years?
20 A	. Well, obviously the occasional summer holiday and
21	things like that, and the occasional game of golf. But
22	my life has been complete in trying to cooperate to the
23	best I could, and the best I can with the Tribunal.
24	And I've been here, of course, in the Tribunal. This
25	is my fourth time back.
26 146	Q. I think you prepared a ledger to assist the Tribunal,
27	which is a large accountancy book with many columns of
28	analysis. And you showed, as best you could, where the
29	money - where your private money, your political funds
30	went from bank to bank, and in what amounts, and what

1 lodgements were made, so on, over the years?		
A. I did that and made it available to - I brought it to		
3 the attention of the Tribunal on private interview		
4 147 Q. I think that was May 1999?		
5 A. May 1999. And then I made it available - I was asked		
6 for a copy of it, and I made it available to the		
7 Tribunal, to assist them in their work as well.		
8 .		
9 That was quite a detailed document that was prepared,		
10 really, for the accounts.		
11 148 Q. You understood they wanted to see everything for the		
12 purpose of exclusion, if nothing else?		
13 A. That's precisely it.		
14 149 Q. And how many consents do you recall signing or		
15 authorities did you give for searches of banks on a		
16 worldwide basis?		
16 worldwide basis?17 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual		
17 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual		
A. I understand there are approximately 20 individualconsents in my own name, my wife's name and family.		
 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which 		
 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which included a consent to something like 98 to 100 		
 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which included a consent to something like 98 to 100 institutions, financial institutions, banks, building 		
 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which included a consent to something like 98 to 100 institutions, financial institutions, banks, building societies, stockbrokers, everything and anything 		
 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which included a consent to something like 98 to 100 institutions, financial institutions, banks, building societies, stockbrokers, everything and anything throughout this country. 		
 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which included a consent to something like 98 to 100 institutions, financial institutions, banks, building societies, stockbrokers, everything and anything throughout this country. . 		
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 A. I understand there are approximately 20 individual consents in my own name, my wife's name and family. And then there was one global consent given, which included a consent to something like 98 to 100 institutions, financial institutions, banks, building societies, stockbrokers, everything and anything throughout this country. I also gave worldwide consents to the Tribunal, at their request, worldwide consents. On top of that, of course, I also made individual attempts myself in 		

1 securing records, what did you do with the records with 2 reference to the Tribunal? 3 A. Well, they were forwarded to the Tribunal, at the 4 request of the Tribunal, at different times. 5 . Unfortunately, I didn't get the cooperation that I 6 7 would require from the financial institutions at all 8 times. 9 151 Q. Now, you mentioned that this is the fourth time that 10 you've been in evidence before the Tribunal. Have you 11 made yourself available at all times whenever the 12 Tribunal requested you to be here? 13 A. I tried to fully cooperate with the Tribunal in every 14 way I possibly could. 15 152 Q. And you've never been involved in any court litigation 16 against the Sole Member of the Tribunal, isn't that 17 correct? A. No, I made the judgement that - at the very outset of 18 19 the Tribunal that I was going to cooperate in every 20 possible way, and different people have different views 21 as to how cooperation - with the Tribunal and exercise 22 their rights to go to court, et cetera. I never 23 exercised my right in any case in relation to going to 24 court. I just wanted to cooperate and get this phase 25 of my life over and get on with the rest of my life. 26 153 Q. Yes. Now, I just want to move on to talk about your 27 house at Briargate, and just one short question on 28 Briargate. 29

30 Ms. Dillon led evidence yesterday about a document. I

1	think it was at page 4479, where there was a reference
2	to Oakpark accounts, and it said: "The plot of land
3	was given by the directors in lieu of sums due by them
4	in respect of professional services."
5	
6	And they were talking about Coleman's land.
7	
8	What professional services do you understand that
9	that's a reference to?
10 A	That would refer to myself and my professional services
11	as an estate agent for the large volume of houses that
12	I was selling for them in Oakpark, and that was done -
13	it was set against fees that I was due for my estate
14	agency work in Oakpark - against Oakpark in River
15	Valley and the other sites in Swords, but mainly River
16	Valley.
	Valley. Q. If you just turn to the question of elections.
17 154	
17 154 18	Q. If you just turn to the question of elections.
17 154 18 19	Q. If you just turn to the question of elections.
17 154 18 19 20	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you
17 154 18 19 20 21	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections
 17 154 18 19 20 21 22 	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections and the date of the elections that you were involved in?
 17 154 18 19 20 21 22 23 	Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections and the date of the elections that you were involved in?
 17 154 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 A 	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections and the date of the elections that you were involved in? Well, my first - well, I was involved in elections with
 17 154 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 A 25 	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections and the date of the elections that you were involved in? Well, my first - well, I was involved in elections with my father, obviously, over the years, in assisting him.
 17 154 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 A 25 26 	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections and the date of the elections that you were involved in? Well, my first - well, I was involved in elections with my father, obviously, over the years, in assisting him. But my first election in - where I was a candidate
 17 154 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 A 25 26 27 28 	 Q. If you just turn to the question of elections. Have you any idea of the year, the first election you were in and the last election you were in? And can you just very briefly tell us the nature of the elections and the date of the elections that you were involved in? Well, my first - well, I was involved in elections with my father, obviously, over the years, in assisting him. But my first election in - where I was a candidate myself was in June of 1967. My first General Election

1 General Election campaign I was involved in was in
2 February of 1973. That's when I first stood for the
3 Dail and was first elected.
4 156 Q. I think you described that in detail yesterday or the
5 day before.
6 .
7 When was the next election, that was '73. When was the
8 next one after that?
9 A. The next one was June of '74, which was a local
10 election in June of '74.
11 157 Q. And was that throughout the country at that time?
12 A. It would have been a countrywide election, but I was
13 standing in for Dublin County Council.
14 158 Q. And how long does the campaign for one of those general
15 local elections take?
16 A. Well, local elections take longer, because you know a
17 year in advance that the local election is coming, so
18 it's an on-going thing over a series of months. The
19 General Elections can vary from time to time, depending
20 on the speed of the election, is it a quickly called
21 election or is it one that you know is coming, has to
22 come, because they are coming near the end of a
23 five-year term, and then you would be preparing for a
24 number of months. But a local election you know
25 definitely is coming and you would be - you would be
26 working at it for months.
27 159 Q. When you are working for one of those local elections
28 that you know in advance when the polling is going to
29 take place, are you dealing only with your own
30 constituency or with neighbouring constituencies, or do

