

Church & State

An Irish History Magazine

And Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World

Globalising Capitalism

Anti-Reproduction Marriage/ Irish Tycoons/ Greece

Hitler's Irishmen

The Vatican & The Armenians

T.D. Williams' *Genesis Of National Socialism*

Spanish Colonial Debate

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Globalising Capitalism:

Anti-Reproduction Marriage / Irish Tycoons / Greece

Marriage throughout the ages has been a social institution whose purpose was the production and rearing of children. It has now been abolished in Ireland by the Constitutional revolution against nature establishing same sex marriage. There is now no special institution in the Republic for the production and rearing of children.

The reason for the abolition of historical marriage is not some new invention which enables two people of the same sex to produce a child out of themselves. In our last issue, published before the Referendum, we explained the proposed change as a requirement of advanced capitalism.

The capitalist development of the market requires continuous expansion of the market. If the market does not expand capitalism collapses. What a capitalist does is organise the production of commodities which he sells in the market at a profit. If he fails to sell them at a profit, his business fails. If he succeeds, his business expands. He invests his profits to produce even more commodities in the next round, hoping to produce even more profits, which must then be invested to produce even more commodities.

Commodities must find a market or their value will perish.

A particular capitalist might think he has made enough profit, retire from business, invest his money, and relax. But all that would mean was that he had loaned his money to another capitalist to invest, getting a rate of interest for the loan.

About 25 years ago the late Garret FitzGerald who was a writer on economics for twenty years before becoming a politician, published an article in which he said the time had come to call a halt to the expansion of the capitalist market. He thought capitalism had developed enough, and that the time had come for it to relax and just tick over.

It was amazing that a man who had spent the best part of his life thinking and writing about capitalism could imagine that it could exist without expanding continuously.

There was once a kind of market that did not have an inbuilt compulsion to expand, regardless of the social consequences of expansion. It was a stable market, located in a stable social system which kept it under control. It was called the Guild system.

It was, of course, what the *Irish Times* would denounce as a system of corruption, because it did not allow the individual businessman to expand his business freely at whatever cost to society. It was confined by apprenticeships and trade rules and produced for a known market.

It was in England that the commercial element of the Guild broke free of the constraints of the system and subordinated society to its requirements, instead of being a component of stable social existence. The social structure was broken by the Tudor Monarchy which ended the civil wars, imposed Protestantism, broke the Guilds, set off new conflicts between different brands of Protestantism which led to a theocratic Puritan Revolution that was ended by an Episcopalian counter-

revolution, and finally to the Freedom that was ushered in by the annihilating Williamite conquest of Ireland around 1690.

The first fruits of this Freedom were the Penal Laws against the Catholic population of Ireland, and the freeing of the Slave Trade from the restriction of State licensing and supervision, throwing it open to the unhampered enterprise of sturdy, self-made men.

Britain won a near monopoly of the Slave Trade by the Peace of Utrecht (1713) which ended its first Great War. Then, in the course of the 18th century, it established the nucleus of the world market by means of the Triangular Trade—carrying slaves from West Africa to its Slave Plantations in the Caribbean, where they were exchanged for sugar, which was sold in England in exchange for pots and pans produced by English capitalism and taken to West Africa to exchange for slaves.

The dynamic of capitalism is to subordinate life to the market. It brings about increasingly a situation in which life becomes impossible without the purchase of commodities. Foreign cultures were conquered and destroyed and the people were made into markets for English commodities. And residues of procapitalist society within England were progressively overcome and subjected to the market. Until recent times families were little productive units which bought raw materials which were worked for consumption by unpaid labour. In Ireland two generations ago very little was bought and sold compared with today. All that production that went on within the family was lost to the market, and it had to go.

Under English direction, which was exchanged for United States direction in 1945, it progressively became the case that the only real value in practical terms was market value.

The family was hollowed out. Its functions were taken over by the market. Then technological developments within the market enabled sexual activity to be disconnected from the reproduction of the species in the sense that it can be engaged in without risk of reproduction, not that reproduction can go on without it.

In England, the pioneer, the population became incapable of reproducing itself under these new circumstances. The shortfall in native reproduction was made up by the import of people. And, with much of the world disrupted by Amerangian action on it, there was an ample supply of people available for free importation. Ireland was the first country disrupted by England from which England imported population. Others followed. An England, which knows how to do these things, made the Irish feel it was doing them a favour by letting them in.

The England in which the capitalist breakthrough happened was primarily a vigorous Imperialist State with a disrupted society at its disposal, which could be subjected to the rigours of Manchester industrial capitalism in the mid-19th century. Life-expectancy plummeted, and millions of lives were quickly used up and England became the workshop of the world and

master of the world's seas. The world was subordinated to England's requirements. A vast international division of labour was developed to England's advantage. And now that international division of labour applies to human reproduction.

When we said, in the last issue, that the abolition of marriage as a special institution for producing and rearing children fitted in with the development of capitalism, we did not expect to see the statement proved so spectacularly.

An American billionaire put 20 million dollars into the Referendum campaign, and major institutions of capitalism declared their support for it.

And *Amnesty International* supported it. Will it in future, when surveying the condition of human rights around the world, include the absence of provision for homosexual marriage as an oppressive infringement of human rights?

The magazine *Phoenix* (May 22) gives a breakdown of the distribution of billionaire Chuck Feeney's 20 million dollars (17.6 million Euros):

GLEN (Gay and Lesbian Equality Network), 4.7 million dollars.

ICCL (Irish Council for Civil Liberties) 11.5 million dollars.

Marriage Equality, just under half a million.

LINC (Lesbians In Cork) 1.6 million dollars.

NLGF (National Lesbian, Gay Federation) 1.3 million dollars.

Joan Burton (Tánaiste and Leader of the Labour Party) was questioned, briefly, about the buying of an Irish Constitutional Referendum by a US billionaire. She was particularly active in the campaign, and she brushed aside the question by saying that none of Feeney's millions were spent on the campaign. All that meant was that the money was disbursed before the official three weeks of the campaign began.

It may be argued that none of this money bought votes and that young people were genuinely enthused about the Equality message that went out. But that is not how things work in real life. There are plenty of worthy ideas which never make an impact on the public consciousness. We recall the account of a disillusioned Serb, describing the lead-up to a colour revolution in Serbia. There would be meetings of young people, throwing up ideas. Seemingly effortlessly, those ideas took material shape and were realised. The idealist young participants did not realise that outside forces had supplied funds to make this happen. They thought they were doing it all themselves.

*

The July issue of the English magazine *Prospect* has an article on *The Strange Death Of Catholic Ireland* by Gerry Lynch, the former Executive Director of the Alliance Party. The Alliance Party, in case you've forgotten, was a Northern Ireland Party formed in the early 1970s. It had its source in an intellectual or academic group called something like the New Reform Society, which wanted political life to become normal. So the Alliance was formed by middle class Protestants and middle class Catholics who yearned for normality. They hoped to engender normality by refusing to take part in the political life that developed within the Northern Ireland anomaly of British constitutional government. The Alliance was to be a Centre Party, standing between Unionism and Nationalism, on no political ground, and drawing both extremes towards this elevated centre.

Nekrassov, the Russian poet of Tsarist times, asked "*Can Anybody Be Free And Happy In Russia?*" The question asked

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by the formation of the Alliance Party was Can People Be Normal In The Constitutional Abnormality Of Northern Ireland? And the answer given by the fate of the Alliance is a clear "No!" It soon became a free-floating elite, not an elite of something, just an elite, and it is useful to Whitehall for doing odd jobs.

The normality towards which the Alliance aspired is the highly political normality produced by the intense activity of British party-politics, from which Northern Ireland was excluded at birth. Alliance refused, on principle, to address the cause of the political abnormality of Northern Ireland in order to remedy it, and it also refused to participate in that abnormality. And that is why it is now necessary to explain what the Alliance Party was.

Lynch, accurately enough, sums up Catholic decline in these words:

"They didn't rebel or convert; they just stopped caring. Mostly they didn't even think about it..."

About thirty years ago, when there was some point in engaging in conflict with the Church, Gene Kerrigan, socialist columnist on the *Sunday Independent*, advised against it. He said it wasn't necessary. There was no need to jeopardise your salary over it, because American globalist capitalism would soon lay everything flat.

Just how flat the world has been made for Western normality by Globalism is shown by two other articles alongside Lynch's. One is about the overthrow of democracy in Egypt: *The Strongman Is Back: The government of Abdel el-Sisi is cracking down in Egypt. But... many Egyptians welcome the return of order... ordinary Egyptians crave the security that Sisi appears to promise*".

Sisi is giving ordinary Egyptians what they want. So, as the *Irish Times* said at the time: *Hardly A Coup*.

But why didn't these ordinary Egyptians give themselves what they wanted when they had the chance in the election? Apparently because Democracy is not at all the simple thing it is often presented as. It raises unrealistic expectations that need to be curbed. And so that ordinary Egyptians come to realise that what Sisi has given them what is what they really want, he has clamped down on "hundreds of NGOs that focussed on human rights and democracy-building", and those that receive foreign funding must "register with state security".

And Western normality doesn't protest.

The other article that expresses the flat normality of our time is *The Real Fight In Ukraine* by Liberal MP for Toronto Centre and former Moscow Correspondent of the *Financial Times*, Chrystia Freeland. She tells us:

"It's not about economics or grand strategy—Russia wants to snuff out democracy on its doorstep... While Russia under Vladimir Putin has become a kleptocracy, Ukraine's new leaders are defining their national identity as inherently democratic. By picking a fight with Ukraine... Putin is testing its people's readiness to follow them."

"Putin is determined to subdue Ukraine. He doesn't need Ukraine for economic gain—indeed, his aggression has come at a great, and mounting, economic cost. He doesn't need Ukraine for strategic reasons.—Putin is master of Crimea, but Russia is more isolated... He doesn't even need the immediately popularity leaders always get at the beginning of a foreign war... What he does need is to show that a democratic Ukraine living under the rule of law can't work... At its heart, however, the conflicts within Ukraine, and the fight Putin has picked with it, are about post-Soviet kleptocracy, and whether there is a popular will to resist it."

Putin's "kleptocracy" is unexplained. A *kleptocracy* is rule by thieves. The Russian regime of thieves was surely the Yeltsin regime, which was celebrated in the West and taken advantage of. What was stolen was the public property established by the Soviet regime. The theft was called "privatisation". Private property was necessary for Capitalism, and where was it to come from, on a large scale, after 70 years of Communist development, except from the State?

Is Putin a kleptocrat because he does not return this stolen state property to the State, but accepts it as an economic fact which is the medium for capitalist development?

It has become usual to describe the present Russian system as a tyranny, or dictatorship. The ground for this description is never explained. Russian Governments have been elected in multi-party elections since the early 1990s. There was no rupture of the process in the transition from Yeltsin. Yeltsin was assured of immunity from prosecution over the mass "corruption" involved in the privatisation of State property. It was a sensible decision. The general

establishment of private property for a process of capitalist production after 70 years of Communism had no precedent. There was no normality against which it could be judged. There was no market to establish prices. And there were no billionaires which could have bought State Enterprises for a fair price.

When the military *coup* against democracy in Egypt was being justified by democratic ideologists it was said that democratic government to be tolerable must be structured in ways that exercise restraint on it. The kind of restraint exercised by Yeltsin was that he sent his tanks to shell the Parliament. That action was approved by the West—including by the *Financial Times* correspondent of the time, John Lloyd.

The restraints exercised by Putin to differentiate democracy from chaos include nothing like that. They are of a kind with the constraints that are integral to Western systems.

*

The fact that Ireland is democratically governed is ridiculed by Fintan O'Toole, who has been an *Irish Times* columnist for longer than most people can remember.

He recently (June 15) dug up the alleged corruption in 1989 of "tycoon" Larry Goodman, who, among other things, exported beef "to (among other places) Saddam Hussein's Iraq".—Can it be true? Was there a time when Iraq was a country that could import beef?

O'Toole is writing about *The Interesting Business Of Become An Irish Tycoon*. What it boils down to is that Irish capitalists can only be successful by being corrupt. (Could capitalists anywhere? It depends on what you regard as corruption, doesn't it?)

O'Toole dismisses the myth of the self-made man—in Ireland: "the typical Irish private fortune comes from gaining access to public resources of one kind or another". With Goodman it was "EU and State subsidies available to the beef industry". In the 90s it was property development combined with public planning "and a 'private' banking system whose risks were underwritten by innocent citizens". With Denis O'Brien it is radio licences, mobile phone licences and "Mr. Lowry". That's how to become big.

"The small and medium enterprises where genuine get-up-and-go individualism thrives are always an afterthought in official policy!"

Is he saying that the State should seek out thriving small-scale enterprises

run by sturdy individualists and boost them into the big time with public funds?

Or is he saying that big time capitalism should not be allowed in Ireland, because it can only happen with an "unhealthy intertwining of public and private"?

O'Toole was created as a public personality by the mysteriously-financed Anglo-Irish hangover, the *Irish Times*, which is certainly not a product of sturdy Irish individualism. And he ends with a paragraph which could only be written in the ivory tower sustained by concealed surplus value:

"The success of the golden circle of developers, bankers and landowners in shaping physical, economic and political realities gave us the catastrophic collapse and the loss of State sovereignty. And now Michael Noonan's Burkean (Ray not Edmund) stonewalling on Siteserv has revealed to citizens that the 'democratic revolution' that was supposed to respond to the causes of that collapse was a hoax. The crisis will keep erupting until we have a democracy in the State which encourages private enterprise, defends the public interest and most importantly knows the difference between the two."

O'Toole should at least know something about Burke (Edmund) if not about the realities of modern capitalism. Burke was neither a democrat nor an advocate of transparency. He believed that much should be concealed by "*decent drapery*". He was a Whig pamphleteer who aspired to enter the Whig nobility, which he dedicated his life to saving from the French Revolution. If he was watching us from Heaven, he would certainly see O'Toole's *bete noire*, Charles Haughey, as his representative in late 20th century Ireland.

"Give me deeper darkness. Money is not made in the light!": O'Toole must have come across the worldly capitalism of Shaw's Captain Shotover in *Heartbreak House*.

We had our Celtic Tiger because Haughey understood the capitalism of our era when sophisticated finance is its leading element and he acquired the means to launch it in Ireland, and that is why we are what we are.

The Ireland of the sturdy individual entrepreneur, which O'Toole now presents as his ideal, once existed. It was De Valera's Ireland, which O'Toole despises. And that means he is only a crank.

Alongside O'Toole's column there is

an article on *Magna Carta*, and how "*Ireland was the first country outside English to receive the historic charter*". Surprisingly the author, Dr. Peter Crooks of Trinity, goes on to say that it only applied to the English Colony.

The *Magna Carta* asserted the power of the nobility against the King, and was a recipe for a weak state. After a period of civil wars fought over an elective Crown, monarchy was restored, and the English State embarked on world conquest, beginning with Ireland.

Capitalism's ideology is liberalism. That is to say, it required individual freedom to take precedence over the common good and socialised values. Up to the present, capitalism and its individualism was held in check by other forces: socialist and religious. Same sex marriage is not a concession of Equality to all individuals, as the slogans of the Referendum campaign suggested, but a logical consequence of capitalist individualist ideology. For business purposes it is over-rides in make-believe an unalterably unequal fact of nature: only heterosexual couples can reproduce the human race.

*

Capitalism cannot be counterposed to the State, as if it was capable of autonomous existence. It exists in the most intimate relationship with the State. The market element in mediaeval society did not break free of social constraints by its own efforts. It was freed, and given space for development, by the English State after the 1688 *coup d'etat*, when England fell into the hands of an upstart, commercially-disposed aristocracy, which became the ruling class of an English society disrupted by a century and a half of destructive conflict caused by disputes within the State-imposed Reformation.

Something like capitalism might have existed in some Italian city-states before that, but it was a parochial affair which exerted little influence beyond very small territories. It was the English ruling class, which dominated the disrupted English society, and had the King under its thumb, ensuring that he could not be the ruler of a monarchical national State which might curb them, that brought capitalism into being as an aggressive force in an aggressive state which was intent on world conquest.

The first Great War of that new English State was financed by debt. Jonathan Swift wrote a pamphlet which helped to bring that particular war to an

end. His major objection to that War was that, through being financed by the increase in the National Debt, it was enlarging the role of money in society at the expense of other values.

Public and private have always been bound up together in societies dominated by Capitalism. The provision of a proletariat for capitalist development was done by the privatisation of common lands, called *enclosure*. Enclosure was done piecemeal over a long period by means of Acts of Parliament proposed by the landowners, who were also Members of Parliament.

In those times the State facilitated capitalist activity but on the whole did not itself engage in economic activity. That changed after the proletariat got organised into associations of workers which exerted pressure on Capitalism. That pressure began to be considerable about a hundred years ago. That began a development in which the State wove an immense economic cocoon for capitalism to function within.

Margaret Thatcher came to Office on the slogan of rolling back the State and letting the tall poppies grow—but the role of the State grew throughout her years in Office.

Language is often used which implies the removal of the State from economic management so that capitalism might be free to flourish. But this is only a kind of wishful thinking, a yearning for a return to an era that never happened—an era of enterprise free from the State, and with real money. Everybody in the business, who thinks at all, knows that it is fantasy. Capitalism cannot exist without an active State which protects it, guides it, and nourishes it.

*

The Free World of Western Capitalism (which has Saudi Arabia as its lynchpin) insists that the whole world must now exist in the form of capitalist nation-states, governed by forms of democracy which are open to political and economic intervention by the superior Western democracies. Many regions which in their own development had not prepared themselves either for the unhuman rigours of capitalism, or the artifices of democracy in the form of representative government, are required by external controls to take the form of capitalist nation-states, and they are held to be at fault if they do not do it well—though they may also be held to be at fault if they do it too well: the Japanese had to be reprimanded for this about 25 years ago.

