

# Church & State

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*A Cultural Review Of Ireland And The World*

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**Hard Gospel: Orange Order And Church Of Ireland**  
**Shlomo Sand And The Jewish People**  
**Evolution Debate**  
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### The Church And Its Critics

"*The Age Of My Craven Deference Is Finally Over*". That was the headline on Professor Ronan Fanning's article on the Murphy Report (Sun. Independent 6 Dec.). Well, it was almost the headline. Fanning used the collective "*our*" rather than the personal "*my*". But in the case of the Professor of Modern History at the chief College of the National University the personal and the collective merge. The Professor (singular) determines in great part what characterised the plurality of those who went through the educational system to its highest level.

It became well known to us long ago that the paid intelligentsia of the state were craven in their attitude towards the Church. They were sceptics in private but were cynically respectful in public, because they were craven.

When we set out 36 years ago to reduce the role of the Church in the State, and to establish a viable national culture independent of the Church, and therefore necessarily in conflict with the Church, at least in the first instance, we met with very few amongst the official intelligentsia who were in private disagreement with us, but not one of them was willing to say in public what they said in private.

They were cynical participants in the *status quo*. They functioned by mental reservation.

Because their scepticism was not deployed against the Church in the public sphere, it remained primitive and undeveloped. They were private Know-all's, who in fact knew nothing because what they thought they knew could not be articulated in public.

#### Desmond Williams

The Professors of History at UCD bear the main responsibility for this. We assumed to start with that those Professors were believers who shared the outlook of the Church Hierarchy. Post-1945 that was no longer the case. In 1948 T. Desmond Williams was piloted into the Chair of History at UCD from British Intelligence, and that was when the funny business started.

Williams' chief public intervention was to defame the wartime Irish Ambassador in Spain (Leopold Kearney) as a Nazi collaborator. He knew this because he had been in British Intelligence. But, when the Ambassador sued him for libel, he was not able to make good his defamation. And British Intelligence did not back him up, for reasons of both diplomacy and truth.

When Williams died an obituary in the *Irish Times* was written by an Englishman making a career in Irish political journalism, Kevin Myers. Myers had been one of an inner circle of students cultivated privately by Williams. He deplored the fact that Williams had published so little. He put it down to perfectionism. He was certain that Williams' executors would find masterpieces in his drawer and publish them.

But nothing was published. Williams had nothing to say beyond his contributions to a few little collections of essays by various authors that he published. Or he had nothing that he could say. His paradoxical status as a British intelligence operative in the major History Professorship in Ireland stultified him.

#### Bill Sharkey

The students he cultivated in his inner circle outside the University were greatly impressed by him. Some, like Desmond Fennell (when confronted with the fact by Manus O'Riordan)

found it hard to believe that he was from British Intelligence. Others, like Dermot Keogh (now History Professor in Cork) valued him because of it.

The fact that he served in British Intelligence is indisputable public knowledge. Such inside information as we had about his informal late night tutorials come from the late Bill Sharkey.

Sharkey was born in a remote region of the Donegal Gaeltacht. He shot up through the academic system through sheer brain-power when his family moved to Derry. He was at Maynooth with John Hume and the future Cardinal O'Fee before realising that he had a secular destiny. He was expert in ancient Irish, got work with the Manuscripts Commission, and sought out the Dublin academic intelligentsia with a view to getting his teeth into the modern world. And so he came into contact with Williams's late night get-togethers with favoured students. Being himself a high-minded and hard-thinking intellectual, he soon concluded that Williams was a wastrel. So he took himself off.

Sharkey was but one instance of how rural Ireland gave rise to impulses which urban Ireland was unable to provide for the development of. In Paris or Freiburg he would have been in his element. When he realised the futility of academic life in Dublin—and he was very much an academic in his intellectual rigour, and therefore was never quite at ease with us—he went to London. In London he applied the most modern philosophy of France and Germany to the technique of advertising. When we first met him he had reached the top of his profession. He was selling Mars bars—and there was nothing higher than that—and lived in an exclusive flat just off Trafalgar Square.

That provided an exercise for skill acquired through philosophical/sociological analysis (for which theological analysis was not beside the point), but he later concluded that that too was a waste of life, and so we met him again. He concluded that even though we didn't have a Professorship, or even a lectureship, between us, we were the best there was—or we were the only thing there was.