1 you deal sometimes on a nationwide basis?
2 A. Well, I would be dealing, because it was - if I may
3 modestly say so, Chairman, I was the senior member of
4 the party and would have been involved - at one stage -
5 a couple of times I was Minister for the Environment,
6 and I was also Spokesman on the Environment, and a
7 member of the National Executive. And at one stage I
8 was Chairman of the Election Committee of - National
9 Election Committee of Fianna Fail.
10 .
11 So I would have been involved on a national, as well as
12 a local basis.
13 160 Q. I see. That's the 1974 local elections. A general
14 election, then, in 1977, is that right?
15 A. Yes. I should clarify, that in 1974 I wouldn't have
16 been as senior in the party as I was later on.
17 .
18 In 1977 there was the June General Election of 1977.
19 161 Q. Yes. When was the next election after that, then?
A. The next one after that, that I stood in, was in 1981,
21 in June, a General Election of 1981.
22 162 Q. Yes. And then, I think, there was two elections the
23 next year in 1982, is that correct?
A. We had the three of them together. There was the June,
25 and then there was a February 1982 and November '82
26 163 Q. Yes.
27 A General Elections. They were both surprise
28 elections.
29 164 Q. And reference has already been made to the 1985 local
30 elections on a number of occasions. They were held

1 when in 1985?
A. On the 20th of June, 1985. They were held nationwide
3 in all of the constituencies. I have the results
4 document here with me. It's like the Bible.
5 165 Q. What's that Bible you are referring to?
6 A. I beg your pardon?
7 166 Q. What's in that book that you are referring to there?
8 A. It's the Department of the Environment local elections
9 - 1985 election results, and transfers of votes in
10 respect of each County and County Borough Council. And
11 election statistics relating to all Local Authorities
12 for the 20th of June, 1985, election.
13 .
14 I'll submit it to the Tribunal to help them with their
15 records
16 .
17 CHAIRMAN: The answer to that is, "No thanks."
18 A. There is some very interesting information in it,
19 Chairman.
20 .
21 CHAIRMAN: Thank you very much. We have enough to do
22 on that, than to read the local elections
A. It shows I got nearly two quotas in June '85.
24 .
25 CHAIRMAN: We'll just pursue matters which are germane
26 to the Terms of Reference.
27 .
28 167 Q. MR. WALSH: In 1987 there was another General Election
29 in February, is that right?
30 A. That's correct, yes.

1 168 Q. And there was - the European Election, I think, in 1989
2 at some stage?
A. Yes. There had also been a local - a European Election
4 in 1979, for which I was Director of Elections in the
5 Dublin area. But the 1989 was a General Election and a
6 European Election held at the same time.
7 169 Q. Yes.
8 A. In June of '89.
9 170 Q. How extensive was that campaign?
10 A. Well, it was a huge campaign. In 1989 - it came all of
11 a sudden. Nobody was expecting it. And it arose about
12 an issue which is the subject matter of another
13Tribunal, the Lindsay Tribunal.
14 .
15 And we had just been two years in office, nobody was
16 expecting a General Election, suddenly a General
17 Election is called, and it was a fast election, but a
18 hugely extensive election.
19 171 Q. And the next General Election was when?
20 A. November 1992.
21 172 Q. What was the next election after that?
A. The next one was the European in '94, but I wasn't a
23 candidate in that, but I was deeply involved in it.
24 173 Q. And then I think there was a General Election in 1997,
25 which was your last election?
A. It was my final election in June of '97, at which stage
27 I was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs, following
28 on that.
29 174 Q. And did you have - in terms of scale, was your
30 political operation a large one or a small one?

1	A. Well, I had a very exten	nsive political operation. It
2	was both locally, and the	en I was involved nationally
3	very much. In between	all of those - those other
4	elections, I should have	said to you that unfortunately
5	there would have been a	series of bi-elections around
6	the country practically o	n an annual basis, sometimes
7	more, where colleagues	would have died and elections
8	were held, and being a D	Deputy or a Minister or
9	spokesman on behalf of	the Party, I would be expected
10	to go and spend weeks	working in those bi-elections
11	around the country.	
12		
13	As far as the June electi	on was concerned, I would have
14	had a role in that as wel	1.
15 17:	75 Q. Yes. Now, I want to	turn on to a different topic now,
16	Mr. Burke.	
17		
18	You will recall that whe	en you were last in the
19	witness-box Mr. Hanrat	ty was asking you, in the
20	Financial Module, abou	t various incomes that you had
21	privately and from polit	ical funding, political
	donations, contributions	
22		s on the one hand and then
22 23	private expenditure and	s on the one hand and then political expenditure on the
	private expenditure and other hand.	
23		
23 24	other hand.	
23 24 25	other hand. Now, he had your recor	political expenditure on the
23 24 25 26	other hand. Now, he had your recor to you that, in fact, you	political expenditure on the des. And he had put a proposition
23 24 25 26 27	other hand. Now, he had your recor to you that, in fact, you	political expenditure on the ds. And he had put a proposition didn't have enough private private lifestyle, and that you

1 Your accountant has gone through the records and
2 prepared a very detailed analysis for the period 1992
3 to 1997, isn't that correct?
4 A. That is correct
5 176 Q. And that was submitted to Mr. Hanratty on the last
6 occasion, isn't that correct?
7 A. That's correct.
8 177 Q. I don't want to go into any of the details now, but
9 what is the summary result of your accountant's
10 analysis of the situation in the period 1992 to 1997 in
11 terms of - did you have enough private income to
12 support your private lifestyle?
13 A. Well, in the period involved, and using the
14 documentation that the Tribunal has made available to
15 us, just an analysis of it, it showed that my personal
16 income at that time, between salaries, pensions, and
17 director's fees for a company - an international
18 company that I became a director of, and other income
19
20 178 Q. No, Mr. Burke, I think the Tribunal have the figures,
21 but I just want to know the actual summary of the
22 result and of the analysis.
23 .
24 Was there enough private income to support your private
25 lifestyle?
A. The summary of the analysis is that not only was there
27 enough to support my private lifestyle, but that out of
28 those funds I was subsidising my political life.
29 179 Q. Yes. I see.
30 .