A book was published recently with the informative title, *The Making And Unmaking Of Nations*. And about ten years ago an eminent US Institution published a book intended to be helpful to Washington foreign policy, with the title *The Beginner's Guide To Nation-Building*. The assumption underlying this approach is that most of the contemporary world resembles the scrambled pieces of a Leggo set, and that all that is needed to bring it to perfect order is a clear instruction on how to assemble the pieces. The idea of nations as organic growths in which a sense of future destiny grows out of past development has been rejected comprehensively. The only allowable destiny is that asserted by the leading Powers of Western Capitalism.

A writer in the *Irish Examiner*, John Lloyd, has chastised the Greeks for being disobedient. Lloyd is a British upper class maverick whose origins are in the Unionist Scotland that is now dissolving, but his sentiment about the Greeks is in tune with that of opinion-formers of the native Irish middle class.

Irish Times columnist Stephen Collins deplores "*Syriza's juvenile behaviour*" (July 4th). The column has the title "*There But For Our Politicians Might We Have Gone Too*". It begins:

"The reckless and chaotic way the Syriza government is risking the future of the Greek people in a game of political poker it can't win throws a favourable light on the behaviour of mainstream Irish politicians since the onset of the financial crisis..."

Collins is a well-heeled supporter of austerity. He deplores the fact that—

"the casual denigration of Irish politics and politicians has become such a pervasive feature of political discourse that not only are the mainstream parties struggling to get any credit for their actions, they are widely denounced for not supporting Syriza's juvenile behaviour..."

He forgets that for a long generation the mission of the *Irish Times* was to trivialise "*political discourse*" in Ireland by casual denigration of the politicians who nurtured the Celtic Tiger, and it only desisted when its subversive campaign against Fianna Fail brought about the possibility that its place would be taken by Sinn Fein.

His story about Greece is that its problems were caused by "*decades of corruption, mismanagement and fraudulent accounts*". Collapse was

averted by "*the EU-IMF*", which kept the state functional.

"The tragedy is that a lot was achieved during the bailouts... Then Syriza came to power and all that hard-won progress was thrown away."

If things were getting better while the Greeks were obedient to the EU-IMF regime, why did they elect Syriza? Obviously because in their experience of actual life things were not getting better, though they possibly were getting better in the obscure accounting system of the EU-IMF.

The source problem with Greece is that it is a state only in the territorial sense. It lacks an apparatus of State which imposes obligations on citizens and habituates them to a national sense that those obligations must be met.

It is said that Democracy originated in Greece two and a half thousand years ago. It didn't. There was no Greek state in ancient times. There was a Greek civilisation within which hundreds of states existed. And, if it is held that Democracy originated in Athens, it should be explained that it had little in common with what we call Democracy. In our democracies all the citizens do not assemble to decide what laws there should be and what the State should do. And officials of the State are not chosen by lot from the populace.

Greek democracy was a by-word over the millennia for turbulent chaos. The well-conducted Greek states were aristocracies of some kind, or dictatorships. And it was the common view of political philosophers, including Edmund Burke, that large states could not be democracies.

In the 18th century representative government was established in Britain. The aristocracy was mainly what was represented, but the possibility was seen that representation could be extended downwards through society. Rousseau, however, held that representative government based on an extensive Parliamentary franchise would not be a democracy. It would at any rate be different in kind from a general assembly of citizens, with no permanent apparatus of state, with officials being chosen by lot for a few years.

The Greeks lived for thousands of years, after Alexander established his Empire, in the Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire. The Greek state was not established until the 19th century.

And then it was an arrangement made by the European Empire, rather than the product of a strong Greek nationalism. And that Greek state was looked after by the Christian Powers which had decided that it should exist.

One of the first independent acts of the Greek state was the refusal in 1914 to do Britain's bidding and make war on the Ottoman Empire, with the promise of getting a piece of Turkey as a reward. Britain, which considered that it had a Creator's right over Greece, brushed aside its neutrality and set up a Government which did its bidding and declared war on the Ottomans.

The Ottoman state was defeated in four years of war. Britain occupied Constantinople (Istanbul) and exhorted the Greeks to go and occupy Asia Minor and annex it. They did so, but were met by a Turkish resistance out of Anatolia and were driven back to the sea. Britain abandoned them. And the Greek cities in Asia Minor, which had not been interfered with during the Ottoman centuries, ceased to exist. The Greek populations were required to go to the Greek state. It was implicit in the Greek invasion that the region would be cleared either of Turks or of Greeks.

In the mid-1930s a competent Greek State began to be established by the dictatorship of General Metaxas, which is usually described as Fascist. In 1940 Fascist Italy declared war on Greece for the purpose of taking territory to which it thought it was entitled under the agreement with Britain which brought it into the War against Austria in 1915.

The Fascist Greek State held the Italian invasion and began to push it back. Britain withdrew its Army from France in the War which it had declared on Germany, and Churchill was looking for a peripheral engagement to keep the war situation alive. He wanted to engage with Greece in its war against Italy. Metaxas refused to play. The Italians had been checked and he judged that British engagement would make it necessary for Hitler to support the Italians. But he died early in 1941 and his successor accepted Churchill's pressing offer, leading Hitler to support the Italians.

The German occupation of Greece brought about a civil war between the mainly Communist resistance to the Germans and the extensive bourgeois collaboration with it. If this war had been allowed to run its course, there would probably have been a strong Greek State at the end of it. But when Germany

was defeated Britain went into alliance with the Nazi collaborators and defeated the anti-Fascist resistance for them.

One could, of course, moralise capitalistically about Greek fecklessness, as if Capitalism was a kind of emanation from human nature, independent of circumstances, and its failure to materialise in Greece could only be due to wilful perversity. But if we take any heed of the major Irish political philosopher, Edmund Burke, we should see human nature as a very indefinite thing, and circumstances as a very influential thing. And, on the ground of circumstances, Greece would, if morality had anything to do with it, have a very powerful case against Europe for messing it about, and against Germany and Britain in particular, and against Britain more than Germany.

It would obviously be inexpedient for them to present a case against Britain, so they concentrate on Germany. But surely Ireland should round out the picture, if its existence as a nation-state if it is to have any meaning in international affairs?

The Irish state, however, was in flight from itself when it joined the EU in tandem with Britain. Its moral collapse in the face of the Northern insurrection in 1970, after encouraging it in 1969, left it bewildered about itself. Its entry into Europe was an escape from itself. It benefitted economically from membership. but, aside from a brief period under Haughey, it brought nothing to the European project and was aligned with Britain in its determined efforts to undermine it—not knowing what it was doing, of course.

On the morning after Greece was given the three-day ultimatum by the Eurozone to give itself 50 billion Euros by selling its assets and to remake itself according to the Puritan ideal in return for loans of 86 billion Euros from the Eurozone and a possible 35 billion investment package organised by the EU Commission, the Taoiseach said the ultimatum had the benevolent purpose of making Greece "thrive and prosper".

The scarcely concealed purpose of the EU had for some time been to bring about a change of Government in Greece. When Syriza decided to hold a referendum, the Eurozone reckoned it could scare the electorate into compliance. When the electorate was disobedient, the EZ decided it was showdown time.

What is being proposed in the reorganisation of social affairs in Greece resembles Professor Tom Garvin's exultant account of what Britain did to Ireland in 1922: cowing it by authoritarian methods into accepting the subordination insisted on by Britain, and frightening the electorate into voting for it so that it could said to be democratic.

The price of staving off bankruptcy is to be the elimination of socialised practices which have survived in Greece. The market has to be given free rein in areas of social life where it is currently restricted (notably bakeries, dairies, apothecaries, opening hours, and the professions). Working conditions are to be made worse. In many ways, Greece is being asked to liberalise areas of social life which remain restricted in the countries which are imposing the demands.

But for France and the European Commission, the deal offered to Greece would have been even worse than it is.

This whole crisis, insofar as it something more than a regular occurrence in the functioning of Capitalism, is due to gross mismanagement by the Eurozone—which, of course, means Germany.

Germany, despite all that has happened to it since 1871, has preserved something of the character of the Guild system which was woven into Capitalism by Bismarck. But it has been politically disabled by failure to put World War 2 in realistic perspective and 'move on', as Britain has always don after its atrocities. It broods and hides from itself in the EU. But, because of the social character of its capitalism, it became the biggest thing in the EU.

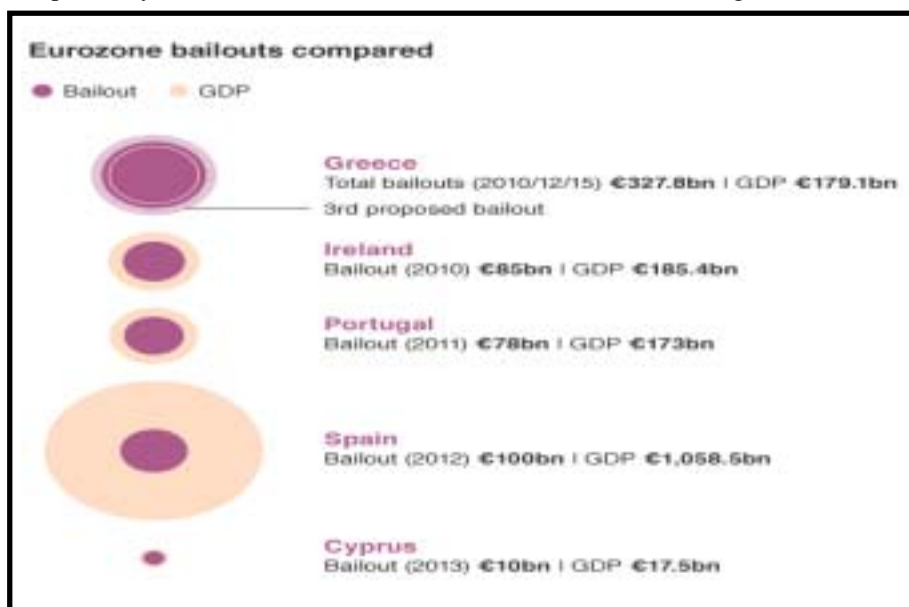
The EU—leaving aside Britain and its "exemptions"—became its economic dependency. But it did not dare to act as

its hegemon, and allowed Britain, with all its exemptions, to be the hegemon. It was seen in Britain, and by the Labour Governments not less than Tory, as being riddled with restrictive practices that were obstacles to free enterprise, and it allowed itself to be morally intimidated into breaking up its long-established working relationship between banks and industry—an crony relationship that had served it well. But this meant that a large chunk of German finance was thrown loose in the global market. The banks were left with large sums of money that they were under obligation to find other places to invest All around Europe banks had money to lend and were seeking borrowers. Poor Greece!

The strongest economy in Europe is in a state which lacks the political will to do what the actuality of the situation requires. It let itself be hustled into supporting the anti-Russian *coup* in the Ukraine by the USA, knowing it to be reckless, and now holds a formal position of which the logical outcome would be war. But now it has resisted apparent US pressure to act responsibly towards Greece and it puts the boot in. That's economics, you see.

It has economics without politics. And where does that lead?

It remains to be seen whether the EU has succeeded in breaking Syriza, or whether Tsipras can do a Lenin on the Germans. Lenin submitted, in 1918, to the Treaty dictated by the Germans because he was unable to resist German power. He implemented the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, condemning it in the act of doing so. When Michael Collins submitted to British power he made the great mistake of pretending that what he had done was make a good deal.



Wilson John Haire

Review: *Hitler's Irishmen* by Terence O'Reilly; Mercier Press, Cork. 2008. ISBN 978 85635 589 Various prices, Amazon. Kindle £7.19

Hitler's Irishmen?

I don't suppose, so many years after WW2, that many people care how many Irishmen served in the German Army. This book says less than a handful. In the end three get the author's full concentration. The three happen to be former British Army personnel. I would think only they could be documented so thoroughly as they already had records in the British Army, and two of them faced British Army military courts post-War.

Some say that Ireland being a small country they would hear about it if more than a handful served the Germans. The Irish, to find seasonal work during the 1930s, would go to the Channel Islands to pick potato and other vegetable crops. Many Irish also moved to England to work in factories and the building industry. Some of these Irish lost touch with their families. There was the tradition of sending money home and some didn't bother and spent the money on entertainment. Then there were some who were married did what was called 'an Irish divorce' abandoning their wives and children in Ireland.

There were also numbers joining the British Army against their family's wishes. I am talking here about the South of the country, as the North had its own industrial complex that turned out merchant and naval ships plus military and civilian planes, and therefore had no need to find work elsewhere. Terence O'Reilly has little knowledge of the North and describes the shipyard workers as being "*extreme Unionists*" Most of the shipyard workers were unionists of course, but this sometimes was modified and made non-sectarian by left-wing beliefs and militant Trade Unionism. Can you believe that someone can be a communist for example and also be a unionist? The idea was that their communist ideals would reform the Unionist set up. My father was one of these people, while I developed into an all-Ireland communist. A puzzling matter at the time, later to be understood through the two-nationality theory. To get back to the shipyard: it was a tiny minority who carried out the pogroms during the early 1920s and most shipyard workers

I knew regretted this and talked about it well into the 1950s. There were very few incidents after that as the shipyard management sacked those creating problems. To be sacked from the main source of work in what was once the world's biggest shipyard could mean years of unemployment.

The Channel Islands was invaded on the 30th June, 1940 by the German Army. Britain and the Channel Islands expected this, so they demilitarised the islands by sending the British Army back to the mainland. The Royal Guernsey Militia, a part-time force, was demobilised:

"All uniforms and weapons held by its members were ordered to be handed in at the town arsenal, and all privately held firearms were ordered to be handed to the police."

Britain didn't inform Germany of this and that resulted in a few bombing raids when German reconnaissance planes mistook lorries carrying crops for ammunition trucks and called up more planes to strafe them. In all 29 died in Guernsey and nine in a similar attack in Jersey. It was only after that British radio announced that the Channel Islands had been demilitarised. The suspicion is that this would prove what swine the Germans were. Typical British perfidy or just strategy and tactics?

Much the same as the promise to Poland that, if she resisted German compromise on Danzig and the proposed German Corridor, Britain would come to their aid. Poland refused perfectly good German offers, Britain didn't come to their aid when attacked and Britain achieved what it wanted—German forces on the borders of the USSR.

Channel Island Civilians had been told to cooperate with the German invader, that is, don't resist. Some of the Irish trapped on Guernsey got jobs with the Germans, though the author calls it collaboration. The Channel Islanders themselves had, like the Irish seasonal workers, to earn a living. The police force had to carry on, also making a living, by directing German military

traffic and jailing one Irishman who punched a German soldier in a cafe because of his arrogance. He got six months in prison meted out to him by a civilian court. The German occupation force seemed quite happy to let them handle this case. They themselves would have been much harsher.

With the British expeditionary force defeated and running for Dunkirk, leaving much of their heavy weapons on the beach, the Channel Island pattern for England would have made good sense in the event of a German invasion. England is too wise a nation with experience over centuries to see itself destroyed through futile resistance. There had been some arrangements for resistance, probably to boost morale, but who knows what would happen when crunch-time came.

With the evacuation of the British Army from Guernsey two young Irish soldiers were left behind in the civilian prison, either forgotten, or most probably left behind deliberately for the Germans to deal with. James Brady and Frank Skinner, of the Royal Irish Fusiliers had asked to be released in order to rejoin their regiment before the German invasion but were turned down twice. They could hear the bombing and shelling of Cherbourg in northern France from their cells. They were in those cells after getting drunk in June 1939 and smashing up a pub in uniform when refused more alcohol as the landlady thought they had had enough. They then went on a rampage through Guernsey, smashing car windows and the glass of tomato hothouses, followed by a small crowd who were wary of them as they were carrying a spade and a club. They were also shouting:

"*Up the IRA!*" and '*Fuck the King!*'"

Many Southerners seem to revert back to nature when under stress. My own memory is of a young man in RAF uniform, back in 1953, outside a Belfast dancehall one Saturday night shouting in what sounded like a Kerry accent:

"*Up the IRA!*" and '*Fuck the Queen!*'"

He had been denied entrance to the dancehall because of his drunken state. While he was being led away by the RUC, a 'shawlie' (poor woman wearing a black shawl which also covered her head and usually smelling of snuff) and her teenage grandson from the Catholic Markets area started shouting at the RUC to release the poor boy:

"Gaw on ye dyin' lukin' cunts yiz, let the wee lad go!" (wee meaning young).

Our own two lads in Guernsey were eventually overcome by the Island Constabulary, with a police sergeant being injured by Stringer with the spade. James Brady got 18 months and Frank Stringer got 21 months, both sentences to be served with hard labour. With their sentences almost over the Island's Bailiff was in two minds whether to release them in case they got in trouble with the Germans and were shot. This appeared to be a humane decision.

The German Army, which invaded Guernsey in June 1940, arrested them on their release from prison and sent them as POWs to a prison camp in Northern France. From there they decided they would make themselves useful to the German authorities. They were eventually sent for radio training to Germany with a view of becoming agents who would be dropped into Ireland to spy and report back to Germany. Neutral Ireland was also a good place to send agents who could slip across the border into Northern Ireland for sabotage reasons, and from there it was easy to get to England in order to carry out more sabotage work against the factories producing war materials. The pair seem to spend a lot of time on radio training involving learning Morse code and being moved from one city to another. The German authorities are very generous towards them and they receive wages way above the average wage of 200 Reich Marks per month. This allows them to go drinking and looking for girlfriends.