#### Cravenia

Irish academia refused to establish ground for itself with relation to the Catholic Church that was in accordance with the general European position. But it did not even maintain the craven silence that Fanning now pleads guilty to in the plural. When the occasion required it, it snatched at straws in order to make the debating point that the relationship of Church and State in Ireland was the normal European relationship.

The best of the academics a generation ago was John Whyte. But even he relied heavily on evasive debating points. However, it should be said in his favour that he seems to have been a sort of old-fashioned believer, and not a craven cynic.

The best of the journalists a generation ago was Gene Kerrigan, who said, in print, that it was unnecessary to engage in conflict with the Church, and it was therefore better not to do so, because globalism was undermining the position of the Church anyway.

This meant that there was no reason for journalists to damage their careers by taking on the Church prematurely. It also meant that no secular national culture was being established beyond, and in conflict with, the culture of the Church.

It meant that there was no Irish Voltaire—not to mention Rousseau. Or, rather, there were many Irish Voltaires at late night sessions in pubs, but there were none in print or in the lecture rooms.

We did our best to play the part of Rousseau in public. We got no support in public from academics or journalists, but the private Voltaires condemned us in private for not being Voltaires.

Voltaire jeered at the Church from the vantage point of enlightened despotism. Rousseau, as a democrat, was of the opinion that religion represented something that was necessary in human

life, and therefore did not jeer at it.

Voltaire, from the safety of Potsdam or Annecy said *Encrase l'infame — Wipe out the infamous thing* — and Europe heard him. Our craven Voltaires said it where no one could hear them but themselves, and they felt very bold when they heard themselves.

The infamous thing has gone, no thanks to the cravens. But, now that it is down-and-out, is it a sign of moral backbone to denounce it? Or are they craven still? And, if they are craven still, is it still the fault of the Church, which gave them habits they cannot throw off, even though the Church is now prostrate at their feet. The enemy they dared not oppose is down, and now they dare to kick it.

### Thought-Control?

"*The Roman Catholic Church's great achievement in Ireland has been to so disable our capacity to think about right and wrong that parents of abused children apologised for the abusing priest*": that is the blurb on Fintan O'Toole's *Irish Times* article on November 11th. Well, if the Church has disabled O'Toole's capacity to think why does he continue to pontificate? A disabled capacity to think is not cured by denouncing to order.

The headline on O'Toole's article on December 1st was *An Abysmal Abdication Of Responsibility*. It would be more applicable to the *Irish Times* than Bishop Willie Walsh, who was the object of the tirade.

If we must take it that the *Irish Times* has been an Irish newspaper with Irish concerns at heart (rather than a British newspaper that was kept viable for an ulterior purpose), then the abysmal abdication of responsibility lies at its door. As we explained in detail in the last issue, TDs under the PR system could not act out of joint with the electorate and hope to retain office. Nor could the mainstream Irish newspapers and remain in business. The *Irish Times* was in the unique position of having a readership that was semi-detached from the body politic of the system, but was yet big enough to sustain daily publication, and it was a title which was widely read abroad. It was therefore in a position to tell unacceptable home truths to the democracy, and have them heard. It chose not to do so.

"Up to very recently, the working Irish definition of democracy was simply majoritarian. If 50% of the population plus one wanted theocratic laws, then it was their democratic right to get their way. Clerical bullying found a potent ally in this understanding of democracy-as-numbers as distinct from democracy-as-equality, since they could say that their democratic right to free exercise of religion was being infringed if their wishes were thwarted. Judge Murphy has taught us a harrowing lesson here, showing a later generation why the majoritarian chorus must not alone dictate the conditions of social life..."

That is from an article in the *Sunday Independent*, 6th December, headlined *Past Politicians Defied The Church*. The writer is the pretentious Cork City petty bourgeois, John-Paul McCarthy, who has made it to the magic circle of Oxford University but still bestows his grace on us.

But he does not explain to us how, finding ourselves in a democracy, we are to escape from democracy—or how within a democracy we can bring about a subordination of the majority to something else.

Indeed, we have often had it said to us, during our campaigning over the decades, that the Church did not actually express the will of the democracy in Ireland, but had somehow subordinated the majority to its will. It seemed to us that the Church did in fact act in accordance with the will of the majority. We took it therefore that our task was to alter that will, and we have been doing our best ever since 1973 in this publication.