1	Now, I want to turn on to a different topic now, and
2	that is the estate agency/auctioneering business
3	relationship you had with the Brennan and McGowan group
4	of companies, to include Oakpark, which I would link in
5	with the Brennan and McGowan group of companies, under
6	that umbrella.
7	
8	You've given evidence that you were the estate agent,
9	and you were selling new houses in estates, varying in
10	size from 50 houses to more than 1,000 houses. Isn't
11	that correct?
12	A. That's correct.
13 18	0 Q. What sort of work was involved, and how many days a
14	week would you be involved in that work?
15	A. I was - at the earlier stage in my career in setting up
16	the procedures, I would have been very deeply involved
17	in working in the show houses, on Saturday, Sundays,
18	preparing the show houses, first of all, when a project
19	was undertaken. I would be manning the show houses on
20	Saturdays, Sundays, showing the house around - showing
21	it to prospective buyers, showing them around the
22	sites, accepting deposits on behalf of the builders,
23	taking booking deposits, passing them on to the
24	builders, going through the records with the builders
25	of the amount of deposit paid, how far, passing that on
26	through the builders, and in turn through the
27	solicitors.
28	
29	I had my secretary involved in it, who was very
30	efficient at the time. She did a lot of it. And I had

1	family members who also helped on weekends when we had
2	a number of show houses going at the one time, that we
3	would all be manning it.
4	
5	Then during the week and during the - after the
6	weekends of working the show houses, it would be
7	follow-up, people who would - who had seen the show
8	house, interested in a house, would indicate that they
9	would want to come back midweek to have a further look.
10	I would have to meet them on the sites, all of that
11	type of work went on.
12 181	Q. Yes. Now, the next topic I want to ask you about is,
13	can you compare how you treated your income from those
14	professional fees with how you treated the political
15	funding or political contributions you received?
16 A	. Yes. Well, I took - on those professional fees, I
17	would have, as I already explained here to the Chairman
18	the other day here, they would have been treated as
19	directors' loans. And then when the company was wound
20	up, that was all sorted in relation to Revenue, et
21	cetera.
22	
23	With the political subs that I got from Brennan and
24	McGowan, those funds were lodged overseas, and my
25	understanding is - which we don't have to go into in
26	great detail here, my understanding, as I've outlined
27	to the Tribunal in relation to it, but the sums were
28	there, and they were political funds, and the sums -
29	the vast bulk of that sum is still there.
30	

1	So I didn't use it in relation to my day-to-day life.
2	I would have used some of it, and interest on it, and
3	some small portion of the capital would have been used
4	for my political funds. But the vast bulk of the fund
5	remains there to this day, as distinct from my fees'
6	income, which I would have used on day-to-day carrying
7	out of my lifestyle.
8 182 Q	. Yes. Now, I want to move to another topic now,
9	Mr. Burke.
10	
11	You recall that some day this week, I think, Ms. Dillon
12	suggested to you on a number of occasions that the
13	evidence you gave about the fundraising for the major
14	sums was lodged off-shore, which you received from
15	Brennan and McGowan companies, that your evidence
16	concerning that was significantly the same as the
17	evidence of Joe McGowan, which he gave on Day 144, I
18	think is the day.
19	
20	Now, I just want to ask you, before Day 144 what was
21	your knowledge and understanding of that - the source
22	of those funds?
23 A.	My general knowledge and understanding was that they
24	were funds that had been raised on my behalf, mainly in
25	the UK, and that was the understanding that I had right
26	down through the years, mainly from Mr. McGowan.
27 183 Q	2. Yes. I think on Day 144, it wasn't a normal day's
28	evidence, as we know from the transcript. You read the
29	evidence afterwards from the transcript, is that
30	correct?

1 A.	I did, yes. I was amazed with some of it, to be honest
2	with you, but I read it, yes.
3 184 Q	. And concerning the details that were given by
4	Mr. McGowan on Day 144, had you any advance knowledge
5	of the detail that he had given?
6 A.	No, I had never had, and I was amazed with some of the
7	statements made by Mr. McGowan in the box that day in
8	relation, for example, to targets. No such thing ever
9	happened. In relation to some of the details that he
10	gave in the box, I was just quite flabbergasted by
11	them.
12 185 Q	2. I think you were questioned in detail about these
13	matters by Mr. Hanratty on Day 244 and Day 245. I just
14	want to draw your attention to a number of answers you
15	gave on that day.
16	
17	The first answer I want to draw your attention to is on
18	Day 244, page 42 of the transcript. It seems to be
19	question 88. And it's part of a series of questions
20	dealing with the fundraising elections and what you
21	knew about the fundraising.
22	
23	And then at question 88 Mr. Hanratty says:
24	
25	"Question: Am I correct in thinking that the sum total
26	of your knowledge or information as to the source of
27	this money is the evidence which Mr. McGowan gave to
28	the Tribunal?
29	Answer: As he explained to the Tribunal, and in
30	general terms that would have been my own knowledge of

1	it as well."
2	
3	Then you go on to say you were very pleased to have
4	received the money.
5	
6	Is that a fair summary of your memory, your
7	recollection and your evidence?
8 A.	That's the situation. And I think I made it clear at
9	all times, when answering during those days, 244 and
10	245, those particular days that I was in the box being
11	queried on it, that I gave my understanding of the
12	situation as I had got it from - as I had seen it from
13	Mr. McGowan in his of 144, yes.
14 186 (Q. Mr. Hanratty asked a similar question at question 88 -
15	question 89:
16	
17	"Question: But what I want to know is, am I correct or
18	incorrect in saying that the totality of your knowledge
19	as to where it came from, came from Mr. McGowan's
20	evidence? Or did you obtain information from
21	Mr. McGowan at the time as to the source of this money?
22	Answer: No, I didn't obtain evidence at the time,
23	other than in the general sense of, that dinners were
24	being held and funds were being raised for me."
25	
26	Is that - that's your understanding? I think you said
27	something similar to Ms. Dillon the other day?
28 A.	That was my understanding, yes.
29 187 (Q. And there are a series of other transcript references,
30	such as in answer to question number 28, which is at

1 page 27 of the transcript. You said in relation to the 2 ú50,000 lodgement: 3 "Answer: That's a lodgement which arose from 4 fundraising that was carried out on my behalf, which 5 was explained to the Tribunal." 6 7 And again on question 33, you again say you can't 8 expand on the accounts or the monies, you know nothing 9 about them, other than what was explained to the 10 Tribunal by Mr. McGowan. 11 12 There was a similar reference in question 51, which is 13 at page 31. 14 15 "Question: What did you understand was the source of 16 these monies, in terms of where it came from and from 17 whom it came?" 18 19 As has been explained to the Tribunal by 20 Mr. McGowan when he was in the box, various fundraisers 21 were raised on your behalf. 22 23 Question 59, page 37: 24 "Question: Did Mr. McGowan give you any information as 25 to the detail in relation to the ú50,000? 26 Answer: It yielded that, plus other sums in a general way, but I was never involved in the fundraising. I 27 28 was never present at the fundraising efforts. But he 29 has given all of those details to the Tribunal, in 30 evidence to the Tribunal."