This book deals with many subjects, such as the inner workings of the German Army, naming the various ranks, what the Waffen-SS is about, how when the tide started to turn against Germany in the USSR the racial qualification for joining the Waffen-SS was ignored enough to take in Bosnian Muslims and Algerians and many other non-Aryan people such as the normally hated Slav. It had become a foreign legion. So now there was no problem for the pair to join this elite regiment. Ireland is of great interest to the Germans. A number of those now in positions of leadership had been educated at TCD, Dublin and spoke excellent English. There was even a brilliant Celtologist called Professor Ludwig Mulhausen who had been a regular visitor to the Irish-speaking areas of Ireland since the 1920s.

"By now an officer in the SS he made several wartime propaganda broadcasts to Ireland in flawless Gaelic."

Before being picked for radio training Stringer and Brady were moved to an Irish POW camp which even had a canteen that supplied beer and cigarettes, unheard of in other POW camps.

Frank Stringer obtained a job in the canteen where he encountered John Codd, born in Co. Laois. Codd had been in the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. His brother and father had also served in the British Army. Codd was well-travelled thanks to the British Army, having been in Shanghai, Gibraltar and Hong Kong. Earlier in his life he had emigrated to Canada and from there he left for Wales where he joined the British Army. He spoke Spanish and also had a working knowledge of some Asian languages. Later he would learn French and German. He left the Army in 1939 but, when war broke out a few months later, he was told to re-join his regiment. The Royal Welsh Fusiliers were then deployed to France on 11th May, 1940, and advanced into Belgium as part of the British Expeditionary Force. Defeated, and with Codd injured, he became a POW. His big toe was amputated and he spent time in hospitals in Lille and Enghien.

Codd was eventually interviewed by a German Sonderführer who was known to the POWs as 'American Joe'. He had spent many years in New York as a longshoreman. Codd claimed to the German that he had been in the IRA and was a supporter of its bombing in England. The Abwehr took a strong interest in Corporal Codd.

Among those in the camp was Sergeant-Major Whelan, a Corkman with a 22 year service in the British Army. He warned Codd about trucking with the Germans. The two men immediately became enemies. John Codd, on release, and working for the Germans, became more integrated than his companions. He got a German girlfriend and asked the authorities permission to marry her. At that time foreigners were forbidden to marry Germans but they relented after a time and he moved in quite happily with his bride into a flat. He said it was a wise policy for the Abwehr for if an Irish agent is sent to Ireland he will most likely do his job when he has a wife in Germany. Codd was to meet up with Frank Ryan who was using the pseudonym Frank Maloney (and sometimes Frank Richards),

who questioned him about his IRA membership. Codd doesn't seem to know who Ryan was.

Frank Ryan also meets up with Francis Stuart, the writer and university lecturer, who broadcasts for Germany. Stuart's wife keeps a safe house for German agents parachuted into Ireland. Ryan asks him not broadcast anti-Soviet material. It is not known if Stuart obeyed. It is hard to know what role Frank Ryan played in Germany. The author doesn't seem to have an opinion. Ryan is living quite free and in a luxury flat with monetary state allowances. Most likely he had a television, for television was well developed in Germany from the 1930s onwards. The German authorities kept a group of Irishmen in good accommodation and a monthly salary in reserve until they find some role for them.

There is an interesting episode in which Lieutenant-Colonel McGrath, a Dubliner in the British Army who had been caught attempting secretly to pass information about the POW camp to the Irish legation in Rome:

"A search of his possessions disclosed a list of names of some of the Irishmen who had left the camp to be trained by the Abwehr."

The author here contradicts himself in saying less than a handful worked for the Germans. McGrath is interrogated by the Gestapo and ends up in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. He has been taken from a cosy POW camp with its own alcohol and cigarette canteen to this notorious camp and would obviously complain about his treatment after the War. But, within this camp, there was a special compound for important prisoners. Four Irishmen named as Cushing, O'Brien, Walsh and Murphy had been trained as saboteurs and radio operators but had become unreliable in German eyes for some reason not explained. They had first been sent to Moabit Prison. In Sachsenhausen they lived in their own rooms in a large hut with special privileges and wore their British Army uniforms. They were also supplied with Red Cross parcels. One of them was even allowed to keep his expensive watch.

In this special compound was also two important Russian prisoners. They were Senior Lieutenant Jakov Dzhughashvili, son of Joseph Stalin. He had been captured while serving as an artillery officer on the front line. Also there was Walsili Kokorin, nephew of foreign minister Molotov. Unlike the Russians

the Irishmen were exempt from work details. The Russians and Irish didn't get along. During a heated argument Patrick O'Brien punched Molotov's nephew. A Russian source claims that an Englishman called Cushing also assaulted Stalin's son. Outraged Jakov refused to return to his room at curfew and demanded a meeting with the camp commandant:

"When this was refused he lost all reason and ran towards the perimeter wire surrounding the perimeter. He was shot in the head by an SS guard as he grabbed the electric fence."

"The Germans, fearing retribution, gave no details about Jakov's death, and in fact when an Anglo-American team investigation team discovered the details of the affair in July 1945, the British Foreign Office decided against informing Joseph Stalin because of the role played by British soldiers in the death of his son."

Frank Stringer whimpers at the end, when confronted by British Military Intelligence, that as a Catholic, coming from a Catholic country, he hated the Russians as did his country, that's why he worked with the Germans. This explanation was not accepted by the British interrogators.

I don't know about the South but in wartime Northern Ireland the one thing that Catholic and Protestant shared was the thrill of hearing of the Russian Red Army advances on Germany. A Protestant farmer near my home in County Down even named his dog Timoshenko after the Russian field marshal. My mother a Catholic, who didn't care whether the Germans invaded or not, now hoped the Russians wouldn't stop their advances, anything to stop our plagued sectarian lives. There was a great feeling in the air and great excitement over how the Soviets were winning.

The author gives a good account of O'Duffy and the Blueshirts, their pathetic efforts to support General Franco and their miserable failure and disbandment by the Spanish fascist as being more or less a lazy contingent only interested in booze and prostitutes. (Not in this book, but it is said they passed off old Irish sweepstake tickets as currency to the girls.)

Arriving back in Ireland O'Duffy wants to rescue something of his humiliation by having a parade down O'Connell Street. Most of his men make for the pub.

The author also mentions the thousands of Irishmen who joined the British Army at the outbreak of WW2. He

claims they did this for anti-Nazi reasons. I beg to differ. Even up North, during my time working with great numbers of former British soldiers in the late 1940s, I never heard one say they did it for anti-Nazi reasons. Many of them even thought, after seeing the undamaged parts of Germany, that the Nazis had done well for themselves, though none of them professed Nazi sympathies.

Seán Russell and the submarine ride with Frank Ryan is mentioned. The author wonders why Ryan didn't land back in Ireland after Russell died aboard. He offers the explanation that Frank Ryan would have nothing to say to the IRA other than that he was with Russell when he died, so he decides to return to Germany. Hardly a logical reason to return to Germany. The mystery therefore remains.

Unfortunately the author goes into an anti-communist diatribe with the usual clichés about Stalin, and the usual clichés about the Ukraine famine as man-made. (Read *The Oriental Review* on the Internet for a proper explanation for the famine.) And of course the *dreaded* NKVD comes in for a hammering as if we are still living in Cold War times.

"On 2nd December 1946, Fusilier James Brady was tried by a court-martial in London".

On the grounds of:

"Serving the enemy, being a member of the Waffen-SS and one of desertion."

Brady's lawyer says in court:

"You do not expect wise decisions from young people, especially an Irishman."

And:

"He was not a man subjected wholly to British influence and line of thought. This native of Southern Ireland had spent only a few months with ordinary wholesome British influences."

And:

"He is a man who does not regard Great Britain as his country anymore than we regard France as ours... this country is not his country. He regarded himself as a mercenary and he sold his services where they were best paid and that happened to be in the British Army."

Brady got 15 years penal servitude but he could have been executed. Skinner got about the same sentence. But in the

long run both sentences were whittled down and they finished up doing two years each. The Soviets were now the enemy.

Terence O'Reilly, the author, who is a former artillery man in the Irish Army, has done two tours of duty in the Lebanon with the UN. He notes that Irish Military Intelligence the G2 passed information to British MI5 on developments in neutral Ireland during and after WW2.

Skorzeny, the German commando, who rescued Mussolini from his mountain top imprisonment, is given a lengthy mention. Skorzeny bought a farm in Ireland post-War and lived in it most Summers with his Prussian bride. The Irish authorities are said to be uncomfortable about this and see it as a big stick with which the British can beat them. The author does notice that a number of the English ex-British Army officer-class have also bought land in Ireland. One of them, who is a neighbour of Skorzeny, is critical of him being allowed to have land in Ireland. But it is all right for a military race than has devastated Ireland over the centuries to acquire land? The author seems too much in admiration of the British Army to think like that.

With mention of those Irish officers and men serving in the British Army you get a feeling from this book that it's an honourable profession with these soldiers remaining Irish to the core.

They can even shout: *Up the IRA and Fuck the King/Queen!* and get away with it.

I suppose that has been the feeling all along until the present century. Back in the 1950s I was in an Irish dancehall on Tottenham Court Road, Central London, on a Saturday night, when in comes a group of soldiers in the uniforms of the Irish Guards. They sit around talking loudly about being Irish in various accents from North to South before getting up to join in the Siege of Ennis very efficiently. After a while an English Army officer of the Irish guards, also in uniform, enters looking slightly sozzled and does an Irish step dance while his lower ranks stand to attention. Then they all leave.

Despite a number of my criticisms I found the book fascinating to read and well researched, with appendixes, notes on each chapter and a good index. To remark on everything in this book would make a review too long for the average journal.

7 April 2015

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Old Law
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John O'Donoghue

"He studied history at University College Dublin under Professor Desmond Williams. 'I learned from him that it is not the business of historians or commentators to make moral judgments,' he later wrote. 'Everyone is entitled to be heard because of our common humanity'..." (John O'Donoghue, Born 6.10.1931. Died 11.9.2014, *Irish Times* obituary).

Old Law

1428: The Irish Parliament passed a law declaring that any servant attempting to leave Ireland was to be arrested. The law was only removed from the Irish statute book in 2006. (*History without the Boring Bits*, 2007, p.50)

"Brendan Howlin, Minister for Public Expenditure and Law Reform, has published the Statute Law Revision Bill 2015, the latest stage in a programme of legislative spring cleaning designed to remove superfluous British-era laws and regulations. Some 5,782 proclamations and orders dating from 1215 to 1820 are due for the chop, including one from 1541 declaring that the English monarch is king of Ireland" (*The Phoenix* 27.3.2015).**Shabby Chic**

"When the Texan actress Gayle Hunnicutt first came to England, she was shocked to hear an English aristocrat openly declare: 'Oh, darling, we're as poor as church mice!' In Dallas, she said, you'd rather have cancer than say you were 'poor'.

"Today the fashionable folk go in for furniture and decor known as 'shabby chic' so it deliberately looks poor" (Mary Kenny, *Irish Independent*-6.6.2015).

Pope Francis

"Parents should not let children use computers in their bedrooms, the `Pope has said, while warning of the dangers of internet 'filth' (*Daily Mail*, 9.6.2015).

Francis went on to criticise those who are "too attached to their computer",

which he said is "bad for the soul" and amounted to "a psychological illness".

'It makes you a slave to your computer', he added.

He said that many parents trying to have a family meal felt like children were "in another world" on their smartphones.

Pope Francis said the internet was full of "dirty content, pornography, and semi-pornography".

While acknowledging that the virtual world "is a reality that we cannot ignore", he called on people to reconsider the amount of time they were spending staring at a screen:

"It is part of the progress of mankind. But when it takes away from communal and family life, social life, sport, art and we remain attached to our computers, this is a psychological illness"

Despite his own large Twitter following, Francis appears to largely eschew modern technology—claiming recently that he does not use the internet and has not watched television since 1990.

Last year he urged young people not to waste time on smart phones and the web saying they "distract attention away from what is really important" (*Daily Mail* 9.6.2015).

Cof I

Cork could be left without a resident Church of Ireland bishop if proposals to change diocesan boundaries are introduced. The possibility of changing the layout of dioceses in the Church of Ireland is currently being considered and a final decision is expected by next May, 2016. One of the proposals under consideration is the creation of a new diocese stretching from Cork to Galway, taking in Limerick.

According to the Central Statistics Office, there are 16,000 Church of Ireland residents in Cork city and county. Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross Dr

Paul Colton has raised concerns that such a move would result in the Bishop of the diocese being located in a central location—possibly Limerick.

Also among the proposals being considered is the reduction of Church of Ireland bishops from 12 to 10.

Bishop Colton said the proposals are showing a "retreat from rural Ireland, particularly the west and southwest. It looks as if there might be every possibility of there being no resident Church of Ireland bishop in Connaught." He feels the proposal is accentuating a divide between rural and urban Ireland (*Evening Echo*, Cork, 10.6.2015).

Meanwhile, The Dean of Leighlin, Rev. Tom Gordon, said the May Same-Sex Referendum presented the Church of Ireland with "a last-ditch opportunity for its own 'reality check'".

"If the Church of Ireland in the Republic is to survive, it may be time for us to reflect on the seismic differences which now exist between the Church's Southern and Northern constituencies" he says writing in this week's edition of the *Church of Ireland Gazette*.

Rev. Gordon, who provoked controversy when he entered a gay civil partnership, describes Ireland's Anglicans as "held captive by a conservative agenda", which he says has caused an almost total collapse in numbers from the Republic seeking to enter ministry, severely disabled ministry in rural parishes, and has caused demoralisation through the closure with scant consultation of the Church of Ireland College of Education.

Recent statistics paint a bleak picture for the Church of Ireland, which had two bishops publicly support same-sex marriage. Weekly church attendance had plummeted to just 15%. Of that 15%, just 7,540 (13%) were under 30.

Arguing that the referendum result shows that "Church pronouncements on traditional morality—however forcefully maintained—are the ultimate turn-off in a now transformed republic", Rev. Gordon insists that the distinctive theological cultures of the provinces of Armagh and Dublin are now so different that each should be allowed formal space to develop their own "theological and pastoral identities". (*Irish Catholic*, 4.6.2015)

New Bishop?

A successor to Dr John Buckley as Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Cork and Ross is not expected to be considered until well into 2016 at least.

Bishop Buckley marked his 75th birthday in November, having spent the last 16 years as head of the diocese.

Under canon law, he was obliged to offer his resignation to the Holy See in Rome on reaching the milestone, but may remain in the post for up to two years while the process of finding a replacement is conducted.

While there is speculation about a local successor, recent episcopal appointments across the country have followed a pattern of appointing men from outside their native Diocese, which would count against any potential Cork-born contender.

"Bishop Buckley is seen at most major events in the city. Famously, he's the only man in Cork allowed to join the ladies for Women's Little Christmas. He also leads a simple life, opting to live in a modest home in Turner's Cross rather than the more stately Bishop's Palace, which he calls 'the office'..." (*Evening Echo*, Cork, 10.6.2015)

The man must be a 'living' saint, even the taxi men won't work the night of Womens' Little Christmas, January 6!

War

More than \$14 trillion (≈12.3 trillion) was spent on international conflicts in the past year, according to a report by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), which found that Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan were responsible for a surge in war deaths.

The spending represents 13% of global GDP and is roughly the combined value of the economies of the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Canada, Spain and Brazil.

Steve Killelea, IEP chief executive, said reducing conflict was one way to help the world's economic recovery.

"If global violence were to decrease by 10% uniformly, an additional \$1.43 trillion would effectively be added to the world economy," he said.

Published annually since 2008, the *Global Peace Index* uses 23 indicators and three key themes: Level of safety and security in society; the extent of domestic and international conflict; and finally, the degree of militarisation.

This year saw overall levels of conflict unchanged. However, the picture was uneven around the world, with 86 nations seeing their peace index fall while 76 enjoyed increased peace.

The decline was mainly concentrated in the Middle East and Africa. Syria was the most dangerous country, closely

followed by Iraq and Afghanistan.

Libya recorded the biggest deterioration, falling 13 places to 149th, becoming the 14th least peaceful country; whilst Ukraine recorded the second largest with around 6,000 recorded deaths since the start of the civil war and one million people displaced. Levels of peace in South America also declined in the midst of public protests in Brazil and Mexico, as well as a surge in criminal violence in the region.

The report also indicated how those killed in conflicts had risen more than 350% so far this decade, from 49,000 in 2010 to 180,000 in 2014.

At the other end of the spectrum, Iceland and Denmark were recorded as the world's most peaceful nations as Europe in general continued a long-term trend towards greater levels of peace, with murder and crime rates at an all-time low.

North America, Europe, Central America, and the Caribbean all also showed increases in peace. (*Daily Telegraph*, 19.6.2015).

Juries

Members of the public can avoid jury service by signing up for a nominal fee to be a 'minister' in an online church.

Emmett Vaughan, a self-styled minister with the 'Church of the Flying Spaghetti Monster', has been excused jury duty in the Irish courts because of his beliefs.

The 44-year-old decided to join the US-based registered church, who are also known as Pastafarians, online.

Under current guidelines, a priest or minister of any denomination can be exempted from jury duty.

When he put his new-found pastoral role on the jury reply form, Mr Vaughan, an active member of Atheist Ireland, waited for the Court Service to seek verification of his position.

The scheduled jury date passed and no verification was ever sought.

He told the *Irish Independent* his actions expose the "inequality" which allows members of the clergy a privileged position when it comes to jury duty (*Irish Independent*-14.4.2015).

The Faithful

Two thirds of people worldwide still claim to be religious, while the other third are either not religious or convinced atheists.