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If the Church had been an unrepresentative power-structure carried over from feudalism, the task would have been different, and simpler.

McCarthy at least recognises that the Church was interwoven with the democracy. He does not suggest how the democracy might be over-ruled on occasion by some element that is functional within it.

At Oxford he is employed by an institution that held out for a very long time against democracy, and then helped to shape democracy once it became inevitable. In other words, he works for the residue of a ruling class.

England was a widely-based aristocracy from 1688 to 1832. After 1832 the populace was admitted to the electoral franchise by stages. That process of enfranchisement was not completed until the late 1920s. It was conducted within the structures, practices, conventions, and over-arching ideology of a party-political system developed in the 18th century, long before the enfranchisement began, and its development was directed, shaped and curbed by that system. And it preserves to this day the electoral system which, combined with the party system, tends to produce strong government by enabling a party to win an overall majority in Parliament on a minority vote and to do almost what it pleases for four years.

But, when setting up the Free State for the section of Sinn Féin that bowed to its will in 1921-2, Whitehall set up a system designed to produce weak government by preventing any party from gaining an overall majority, and by keeping TDs insecure in their Constituencies, in which they are always in contention with other TDs, and even with other TDs of their own party.

The Whitehall statesmen knew what they were doing when they broke up the Republic and set up the Free State in its place.

### Fifth Column?

On December 12th, Fintan O'Toole's headline was *Agents Of Foreign State Should Not Control Our Schools*. The "foreign state" is the Vatican. This is how he establishes that the Vatican is a foreign state operating in Ireland:

"The Vatican, in its refusal to deal with the Murphy commission on child abuse in the Dublin diocese, made it clear that it wishes to be regarded, not as a church organisation, but as a foreign state. Which raises the rather stark question: why do we allow a foreign state to appoint the patrons of our primary schools? If some weird vestige of colonial times decreed that the British monarch would appoint the ultimate legal controllers of almost 3,200 primary schools in our so-called republic,

we would be literally up in arms. Why should we tolerate the weird vestige of an equally colonial mentality that allows a monarch in Rome to do just that?

"Last week in the Dail, Minister for Education Batt O'Keeffe told the Dail that questions like these are of no importance because 'the current management of the schools is working exceptionally well. The patron is in place in terms of ethos but has nothing to do with the overall management of schools. That is the responsibility of the board of management.

"That is wildly inaccurate, not least because the boards of management are themselves both appointed by and accountable to the local bishop. The handbook given to every school principal... spells this out with admirable clarity: "In appointing the board of management of the school, the bishop delegates to the members certain responsibilities for the Catholic school in the parish. Such delegation carries a duty of accountability by the board of management to the bishop and—where appropriate—to the Department of Education and Science." (Note that accountability to the State is qualified, that to the bishop is not).

"Batt O'Keeffe misled the Dail (presumably through sheer ignorance...)

"Crucially, the bishop as patron has a legal stranglehold over the appointment and dismissal of teachers...

"The current line from both Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael is not to defend the retention of these powers by unelected and unaccountable people who may or may not recognise Irish law, but to insist that they are little used. This is typical of the slithery sleazebagism that still infects Irish politics. Anti-democratic powers are okay so long as they are not used.

"There are just two possibilities here. Either the statutory powers of the bishops have fallen into disuse, in which case who can object to the clearing away of this offensive anachronism? Or they have not fallen into disuse, in which case they remain as an affront to a republican democracy...

"We need to grow up as a society, and that means growing out of our dependence on a 19th century instrument of power and control. Every intelligent theologian knows that the institution (as opposed to the faith it has distorted and betrayed) is effectively dead. It is long since time that politicians who claim to be republicans stopped prostrating themselves before it is a corpse..."

Well, no doubt the safest time to flog a horse is when it's dead.

It is not very long ago since the Church was a powerful institution. It is only 30

years since the Pope made his Visitation and the only dissenting voice was this publication. And the power of the Church did not dissipate for many years after that.

We took on the Church in its prime and had little or no support, even in private, from the furtive Voltairians.

One of the first things we had to do was to establish in the minds of the small section of the public we could reach some idea of the distinction between the proper sphere of the Church and the proper sphere of the State. It required a considerable effort of imagination for some people to see that distinction at all in the actuality of Irish life. And then, when the distinction was grasped, there was a tendency to deny any legitimate public sphere to the Church.