1	
2	And then question 60:
3	"Question: But my question is, did he give you any
4	information as to the nature of the fundraising efforts
5	that he became involved in?
6	Answer: Just in a general way."
7	
8	And then at - a series of questions on page 39, where
9	Mr. Hanratty is inquiring about your knowledge of other
10	directors of Brennan and McGowan's group of companies.
11	And question 74:
12	
13	"Question: Is it possible so far as you are aware,
14	that all the money came from executives of Brennan and
15	McGowan?
16	Answer: I can't answer you that.
17	Question: Does that mean you were never aware?
18	Answer: I can just refer you to Mr. McGowan's evidence
19	in the box."
20	
21	Were you referring to Day 144 at that stage?
22 A.	I was referring to 144. That was the day Mr. McGowan
23	was in the box.
24 188	Q. "Answer: I can't answer any further than that. What
25	was going on and as to the detail of it, I can't assist
26	you."
27	
28	There are similar references along that vein in Day
29	245, which I won't go into. Isn't that correct?
30 A.	Yes. I gave, in evidence to the Chairman, my

1	understanding of the situation. In the main my
2	understanding of it, that the detail of it came from
3	Mr. McGowan's evidence in the box. I had no other
4	understanding of it.
5 189 Q	2. Now, I just want to ask you very briefly about Allied
6	Irish Banks.
7	
8	What accounts did you have with them, and where? And
9	can you tell me about the searches you made with them,
10	and the results of those searches?
11 A.	Well, soon after the Tribunal was established I went to
12	AIB Headquarters and told them that - obviously, they
13	had been aware that the Tribunal had been established,
14	and I wanted to get full cooperation with the Tribunal.
15	
16	The matters that were at that time being investigated
17	were pre '85, so the accounts wouldn't have been with
18	them at that stage - or post '85, post June of '85.
19	But I wanted to get - but I wanted to get track of the
20	money into the Jersey account.
21	
22	I informed them that I had had accounts in Bruton
23	Street, and informed them that I had accounts in the
24	Isle of Man. I asked them to get the records for me.
25 190	Q. Did they get the records for you?
26 A.	No, of course they did not get the records for me.
27	They said that they could find nothing.
28	
29	And of course I knew I had had the accounts, and it was
30	only after continuous efforts that I then fortunately

1	found, as I was going through documents for the Revenue
2	as well, I found documents which assisted me in
3	relation to the Isle of Man. I was able to go back to
4	them with the document, trace it through the Isle of
5	Man, which in turn was a help to trigger the situation
6	which showed that the - there was a link from there
7	into Bruton Street, and it had come from Bruton Street.
8	
9	So I had to drive it all the way myself, rather than
10	seeking the cooperation of the AIB, so much so that
11	when they - the Chairman will recall, you will recall,
12	Mr. Walsh, that when AIB came in to the box here, they
13	denied any knowledge of Bruton Street. And it was -
14	and we even had Mr. McHale, the man that I had given
15	the name to, to help the Tribunal, trace things, come
16	in and say, "No, no accounts" et cetera. But we
17	insist, and I insisted, through my legal team, as you
18	recall, we kept after it.
19	
20	And you raised it here in the Tribunal, and I followed
21	it - you followed it, my solicitor followed it with
22	letters to the Tribunal and letters to AIB. And they
23	eventually found accounts and found that what I had
24	been saying was accurate. And of course, as you know,
25	they had to come back in here and apologise to the
26	Tribunal in relation to it.
27	
28	It is one of the sources of distress to me,
29	Mr. Chairman. I understand that you have no control
30	over media reports, but it is a considerable distress

1	to me that the situation arises that you - things are
2	said, you know, "Another bank account discovered".
3	
4	I have been in this box for the last four years trying
5	to cooperate in every way, tried to find accounts,
6	tried to reveal the information to you, as much as I
7	possibly can find, and if I don't get the cooperation
8	of the banks, and if you don't get the cooperation of
9	the banks, it's not my fault. I am trying, and I tried
10	as hard as I possibly could. And thankfully, we were
11	able to trace the trail.
12 191	Q. Yes. I see.
13	
14	Now, I want to turn to the Bank of Ireland. I think
15	you had a number of accounts with them in Whitehall.
16	And they set up what you call a subsidiary account in
17	Manchester, is that correct?
18 A	A. Yes. That's the situation there. And again, as I
19	outlined to the Chairman, I think the first day I was
20	in the box on this occasion, last Friday, the situation
21	there was that - it may have been Tuesday, now that I
22	mention it.
23	
24	When the Terms of Reference were extended, of the
25	Tribunal, in July of '98, I went to the Bank of Ireland
26	in Whitehall and gave them a letter asking them, which
27	is on the record here, I won't delay you by going
28	through it again, I've quoted it through already; I
29	asked them to find for me the details of my accounts
30	from the time that I opened them, with them, going back

1	as far as possible. And also to find any
2	correspondence in relation to it.
3	
4	I was given some bits and pieces that weren't relevant
5	to the period that was under discussion at the time,
6	the '85 period, which would have been relevant later
7	on.
8	
9	What happened then was I gave consents to the Tribunal
10	to go - I had given consents earlier to the Tribunal to
11	go back as far as '85, at their request. I then gave
12	consents at further times to go search through Bank of
13	Ireland anywhere in the country or worldwide.
14	
15	The situation then arose that in May last they came
16	back to the Tribunal with some documentation, which the
17	Tribunal, in their cooperation with us, at our request,
18	they forwarded it to us. And then that was - that was
19	May. Then in June they came back to the Tribunal,
20	which the Tribunal sent on to us, the documentation,
21	showing a further account, which was the Manchester
22	account.
23	
24	And then again on Monday of this week, and I understand
25	from what was said in the Tribunal here, that the
26	Tribunal team got it at the end of last week from the
27	Bank of Ireland. They came with further documentation,
28	which referred to an account held in Belfast in 1971.
29	
30	The position is, and I want to make it absolutely

1	clear, that I did not get the cooperation of the Bank
2	of Ireland in relation to the requests I made. And
3	it's quite obvious that the Tribunal didn't get the
4	cooperation, because it was being given in dribs and
5	drabs over months, and only - over years, and only up
6	to last week the balance of it came back.
7	
8	So again it's this thing of "New accounts discovered on
9	- in relation to Burke". I can't be responsible for
10	what journalists write, and neither can you, Chairman,
11	but I do find it difficult to take that after four
12	years of concentrated effort by me, and the fact that
13	I've asked the institutions and pressured them for
14	documentation, that even at this late day, after four
15	years of the establishment of the Tribunal, they still
16	only came with documents last week to us, which I got
17	on Monday night before I came in here to give evidence
18	on Tuesday.
19 192	Q. Yes. Are you trying to hide any of these accounts
20 A	. Absolutely not. I went to the Bank of Ireland and gave
21	them a letter saying, "Please give us - I was a former
22	customer of yours. Please, will you give me the
23	details of any accounts, and also correspondence that
24	you have relating to my accounts?"
25	
26	I wanted everything to be put on the table, because -
27	from my point of view I have nothing to hide in
28	relation to any allegation of corruption in relation to
29	this stuff, and I wanted it up on the table, so that we
30	could handle it and get it cleared, and so that I could