Research by WIN/Gallup International found that more than six out of 10 (63%) citizens say they are religious, while one in five (22%) say they are not and one in

10 (11%) consider themselves convinced atheists.

In Africa and the Middle East, more than eight out of 10 people (86% and 82%, respectively) describe themselves as religious followed by seven out of 10 in Eastern Europe and the US (71% and 66%, respectively). Six out of 10 people in Asia say they are religious.

Thailand is the most religious country in the world (94%), followed by Armenia, Bangladesh, Georgia, and Morocco (all circa 93%).

Western Europe (51%) and Oceania (49%) are the only regions where approximately half of the population say they are either not religious or convinced atheist.

The least religious country on the planet is China with twice the amount of convinced atheists than any other nation (61%) followed by Hong Kong (34%), Japan (31%), Czech Republic (30%), and Spain (20%). The Swedes prove to be the least religious people in the Western world with 78% saying they are either not religious or convinced atheists.

Just 30% of Britons consider themselves religious, compared to 70% of Russians and 56% of Americans.

People aged under 34 and those without an education tend to be more religious. Religious people are a majority in all educational levels.

Between 1991 and 2011, the numbers of atheists, agnostics, and those with no religion in Ireland increased more than four-fold to 277,237.

This group included 14,769 children of primary school age and 14,478 of secondary school age. There were 4,690 children aged under one who had no religion.

The largest proportionate increase was in atheism, from 320 to 3,905.

The president of WIN/Gallup International Association Jean-Marc Leger said the result shows that religion still plays a central role in most people's lives. (*Irish Examiner*, 15.4.2015).

Philosophy

"Religion as an unconscious collective behaviour is dying in Europe, but the obligation to ask philosophical questions isn't going away.

"The ultimate question—why should I struggle so hard to be me when I know that 'me' is going to dissipate—religion used to answer. It doesn't mean we won't find new ways to try to answer that question" (Michael Harding, Writer and Actor from Westmeath, former clerical student, *Sun. Bus. Post* 19.4.2015).

The Pope begs that your Lordship will give the matter favourable consideration, expressing his hopes that if absolute Liberty cannot be granted to these prisoners, they may at least be allowed special privileges consonant with their rank.

I have the honour to be
With the highest respect, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient
humble servant,
Count of Salis
The Earl Curzon of Kedleston,
K.G.
etc. etc. etc."

The two Turks named in the letter, whom the Vatican sought the release of, were intimately connected to what Pope Francis called "*the first genocide of the twentieth century*". Said Halim Pasha, the ex-Grand Vizier, was later assassinated by Armenian death squads who accused him of complicity in the deaths of Armenians. Djevded Bey was the former Governor of Van, where the most serious Armenian rising took place in 1915. He was one of the chief people accused by the British and their Armenian allies of the massacres.

So this is very curious and it indicates that Pope Benedict XV, who was well informed and in contact with the Ottoman authorities, did not think of such events in the way Pope Francis does. After all, no Pope ever called for the release of the Nazis from Nuremberg, despite any thoughts of forgiveness the Vatican may have had.

The Rev. Henry Rope, Benedict's biographer, states that the Pope:

"... had directly pleaded with the Sultan and other princes able and willing to help. In many places he had obtained an end to the killings... Beside general massacre vast deportations, pillages and sacrileges, flight and famine had been the lot of this sorely tried people." (Benedict XV, The Pope of Peace, p.211)

This very much implies that Pope Benedict did not see the Ottomans as intent on massacring the Armenians, but rather as a potential (and successful, in places) block on a war of extermination between different groups of citizens within a collapsing state structure. This is a rather more complex position than that of reducing the events of 1915 in Anatolia completely to the semantics of the appropriateness of a single word to describe historical events.

Finally, it should be noted that Pope Francis also said the following on April 12th, though the press took no interest:

The Vatican and the Armenians

Pope Francis, on April 12th at St. Peter's Basilica, in the presence of His Holiness Karekin II, Supreme Patriarch and Catholicos of All Armenians, His Holiness Aram I, Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia, and His Beatitude Nerses Bedros XIX, Patriarch of Cilicia of Armenian Catholics, said the following:

"Dear Armenian Brothers and Sisters,

A century has passed since that horrific massacre which was a true martyrdom of your people, in which many innocent people died as confessors and martyrs for the name of Christ (cf. John Paul II and Karekin II, Common Declaration, Etchmiadzin, 27 September 2001). Even today, there is not an Armenian family untouched by the loss of loved ones due to that tragedy: it truly was "Metz Yeghern", the "Great Evil", as it is known by Armenians. On this anniversary, I feel a great closeness to your people and I wish to unite myself spiritually to the prayers which rise up from your hearts, your families and your communities.

This faith also accompanied and sustained your people during the tragic experience one hundred years ago 'in what is generally referred to as the first genocide of the twentieth century' (John Paul II and Karekin II, Common Declaration, Etchmiadzin, 27 September 2001). Pope Benedict XV, who condemned the First World War as a 'senseless slaughter' (AAS, IX [1917], 429), did everything in his power until the very end to stop it, continuing the efforts at mediation already begun by Pope Leo XIII when confronted with the 'deadly events' of 1894-96. For this reason, Pope Benedict XV wrote to Sultan Mehmed V, pleading that the many innocents be saved (cf. Letter of 10 September 1915) and, in the Secret Consistory of 6 December 1915, he declared with great dismay, "Miserrima Armenorum gens ad interitum prope ducitur" (AAS, VII [1915], 510)".

This was reported around the world as the Pope having called the events in Eastern Anatolia in 1915 a *genocide*.

Pope Francis was either unaware or did not mention that his famous predecessor, Pope Benedict XV, in 1920, had tried to obtain the release of those who were held by the British on suspicion of what Pope Francis called "*the*

first genocide of the twentieth century".

The documentary proof for this is in the British archives at Kew, in the form of two documents. One document is the letter submitted to the British authorities by the Vatican. It has been translated from the French:

"Vatican, February 17, 1920

Excellency,

The benevolent intervention of the Holy Father has been requested for some POWs who are being interned at the Island of Malta by the British authorities.

The POWs being referred to here are SAID Halim Pasha, former Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, and eight or nine individuals (including DJERDED BEY) who are members of the Committee of "Union and Progress" of the Young Turks.

We implore, if they are not granted absolute freedom, that at the least their captivity is softened and that their treatment is made consistent to their social status.

His Holiness did not hesitate to make such a request, and he asks me to recommend a special care to be given to Your Excellency.

Performing my best for this august work, I hope that it will not be impossible for Your Excellency to take this matter to heart and to call upon the most benevolent attention of the authorities.

With this hope, I present to Your Excellency my thanks in advance and I pray for you to kindly accept this etc. etc.

Signed, P. Cardinal Gasparri
His Excellency, The Count of Salis
etc. etc. etc."

The other document is a note concerning the Vatican's letter by the British Ambassador in Vatican. This document can be found at: The National Archives, Kew Gardens (London) FO 371/5089/E 1114

"Palazzo Borghes, Rome
February 25th 1920

My Lord,

I have the honour to enclose copy of a note from the Cardinal Secretary of State relative to Said Halim Pasha, Ex-Grand Vizer of the Ottoman Empire, and eight or nine other persons including Djevded Bey, all of whom stated to belong to the Committee of Union and Progress and who are at present interned in Malta.

"May God grant that the people of Armenia and Turkey take up again the path of reconciliation, and may peace also spring forth in Nagorno Karabakh. Despite conflicts and tensions, Armenians and Turks have lived long periods of peaceful coexistence in the past and, even in the midst of violence, they have experienced times of solidarity and mutual help. Only in this way will new generations open themselves to a better future and will the sacrifice of so many become seeds of justice and peace."

Those sentiments were much more in line with those of his illustrious predecessor, the Pope of Peace, Benedict XV, who tried valiantly to end Britain's Great War, saving all the people of Anatolia, Moslem and Christian.

Pat Walsh is author of: **Britain's Great War, Pope Benedict's Lost Peace: How Britain Blocked The Pope's Peace Efforts Between 1915 And 1918**, which is available from Athol Books at €6, £5.k

Report

Clonerco Bog Incident, 29th June 1915. By **Joe McGowan**: Sligo Heritage Centre: See <http://www.sligoheritage.com/archflanagan.htm> for full story and further information about Fr. Flanagan.

Fr. Flanagan Fights For Turf Rights

"Despite intensive correspondence by Fr. O'Flanagan to have the people's rights restored, the Congested Districts Board (CDB), a Government body (Dublin Castle), was determined to reserve the bogs for people of their choice: families having members serving with the British army and so on. By late June 1915 local people were in a desperate position as no turf had been cut and they were facing the unthinkable prospect of a winter without fuel.

Ignoring a warning by Bishop Coyne not to get involved, Fr. O'Flanagan, addressing his congregation at Cliffoney Church on 29th June 1915, told them to wait outside for him after Mass. Here he instructed them to assemble the next morning with their turf cutting implements. He would lead them to the bogs where he himself would cut the first of the forbidden turf. This was done and the dauntless Fr. Michael led his flock to the Cloonerco bogs. A large body of RIC, under Sgt. Perry (who was to die some years later in the Moneygold Ambush) followed and ordered the crowd to stop...

True to his word the dauntless priest stepped behind the spade and cut the first turf. It was a clever move as the RIC, fearing the vengeance of the people, would be very reluctant to arrest a priest. Some of those present were arrested and legal action taken but the turf were cut and saved and eventually brought down from the bogs where they were built in a large stack close to the RIC barracks directly in front of what is now Cliffoney Parish Hall. A large sign was placed on the stack: "OUR OWN TURF FOR OUR OWN PEOPLE: FOREIGNERS

HAVE NO RIGHTS HERE".

O'Flanagan survived the actions brought against him by the authorities but Bishop Coyne, furious at this flouting of his authority, transferred him from Cliffoney to Crossna in Roscommon. The people were dismayed at the removal from their midst of a priest and leader they had come to love and respect. Walking and on horse and ass carts they made their way in procession to the Bishop's palace in Sligo pleading with him that their priest be returned to them. When this was refused they barricaded Cliffoney Church, nailing the doors and windows shut, thus preventing Bishop Coyne from sending a replacement. They mounted a guard day and night to prevent any surprise move by the Bishop. Large crowds assembled on Sundays outside the Church to recite the Rosary.

The impasse lasted until Christmas 1915 when the Bishop agreed to provide a priest "who would be a good Irishman and a patriot" to replace Fr. Michael O'Flanagan. Thus ended the remarkable saga of the 'Cloonercobog Fight'.

Father Michael O'Flanagan played a prominent part in the War of Independence in the following years. The freedom of Sligo was conferred on him and an illuminated scroll presented by Sligo Corporation in June 1918 on behalf of a grateful people. Outside the Town Hall, according to reports in the *Sligo Champion*, enthusiastic crowds "cheered themselves hoarse".

This story featured on RTE's Sunday Miscellany on 28th June and we are grateful to Padraig O'Horgan for bringing it to our attention.

Appeal !

Dear Reader

This is a request for information to the readers regarding a few questions for which I have not found satisfactory answers to date?

a. It has often been written that the Irish had a nickname for James II after the Battle of the Boyne: "*Séamas an Chaca*" (James the shit). I have never however come across a source for this. Could it be something somebody made up in more recent times?

b. I also have seen it written that the Pope ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung to celebrate King Billy's victory at the Boyne in 1690. This is supposed to be because the Papal States were allied with William against France. However on Wikipedia the Papal States are not listed as a member of the Grand Alliance. The Holy Roman Empire is listed however and I have come across a reference to the Emperor ordering a *Te Deum* in Vienna after the Battle of the Boyne.

c. What is the original source of the phrase, "*more Irish than the Irish themselves*"? I have noticed that in the 18th century many of the most significant poets came from or were attracted to locations where remnants of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond managed to survive. For example Piaras McGearailt was the last of a branch of the Fitzgeralds from near Youghal. Daibhí Ó Bruadair was attached to the Fitzgerald Lords of Claonghlais, Springfield Castle, Broadford, Co. Limerick. This border area between Cork and Limerick also attracted Eoghan Ruadh Ó Súilleabháin who spent a lot of time in the Milford area. It appears that Norman lords, especially the Fitzgeralds, had an appreciation of Irish literature greater than that of their Gaelic counterparts such as the O'Briens and the McCarthys. They may also have encouraged the literary development of the *Amhrán* song poetry as opposed to the purer syllabic poetry.

Answers on the back of a IR£5 note please to jimaricel@eircom.net.

Is mise le meas,

Séamas Ó Domhnaill

John Minahane

The Spanish Polemic on Colonisation
Part 7:

"To Undo Universal History"

I want to consider three accusations made against Bartolomé de Las Casas: that he was a utopian removed from reality; that his writings fuelled the "*Black Legend*", which allowed rival Imperialist powers and anyone else with an anti-Spanish interest to represent the Spaniards as monsters of cruelty; and lastly—believe it or not—that he was a pioneer of modern racism.

Ramón Menéndez Pidal, President of the Spanish Academy, near the end of his long life published a fierce attack on Las Casas (*Father Las Casas: His Double Personality*, 1963). This book was tut-tutted about by Spanish Dominicans and others who preferred Las Casas to be sentimentalised. Menéndez Pidal, however, insisted on doing what he called a thankless duty. That involved taking the mainstream European judgment on colonisation, which he himself accepted, and confronting Las Casas with it directly. The Spanish Academician was well aware that Europe had never repented of its colonialism, even though Britain and France were involved in reluctant, prudent decolonisation by the early 1960s. He justified colonialism on the same grounds as Macaulay, Marx and their successors to this present day: it brought Progress. And Las Casas was such an obsessive opponent of Progress that the best word to describe him, in Menéndez Pidal's opinion, was paranoid.

Being paranoid does not imply that the man is mad, but inevitably he is compared with Don Quijote:

"Don Quijote collides with reality, because he does not acknowledge the fact that the world in which he moves has organised justice and the protection of the weak very differently from how knight-errantry conceives things. Las Casas, breaking lances to the end of his life in defence of Indian lordship, suffers failure, because he does not understand that in the world round about him theologians, jurists and governors have definitively decided that the recently discovered continent could not have been incorporated into the peace and justice of the West while maintaining the absolute lordship of the Indian...

Las Casas, having felt a passionate vocation at the age of forty on the isle of Cuba, committed his vehement spirit, thirsting for justice, to a juridical preoccupation: that of the Indian robbed of his free forest-dweller's dominion over the exuberant New World; and having given their freedom to the Indians on his own *encomienda* he felt himself invested with moral grandeur—the pagans, as he used to say, thought it equivalent to sainthood. God had endowed him with "an incredible mission": God had chosen him to save the Indies, giving back to the Indian lords the sovereignty usurped or confined.

Walled in his juridical idea like a castle, he remained totally estranged from the great renewing epoch of the Renaissance, the extraordinary era of geographical discoveries, the Europeanisation of a whole hemisphere of the planet lately discovered. A medieval friar cloistered in his monoideism, during seventy years of his life he was caught up in a grandiose event but was unable to appreciate it in the slightest degree. For him the European West was doing a work of iniquity spreading its civilisation all over the world, and he thought the most natural, feasible and urgent thing was to demand of Charles V, Philip II, and all Spain, on pain of Hell, that they should annul everything done since the days of Columbus and leave all America under the sovereignty of the aborigines; all Spain was in mortal sin, and God would have to destroy it, for the total or partial usurpation which was being committed there.

A medieval friar and convinced Joachimist besides, he lived so far apart from the universal evolution of the Renaissance that in all his works he employs only ancient authors (even where he has the broadest horizon, in *The Only Method of Calling All to the True Religion*). He does not cite any contemporary authority, as Vasco de Quiroga does, for example, or Thomas More...

And even the Middle Age that Las Casas lives in is very restricted, limited in essentials to its legislators and canonists. What is most surprising of all is that Las Casas is so dominated by his juridical idea of the not-to-be-

touched lordship of the indigenous that he wants to extend it as a supreme idea over all universal history, and just as he curses the conquests and empire of Spain, so he curses the conquests and empire of Rome, without any awareness of the old Christian providentialism. We can assume that he did not know Dante, Prudentius and others, but he had read and cited much from Saint Augustine, and undeniably he must have read Augustine's long disquisition on the providential pagan empire of Rome; but all in vain, since nothing can get through the hard crust of preconception. Las Casas would wish to undo universal history, just as he would wish Spain's Indian history to be undone and turned in reverse...

The distinguished Cuban writer Don Fernando Ortiz makes use of Las Casas when studying the fact that the Indian in all of Spanish America remains oppressed, downtrodden by strangers, resisting an alien culture whose mental processes he cannot comprehend and from which he receives only vices and weakness, without the desired transplant of that alien culture and its corresponding manner of life ever being accomplished.

But the fact that today, as Ortiz notes, the congresses of American indigenists who commit themselves to Indian politico-economic repossession continue discussing the same thing that Las Casas and Sepúlveda discussed four centuries ago in Valladolid—this proves to us, and the proof is conclusive, that if after a century and a half of independence the Indian is in oppression similar to that of the 16th century, that oppression is not a simple fact reducible to the peculiar cruelty of the conquistadors, and either we must suppose that the Latin Americans continue the same cruelty, or thinking it through better we must suppose that the American Indian is a difficult case, and that in order to manage to raise him from his millennial abasement an intensive and prolonged educative effort is required, and that the Spaniards, the Creoles and the Spanish Americans have not given this the necessary attention.