### Education Act

One of our first successes was to get it understood that it was inappropriate for a system of education to be conducted without an Education Act. The British Government saw no need to have an Act of Parliament setting out provision for national education when it was established under the Stanley Letter. Then the Free State, set up under British supervision saw no need for an Education Act. Cosgrave, Professor MacNeill, Kevin O'Higgins etc. were busily putting down the Army that had fought the British to the negotiating table without the approval of the Church—and, when the British put them in power, they allocated the sphere of education to the Church, which excommunicated their opponents for them.

When Fianna Fáil came to office ten years later, the system of state established on British authority had ten years of functioning behind it. Fianna Fáil set about amending it piecemeal. It could not be re-made from scratch because vested interests had grown up around the various parts of it. But, when we made as much fuss as we could about the fact that the Free State practice of having an education system not governed by an Education Act, it was Fianna Fáil that took up the matter. After an impressive consultation exercise the Education Act of 1998 was passed.

That Act had a considerable effect in democratising education, both in providing for representative Boards of Management, and introducing the concept of Ministerial approval in the management of schools. The sphere of action of the Patron was accordingly restricted. Fintan O'Toole seems oblivious of that significant change.

Here is how Bishop O'Reilly has described the current position:

"Whether Catholic or otherwise, a patron can only be recognised and

registered as such by the Minister for Education. Thus no person can act as a patron unless recognised in law by the Minister.

"All patrons are fully accountable to the law of the land for the responsibilities which they exercise for the schools under their patronage. However, in all schools, whoever the patron, complete responsibility for running the schools rests with the board of management.

"Regarding the appointment of boards, the patron's role is in no sense autonomous. In common with other patron bodies, Catholic patrons nominate only two members out of a board of eight. While the patron appoints all the board members, these appointments are subject to the sanction of the Minister." (*Catholics Entitled To Their Schools*, Irish Times 19.12.09.)

O'Toole is a British Commonwealth lobbyist. When Ireland was still a member of the British Commonwealth, and therefore a properly conducted state, the Church was in total control of Education. State encroachments on Church authority always came from the Anti-Treaty side. The Treaty party and the Church Hierarchy were Siamese Twins, who founded the Free State on British authority. Fianna Fail was formed by the opponents of the Treaty who had been excommunicated *en masse* by the Church Hierarchy and survived. Fianna Fail did not declare itself to be an Anti-Church Party. And it wasn't an Anti-Church Party. But it was known to be the Party that would not let itself be pushed around by the Church.

Is *slibhinism* the right name for the Fianna Fail approach to political reform? It is a strange word to hear from a British Commonwealth man in the *Irish Times*, even though he is an upstart native. The *slibhin* slyly reinvents himself as a supporter of popular causes which he had not supported when they were not popular, and then acts as a drag on them. The term might be applied to the *Irish Times* in its relation to the Anti-Treaty development of the subordinate state set up by Britain in place of the Republic.

But, in the matter of education, there was no deviousness in the *Irish Times* position. It was entirely supportive of the confessional system—or the apartheid system—which funded Protestant schools in which the Protestant community, having lost the monopoly power which it enjoyed for centuries, might preserve the Anglo-Irish way of life to some extent within the alien State under which it was placed by the British abdication of responsibility in 1921-2. The campaign launched by this magazine for the ending of Catholic clerical control in the National Schools was therefore

not supported by the *Irish Times* because it would have called into question the funding of separate Protestant schools. (The Protestant Schools were formally National Schools, but everyone knew that they were refugees from the national development—despite which many Protestants chose to take part in the national development.)

### Harris

Eoghan Harris appeared on Radio (Dec. 1st) to say that Ireland fell under the government of a foreign power in the 1930s. He himself rebelled against the authority of this foreign power, on a date which he did not mention, by giving up Nationalism, Catholicism and Socialism. The events through which Ireland fell into the grip of this foreign power were the Fianna Fail electoral victory of 1932, the holding of the Eucharistic Congress in the Phoenix Park in 1932, and the adoption of the 1937 Constitution in a referendum. Through that development Ireland lost the freedom it had enjoyed under the Constitution conferred on it by Britain in 1922—and no doubt the even greater freedom which it had enjoyed under direct British Government until 1922!

### Parnell

John-Paul McCarthy—whose article headlined *Past Politicians Defied Church*—seems to be much of the same way of thinking as Harris:

"It is striking to remember that this distinct tradition of subterfuge and collapse in the face of clerical bullying is in many ways a 20th century phenomenon, and is really something that emerged after independence in the 1920s.