1	get on with the rest of my life. That's what I want to
2	do.
3 193 (2. I think that's an authority that you just referred to.
4	That was sometime in 1998?
5 A.	It was 1998, September 1998 I went to them, and
6	November 2001 that they come with the balance of the
7	information.
8 194 (Q. Now, just in specific reference to the Manchester
9	account. I just want to draw your attention to five
10	letters contained in the booklet which the Tribunal
11	furnished to us on the 21st or 22nd of June 2000. I am
12	not sure if they have a pagination number.
13	
14	The first one is page nine in the booklet. It's a
15	letter from the Bank of Ireland in Manchester to the
16	Bank of Ireland in Whitehall.
17	
18	I am just wondering if Ms. Dillon has a general page
19	reference for that booklet?
20	
21	MS. DILLON: I don't know. I'll have to see the
22	document.
23	
24	MR. WALSH: Just a couple of minutes, Sir. I don't
25	think the documents have been circulated. Ms. Dillon
26	is kindly scanning them in, and they will be put up on
27	the screen.
28	
29	CHAIRMAN: Very good. Would you like to pass on ju
30	for a moment, or do you want to stop for a few minutes.

- just
- for a moment, or do you want to stop for a few minutes? 30

1	

2 195 Q). MR. WALSH: This will only take seconds. I think the
3	letter is the 9th of December of 1974. And this is the
4	bank in Manchester. It's on page 9 of the general
5	booklet, which was sent in June. It's a letter from
6	the bank returning the deposit book to you. And there
7	is a query there, "Is the account, should it be Raymond
8	or Raphael?" It refers to a lodgement of ú1,350.
9	
10	We know from the passbook, which Ms. Dillon has put on
11	the circulated documents, that that's the opening
12	lodgement on that deposit account. Isn't that correct?
13 A.	That would be correct.
14 196 0	Q. I think it's up there now on the screen. And it's page
15	9 of the general booklet. And it's from the bank in
16	Manchester to the Manager of the Bank of Ireland,
17	Whitehall. And then it says:
18	
19	"Attention of the Assistant Manager, deposit account
20	R Burke.
21	
22	Dear Sir, I refer to our telephone conversation of
23	today, and enclose herewith our deposit book, showing a
24	balance of ú1,350.
25	
26	You mention the name Raphael on the phone. However,
27	the account is headed up "Raymond". I would be
28	grateful if you would confirm which is the correct
29	name, and also the address of the account holder. I
30	note your remarks regarding reciprocation." Et cetera.

1 2 So that's the - that seems to be the opening balance, 3 because on the passbook 1,350 is down as the opening balance. Isn't that right. 4 5 . 6 MS. DILLON: That document isn't in the circulated 7 documents. It's 5443, just for the transcript. 8 . 9 197 Q. MR. WALSH: Perhaps the next one is as well. It's a letter of the 11th of December, 1974. This time it's 10 11 from the bank manager - the assistant manager in 12 Whitehall, Mr. Delany. He is replying to that letter 13 to the Manchester bank. 14 15 And it's about R Burke, and he says: 16 "Dear Sir, I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th" 17 18 ---19 MS. DILLON: I think this is 5444. 20 21 Q. MR. WALSH: Thank you very much, Ms. Dillon. 22 198 23 . 24 "I am in receipt of your" - sorry, Ms. Dillon is correct. Yes. 25 26 . 27 "I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th, with 28 enclosure as stated. I wish to confirm that Mr. Burke's christian name is Raphael." 29 30

1		Now, the next letter - there are two letters on the
2		same date, that's the 21st of June of 1976. I don't
3		think they are in the circulated documents. They are
4		at page 100 and 102 of the booklet.
5		
6		I think - it's impossible to read, because of the
7		darkness of the photocopy, but the one on page 100 is
8		dated the 21st of June, 1976. And it seems to be from
9		the bank in Whitehall, from the manager to the bank in
10		Manchester. It says:
11		
12		"Dear Manager, I refer to our previous correspondence.
13		The above party" - that's Raphael P Burke - "wishes to
14		make provision for obtaining cash in the event of the
15		threatened strike becoming a reality. In this he
16		requires that you open for him a current account. And
17		I enclose herewith the authority to transfer funds
18		sufficient to meet any cheques he may issue from his
19		book deposit account with you. I also enclose specimen
20		signature card.
21		
22		Perhaps you could wait until the end of the week before
23		forwarding a cheque book, in the hope that matters will
24		have settled. Otherwise I shall be obliged if you will
25		afford our mutual customer every facility."
26		
27		Do you remember making provisions for the bank strike
28		at the time?
29	A.	I don't specifically. But I didn't - I didn't at the
30		time, until this documentation has been shown to me

1 recently. And when it came available to us in June, I
2 was reminded of it, or in May I was reminded of it. Or
3 June, sorry, June I was reminded of it.
4 199 Q. The other letter, page 102
5 A. I had got stung in business in the previous bank strike
6 with insurance premiums, cheques that are bouncing, and
7 I was making, obviously in '76, making sure that
8 business-wise it wasn't going to happen again.
9 200 Q. And the next letter, on page 102, seems to be the same
10 date, and it's: "I would be obliged if you will open a
11 current account and forward a cheque book" - I can't
12 read the rest of it.
13 .
14 MS. DILLON: "At your convenience, please be good
15 enough to transfer from my book deposit funds
16 sufficient to meet any cheques.
17 Many thanks, yours faithfully, RPB."
18 .
19 201 Q. MR. WALSH: That seems to be your Letter of Authority?
20 A. Which would have gone, obviously, with the bank
21 manager's letter.
22 202 Q. Finally, just on that, I think page 94 of that booklet.
23 It's a letter dated, I think the 6th of September,
24 1976. And it seems to be from the manager in Dublin to
25 the manager in Manchester. He encloses the deposit
26 book "in the name of the above, which I shall be
27 obliged if you will have written up to date and
28 returned at your convenience."
29 .
30 Then he goes on to say: "I am obliged to you for the

1 courtesy and facilities extended to our mutual client
2 during the emergency. While it is unlikely the current
3 account will be used, Mr. Burke feels he would like to
4 hold on to the cheque book for the time being anyway."
5
6 So that's all you know about the Manchester account and
7 all you've seen?
8 A. I had no recollection of it until these documents were
9 made available to me.
10 203 Q. Now, I think it's on Day 260, the opening of this
11 module by Mr. Hanratty, and he made mention of the
12 Sandyford lands and zoning. What's your knowledge of
13 any of that?
14 A. Well, it was mentioned, and there was - on the day that
15 I was in the box here, and I asked for - if my name
16 appeared anywhere, if documentation was going to be
17 provided to me before questions would be put to me.
18 But the Chairman intervened. There was a discussion
19 and I never saw, since then, to this day, any document
20 in relation to it, other than in the transcripts, where
21 I understand that in relation to the zoning of the
22 lands in Sandyford, that that was done - that portion
23 of land was included in a block of land proposed by the
24 officials of the Local Authority.
25 .
26 I am not sure - I am open to correction on this, I
27 think the block of land was - about 500 acres of land
28 was zoned on the recommendation of officials. I know
29 nothing about it other than that, and I have had no
30 involvement in it, and I don't know - my name was