Ortiz notes how up-to-date Las Casas is in upholding the equality of human beings of every lineage, except that some have acquired more Christian doctrine than others, and he for his own part insists on the falsehood implied in the idea of race, insofar as it tends to affirm that some human groups are inherently inferior to others, since in fact all are reducible to civilisation. But this term "civilisation" is very vague, and the fact that a people may be reduced to the superficialities of a superior civilisation does not imply that it has made that civilisation its own—

far from it. Let us not lose sight of the fact that Las Casas employed in a very simplistic manner the precise idea of the equality of all men before God and before the law, maintaining that this equality was absolute in everything and judging that the Indian was equal in myths, morality and laws to any other great people of antiquity, including that of Plato and Aristotle. A beautiful fantasy of the absolute equality of all peoples, but also a deceitful fantasy which obscured the grave problems of the natives! All peoples are equal as regards their sacred rights to personal dignity, but they are very unequal as regards their mental capacity, and the most inventive peoples who propel civilisation are very distinct from the peoples who receive civilisation, and the rights and duties of the one are likewise very distinct from those of the other. It is not the concept of the difference of race that is erroneous (or more precisely of ethnic difference); what is erroneous is racism, since it believes that those differences are innate, absolute and indelible, and it despises the backward races...

We must look with great compassion and sympathy at Las Casas, who proved himself the most active, the most tenacious of all the procurators of the Indians, their most exalted apologist, the most violent accuser of anti-Indian abuses; but at the same time, alongside this we must place the Las Casas who despised western civilisation, who had absurd historical conceptions, who held the fixed idea that the Indians were the only sovereign proprietors of the New World, who supported this idea with incendiary and defamatory impostures, who took leave of all reality."

As regards giving back the Indies to the Indians, it is true that Las Casas broke his lances in vain. Wars of conquest in Central and South America went on throughout the 16th century, because there were still bodies of free Indians who had not been reduced to Spanish order. Systematic disruption of the Indians' way of life continued also. From 1570 a huge experiment in social engineering was undertaken in Peru by the Governor Francisco de Toledo to bring the Indians into new residential concentrations, which involved the forced resettlement of about a million people.

In 1564 the Spanish made a big push into Asia, taking the islands that were named Philippines. Immediately the Spanish who settled there began pressing for a great expedition to take China. The Spanish state, which depended on private enterprise to make conquests but watched over and financed expeditions, held

back from this one. Philip II kept rejecting the proposals, though at least once he did say that the situation might change in the future. He might have tried a conquest of China in the end if he hadn't had such problems with the English.

Spain reached its limits with Philip II. But of course in the next three centuries there were other Empires, one of which became even more extensive and impressive than Spain's. The bold and many-sided thinking of that other Empire no doubt contributed its share to Menéndez Pidal's arguments. What he says is one of the politer variants on the idea of "*The White Man's Burden*". When Kipling wrote his famous ballad it was to celebrate the United States taking over the Philippines in 1899, supplanting Spain. Welcoming the cousins into the Imperialists' club, Kipling told them they would be obliged

*To wait in heavy harness
On sullen folk and wild,
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half devil and half child.*

That is the voice of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, amplified. And again when he mentions

*The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) towards the light:
"Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"*

—Kipling is saying, like Sepúlveda, that the inferior races are likely to need the tutelage of their betters for a very long time to come.

The resourcefulness of British Imperial thinking is shown in a preface by T.S. Eliot to a selection of Kipling's poems (including, needless to say, *Take Up The White Man's Burden*) published in 1941.

"It may be proposed that, as he dwelt on the glories of empire, in so doing he helped to conceal its more seamy side: the commercialism, exploitation and neglect. No attentive reader of Kipling can maintain, however, that he was unaware of the faults of British rule: it is simply that he believed the British Empire to be a good thing, that he wished to set before his readers an ideal of what it should be, but was acutely aware of the difficulty of even approximating to this ideal, and of the perpetual danger of falling away even from such standard as might be attained. I cannot find any justification for the charge that he held a doctrine of race superiority. He believed that the British have a greater aptitude for ruling than

other people, and that they include a greater number of kindly, incorruptible and unselfseeking men capable of administration; and he knew that scepticism in this matter is less likely to lead to greater magnanimity than it is to lead to a relaxation of the sense of responsibility. But he cannot be accused of holding that any Briton, simply because of his British race, is necessarily in any way the superior or the equal of an individual of another race. The types of men which he admires are unlimited by any prejudice; his maturest work on India, and his greatest book, is *Kim*."

Eliot has done his work well. As a champion of Kipling and of colonialism he is magnificently brazen, and he negotiates the reefs even better than Menéndez Pidal does twenty years later. To claim that Kipling is not a racist is, of course, blatantly false. What Eliot says about *Kim* is misleading. Kipling's picture of the most recommendable native does not in any way contradict his picture of the "*new-caught, sullen peoples*" in general. (There is a novel from elsewhere in the Anglosphere, far above the class of *Kim*, which has a deeper and more serious appreciation of the qualities of character of men of the other race: *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fenimore Cooper. In the America pictured here, an honest white man may have a true and sincere friendship with good Indians, who are, unfortunately, becoming few in number. But friendship is the limit. Inter-racial love between men and women invites death: that is said very clearly in the fate of the General's daughter Cora, herself the product of such a love affair, and the Mohican Uncas.)

Europe's transoceanic Empires were a fact for the best part of five centuries, and their after-effects are still mighty in the world today. Colonialism was a winner. Affirmation of Colonialism is the victor's powerful idea. "*It is automatically confirmed, without necessarily being true, by the scope of fulfilment procured for it in the world that victory opens up*", as Nestor Capdevila says. Going against it, one seems to be taking leave of reality. I can remember encountering thinking like Menéndez Pidal's in the 1970s and forcing myself to swallow it. Reason seemed to dictate that. When Solzhenitsyn referred to "*the great crime of colonialism*" (one of many statements that his Anglo-American patrons simply ignored), he seemed to put himself in the company of Las Casas, somewhere beyond reality.

But a few decades makes a differ-

ence, and now it is easier to see that Colonialism has undermined human diversity, with the death and decline of countless peoples and languages; it has endangered, possibly ruined, the planet by the reckless capitalist cult of production that fed upon it; and with Capitalism it has dragged all mankind towards a global monoculture where differences, including the residual languages, will be superficial, though very much prized as commodities.

The Black Legend

"Spain has been viewed as a destructive country, and this has passed over the fact that she has been the greatest constructive power since Rome." This is what Julián Marías, author of the statement quoted, and others call *The Black Legend*.

There were Spanish writers even in the early years of the 17th century who complained about something like this, as Marías shows. However, the phrase "*Black Legend*" seems to date from 1914, when Julián Juderías published a book with that title. By then the most hurtful thing was not that Spain was represented as cruel. It was that Spain was represented as **backward**. That the nation which launched Europe on its path of world domination should be scorned by its imitators, treated as unfit for their company!—how terribly unfair!

"We understand by black legend the legend of inquisitorial, ignorant, fanatical Spain, incapable of figuring among civilised nations today as well as in times past, always ready for violent repressions; enemy of progress or innovations; or in other words, the legend which, having begun to spread in the sixteenth century, arising out of the Reformation, has constantly been used against us since, and more especially in critical moments of our national life."

Actually, the first writer who presented Spanish Colonialism as monstrously cruel and tyrannical was an Italian, Girolamo Benzoni, whose history of America appeared in 1565 and was later translated into several other languages. But the key work, Marías says, was the *Short History of the Destruction of the Indies* by Las Casas.

"This little book was to be the element that brought together all the rest, the key to interpretation, the nucleus around which the legend was to consolidate, to project itself in every direction and towards all of history, past, present and the future."

Menéndez Pidal confirms this. In the

70 years from 1578 to 1648 he counts 43 editions of the *Short History* in foreign languages. Even much later it was useful to Spain's enemies. Simón Bolívar was highly impressed by it. The year before America seized the Philippines from Spain, an edition of the *Short History* was published in New York, apparently to help create a war fever.

But the merit of what Las Casas wrote is not determined by the use that was made of it by foreigners, some of them Spain's rival predators. When the *Gulag Archipelago* appeared in the 1970s it was instantly exploited as propaganda by the enemies of the Soviet Union. The book was promoted by the agents of Powers that had done horrific things in their modern history and in their very recent past. There was absolutely no question of a single standard being applied in their use of what Solzhenitsyn said. It was only decades later that Caroline Elkins produced a book called *Britain's Gulag*, about what was done in British-ruled Kenya, and even that book seems to have been buried. Besides, one could argue that the Soviet Union wasn't all *Gulag*, that more positive things belong in the full picture. But all this is secondary and none of it really affects the merit of the *Gulag Archipelago* or its justification for appearing when it did.

And the same can be said of Las Casas's book. The *Short History* is one of the great denunciations of what we now call Genocide. A Genocide or Genocides had certainly happened. This can be confirmed from the testimony of officially-approved Spanish historians of the time who were pro-colonialist, pro-settler, anti-Las Casas and anti-Indian. What makes Las Casas special is not that he said Genocide happened. He is special because he denounced it.

In his *General History of the Indies* published in 1552, Francisco López de Gómara said that the Indian priests of Hispaniola had a prophecy that long-bearded men would come, with shining swords that could split a man down the middle; they would destroy the old gods and kill the inhabitants or enslave them.

"All these things happened literally as those priests told in their poem; for the Spaniards used to rip many Indians open in the wars, and even in the mines, and they tore down the idols from their altars, without leaving any. They banned all the rites and ceremonies that they found. They made them slaves in the repartition of labour, working more than they were used to, and for others, and all of them died and were killed; so

that of fifteen times one hundred thousand persons (1,500,000) who used to be on that island, there are not five hundred now. Some died of hunger, others of work, and many of plagues. Some killed themselves with yucca juice, and others with evil herbs; others hanged themselves from the trees. The women did the same as the men who hanged themselves beside them, and got rid of their foetuses by magic arts or potions so as not to bring forth children who would serve strangers. It must have been a scourge God gave them for their sins. However, the first settlers there were very much at fault because of treating them very badly, having more greed for gold than regard for their fellow man."

If that's not a description of Genocide, I don't know what is. Another pro-colonialist historian, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, gives basically the same account of what happened in Hispaniola. He reckons the population of the island at the time of Columbus at a million, but "*at present, in the year 1548, I do not think there are five hundred persons... of the (original) progeny or stock*", for the same reasons that Gómara gives. He mentions too that the Indians could be required to work not just for one master but for several, so that they were expected to enrich a queue of people, some of them plain greedy and others very noble people of good conscience who lived abroad and did not know what their majordomos and factors were doing in America. Like Gómara, Oviedo tends to see the slaughter as God's judgment on the Indians; they were such vile people that God came to feel, as once before at the time of the Flood: "*I am sorry I made human beings!*"

Menéndez Pidal says that Benzoni was the first (in 1565) to publish a scandalous history of Spanish doings in the Indies in another European language. And he acknowledges that Benzoni drew not upon Las Casas but upon Gómara, "*but intensifying the features of cruelty that he found in the Spanish chronicler*". And then came Las Casas who went well beyond the unease that even Oviedo and Gómara felt about what was done, rejected the glib notion of the Spaniards' atrocious actions being a judgment of God on the Indians, spelled out in graphic detail the things that had been done, and denounced the people who did them. Menéndez Pidal deplores the damage done to Spain's good name. But Las Casas was not writing for foreign propagandists, who could not have been of any use to his cause. What he wanted,

when he wrote the *Short History* in the early 1540s and when he published it in 1552, was to bring about a change in Spanish behaviour.

The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America is the title of a book by Lewis Hanke. Though Hanke was one of the sentimental admirers of Las Casas, Menéndez Pidal found the book "attractive", and of course he was glad to quote the edifying title. Juan Friede, on the other hand, treated that "struggle for justice" with some derision: in the end of the day, what good did it do to the Indian? And nonetheless, this is one of the striking differences between the Spanish Empire and those that succeeded it: being troubled about the right and justice of what the Empire was doing. English settlers in North America were sometimes troubled about the right to take lands from the Indians, but the English State never was. In Spain the troubled mind went all the way up to the Emperor Charles V. That was what enabled Las Casas to sustain his extraordinary campaign for transoceanic contacts which would not be predatory, which would be peaceful, which would respect the way of life and governing systems of the peoples on the other side, and which would enable Christianisation of an Irish type, not destructive of native cultures. He was the one who thought that "struggle for justice" through. One can say that he put Spain, as the pioneering transoceanic power, to the test, right at the moment when it went "from European nation to trans-European super-nation" (Marías). What would this great adventure amount to? Would it be "the great crime of colonialism", or something else? In his last years he prophesied destruction for Spain if it failed the test. But all Spain suffered was a long-term loss of energy and a 'Black Legend' which is unjust in comparative terms but has a core of truth.

Nonsensical Accusation of Racism

Menéndez Pidal could be infuriating, but he was always lucid. I now want to turn to writers who pretend to be lucid, but confuse one thing after another and end up with the most perverse nonsense: Las Casas as a pioneer of European racism! Such a view of things is presented in the Introduction to *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empire*, edited by Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan, and published in 2009 by the University of Chicago Press. I know

little about these North American-based writers, but I gather that they see themselves as radical historians with "an understanding of modernity as a Euro-American process that began in the 1500s and is inextricable from Western colonialism" (note by Gonzalo Lamana to Chapter 7).

Professor Mignolo is well established academically in North and South America, and he seems to be the key figure in this enterprise. He explains the idea of the book in an Afterword.

"The Black Legend is, as stated in the book's introduction, the twentieth century name for a narrative that chastises Castilians for the brutality they committed in the New World, a narrative told from the perspective of England and dating back to the reign of Elizabeth I. What, indeed, does this legend have to do with discourses on race in the European Renaissance?... The idea we are trying (collectively) to advance in this book is that race as racism is a particular configuration that emerged in and during the European Renaissance as an intrinsic part of the consolidation of capitalism in the Atlantic economy and of Western expansion from the sixteenth century until today. In other words, race and racism goes hand in hand with the emergence of capitalism as a new form of economic organisation: the massive appropriation of land and the massive exploitation of labour during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (in the hands of western Atlantic European empires) had as its main purpose the production of commodities for a global market. Racism emerged as a discourse to assert the superiority of Western Christians and as justification for land appropriation and exploitation of supposedly lesser human beings. Today racist discourse has a similar function in keeping Chinese and Iranian expansion at bay and criminalising immigration in the United States and in Europe. The Black Legend is a piece in the puzzle of Renaissance discourse on race that put forward the imperial difference among European powers."

I can't see that it helps understanding to abolish distinctions in this fashion. The Spanish conquest of America no more had the purpose of producing commodities for a global market than the Norman conquest of Ireland. Spanish purposes were simpler. A global commodity market was England's idea, and we first see the notion taking shape in Richard Hakluyt's *Discourse on Plantations* in 1584. As for race, even though Sepúlveda can rightly be seen as a pioneer of modern Euro-American

racism, Spanish race notions in general were more uncertain. The uncertainty was reflected in the behaviour that produced the large mestizo population of Latin America—and did not produce it in the English colonies to the North.

Mignolo doesn't like complications. Las Casas presents a major complication, so he is peculiarly detested. Several of the contributors to *Rereading the Black Legend* take a swipe at him. Gonzalo Lamana has an interesting study of the different ways in which pro-colonial Spanish, anti-colonial Spanish (i.e. Las Casas), English, North American and native Peruvian writers dealt with a particular scene in the events that led to the capture of the Inca Atahualpa by Pizarro. But he ends the essay with an overblown comparison of ex-President Jimmy Carter criticising the Iraqi War and Las Casas criticising the Peruvian conquest.

"Even if Las Casas and Carter criticised the official version, they never questioned the rightfulness and superiority of their respective imperial projects. Las Casas fought for the right path to conversion, Carter intended his critiques to "enhance our status as a champion of peace and justice". Neither doubted."

To say that Las Casas never questioned the rightfulness and superiority of Spanish Imperial projects is nonsense. But it seems that this nonsense is dear to the heart of Professor Mignolo, and his followers must not doubt him.

Lamana and other contributors raise interesting matters, but everything is framed by a doctrinaire Introduction and Afterword. The Introduction notes how Las Casas's *Short History* was used to create an anti-Spanish tradition by other European Powers, who themselves, however, could be quite as brutal as the Spaniards. After making that much sense, Mignolo and his co-Editors press onwards into nonsense, as follows.

"We can also trace a second important strand of European discourse about racial difference to Las Casas as well. This second text by Las Casas provides the context for understanding what we normally think of as racial difference in the Renaissance empires. In his epilogue to the *Apologética Historia Sumaria* (1552) Las Casas defines four types of 'barbarians'. Briefly, the first and third types of barbarians are very similar. The first places greatest emphasis on ferocious individuals, while the third underlines communities living close to a state of nature, a point similar to the bases on which Hobbes and Locke

will build their political theories—but that could also be found in Aristotle's *Politics*. The second and fourth types of barbarians clearly establish the foundation of modern/colonial and Western racism. They are defined by one main criteria and described as *barbarie negativa* (negative barbarism): all those who "lack" some key civilising element—or sometimes have it in excess—are barbarous. All non-Latin empires, as well as the Inca and Aztec empires, may have been in Las Casas's mind when defining this second type, for such barbarians are characterised by the lack of "literal locution", by which Las Casas means a lack of "Latinity". Las Casas here instantiates a key point in Renaissance consolidation of European superiority by means of alphabetic writing and of Latin as the language closest to God. The conjunction of both ruled out Turkic, Arabic, Hebrew, and Russian and because, although they may all be alphabetic languages, none of them derive directly from Latin (English may pose a special case, being of Germanic base but having been conquered by French, a Latin tongue). The consequences of this move by Las Casas were profound: in casting aside ancient languages such as Arabic, Turkic, Hebrew and Chinese, as well as non-Christian and non-capitalist empires, it cast aside the Islamic and the Ottoman empires. He may not have realised that he was also casting aside the emerging Russian empire, at that moment consolidating itself with Ivan the Terrible's rise to power—curiously enough, during the very same years that Elizabeth I and Philip II took over Spain and England. More to the point, neither the Aztecs nor the Incas had literal locution, and so in this respect, both could be classified/categorised as the second type of barbarians.