"Irish politicians in the 19th century thought it beneath their dignity to be bossed around by ecclesiastical politicians like John McQuaid and his colleagues.

"Daniel O'Connell... would not tolerate any bullying from the bishops. O'Connell publicly warned Bishop Paul Cullen at one point in the 1830s not to think of blocking his campaign to repeal the Act of Union by recruiting a hostile papacy to the anti-repeal crusade.

"O'Connell is also known to have publicly defied the Vatican in the 1840s when they told him that the drip feed of ecclesiastical and financial concessions from the Government of Robert Peel was good enough for Irish Catholicism, and that they should accept these myriad half-loaves with a happy heart... O'Connell told the Pope and his local minions that he would determine the Catholic political strategy and he would do it unaided by clerical advice.

"Charles Stewart Parnell... led the Home Rule movement in the 1880s, donning the mantle of O'Connell's

long-term successor. And while he gave the Catholic hierarchy everything they wanted on the education system, he still retained many elements of O'Connell's undeferential style. He once threw a Catholic priest out of his hotel suite when it seemed that he was being dictated to on the question of a local by-election.

"Parnell dined with exotic French intellectuals like Victor Hugo, who were no friends of the Catholic Church in France.

"If Parnell cared little for the schemes of local priestly tyrants in by-elections, he cared even less for their strictures in his private life.

"The question remains, however, as to what happened to this maverick tradition, to O'Connell's brand of almost Gallican Catholicism which emphasised local and national religion rather than papal control, and to Parnell's distinct froideur? The Vatican Council in 1870 declared war on modern liberal democratic thought, thus suggesting that something profoundly regressive had calcified in the heart of this religious faith.

"Independence in 1921 was also a major factor in encouraging a new aggression in the Catholic Church. The British connection had always acted as a kind of brake on the more obscurantist clerical appetites.

"Political leaders from O'Connell to Redmond had to wend their way through a British House of Commons and a British culture that was saturated with lurid images about marauding Jesuits and papal assassination plots against the British sovereign. The need to put up the best show possible in the Commons gave the political leadership every incentive to stand up to any clerical bullying, since this only confirmed the worst Protestant suspicions about Irish popery and priestcraft.

"The other major problem was the way religious ideas became democratised, so to speak, that is to say, the way clerical demands donned the robes of "democracy", and thus made themselves more potent..." (The paragraphs quoted

### The Veto Controversy by Brendan Clifford.

An account of the fierce dispute among Irish Catholics, between 1808 and 1829, as to whether the appointment of Irish Bishops by the Pope should be subject to a degree of Government influence, as was generally the case elsewhere. Includes **Thomas Moore's Letter To The Roman Catholics Of Dublin (1810)** and extracts from polemical writers on either side: J.B. Clinch, Dr. Dromgoole, Bp. Milner, Denys Scully, Rev. Charles O'Connor etc. 203pp. 1985.

€20, £15.



earlier on the need to over-ride the majority in the cause of democracy follow here.)

If this O'Toole/Harris/McCarthy kind of thing had been published in the *Irish Times* and the *Sunday Independent* in the early 1970s—when the Northern eruption called out for it—this magazine would never have been launched. But nothing of that kind was published then nor for many decades afterwards—in any daily paper, or weekly or any commercially distributable magazine or pamphlet. It is not that what they say is accurate. Considered as history they are ignorant tirades. But they would have been to the point as expressions of rebellion against a dominating power. But there is nothing rebellious about them today. They are very much the fashion of the moment. So the history they spin must be taken as history. And, as history, it is, at best, evasive.

Consider Parnell. He brought the Catholic clergy officially into public life in the Home Rule movement, by giving it a place in the structure of the party: and the clergy did not direct strictures against his private life. It was a well-known fact, long before the divorce case, that he was living with the wife of one of the Home Rule MPs, and certain of his actions (including that of foisting Captain O'Shea on the Party as an MP) were thought to have resulted from blackmail by the cuckolded husband. But the Catholic clergy did not make an issue of the adultery. It was the Protestant clergy of the Liberal Party that made an issue of it. The Catholic clergy supported Parnell against the Liberals in the first instance. A motion of confidence in him was passed by the party. It was put to him that, in order to ward off the wrath of the English Non-Conformist Liberals, he should stand down from the Parliamentary leadership for the time being, while remaining leader of the Party in the country. He refused this compromise, demanding in effect that the Party should break with the Liberals—an alliance which he himself only a few years earlier had insisted on—while outlining no alternative strategy, except by implication a return to Fenianism.