1 mentioned, and I am sure - I am here now for four days,
2 and I am sure if there was any suggestion anywhere of
3 my involvement in it, I would have been - it would have
4 been put to me by now.
5 .
6 But I had no other involvement.
7 204 Q. I think, just for the record, there were 800 acres, I
8 think is what the paper shows
9 A. 800 acres were zoned at the recommendation of
10 officials.
11 205 Q. Now, Ms. Dillon touched on the subject of the 1974
12 Garda investigation today.
13 .
14 Did you know of the results of that Garda
15 investigation, back in 1974 or 1975?
16 A. There was eventually a question put into the Dail by,
17 if I recall it, it was John O'Connell at the time,
18 asking the Minister as to the outcome of the inquiry.
19 And it was clarified that there was no further action
20 to be taken. I don't know whether that was '75 or '76.
21 206 Q. I think there was a '73 General Election and Fianna
22 Fail lost that election, and the Fine Gael/Labour
23 Coalition came in and were in Government from 1973
24 until 1977. Isn't that correct?
25 A. That's correct, yes.
26 207 Q. I think at the 1974/75 period, the Attorney General
27 was the former President of the High Court, Mr. Declan
28 Costello, isn't that correct?
A. Yes, that's my recollection of it.
30 208 Q. Nominated by Fine Gael?

1 A.	Yes.
2 209 Q	And I think that the DPP had only recently been
3	established, the Office of the DPP, in that the first
4	DPP was Mr. Barnes?
5 A.	That's correct, yes.
6210 Q	And Ms. Dillon has circulated a document today, it's
7	5449. If I could have that document on screen, please.
8	Yes.
9	
10	Now, if you just scroll up to the top of the letter,
11	please. That seems to be dated the 7th of August,
12	1974, from the Chief Superintendent's Office, Crime
13	Section.
14	
15	And then it seems to be addressed to the Attorney
16	General. And it's about the number of articles. Then
17	he goes on to say:
18	
19	"I attach a report, with enclosures referred to
20	therein, on the result of investigations carried out by
21	Detective Inspector Casey and Detective Sergeant Walsh,
22	Central Detective Unit, Dublin Castle.
23	
24	I agree with them, that the investigation, on a number
25	of aspects, of which I had discussions with them, do
26	not disclose a breach of the criminal law."
27	
28	Then it's signed "Chief Superintendent, John J Joy."
29	Isn't that correct?
30 A.	That's correct, yes.

1 211 Q. When did you first see that letter, or when was it
2 first furnished to you or your legal team?
3 A. Well, we had been looking for it for some considerable
4 time from the legal team of the Tribunal, and I got it
5 in, I think, September we got the file from the legal
6 team.
7 212 Q. I think it was mentioned by Mr. Hanratty that there had
8 been a Garda investigation, isn't that correct?
9 A. It had been mentioned on a number of times by
10 Mr. Hanratty, and in the context of questioning - I
11 took it anyway, and it was reported as being
12 suggestions of some impropriety in relation to it.
13There were quite scurrilous allegations which had been
14 made. I am not saying by Mr. Hanratty, but he was
15 doing that in the course of the discussions.
16 213 Q. I think the Attorney General's involvement was
17 obviously because the Dail told the Attorney General to
10 do now othing. That's subset the new out succes the all to the
18 do something. That's why the report went back to the
18 do something. That's why the report went back to the 19 Attorney General, isn't that correct?
19 Attorney General, isn't that correct?
Attorney General, isn't that correct?A. I don't know whether the Dail told them or the
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1 e	asier for scanning purposes to put them up, because we
2 h	ave to add them to the brief now for circulation
3 p	urposes.
4.	
5 0	CHAIRMAN: You say this is the last one?
6.	
7 215 Q.	MR. WALSH: This is the last one for scanning. I just
8 th	hought some of them had been circulated.
9.	
10 1	Now, if you could just scroll up to the very top of
11 t	hat letter, please.
12 .	
13	You see, at the top of the letter, it comes from the
14 0	Chief Superintendent's Office, Dublin Castle, Crime
15 5	Section. And the date is the 28th of April, 1975.
16 I	Isn't that correct?
17 A.	That's correct, yes.
18 216 Q.	And then it refers again to the article published, and
19 s	50 on.
20 .	
21	And then he goes on to say:
22 .	
23	'Reference report, dated 7th August, 1974, in relation
24 t	to the above matter."
25 .	
26 I	think the 7th of August, 1974, is the date of the
27 1	ast letter, page 5449.
28 A.	Mm-hmm.
29 217 Q.	Isn't that right?
30 A.	That's correct.

1 218 Q. And in the file there is - we received, there are a
2 number of - a large number of statements, and then
3 there is a 35-page summary. I suppose that's the
4 report that's referred to on the 7th of August?
5 A. I assume so, yes.
6 219 Q. Just to go back to finish the letter of the 28th of
7 April, 1975:
8 .
9 "In relation to the above matter, a communication has
10 now been received from the Director of Public
11 Prosecutions, dated the 18th of April, 1975."
12 .
13 Doesn't that suggest that after the Attorney General
14 received the file from the Garda on the 7th of August
15 of 1974 he sent the entire file off to the Director of
16 Public Prosecutions for further investigations or
17 processing?
18 A. Well, the - the role of the DPP that had been
19 established was in relation to - prior to the -
20 Chairman, you will be more familiar with that as a
21 lawyer than I am. But up to that time the Attorney
22 General was the one that decided on prosecutions or
23 otherwise in relation to matters.
24 220 Q. Yes.
A. Then the Director of Public Prosecution's office was
26 established. And arising from that, that was -
27 decisions in relation to prosecutions on any matter,
28 since that date on, are matters for the DPP, yes.
29 221 Q. So it seems the file went from the Attorney General's

1 A. That's correct.

A. That's correct.
2 222 Q. And the DPP, then, in conjunction with the Guards, if
3 he so wishes, can further investigate matters?
4 A. Well, they did further investigate, obviously, because
5 they came out to me in relation to the house. And
6 there would have been other queries. There were a
7 considerable number of visits from the Guards raising
8 particular queries and particular points as the years
9 went by. I can't give you month by month.
10 223 Q. So that would be the explanation for the letter from
11 the bank to Inspector Casey in August of 1974?
12 A. They would have come back out to me, obviously, arising
13 from the file having been sent to the Attorney General,
14 and from there on to the DPP, that queries would have
15 arisen in relation to issues. And they - there would
16 have been further information.
17 224 Q. So that's why there was a letter written by the bank to
18Inspector Casey?
19 A. Yes. And why this thing wasn't dealt with, finalised
20 until the 18th of April 1975.
21 225 Q. Yes. And I think the communication of the DPP dated
the 18th of April, 1975, was quoted by the Guards. He
23 says:
24 .
25 "I consider that the very thorough and painstaking
26 Garda investigation has not disclosed evidence
27 warranting a prosecution."
28 .
29 And that's John J Joy?
30 A. That's correct. And of course the thing about that