Although Las Casas is not clear about it, none of the four types of barbarians seem to be found in western Christendom, which was quickly being transformed into Europe. In this respect, Las Casas's barbarians in the age of Christian imperialism became one template for Immanuel Kant's racial classification of the ethnocontinental tetragon, this time based essentially on skin colour: yellow Asia, black Africa, red America, and white Europe. For Kant as for Las Casas, none of the people inhabiting the globe outside of Europe—beyond Germany, France and England—were apt to understand a central literary tradition, which for Kant was understood to be the beautiful and the sublime; the level of all non-Europeans' rationality thus becomes questionable. Such is the Kantian version of Las Casas's second type of

barbarians—those lacking literal locution. In the latter half of the eighteenth century Kant said, following Hume, 'Hume challenges anyone to cite a single example in which a Negro has shown talents, and asserts that among the hundreds of thousands of blacks who are transported elsewhere from their countries, although many of them have even been set free, still not a single one was ever found who presented anything great in art or science or any other praiseworthy quality, even though among the whites some continually rise aloft from the lowest rabble, and through superior gifts earn respect in the world' ".

(There is a further long paragraph purporting to show correspondences between Las Casas and Kant, but enough is enough.)

One of the questions not asked by the Chicago authors is this: what made Las Casas take an interest in the classification of barbarians? The reason was that his opponent in the Valladolid dispute used barbarism as a crucial argument. Sepúlveda, citing Aristotle, claimed that the barbaric nature of the Indians made it justifiable to conquer them by force and subject them to Spanish rule. Las Casas then looked at what Aristotle had said and proceeded to relate it to the Indians. There are, so far as I know, three separate writings where he does so. One is *In Defense of the Indians* translated by Stafford Poole, which seems to be the book that Las Casas read over five days to the Valladolid judges. Another is his reply to Sepúlveda's eighth objection at Valladolid. The third is the *Apologetic History*, which the Chicago authors, if they really and truly did read it, have read very badly.

Las Casas began by distinguishing three categories of barbarians, and then later added a fourth. Barbarians of the first category are ferocious and savage in behaviour. In Chapter 264 of the *Apologetic History* he gives various examples, including the Milanese townsmen mentioned in one of Gratian's decretals who were violently divided over the election of a bishop. In the *Defense* he explicitly says:

"Both the Greeks and the Latins, and any others who live even in the most highly developed states, can be called barbarians if, by the savagery of their behaviour, they are anything like the Scythians, whose country was regarded as singularly barbaric, as Isidore notes, because of the savage and inhuman practices of this race.

Indeed, our Spaniards are not unacquainted with a number of those

practices. On the contrary, in the absolutely inhuman things they have done to those (Indian) nations, they have surpassed all other barbarians."

So Las Casas is perfectly clear that the first type of barbarian **can** be found in Western Christendom! And immediately this destroys the case the Chicago writers are trying to make. No precursor of modern European racism could possibly find it in his interest to say anything of that kind.

"The second kind of barbarian includes those who do not have a written language that corresponds to the spoken one, as the Latin language does to ours, and therefore they do not know how to express in it what they mean."

The Spanish formulation in the *Apologetic History* is an exact equivalent of this. To take Latin as the only valid "literal locution" (i.e. written language), rather than simply one example, is a misunderstanding. But the Chicago authors further confuse things by implying that Casas thought there must be barbarism wherever the local spoken language was not derived from Latin. If that were true, then of course it must follow that Europe was full of barbarians of the second type: Hungarians, Czechs, Germans, Danes... and yes, also English. (Though what an ingenious idea, that English had become a Romance language after the Norman Invasion! The Chicago writers keep on foisting purely fictional thoughts on Las Casas and don't seem to know when to stop.)

Once again, in both the *Defense* and the *Apologetic History*, Las Casas relativises things. He observes that we are all barbarians to the man whose language we do not understand. The Greeks once used to call the Romans barbarians, and the Romans returned the compliment. As a matter of fact, the Indians think of the Spaniards as barbarians because they do not understand the Indian tongues (*Apologetic History*, Chap. 264). But, taking the second category strictly, we can say that the ancient Britons before their conversion were barbarians of this type and so were the ancient Spanish. Above all, Las Casas emphasises that "*a people can be called barbarians and still be wise, courageous, prudent, and lead a settled life*". At Valladolid, replying to Sepúlveda's eighth objection, he said that the Indians were barbarians of this second type, who were not in the Aristotelian category of those needing to be ruled by others.

"The third type of barbarian, in the

proper and strict meaning of the word, are those who, either because of their evil and wicked character or the barrenness of the region in which they live, are cruel, savage, sottish, stupid, and strangers to reason. They are not governed by law or right, do not cultivate friendships, and have no state or politically organised community. Rather, they are without ruler, laws and institutions..."

These and these only are the barbarians of whom Aristotle said that it would be better if wiser people were to govern them, Las Casas says. The Chicago writers are correct in seeing some correspondence here to the state of nature described by Hobbes and Locke. But there is at least one major difference. "In the beginning all the world was America", Locke declared, and in his own time America was "still a pattern of the first ages in Asia and Europe". In other words, the Indians, those who lived in the greater part of America, were either in a state of nature or at an intermediate stage between the state of nature and society. That was not the view of Las Casas: "Barbarians of this kind (or better, wild men) are rarely found in any part of the world and are few in number when compared with the rest of mankind." He insists on this at some length. I do not see where he says that such people are never found in Christendom, or that they are found less in Christendom than elsewhere: they are simply not often found anywhere.

Las Casas then added a fourth category, unknown to Aristotle. "The fourth type of barbarians... comprehends all those who lack the true Christian faith and religion; let us be clear that this means all infidels, no matter what wise philosophers and politicians they may have been". He was a Christian, after all! Not surprisingly, he thought Christianity added something to the quality of laws, institutions and society. Without it there were bound to be social defects. The beauty of this fourth category was that it could include the great philosopher whom his opponent lionised, Aristotle himself. When he said this, Las Casas was working not with but against "the full force of the humanist Renaissance" (as someone like Menéndez Pidal could see instantly). The party representing the humanist Renaissance was his opponent Sepúlveda.

As for the racist opinions cited from Hume and Kant, it is outrageous to associate Las Casas with anything of the kind. His conviction was quite the opposite:

"No nation exists today, or could exist, no matter how barbarous, fierce or depraved its customs may be, which may not be attracted and converted to all political virtues and to all the humanity of domestic, political, and rational man".

Reading this introduction to a re-reading of the legend that grew from Las Casas's heroic failure, one wonders: what's the point of all this? To have fun with history? To prove how much one can get away with? Whatever the motive, Professor Mignolo has seen fit to turn a major anti-racist writer into a pioneer of racism. While doing so, he ignores the document where that writer's thoughts on the relevant topic are most clearly expressed: a book which appeared in English translation in 1972, published in the state of Illinois. One would think an American academic should be able to get hold of it . . .

Some further thoughts on the subject of the Empires will have to be held over to a future article.

NOTES

- "Don Quijote collides...": Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *El Padre Las Casas: su doble personalidad* (Madrid 1963), 338.
- "Las Casas, having felt...": *ibid.*, 350-1.
- "And even the Middle Age...": *ibid.*, 351-2.
- "The distinguished Cuban writer...": *ibid.*, 354-5.
- "We must look...": *ibid.*, 392.
- "To wait in heavy harness...": *A Choice of Kipling's Verse* ed. T. S. Eliot (London 1963), 136.
- "It may be proposed...": *ibid.* 29-30.
- "It is automatically confirmed...": Nestor Capdevila, intro. in: Bartolomé de Las Casas, *La controversa entre Las Casas et Sepúlveda* (Paris 2007), 102-3.
- "Spain has been viewed...": Julián Marías, *Understanding Spain* (Madrid 1990), 7.
- "We understand by Black Legend...": Julián Juderías, cited by Marías, op. cit., 206.
- "This little book...": *ibid.*, 211.
- "All these things happened...": Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (Madrid 1922), 77. (Ch. 33).
- "at present, in the year...": Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid 1851), 71-2. (Bk. 3 ch. 6).
- "but intensifying the features...": Menéndez Pidal op. cit., 361.
- Juan Friede on "struggle for justice": Juan Friede, 'Las Casas and Indigenism in the Sixteenth Century'. In: Juan Friede and Benjamin Keen, *Bartolomé de Las Casas in History* (DeKalb, Illinois, 1971).
- "an understanding of modernity": Gonzalo Lamana, footnote to Chapter 7 in Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo and Maureen Quilligan, *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Racial and Religious Differences in the Renaissance Empire* (Chicago 2009).
- "The Black Legend, as stated...": *ibid.*, 312.
- "The idea we are trying...": *ibid.*, 313-4.
- "Even if Las Casas and Carter...": *ibid.*, 149.
- "We can also trace...": *ibid.*, 6-8.
- "Both the Greeks and the Latins...": Bartolomé de Las Casas, *In Defense of the Indians*, tr. Stafford Poole (De Kalb, Illinois 1972), 29.
- "The second kind of barbarian": *ibid.*, 30.

- Spanish formulation in *Apologetic History*: Bartolomé de Las Casas, *Apologetica Historia* (Madrid 1909), 687 (Chap. 264).
- "A people can be called barbarians...": Las Casas, *In Defense*, 31.
- Reply to 8th objection, Valladolid: *La controversa* ed. Capdevila, 258.
- "The third type of barbarian...": Las Casas, *In Defense*, 32.
- "In the beginning all the world..." John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government*, para. 49. (*Two Treatises on Government* ed. Peter Laslett, Cambridge 1967, 319).
- "still a pattern...": *ibid.*, para. 108. (Laslett ed., 357).
- "Barbarians of this type...": Las Casas, *In Defense*, 33-4.
- "The fourth type of barbarians..." *Apologetica Historia*, 690 (ch. 266).
- "No nation exists today...": cited Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One* (DeKalb Illinois 1974), 157.

Liam English

Pat Muldowney

(translation)

The bog-deal board

(pronounced "bog-dale"):

Complex, plaintive 18th C. song composed by Liam English, who became an Augustinian monk:

It can be heard sung by Muireann Nic Amhlaoibh at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tt_YTOGN67k

An clár bog déil

Phósfainn thú gan bó, gan punt,
gan áireamh spré, a chuid den tsaol
gan toil do mhuintire,
Dá mb'áil leat é
'Sé mo ghalar dúch gan mé gus tú,
A ghrá mo chléibhe, i gCaiseal Mumhan
'S gan de leaba fúinn ach an clár bog déil

Searc mo chléibhe, do thugas féin duit,
agus grá trí rún
Is dá dtagadh sé de chor sa tsaol,
Go mbéinn féin gus tú
Ceangail cléire bheith eadrainn araon
Leis a bhfáinne dlúth, 's dá bhfeicfinn féin
Mo ghrá ag aon fhear gheobhainn bás
de cumha

I would marry you without cows or money
Without dowry, O love of my life
Without the consent of your people
If that's what you wanted.
It is my melancholy that you and I are not -
- O love of my heart, - in Cashel of Munster
With no bed under us only a bog-deal board.

O heart's desire, I gave myself to you,
And my secret love.
If only by life's chance it could happen
That you and I
Were joined by clergy
With unbreakable ring! And if I were to see
Any other man with my love, I would die of grief.

Pat Muldowney

Book Review and Explanation:

The Genesis Of National Socialism by *T. Desmond Williams*.
Introduction, and Appendixes on *Neutrality* and the *Origins of National
Socialism* by *Brendan Clifford*.

398 pp. Bibliography. Index.. Belfast Historical & Educational Society. 2012.

€30, £25, postfree in Ireland and Britain from Athol Books

T.D. Williams And *The Genesis Of National Socialism*

This book was produced in 1942 as an MA thesis by T.D. Williams in University College Dublin, and published in 2012. It can be usefully read in conjunction with Manuel Sarkisyanz's book *Hitler's English Inspirers*, published by Athol Books in 2003.

National Socialism is often deliberately misrepresented and often misunderstood. The terms Nazi and fascist are flung around as casual terms of abuse. Also to provide cover for present day military and political adventures. Anything which contributes genuine knowledge and understanding of the subject can do nothing but good.

Williams' thesis brings together a great volume of historical and cultural literature which is probably beyond the experience of non-specialist readers. For the most part it does not offer explanation or introduction to these background works. It is a THESIS, intended to be read, examined and assessed by one or two academic specialists in the subject area, not by members of the public who happen to be interested in the general theme of the origins of National Socialism. So the author was not obliged to fill in the background details.

The gist of the book is that, while there are certain specific elements in German make-up and history that contributed to the success of the National Socialist movement, these factors are present to varying degrees in the histories of other countries and peoples. But particular circumstances produced a particular outcome in Germany. There was nothing innate or pre-determined about it.

In addition to a critique and assessment of Williams' thesis by Brendan Clifford, the 2012 edition includes background information about the author. In his commentary, Brendan Clifford points out that Williams effectively omitted the single most important factor in the origins of National Socialism: World War

1, along with its consequences in the policies of the big powers.

The purpose of this article is to provide an outline summary of the contents of Williams' thesis, which consists of seven parts: Political History (of Germany), Political Science, Religion, Race, Economy, Law, and *Weltanschauung*.

Part One: Political History

Though there is not much background description or explanation, Williams provides a fairly detailed analysis of nineteenth century German history, along with an overview of the history of preceding centuries. Like the rest of the thesis, this makes for a demanding read for anyone who does not already have a fairly detailed knowledge of the subject and its extensive literature. Williams' work was, presumably, intended to be read by a handful of academic examiners who were themselves specialists and experts. In other words a thesis, not a book.

On page 29 (2012 edition) Williams states: "**Three factors have been of paramount importance in the making of Germany as we know it today—The Holy Roman Empire, the Protestant Reformation and the Rise of Prussia.**"

Germany today is often regarded as a 'new' country, assembled in the course of the nineteenth century from hundreds of medium to small to minuscule kingdoms, cities, abbeys, diocese and states across central Europe, and re-shaped a number of times in the twentieth century.

As comparison, Ireland/Republic of Ireland came into being as a modern state in the course of the twentieth century. Its national anthem was composed in the early nineteen hundreds. Germany's was composed in the early eighteen hundreds. But both countries have extensive pre-histories which illuminate aspects of their present existence.

Williams' "three factors" constitute what he regards as the relevant German

pre-history. He dismisses the idea that Germanic tribes that resisted and defeated the Roman Empire determined the "soul" of Germany, an idea favoured by some German nationalists, and by some WW1/WW2 propagandists intent on proving some form of inherent and eternal German savagery. Just as most people would dismiss the romantic idea that Fionn Mac Cumhaill and his Fenian band of warrior-heroes are the essence of Ireland.

The Holy Roman Empire, which aspired to be the successor of the Roman Empire, developed out of Charlemagne's kingdom about a thousand years ago; and its remnants—in the form of the Austrian Empire—were finally dissolved in 1918, at the end of WW1.

Known as the First (German) Reich, the Holy Roman Empire had, on the face of it, a head-start against France and England in the formation of an historic German state. Williams explains why the First Reich was an obstacle rather than an aid to the formation of a modern state. He says that Prussia, which "rose" or emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and around which a German state aggregated in the nineteenth century, was the first truly modern state in the world, partly due to its "lateness".

Again, there was nothing pre-determined about Prussia's role, whose 'rise' and survival was just as 'accidental' as the other factors which gave rise to the nineteenth German state—the Second Reich formed by Bismarck in 1871.

Williams identifies the Canossa victory of the Papacy over the Holy Roman Empire, in the Lay Investiture dispute about Kings appointing Bishops, as a key element in German history, manifesting a quarrel which festered on until it broke out in full flood in the form of the Lutheran Reformation. This in turn led to the Thirty Years War which gave a boost to the formation of States in the form of territorially-based systems of power. But the Thirty Years War devastated and depopulated the German lands, sowing divisions among people of German language and ethnicity which continued through the centuries in which other states were developing themselves.

The Lutheran Reformation itself, says Williams, consolidated a German national identity where previously, under the Holy Roman Empire, the tendency had been towards more localised identification as Saxons, Brunswickers, Brandenbergers, etc. The National Socialist

movement got much of its impetus from the ethnic conflicts within the multi-national Austrian or Holy Roman Empire which kept itself separate from German unification under Prussia, and Williams provides an account of these conflicts.

The impetus or spark for German national unification—culminating in the formation of the second Reich by Bismarck in 1871—came from the French Revolution, Napoleon's conquest of the German lands, and the German resistance and defeat of Napoleon. Though Williams does not make much of it, the Prussian alliance with Russia was central to this. In order to curry favour with Britain the alliance was allowed to lapse following the dismissal of Bismarck by the new Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1890; setting in motion the twentieth century undoing of the German state.

In general, Williams seeks to debunk the idea of German exceptionalism or "*Sonderweg*", which has been used both to exalt and to condemn Germany—not just the Nazi manifestation—as being especially virtuous or exceptionally evil.

Part Two: Political Science

But there WAS something special or exceptional about the form taken by the German state in the National Socialist era beginning with Hitler's accession to power in 1933, wasn't there?

It was unlike other states. But almost every state is unlike almost every other state. Williams' thesis teases out the influence of theories of statehood—how power and authority and law come to be exercised within countries and between countries—particularly in the second and third German Reichs, from 1871 onwards.