**The 'Cork Free Press' In The Context Of The Parnell Split, The Restructuring Of Ireland, 1890-1910,** by *Brendan Clifford*.

Aftermath of the Irish Big Bang: Redmondism; Fenians; Clericalism; The Land War; Russellites; Land & Labour League, and All-For-Ireland League—an Irish pluralist political development, originating in County Cork. 168pp. 1998.

€13, £9.99.

When the Parliamentary Party did not support him in this, he set about appealing to the country against the party. He had worked himself into the frame of mind of a dictator who had created his own mass movement and thought he could sweep aside the disobedient Party by appealing to the mass. He found to his surprise that his lieutenants were not his creatures. The Party was not a mere creature of his will. But that did not deter him. He set up his own Party—or following—and set out to destroy the Party that had won the election. It was in the heat of a number of by-elections that a clericalist Party was forged against him. And McCarthy, in his new status as an Oxford man, should understand that, in Parliamentary electioneering under the British system, all bets are off and restraint is Utopian eccentricity.

It is down to Parnell, not to the priests, that the Home Rule movement was split three ways for ten years and that a clericalist party was formed within it.

There was already an opinion before then that Parnell had undermined the authentic Home Rule movement launched by the Dublin Tory, Isaac Butt, by radicalising, rushing it and bringing the Catholic clergy into it. That was the view of Frank Hugh O'Donnell, who published a book about it in 1910. In that book he also complained that Irish education was arranged by Whitehall and Rome in a way that stultified middle class development.

When this magazine was setting out to explain the Church with a view to reducing its influence, we collected some of the writings of the Parnellite Anti-Clerical propagandist, and later supporter of Ulster Unionism, M.J.F. McCarthy of Middleton, and issued them as a pamphlet with the title, *A Belligerent Liberal*. We circulated it widely amongst the Dublin media, hoping for a review, but it was read privately and ignored publicly by the *slíbhíns*. And, of course, McCarthy's notorious book, *Priests And People In Ireland* is never mentioned by historians in search of the origins of the unique position of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

McCarthy also wrote about Parnell's contemptuous attitude towards the party, which he observed from the inside. This brought Parnell to grief when he discovered that his position with relation to the party was not what he supposed it to be. He was not its benevolent despot, and the discovery of that fact made him try to become its malevolent despot. And his dismissive attitude, as a Protestant gentleman of the Ascendancy, towards the vulgarity of the Ulster Unionism which sprang up against him, set things on a line of development which has continued ever since.

The "*maverick tradition*" of defiance of the Church in politics, which Mc Carthy (John-Paul) derives from Parnell and O'Connell, is groundless. Neither of them defied the Church. Parnell defied his Party, and the Church backed the Party against him. John Redmond, who led the Parnellite faction in the 1890s (when he indulged in a spurious Fenianism) was made Chairman of the re-united Party in the early 1900s, and it was under his leadership that a Catholic secret society, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, was built into the structure of the Party—provoking the resistance to it as Catholic Ascendancy in Munster, led by Canon Sheehan and William O'Brien.

### O'Connell & The Veto

And O'Connell—well it was O'Connell who made the movement to Repeal the Union an essentially Catholic movement, not only in numbers but in spirit. He began his political life as a rationalist English Utilitarian in London and a nominal Catholic by virtue of his family in Dublin. He moved to Dublin in the late 1790s, shortly after Catholics were admitted to the legal profession and was admitted to the Bar. The Bar was a Protestant Ascendancy stronghold. It opposed the Act of Union on the ground that it would undermine the Ascendancy by depriving it of its Parliament. O'Connell supported that anti-Union movement, and he paraded with the Lawyers Corps of Yeomanry in 1798 and again in 1803. He said that he would accept the Penal Laws against Catholics as the price of Repeal.

1808 was a watershed year in political life in Ireland. Grattan introduced a Catholic Emancipation Bill in Westminster which included a clause for Government supervision of the appointment of Bishops. The proposal was that the Government should be informed of who was being considered to fill vacant Bishoprics, and should have a right to veto any it thought politically subversive. The proposal had been cleared by the Irish Hierarchy. Having been educated on the Continent (because of the Penal Laws), they considered this as a normal arrangement between the Church and the Government—and that was how Rome saw it.