1 was, it wasn't just an investigation of me, it was an	
2 investigation of most of the politicians in the County	
3 Dublin area from all political areas at all levels. It	
4 was - all heads were investigated at that time.	
5 226 Q. There were ministers from cross-Party lines involved?	
6 A. There were ministers from all Parties involved in it.	
7 227 Q. Yes. Thank you very much, Mr. Burke.	
8 .	
9 CHAIRMAN: Ms. Dillon.	
10 .	
11 THE WITNESS WAS THEN RE-EXAMINED BY MS. DILLON AS	
12 FOLLOWS:	
13 .	
14 228 Q. MS. DILLON: Yes, Mr. Burke, arising out of that. Do I	
15 understand your evidence to be that on the	
16 establishment of this Tribunal, you went to see AIB at	
17 their headquarters in connection with obtaining your	
18 records?	
19 A. I went and spoke to them and asked them to assist me in	
20 finding records. Now, at the period in time it	
21 wouldn't have been - it would have been prior to the	
22 particular period of which the Tribunal was dealing	
23 with, because the records in there would have been the	
24 period - that	
25 229 Q. If we	
26 A. Yes, I did.	
27 230 Q. Now, when did you go to AIB?	
A. I haven't got the exact date on it, but I went to see	
29 Mr. Harvey, Dan Harvey, who was - he was based in	
30 Belfast at the time. He was responsible for the	

1 overseas operations of the AIB.
2 231 Q. Did you go in 1997 or 1998?
3 A. It could have been at the - it could have been
4 can get you the specific date
5 232 Q. You think it's 1998?
6 A. I think it's 1998, but sorry, can I just say to
7 I will get the specific date, because I can trace t
8 date of it.
9 233 Q. Fine. We can assume for the moment that it
10 as I understood what you said to Mr. Walsh, is
11 told AIB you had accounts at Bruton Street and
12 of Man?
13 A. Yes.
14 234 Q. When you went to see them, is that right?
15 A. I told them about my accounts overseas, that's
16 235 Q. You told them about - what you specifically
17 Mr. Walsh, was you told them about accounts
18 Street and the Isle of Man?
19 A. That's correct.
20 236 Q. Well, if you told Allied Irish Banks in 1998
21 had accounts in the Isle of Man, why did you w
the 20th of June, 2000, to tell the Tribunal you
23 account at Allied Irish Banks (Isle of Man)?
A. No, I told you that I could not - they came ba
25 I was trying to make the point. It's exactly the
26 you are making. I went to them, told them I have
27 accounts, and the AIB told me I had no accourt
28 went and fought them, and came into you here
29 Tribunal, gave details to you in evidence in rel
30 to things, in relation to accounts, and the AIB

- 1998. I
- you,
- the
- it's 1998, and
- is that you
- nd the Isle
- t's right.
- ly said,
- at Bruton
- 8 that you
- wait until
- u had an
- ack to me.
- e point
- nad
- ints. I
- e in the
- elation
- 30 to things, in relation to accounts, and the AIB were

1	continuing to tell me they couldn't find nothing.
2	
3	What happened was that I found a document in relation
4	to the Isle of Man, which I then went back to the AIB
5	with, and as a result of that they traced the
6	information that I required, which I then, when I got
7	it, brought it to the attention of the Tribunal.
8	That's the sequence of events.
9 237	2. Is the factual position this, Mr. Burke, that you
10	believed, in 1998, that you had had an account at
11	Allied Irish Banks in Isle of Man, that you went to see
12	Allied Irish Banks about that. They said they had no
13	records, but you did not disclose that fact or your
14	belief that you had an account in the Isle of Man to
15	the Tribunal until June of 2000?
16 A	. The sequence of events is that at the time we were
17	investigating what - what was the subject of the
18	investigation was the Gogarty Module, which was from
19	June of 1985 on. I was trying to get as much
20	information as I told you I have done. I was trying to
21	get as much information to be of benefit to the
22	Tribunal as I could.
23	
24	When I got the information, I brought it immediately to
25	the attention of the Tribunal. It was for a period way
26	back in '82, which was not relevant to the period of
27	the Gogarty Module, which was '85 on. I tried to
28	cooperate with you in every possible way.
29 238	Q. Did you believe, in 1998, that you had once had an
30	account at Allied Irish Banks Isle of Man?

2 239 Q. When did you first disclose this fact to the Tribunal?
3 A. When I got the details of the account. When I
4 eventually
5 240 Q. When? Date, please, Mr. Burke.
6 A. Well, I think it's June of 2000, when I got the
7 information in the course of a search in relation to my
8 tax and other affairs. I found this document, I then
9 went back to the bank, got the details of the bank.
10 They carried out this search on my behalf. They found
11 the documentation, gave it to me. You had sent me a
12 very comprehensive query, I don't know, five or six
13 pages long, and in response to that five or six page
14 long letter, I included with that, or at least my legal
15 team included with that the details of the account, as
16 the account had just come available to us.
17 241 Q. Yes. And of course in 1998, when you had a belief that
18 you had an account in the Isle of Man and you went to
19 speak to Allied Irish Banks about that, the following
20 year, on the 9th of July 1999, you gave evidence to the
21 Sole Member of this Tribunal and did not, as a matter
22 of fact, disclose to the Sole Member of the Tribunal on
that occasion your belief that you had previously held
24 an account in the Isle of Man. Isn't that the
25 position?
A. That's the position. But may I say - first of all, I
27 wasn't speaking about the period way back in 1982. I
28 was relating it to the relevant period of the Tribunal
29 at that stage, which was in relation to the Gogarty
30 Module.