This is the conclusion Williams comes to at the end of the second section of his thesis:

"*Realpolitik* which Herr Hitler claims to have put into the service of the racial Volk goes back to Machiavelli and Renaissance times. The definite attribution to the State of moral acts, and of moral personality, is more particularly to be put to the account of Spinoza. Rousseau's distinction between the general will and the will of all contributed towards the conception of "objective freedom" realisable in the State. Hegel simply added to the inheritance he had received and thus in his own words: "The State is the march of God; its ground or cause is the power of reason realising itself as will". Then finally in the rather dramatic words of George Santayana "The die was cast; the war against human nature and

happiness declared and an idol that feeds on blood, the Absolute State, set up in the heart, and over, the city". To the austere and bare State of Hegel, Treitschke added the function of {the State} becoming the bearer of *Kultur* {German Civilisation—P.M.}. The *Kulturstaat* was at hand. The failure of Bismarck to realise to the full the aspirations of the Romantically conceived Germany, united by common ties of blood and language, introduced the racial *Volk*. The professor of political science in Berlin during the first world war, Heinrich Herkner, thus declared: "Nothing is clearer than that Bismarck completely misled the aim of our national development. The *Reich* or Middle Europe could not last upon the basis of Pan-Germanism (i.e. economic Imperialism) but upon the basis of *Gross-Deutschtum* {—the German Volk or race?—P.M.}". {i.e. the first Reich of Bismarck was doomed to failure, as it was merely a highly successful industrial and economic entity lacking national substance.—P.M.} The Romantics, Arndt, Goerres, Lagarde and Frantz offered the theoretical primacy of the *Volk* over the state. The collapse of the Military Prussian State{- at the end of WWI—P.M.} left only the Volk intact.

Industrialism created Socialism which in turn added to the power of the centralised State. The reaction from Democracy on the part of the conservative Middle Classes sprang from France. The dictatorship of one {- one person—P.M.} was preferred in Germany with her monarchical traditions to guide her. Political science in the Third Reich, influenced thus by many currents, came to accept the Racial *Volk* under an anti-democratic Caesar, the State being regarded merely as an instrument towards the conservation of the *Volk*, and its racial *Kultur*. Such has been the lineage of the political theory of National-Socialism. How far it all squares with the facts is for others to decide."

The gist of Williams' conclusion is that political theory was an influence on the German National Socialist state, but these theories of statehood originated in other countries as well as in Germany, and that they had an influence on other states as well as the German one.

Also, political theory tended to reflect political practice rather than generate it. Successful states just got on with the job; while armchair intellectuals, philosophers and theorists tended to describe past and current reality. In practice they did not provide a blueprint for political leaders to follow. For instance the British State was made in

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Locke and Hume followed up with suitable theory. The formation of a modern German State began in Prussia in the eighteenth century and had to elbow out a place for itself among established states. Countries like Poland and Ireland had a harder time. Some African, Asian and Latin American countries are still struggling.

Before Germany was formed into a state Bismarck declared it to be not a question of political theory, but of blood and iron. He is often pilloried for this. But blood-and-iron is the norm rather than the exception.

Some countries have natural borders which protect their society from attack. In the absence of such natural defences, a human physical power—a State—is necessary for survival. Such considerations have become more rather than less important as nations and their States multiply. Marxist socialists talked about the withering away of the State. But when they acquired power they strengthened the State.

These days we are accustomed to the idea that States can be guilty of crimes for which they can be brought to account; though very often they are not brought to account. Political theorists from Machiavelli onwards have often put states above the law—they are outside of morality.

German National Socialism envisaged a tripartite arrangement of State, Party and *Volk*; the Party being the driver of the State on behalf of the *Volk*. Was there something inherent in this arrangement which made the National Socialist State more prone than other states to crimes such as genocide? T.D. Williams presented his M.A thesis in 1942, so it would perhaps be unfair to expect his thesis to provide an answer to this question.

Why do we consent to law? Where do states get their authority from? From God? From people? Can states themselves be subject to law, and, if so, how? These are some of the questions addressed by Williams, in a general context and also in the context of Germany.

He says that the ideas behind the racial, totalitarian State can be traced back to Giovanni Batista Vico and Jean Jacques Rousseau, both of whom had an influence on the development of political theory, and neither of whom were German. Regarding freedom of belief or conscience, he says that Rousseau advocated a profession of civil faith,

the article of faith being fixed by the sovereign. For Poland he advocated intensive national education or indoctrination of children, "*The opinion and taste of the children should be trained that they become patriots by inclination and by passion. All these patriots should exist only for their country, and apart from it they are nothing.*"

The French Revolution gave a boost to Rousseau's ideas. But Fraternity in the form of internationalism or cosmopolitanism did not work out in practice, and Napoleon's conquests produced a reaction in the form of national liberation movements. For "*Fraternity*", think "*international community*".

Also, *Equality* is fine, but where is the equality of workers and bosses as capitalism took off in the nineteenth century? Where is the *Liberty* of people who are quite free either to sell their labour for whatever they can get, or to freely choose to starve?

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity increasingly gave way to nationalism and socialism, and Williams describes how political philosophers increasingly took account of the collective life of people, where rational self-interest Enlightenment writers had left out private and public will, sentiment, subjectivity, spirit, creativity. Someone summarised the political theory of Locke and Hume as "*Buy cheap, sell dear*".

Both nationalism and socialism gave increased weight and importance to the State. In Germany, there was a seemingly impossible meeting of minds between the socialist Lasalle and the conservative nationalist Bismarck, whose effects persisted, after the early death of Lasalle and the later overthrow of Bismarck, in the State Socialist German Reich of Kaiser Wilhelm II. Bismarck had little time for babbling theorists and famously declared a German state would be brought into being by blood and iron, not words. In fact there was comparatively little blood and iron involved, in comparison with the formation of numerous other states before and since.

In political theory the Romantic movement departed from 17th-18th century individualist, rationalist, Enlightenment thought. Williams links the ideas of Thomas Davis with those of the early German *Sturm und Drang* {Storm and Urge} Romantic Gottfried Herder, one of those who, with other German Philosophers of the Will such as Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, are sometimes regarded as precursors of National Socialism.

Like Davis in Ireland, Herder urged German self-respect and pride, in particular regard to language: "*Spew out the ugly slime of the Seine. Speak German, O you German!*" Is this the racial chauvinism of Hitler? Is it peculiar to Germany? Williams argues otherwise in his thesis.

The Davis-Herder comparison only stretches so far, though. Davis was an activist, at least as much as he was an author and intellectual. That portion of the present day Irish mind which is specifically Irish consists largely of songs and poems, and, for the English-speaking part of Ireland, is due primarily to Davis.

Part Three: Religion

Point 24 of the National Socialist Party programme stated:

"We demand liberty for all religious denominations in the State, so far as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the moral feelings of the German race. The party as such stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular confession. It combats the Jewish materialist spirit within us and without us and is convinced that our nation can only achieve permanent health from within on the principle: The common interest before self."

Williams' thesis purported to explain the genesis of National Socialism. While accepting that the National Socialist state, like other states, had its own unique features and characteristics, Williams sought to debunk the idea that Germany was unique in some special way that separated it out from all other states; but that the factors which influenced Germany were not specifically German, and that these factors also played a part in other states.

Williams argues that, while other states have religious minorities, the German state is the only one based on religious amalgamation; and, in terms of religious culture, is unique to that extent. Since, at the time of writing this, the German state was the Third Reich formed by Hitler, the religious amalgamation he had in mind was Christian—Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic.

The First Reich was the Holy Roman Empire which extended over much of central Europe including the German-speaking areas, and which was Catholic; though there was a constant political tension between the civil power and the Papacy, culminating in the Lutheran Reformation which split the Empire

politically and delayed German national state formation for centuries; centuries during which other national states—France, Spain, Britain—consolidated themselves apace.

The Reformation rent the German lands apart, and the resulting wars devastated the population and economy. The Kingdom of Prussia emerged as leader of Protestant Germany, while Catholic Germans looked to Austria where the remnant of the Holy Roman Empire continued, as the Hapsburg Empire, until the end of WW1. (Prussia continued until the end of WW2. Both of these states were liquidated following their defeat in war.)

The contest between these two states was a further barrier to German unification. The Austrian state increasingly sought to accommodate its increasingly vigorous non-German components in the Slav lands and in Hungary. Hitler grew up in Austria, and was disgusted at the Empire turning its back, as he saw it, on its ethnic German heritage in order to embrace Slavs, Jews, Hungarians and Poles. In fact, following the brief 1866 war between Prussia and Austria (won by Prussia, in the course of its unification of Germany), the antagonism between the two states was essentially ended by Bismarck. All the nationalities united behind the alliance of Austria (Holy Roman Empire) and Prussian Germany (Second Reich), in the Great War launched against them by Britain, France and Russia.

T.D. Williams traces the religious threads connecting these events, and deliberates on religious episodes which can seem to prefigure the totalitarian and racial features of National Socialism in the Third Reich.

There was a general religious decline in religious faith in European countries, including Germany, which accelerated as industrial capitalism gathered pace in the nineteenth century, accompanied by a decline in the 'believing' rural populations. Set against that, Williams describes various religious developments, the effects of some of which were apparent in the political systems at time of writing.

Following the French Revolution there was a kind of "*democratisation*" of religion, where previously most influence had been exercised by an elite. Though Luther himself was in some senses a "*man of the people*" and a "*true German*", popular or peasant movements in the Lutheran Reformation were

violently suppressed, and the principle of "*cuius region eius religio*" meant that people had to subscribe to the religious affiliation of their overlords.

Daniel O'Connell was a manifestation and a beacon of post-French Revolution "*popular Christianity*". His line of "*Our religion from home, our politics from home*" pointed towards various "*national Catholic*" movements which sought to accommodate to 19th century national movements and state-building. Lammenais in France and Döllinger in Germany are associated with anti-Papal religious movements, one of which culminated in the Old Catholic Church in Germany. Similar religious movements have occurred in countries such as China and Russia in the twentieth century. When Williams was writing his thesis there were some "*neo-pagan*" religious movements which accorded with National Socialist dogma, though it appears Hitler himself was not especially in favour of them.

Other 19th century religious movements sought to counter the atomisation of society by capitalism. The most successful was the Credit Union movement which started in Germany. These ideas fed into twentieth century corporatism, especially in Italy. In England, Methodism (18th/19th century) and Tractarianism (19th century) sought to rejuvenate Christianity and restore it to social "*relevance*".

A curious exception to the "*cuius region eius religio*" doctrine is Prussia itself where the ruling Hohenzollern dynasty became Calvinist, while the population remained Lutheran. The resulting tension was a factor in producing the Pietist movement which underlay and motivated the most brilliant of Prussia's achievements.

Pietism tended to resolve the differences between Calvinism and Lutheranism by emphasising internal or personal religious feeling or subjectivity over religious dogma, combining this with personal rectitude, responsibility, earnestness, hard work, and a powerful ethic of self-development in support of the state and society. An echo of this can be found in Point 24 of the National Socialist Party on Religion: "*The common interest before self*".

As part of German national unification, Bismarck launched the *Kulturkampf* ("Culture Struggle") against papal political influence. The Catholic Centre Party resisted this and the struggle was resolved by compromise. This episode appears to have inclined Hitler to steer clear of

religious and sectarian conflict.

The 19th century decline in all forms of religious faith was matched by increase in influence of nationalist and socialist beliefs. States became increasingly distant from religious structures and authority, while nationalism and socialism were strongly inclined towards state power. According to Williams, in Germany this tendency culminated in National Socialism.

Part Four: Race

According to National Socialism the Germans were a superior race with a mission to civilise the world. The degree to which other races were Aryan or Teutonic determined their worth and value. In particular the Jewish race was the antithesis of the German race. *Mein Kampf*: "*All in this world that is not race, is chaff.*"

T.D. Williams declares racialism to be nonsense. So where did it all come from, and why did it have such standing in the National Socialist movement?

A kind of racial sentiment or feeling is a natural outgrowth from human preference for their own kind—their own family, kith and kin, fellow countrymen, and so on. On the other hand, the way these instinctive preferences extend themselves from near kin to distant kin is also a natural pathway towards a sense of belonging to all forms of mankind.

Some forms of religion are exclusive; while others—in theory anyway—are universalist. The Good Samaritan doctrine takes a positive attitude to 'aliens'. The Enlightenment outlook was universalist—in theory.

Xenophobic racialism appeared in politics. For example, though the people had a common religion, the Statute of Kilkenny created legal barriers between them based on race, ethnicity and language, by banning "*marriage, gossip and fostering*" between the English and Irish.

Williams says that, as Christianity gradually lost influence in its base in European countries, new forms of belief, such as Marxism and Darwinism, gained influence in its place. The new racialism was one of these. These new doctrines purported to be scientifically founded and gained traction on that basis. Darwin wrote his "*Origin of Species*". There were popular Marxist writings which were coherent and systematic and scientific. These systems of thought appeared to be objective and reliable, unlike the traditional religions which, like the superstitions of the newly discovered

'primitive' peoples, were based on mysteries, belief and ritual; and which, in Germany, were being systematically debunked by the intensive Bible criticism whose origins, curiously, were in the German Pietist movement.

The definitive founding works on scientific racialism were written by Arthur de Gobineau and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Neither was German; Chamberlain exercised more influence on German National Socialism. According to Mussolini, race is a feeling, not a reality. But feelings are real. And before Gobineau and H.S Chamberlain, the power and reality of emotion, the subjective, the personal—including their racial manifestations—had been expressed by Rousseau, Herder and the Romantics in reaction to 18th century rationalism.

Racial theories grew popular and influential, especially in France but also in England and Germany. Williams discusses *Action Francaise*, Dreyfus, Carlyle, Renan, Richard Wagner and many others.

Racialism was not a uniquely German phenomenon. So why was the National Socialist version so virulent?

Hitler was born and grew up in the Austrian part of the multi-national, multi-racial Hapsburg Empire. In the course of the 19th century the non-German peoples—Hungarian, Slav, Jew—became increasingly assertive, and the Empire granted them increasing power and influence at the expense, it seemed, of the core German population. Austrian and Prussia, the two poles or leaders of greater Germany, fought a war in 1866 which Austria lost.

Hitler described the effect of this on him in *Mein Kampf*:

"A feeling of discontent grew upon me and made me depressed the more I came to realize the inside hollowness of this State and the impossibility of saving it from collapse. At the same time I felt perfectly certain that it would bring all kinds of misfortune to the German people.

I was convinced that the Habsburg State would balk and hinder every German who might show signs of real greatness, while at the same time it would aid and abet every non-German activity. This conglomerate spectacle of heterogeneous races which the capital of the Dual Monarchy presented, this motley of Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Ruthenians, Serbs and Croats, etc., and always that bacillus which is the solvent of human society, the Jew, here and there and everywhere—the whole spectacle was repugnant to me. The gigantic city seemed to be the

incarnation of mongrel depravity. ... Because my heart was always with the German Empire and not with the Austrian Monarchy, the hour of Austria's dissolution as a State appeared to me only as the first step towards the emancipation of the German nation. ... There, in Vienna, stark reality taught me the truths that now form the fundamental principles of the Party which within the course of five years has grown from modest beginnings to a great mass movement. I do not know what my attitude towards Jewry, Social-Democracy, or rather Marxism in general, to the social problem, etc., would be to-day if I had not acquired a stock of personal beliefs at such an early age, by dint of hard study and under the duress of Fate."

The Jewish population had legal rights and recognition, but it had low social standing. There were two different reactions to this problem—separation on the one hand, assimilation on the other. In 1897 the Zionist movement was founded by Theodore Herzl in Vienna. Assimilation sometimes took the form of conversion to Christianity. Williams says that hostility to "ethnic" Jews then took a racial rather than a sectarian form, as sections of the population were targeted, not because of their religion but because of their ancestry.

Part Five: Economy

There was not a clear-cut military victory over Germany in 1918, and unlike WW2, Germany's industrial infrastructure was, compared with France's, largely unaffected. But the terms of the Versailles Treaty imposed impossible economic burdens and Germany experienced severe economic disruption and hardship as a result.

Under National Socialism there was a rapid economic recovery. This was not unprecedented in Germany. Centuries of economic, social devastation and depopulation had followed from European wars conducted on militarily unprotected German territories. But industrial underdevelopment was brought to an end when, in conjunction with development of railway networks, a rapid development of capitalism took place after 1848. This was accompanied by a rapid increase in German population, sometimes approaching an increase of a million per annum.

The first great world crisis of capitalism took place in the 1870's, perhaps fuelled by a bubble arising from the money extracted by the Second Reich from France as reparations for the 1870

war. This was followed by another massive German economic expansion leading to WW1.

Though he did not mention elephant in the room—Versailles—this is the context in which Williams wrote his 1942 account of the economic factor in the genesis of National Socialism.

He starts by considering some contemporary characterisations or descriptions of the nature of National Socialist economy. For instance he is sceptical of the idea that commodity production was abolished in favour of production for use; that use value had replaced exchange value. He doubts that it could simply be characterised as a system of capitalism in which managers played the primary role. According to official ideology it was a corporate system run by, and for, various economic interests—manufacturing, farming, labour, professional; a development of a kind of mediaeval economy. Pouring cold water on this, Williams draws similarities with England in which industry, the landed gentry and capitalist agriculture won out over the peasantry and the industrial proletariat.

Without freedom of contract and freedom of investment, it was held, Germany could not have political freedom. Williams maintains that there was economic continuity between National Socialist Germany and the Second Reich/Prussia, in terms of rational planning by competent authoritarian State administrators.