But Grattan's proposal sparked off an instantaneous upsurge of opposition amongst the middle class Catholics in Dublin. Grattan was transformed on the instant from a hero to a villain. The Bishops were denounced as virtual apostates and traitors, and were obliged to discard the agreement they had made with the Government. And Rome was told, in effect, by the middle class Catholic laity in Dublin that it must have direct, unmediated, control over its Irish branch whether it liked it or not. That

was the Veto Controversy.

There was not complete unanimity amongst Catholics against the Veto. There were old-fashioned Catholics who preferred old fashioned ways—reactionaries—and who knew how Church and State managed their relationship in Europe and liked it. The most determined of these was the Rev. Charles O'Connor, nephew of the Charles O'Connor, Catholic gentleman of Connacht and descendent of the last High King of Ireland, who somehow held onto a remnant of his hereditary estate, and played the part of a native gentleman and scholar at home amidst the bogs under the Penal Laws.

In 1760, on the accession of George III, who aspired to restore a degree of monarchical independence from Parliament, O'Connor founded the Catholic Committee. The Committee drew up a humble Petition of Loyalty which George agreed to accept. Until then, under three generations of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 while it was in its prime, the King could have no Catholic subjects. The long slow process of Catholic Emancipation began in 1760, when George III decided that he could have Catholic subjects even though Parliament would accord them no rights.

The Rev. O'Connor knew Gaelic and Jacobite Ireland, and he knew Catholic Europe, and after 1808 he led the Catholic campaign to establish the proper, customary Church/State relationship in Ireland, against the Anti-Vetoism of the progressive middle class.

The Veto Controversy lasted for a generation. It was the most substantial, prolonged, and intense dispute there has ever been within Catholic Ireland. The Anti-Vetoists won. Twenty years after its outbreak Catholic Emancipation was enacted without any role for the Government. O'Connell sloughed off his Ascendancy Repeal outlook in the course of the Controversy, became a practising Catholic (or converted, one might almost say), and took the Catholic cause and the Catholic body to be the substance of his nationalism. And the Ascendancy Repeal movement withered.

Emancipation (admission of Catholics to Parliament) was conceded in the face of an intimidating mass mobilisation in Ireland. The Prime Minister was Robert Peel, who might be fairly described as an anti-Catholic bigot. It would have been distasteful to him to negotiate terms with Rome about the governing of the United Kingdom, and that is what making arrangements for a political say in the appointment of Bishops would have involved. And so, to the satisfaction of all concerned, the Catholic Church in Ireland came under the direct control of Rome for the first time, and it was the

only national branch of the Church that was without an intermediary between itself and Rome.

The 1808 revolt of the Dublin middle class against the Veto was entirely unexpected. About fifteen years earlier, at the start of the United Irish period, the Dublin Catholic middle class had adopted Resolutions denying any real authority to the Pope and depicting him as a remote and defunct figurehead. So what had happened in between? The United Irish movement was banned, provoked into insurgency, and suppressed with the assistance of the Orange Militia set up by the Irish Parliament, and then the Irish Parliament was abolished against Orange resistance. Some Catholics supported the Act of Union, seeing that it would undermine the Protestant Ascendancy. And so it did in the long run. But, in the aftermath of the Union, the Ascendancy provocation of the Catholic populace ran on for a while, and the Union was presented as a better safeguard of Protestant Ascendancy than an Irish Parliament surrounded by a sea of natives who had been accorded the right to vote under Whitehall pressure in 1793 (but not the right to sit in Parliament). The reasoning was that the Catholics would be reduced from a big majority in Ireland to a small minority in the United Kingdom and Catholic pressure on Protestant institutions in Ireland would be relieved.

### Gallican?

But the abolition of the Irish Parliament sent the Protestant aristocracy flocking to London, reducing their physical presence in Dublin, and the moral influence produced by that physical presence. And this happened at a moment when Dublin had, in a sense, just been created. During the twenty years of Legislative independence prior to the Union, the aristocracy had built it up in a style appropriate to the "*second city of the Empire*"—because the independence of Grattan's Parliament was never anything but the independence of an English colony participating in the Empire. Then, on a sudden, the colony abandoned its own recent construction. Grandiose Dublin collapsed from being a great Capital City to being a mere provincial city, of less consequence to the state than any slave-trading city in England. It became a grandiose hulk. And the Orders of the Catholic Church moved into that hulk and took it in hand. The city became thick with monasteries and convents in endless variety. And some of the convents belonged to new orders of nuns founded in Ireland, which were active in the world amidst the populace abandoned by the Ascendancy.