1 242 Q. You told the Tribunal you had an overseas account.
2 A. We were dealing with the period of the Tribunal and in
3 the module that we were talking about at that time,
4 which was the module of Mr. Gogarty from '85. And the
5 account in the Isle of Man had been long since closed
6 by that stage.
7 243 Q. If I could deal just in relation to the issue of the
8 Revenue documentation at 4479, where the directors of
9 Oakpark disclosed that they had given a portion of the
10 land in lieu of fees.
11 .
12 I presume that the body who were providing these
13 auctioneering fees, if it was yourself, was PJ Burke
14 (Sales) Limited?
15 A. That's precisely it.
16 244 Q. But you were, of course, the person who received the
17 benefit of the fee?
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1 about the companies, it's the Brennans and the
2 McGowans.
3 247 Q. Could I direct your attention to the letter that you
4 wrote to the bank manager on the 12th of August, 1974,
5 please, at Document 5441.
6 .
7 Perhaps you could explain the terminology that you
8 used, Mr. Burke, in this letter, because you directed
9 Mr. Delany, and you say: "I give my authority to show"
10 - and you delete the word "show" and you put in the
11 word "provide" - "any information required to
12 Mr. Casey."
13 A. Yes.
14 248 Q. Initially it appeared you were of the view that
15 Mr. Casey should be shown all of your bank records, but
16 the ultimate authority that you gave was to provide
17 information?
18 A. To provide anything he wanted. It was to provide any
19 information he required, rather than just limiting it
20 to showing it to you. It was to provide him with
21 anything he wanted, rather than merely showing it to
22 him.
23 249 Q. And the information was provided, as we have seen in
24 Mr. Delany's letter of the 24th of August?
A. That's precisely it, followed by another letter on -
26 that Mr. Casey obviously asked for, which was the
27 letter of a few days later.
28 250 Q. But there is nothing to indicate in any of that
29 correspondence that Mr. Casey was then or indeed ever
30 shown your financial records in the bank, because,

1	indeed, your authority does not go that far, isn't that
2	correct, Mr. Burke?
3 A.	No, I do not take that interpretation of it at all.
4	
5	My authority was to provide him with any information he
6	wanted, which - rather than limiting it by just the
7	word "show", it was a question of "provide" him with
8	anything that he wanted. Through you, Mr. Chairman,
9	may I say the questioner's interpretation would suggest
10	that "provide" was limiting. My interpretation and my
11	intention was to provide him, to ensure the maximum
12	cooperation, which I was trying to provide at that
13	time.
14 251	Q. Yes, of course. Just to draw your attention - that the
15	last transaction on your Allied Irish Bank (Isle of
16	Man) account was a transaction on the 11th of April
17	1985, when there was a direct payment of ú342.10.
18	3039, please.
19 A.	That seems to be a throwback of interest that would
20	have been due for the few days in between the money we
21	had taken out. My only recollection of that is if I
22	got it, I would have spent it on political purposes,
23	and I've told that you already.
24 252	Q. But you are not suggesting you didn't get it, Mr.
25	Burke?
26 A.	Well, quite frankly, I don't recall ever getting it,
27	but I am quite prepared to accept that if it shows that
28	it went to - it went to Bruton Street. As to whether
29	they sent it on to me or not, I am prepared to accept
30	that they did. I don't recall getting it. I have my

1	doubts, but if I did get it, it would have been spent
2	on political purposes.
3 253	Q. I mean, what this shows, of course, Mr. Burke, is that
4	there was a transaction on the Allied Irish Banks (Isle
5	of Man) account in April of 1985, and therefore it was
6	an account that was operative in 1985, and therefore,
7	on your definition of the questions you were being
8	asked in the Gogarty Module, would of course have
9	brought this account into the Gogarty Module, and you
10	should have disclosed it
11	A. Absolutely not. I have no recollection of that ú342,
12	but the disclosure that you talk about, the
13 25	4 Q. Sorry, Mr. Burke, non-disclosure.
14	A. Excuse me, Mr. Chairman. I was asked, on directions of
15	you, for my bank accounts for a period - I had been
16	asked by you on instructions to give you my bank
17	accounts from the period of 1985, from the end of May
18	1985. You made an Order at an early stage asking for
19	these documents to be made available to you under
20	Discovery, a Discovery Order, and I made the documents
21	available to you. And it would not have been covered
22	in the period that the - that the questioner is
23	suggesting in her usual friendly manner.
24	
25	MS. DILLON: I have nothing further for Mr. Burke at
26	this time, Sir, although it is likely that Mr. Burke
27	will be requested to give further evidence at some
28	further stage.
29	
30	There is also a possibility of one further witness,

1	whom we are trying to locate, and we have not located
2	at the moment, who may have evidence relative to
3	matters that have been the subject matter of the
4	present module.
5	
6	Subject to the availability of that witness, who will
7	affect, only, I expect, Mr. Burke, this is the end of
8	the module. And if I could ask you simply to reaffirm
9	that no extension of time will be granted to any party
10	in relation to the 17th of December deadline, and it is
11	likely there will be oral submissions leading up to the
12	week of the 21st of December.
13	
14	MR. HAYDEN: Just before - rather than have a
15	pre-emptive strike, would it not be somewhat better to
16	see whether or not any additional evidence arises that
17	might affect anybody
18	
19	CHAIRMAN: I am not going into the matter at the
20	moment.
21	
22	MS. DILLON: This is for information purposes only.
23	
24	CHAIRMAN: We will have to ascertain what the
25	information is and make our minds up as to
26	
27	MR. HAYDEN: I accept that, Sir. What I meant was that
28	since Ms. Dillon has already asked you to refuse an
29	application I haven't made, nor I intimated I was going
30	to make, I would have thought that if there is extra

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1	evidence that might arise, that might affect my
2	clients, I might eventually have to say something about
3	it.
4	
5	CHAIRMAN: We'll await events, and you can take it up
6	then, and we might know what you are talking about.
7	
8	MR. HAYDEN: We have to wait for Ms. Dillon, then.
9	
10	MR. WALSH: Before we finish, Mr. Burke, just one last
11	question. We don't need to put the document up on
12	screen. The '74 authority to the bank
13	
14	CHAIRMAN: In relation to Mr. Casey? Detective Officer
15	Casey?
16	
17	MR. WALSH: Precisely, Sir.
18	
19	Ms. Dillon was debating with Mr. Burke the difference
20	between "show" and "provide". Just one question I want
21	to ask arising out of that.
22	
23	CHAIRMAN: Carry on.
24	
25	THE WITNESS WAS THEN RE-EXAMINED BY MR. WALSH AS
26	FOLLOWS:
27	
28 255	Q. MR. WALSH: Thank you, Sir.
29	
30	Mr. Burke, as far as you are concerned, "provide" I

1 take it, is a much greater and broader authority to the
2 bank than the word "show"?
A. That was my intention, that having put the word "show"
4 down, I didn't think it was broad enough. But I - what
5 I wanted to do was give the maximum cooperation to the
6 investigation that was being carried out, and that's
7 why the word "provide" was there. So it wasn't a
8 question of showing him any document he wanted, but
9 also to give him copies of the document he wanted.
10 256 Q. I think it's our understanding that if you had only
11 used the word "show", that it wouldn't have given the
12 bank any authority from you as client to actually
13 release information to the Gardai?
14 A. They would have had to come back to me and get another
15 authority from me to provide the documentation.
16 257 Q. Thank you very much.
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17 .
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