He traces various movements and tendencies in 19th century economic theory and practice, especially in regard to Germany. The Adam Smith liberal free market theory boils down to "*Buy cheap, sell dear*". This atomistic, anti-State, anti-society doctrine of individual producers and their individual customers disregarded the societies in which these economic 'laws' operated. Adam Smith's doctrine suited England whose Imperial conquests had already carved out guaranteed markets.

But new and emerging states such as America and Germany favoured protective tariffs behind which national economy and home industry could develop. In Germany, Frederick List, though fundamentally an economic liberal, wrote: "*{The Industrial State} is based on the idea of the Nation, and, regarding the nations as individual as individual entities, everywhere takes into account the national interests and national conditions.*" Political economy had to be subordinated to politics in

general. The statist economy of National Socialism had historical precedents, not just in Germany.

Capitalist industrial development in 19th century Germany was unprecedented. The industrial working class expanded correspondingly. The conservative nationalist Chancellor Bismarck was politically opposed to the liberal, free market-oriented middle class, and forged an alliance with the Socialist leader Lasalle, an alliance which was brokered by the socialist Lothar Bucher who remained in Bismarck's confidence and entourage after Lasalle's early death.

The theory of the German State Socialism of Bismarck/Lasalle/Bucher was formulated by the economist Rodbertus:

"No state is sufficiently fortunate to have the natural needs of the community satisfied by natural law without any conscious effort on the part of anyone. Each state must pass its own laws and develop its own organisation. The organs of the state do not grow up spontaneously. They must be fostered and controlled by the state. .. The attainment of their socialist state will take a hundred years, and will only be effected through a socialist monarchy of the Hohenzollerns."

Rodbertus proposed that production for social need should supplant production based on supply and demand by means of administrative state planning:

"The wants of men in general {are predictable} and the kind and number of objects required could easily be calculated. Provided we knew the time a person could afford to devote to the work of production, we could easily determine the quantity that would be sufficient to satisfy the needs of everybody."

After Lasalle's early death, his Socialist party was led by Bebel and Liebknecht who abandoned the Lasalle/Bucher approach in favour of Marxist internationalism. This was opposed to the state—or at least the actual national state which actually existed. "*The workers have no fatherland.*" Bismarck sought to outflank the anti-national Marxist socialists by actually implementing the Bismarckian/Lasalleian programme of State Socialism. The implications for Hitler's National Socialist economic policy are clear. Incidentally, Lasalle was Jewish.

In this heated political-economic atmosphere there were a number of religiously-based working class political

initiatives which embraced anti-semitism. These were relatively unsuccessful.

Industrial-financial integration was a prominent feature of German economic development. That is, trusts, cartels, and an industry-based banking system which supported them. This was central to rapid industrial development, and was facilitated by the State.

Another major factor in this phenomenal expansion was the Co-operative and Credit Union movement founded by Franz Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, which eventually spread from Germany to the rest of the world.

In a nutshell, what Williams seems to say about National Socialist economic policy is that it was not especially ideologically driven or doctrinaire. It was empirical, building on whatever measures brought success. And it was consistent with the economic policy of Bismarck's Second Reich.

Part Six: Law

In addition to history, Williams qualified as a lawyer. His section on National Socialist law is a bit more technical than the rest of his thesis. Much of it is concerned with the divergence between Roman Law and German Customary Law. But he does not explain what exactly these two forms of law are.

Regarding National Socialist law, he quotes Hitler: "*Our legal system must serve in the first instance the preservation of the people's community. Judges must exercise a certain elasticity in their verdicts for the benefit of society. The basis of justice can be none other than the basis of the existence of the nation.*"

Who decides what "*the benefit of society*" is? The Government? The National Socialist Party? Or Hitler himself? Does this doctrine mean that the law was not objective in Germany? For instance, Williams says that Party members had certain legal immunities; so the law was not applied equally.

Law is what regulates relations between the components of a state. Is law the same as justice, or should it be the same? Justice presupposes some higher criterion or authority on what is 'right'. Since religion has ceased to be the determinant of what is right, notions of natural law, of equality before the law, of inalienable human rights, are now presupposed as the basis of law.

Williams says that that there is an amount of make believe and pretence in this; that ultimately naked power and force are the basis of law. Law is the regulator and intermediary between the

individual person (and, increasingly, corporate 'persons') and the State. Despite pretence of objectivity it is based on force.

But in National Socialist Germany, such pretence was discarded. Another one was put in its place: the interests of the German nation or *Volk*, as personified by Hitler himself. Williams describes this doctrine as mumbo-jumbo.

He tracks historic differences between legal practice in Britain and France on the one hand, and Germany on the other. As the cockpit of wars between the established powers for centuries, the politically divided German lands could not develop economically the way Britain and France could.

Capitalist economies required security of contracts and investment. A legal system with a large and relatively independent class of professional lawyers and judges came into being in France and Britain. But in the German lands, judges were mere administrators subservient to the kings, princes, abbots and rulers of hundreds of petty states whose authority is indicated by the dictum "*cuius regio eius religio*".

The system of law arising from the liberal capitalism of free contract and free investment is supposed to be the fundamental basis of political freedom.

Williams' thesis was submitted in 1942. A few years later the Nuremberg Trials were supposed to demonstrate to the world the freedom, law and justice for which WW2 was fought. Instead they were an object lesson in victors' justice, or law as servant of brute force and power, in which the crimes of the defendants were mirrored by the crimes of those who put them on trial.

National Socialism imprisoned and killed untold numbers of people, not for what they did but for who they were. Their accusers in Nuremberg also killed untold numbers of innocent people.

Part Seven: *Weltanschauung*

The National Socialist world-view, as summarised by Williams, was a Blood-and-Soil outlook, not irrational but anti-rational, in which action and will on behalf of the German *Volk*/state/*Fuehrer* were the highest good, superseding traditional or 'soft' morality.

The 18th century Enlightenment, while not destroying or abandoning traditional morality, undermined and hollowed it by defying the Christian establishment and religious forms. The French Revolution, supposedly based on

Enlightenment values, produced a reaction against Enlightenment rationalism and cosmopolitanism, in the form of the Romantic movement based on feeling and emotion, and sparking off a movement of nationalisms which looked back on and were inspired ancient folk knowledge and national languages; so the French language lost its international status.

The Romantic movement itself had 18th century originators, such as Rousseau and Herder. The limitations of rationalism were expressed in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, though Williams says that this is not the whole story told by Kant.

However the cult of science did not actually decline in the 19th century. It was expressed vigorously in various forms such as Darwinism, racialism, sociology and Marxism. Rigorous forms of science flourished, including in Germany.

But if man cannot live by religion, or by reason, what is there to live by? Life is defined by movement and action, and higher forms of life are defined by purpose and will. Schopenhauer developed a philosophy of the Will to Power, and, at the hands of Nietzsche, this acquired a wide intellectual following. There IS nothing to live for, except life and action themselves. Pity and altruism are a delusion. This outlook was inherited by the National Socialist movement and developed into the *Weltanschauung* of the *Third Reich* by Rosenberg.

Williams somehow spoils this story by announcing that Nietzsche had little influence in Germany itself.

Also, in 1944 (a couple of years after Williams submitted his thesis) the Austrian anti-Nazi theoretical physicist Erwin Schrödinger delivered a series of lectures in Dublin which explained in physical terms what life is. The lectures were published under the title *What Is Life?* In 1958 he wrote *Mind and Matter*, which provides a satisfying explanation of consciousness in a Schopenhauerian fashion.

So Williams' pessimistic take on 19th century German thought is debatable. Also the notion that there is a necessary connection with the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*.

Note

Williams MA thesis was not written for a general readership; not even for a general audience of academic historians. It was intended to be read by one or two

specialist examiners who could be expected to know the background of the subject without having to have the details spelled out.

But a work like this would normally form the basis of a series of articles, academic papers, and books for a wider audience; enough to keep the author in good academic standing for many years, with all sorts of spin-offs and by-products, and remuneration in cash and kind. According to Brendan Clifford's Introduction to the 2012 publication, there were no such by-products and spin-offs.

The thesis shows some leanings towards Anglo-Saxon orientation. But in 1942 Williams comes across as not especially Germanophobe, nor Germanophile. However WW2 resulted in Anglo-Saxon military victory; and Williams' academic career would not have been helped by spelling out what he said in his thesis in 1942. Nevertheless, he went on to assist the prosecution authorities at Nuremberg after the War, and walked into a Professorship at University College, Dublin, not long after that at an unusually young age.

amongst themselves some bad 'uns indeed. The worst of them were monsters, who provided cheaply, or free, gratis and for nothing, the suffering which rich and titled Britons paid thousands of pounds per term for in their Public Schools. I'm reliably informed of one such, a stone's throw from Windsor Castle, where young pupils had to run a gauntlet of older ones hitting golf balls at them. That was in the 1990s.

I still remember a Christian Brother from the garrison town of Omagh, who stood out as a bully. He had an habitually angry red face, and he taught ten and eleven year olds in the Dublin suburb of Sutton. He would ask questions on the Catechism, the answers to which we were supposed to have learnt by heart. The doctrines had long ago been formulated by Fathers of the Church, learned in Hebrew Scripture and classical Greek philosophy, and presented to us in language that didn't quite trip off our tongues with ease.

In his zeal to teach us the Love of Jesus, Brother McCullough would box the ears of any boy who stumbled over a polysyllabic and abstract word. If his face was habitually red, it was an apoplectic purple when it came to the Church's condemnation of secret societies. He launched into a tirade about the IRA to the puzzlement of everybody. To us, the IRA was as remote as the Fianna of Fionn MacCumhal and the Red Branch Knights of Cuchulain. Sure, there were the veterans, respected pillars of society, jovial and kindly fathers, uncles, grandfathers and neighbours. But, to ten-year olds in 1952 the IRA were pre-history.

A few months later three young men, Cathal Goulding from Dublin, Manus Canning from Derry and John Stephenson from God-knows-where, revived the IRA, getting enough rifles to equip an army company of 100 men.

They didn't get these from the Irish Christian Brothers, but from a Public School in Felsted, Essex, founded by Richard Rich in 1564. The aptly named Rich had been Lord Chancellor under King Henry VIII of England, the first English Monarch to declare himself King, rather than Lord, of Ireland. Rich's fortunes were the fruit of the suppression of the monasteries of England, which, like Henry's Kingship of Ireland, was established by violence.

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Donal Kennedy

The Christian Brothers

To read some commentators, the Irish Christian Brothers were distinguished mainly for violence and the approval of its use for Republican ends.

My father and his brother, my mother's four brothers, my own two brothers and myself were Christian Brothers' Boys, so I think I know something about the Order. I have before me a photo of my maternal grandfather and his four sons taken about 1910 a couple of years or so before his death.

Before me also is a certificate from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission that the youngest son is remembered with honour on the Singapore Memorial and that he died on 13th February 1942 when I was six weeks and five days old. Uncle Leo was a Warrant Officer Class 1 with the Royal Army Service Corps, and two years younger than my mother.

In May 1916 and six weeks shy of his 17th birthday her next eldest sibling and two years older than her was badly wounded by a shell fired by the Kaiser's Grand Fleet off Jutland. Uncle Jack was mad about the sea and had signed on for 12 years. He served those years, and once, by happenstance his ship and Leo's troopship were in Constantinople at the same time. For my own first twenty three years I passed a five-foot wide coloured photograph of ships on the Bosphorous, a souvenir of that meeting, going in and coming out of our home on the Hill of Howth and it remains there to this day. I'm told that had my Grandfather lived he'd have seen his sons in Hell rather than in His Britannic Majesty's Forces, but that's by the bye.

A few years older than Jack was Ned, a GAA man who played the pipes and, as member of Fianna Eireann helped unload the Asgard at Howth. Whether John Redmond or Tom Kettle affected his judgement, or, as my mother believed, he'd been disappointed in love, didn't he join the Dublin Fusiliers and eventually, in 1918 get sent home to die after being gassed in Flanders. His family nursed him back to life, though his breathing was permanently impaired.

There's long been an ignorant tendency to label John Redmond and those who heeded him, as pacifists. There has now emerged not as an "igno" but a bellowing, rant from ex-Taoiseach John Bruton to so label Redmond. But I imagine, if Bruton had been about in 1916, he'd have demanded a Knighthood for Captain Bowen-Colthurst, and a round of drinks for the Squaddies requisitioned by the Captain for their informal execution of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, the most notable Pacifist in Ireland,

The same ignorant tendency then, and the ranting Bruton today, would surely describe the eldest of my mother's brothers, a man of violence.

No, Uncle Denis never joined the IRA. When the Great War broke out, and until his death in 1971, he was an Irish Christian Brother.

Besides turning great numbers of urban urchins and barefoot peasants into an Irish middle class (surely the greatest of their sins?), the Brothers numbered

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Emblems
Refugees
Parnellism
Gleeson Pardon
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Emblems

In Cork—people will need to be dead for at least 20 years before they can be commemorated with a plaque or a statue under new city council guidelines.

Fianna Fáil councillor Tom O' Driscoll said he had an issue with the 20 year limit before a person could be commemorated. However the Council's Chief Executive Ann Doherty said the new policy was an internal document to act as a guideline and councillors still retained the final say (*Evening Echo*, Cork-13.5.2015).

Recently, we had a picket outside Bishop Lucey Park in the city, protesting at the lack of a secular aspect to a public ground. Yet, no city in the Republic has such a plethora of trappings from the old British Imperial rule: the Cork petty-bourgeoisie thrive on this type of deference, they can't shake it off.

Wellington Road, Victoria Cross, Albert Road, Buckingham Place, Coburg Street, George's Quay : We have two Wellesley Terraces and six Wellington 'something or other': Where is the "Rebel" spirit? Surely those Wellingtons should be replaced by Bluchers—was the Prussian not the man who win at Waterloo in 1815?

Refugees

Almost 60 million people worldwide were forcibly uprooted by conflict and persecution at the end of last year, the highest ever recorded number, the U.N. refugee agency have stated.

More than half the displaced from crises including Syria, Afghanistan and Somalia were children, UNHCR said in its annual Global Trends Report.

In 2014, an average of 42,500 people became refugees, asylum seekers, or internally displaced every day, representing a four-fold increase in just four years, the aid agency said.

"We are witnessing a paradigm change, an unchecked slide into an era in which the scale of global forced displacement as well as the response

required is now clearly dwarfing anything seen before", said UN High Commissioner for Refugees Antonio Guterres in a statement.

UNHCR said Syria where conflict has raged since 2011, was the world's biggest source of internally displaced people and refugees.

There were 7.6 million displaced people in Syria by the end of last year and almost 4 million Syrian refugees, mainly living in the neighbouring countries of Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey.

"Even amid such sharp growth in numbers, the global distribution of refugees remains heavily skewed away from wealthier nations and towards the less wealthy", UNHCR said (*Irish Independent* 19.6.2015).

Parnell

"Parnellism is a simple love of adultery and all those who profess Parnellism profess to love and admire adultery. They are an adulterous set, their leaders are open and avowed adulterers, and therefore I say to you, as parish priest, beware of these Parnellites when they enter your house, you that have wives and daughters, for they will do all they can to commit these adulteries, for their cause is not patriotism—it is adultery—and the back Parnellism because it gratifies their adultery" (The parish priest of Roundwood, Co. Wicklow addressing his congregation on Sunday, 19th June 1892).

Gleeson Pardon

"Sir,—I believe that in our system of justice a man is found to be guilty or not guilty as charged and so if Harry Gleeson was guilty of murder 75 years ago then the question is—why is the State and the President now granting him a pardon?

On the other hand if the conviction is found to be unsafe then he has to be considered to be "not guilty" so then why would he even need a pardon since he was not guilty of anything in the first place?

Surely now it would be more correct

to quash this conviction altogether and pay compensation? To me "pardon" sounds very like "royal pardon"—I think we still have a long way to go.—Yours, etc, JAMES NEILL, Limerick." (*Irish Times*-3.4.2015)

Harry Gleeson was executed on April 23, 1941 for the alleged murder of Mary McCarthy at New Inn, Co. Tipperary on November 21, 1940.

Alternan

"Alternan, named or re-named after the saint, or the Kieve as we knew it, was always a place of religious worship. Do you remember how the people flocked there during the appointed season, from Garland Sunday, the last Sunday in July, to the Fifteenth of August, the feast of the Assumption. On those days, and on any day in between, one could follow the rigorous stations, but had to do them at dawn and be finished as the sun was rising. The season corresponded to the feast of Lunasa, so, were these same rites being performed thousands of years before Christianity usurped both places and rituals? (Jack Harte, a man from Sligo, *In The Wake of the Bagger*, Scotus Press, 2006)

Garland Sunday is held on the last Sunday in the month of July. The history of Garland Sunday—or Bilberry Sunday as it is known in some areas—goes back to pagan times. One story has it that it was considered the end of the 'hungry season' when people could enjoy a good meal of new potatoes at this time of year.

Many pagans believe the traditions surrounding Garland Sunday grew out of the older Mabon tradition of making pilgrimages to burial grounds to honour the dead. Garlands were constructed of native vines and apples by a village's unmarried women and taken by them, along with all unmarried men, to a churchyard. If an apple fell during a procession it was a bad omen since apples often stood as symbols for the human soul and for the Goddess. At the churchyard the garland was then broken apart and strewn over the graves amidst loud keening. Feasting and dancing near the cemetery followed, and it was obligatory to show hospitality to strangers on this evening.

In the days before Christianity came to Ireland, August 1st was called "*Lá Lughnasa*", the feast day of the Celtic god of the harvest "*Lugh*". It is believed that the pagan feast of Lughnasa was turned into a Christian feast by Patrick and re-named Garland Sunday.