In the early 1790s there was a strong tendency amongst Catholics to conciliate

their Protestant rulers by what they said about the Pope. Ten years later, after the Union and what had happened during the three years preceding it, the Catholic middle class had become resentful of restrictions in the interest of the ruling class which had abandoned the city. The Veto proposal sparked that resentment into a kind of nationalism. But the issue for that nationalism was direct Papal control of the Church. This was not entirely understood at first, but as it became understood it was accepted and the kind of Roman Catholicism that was presumed to be extinct in the early 1790s was re-asserted with gusto.

McCarthy (John-Paul) describes O'Connell's position as "*almost Gallican*". Gallicanism means the Government acting as intermediary between Rome and the local Church. It seems that O'Connell was Gallican at first—that the Government Veto was acceptable to him, as it was to the Bishops. But the revolt of the laity obliged the Bishops to revoke their agreement with the Government. And O'Connell embraced the Anti-Veto position. He jettisoned the futile Ascendancy nationalism of earlier years and set about forging a strong national movement out of Catholic grievances.

He did not stand for a Gallican Church—not even "*almost*"—he stood for an independent Church, i.e. a Church under the direct authority of Rome.

At one point Rome indicated that a 'Gallican' arrangement was acceptable to it. That was done in the "*Quarantotti Rescript*". But the Anti-Vetoists, getting stronger and more self-confident by the day, would not submit to Gallicanism from the authority of Rome, any more than from the Irish Bishops, or from London.

Maynooth Seminary was set up in 1795 in a major breach of the Penal Laws forced on the Irish Parliament by the British Government. The reasoning behind it was profoundly misconceived—and how could a ruling body moved by blind anti-Catholic bigotry calculate these things realistically? It was that, if Irish priests were educated at home, they would be less Roman Catholic, and less hostile to English Protestant government, than they were through being educated abroad. The contrary was the case. Maynooth in the first generation was run by priests who had imbibed Gallican principles in Europe. As it adapted to Irish life, it became progressively less Gallican.

**The Origin Of Irish Catholic-Nationalism**, Selections From Walter Cox's *Irish Magazine: 1807-1815*. Introduced and Edited by *Brendan Clifford*. 136pp. 1992.

€12, £9



### Elaine Misses The Point

The *Irish Times* has recently added a PhD in Corruption to its columnists, Elaine Byrne, and she is of the opinion that the distinction between Church and State is a Protestant development. In fact, it is one of the essential positions of Roman Catholicism, and it was abolished by the English Reformation, in which Church and State were made one and the monarch not only administered the Church but laid down its doctrine. In Roman Catholicism there were always distinct authorities of Church and State, but with unavoidable overlaps.

Party politics originated in this distinction in the great historic conflict of Empire and Church within the same polity—the conflict of Guelph and Ghibbeline. Dante, the supreme poet of mediaeval Catholic Europe, was an Empire man. A Ghibbeline.

Ireland departed from the Roman Catholic order of Church/State relations under the influence of the British State. It became a kind of Catholic mirror-image of the British State, but without the formal merger of Church and State, and with the Church setting limits for the State, instead of the State laying down doctrine for the Church.

The British State throughout the 19th century provided for an increasing sphere of action for the Church, while refusing to establish any secular sphere of Irish self-government. This was done on the assumption that Rome could be used to curb nationalist developments. O'Connell's superficial disagreements with Rome had to do with countering British moves of this kind. He had tried to get administrators in Rome to understand that nationalism in Ireland was a democratic Catholic force, completely unlike what they saw in Italy.

His major endeavour in this sphere in Ireland was to stop a kind of Gallican development in education in the 1840s that the Young Irelanders supported—the provision of higher education in non-denominational Colleges conducted on the authority of the Government—Godless Colleges as he called them. Rome did not denounce them. And some of the Irish Bishops in high places were old enough to be Continental Gallicans still, and to support them.

Thus what we get in McCarthy (John-Paul), O'Toole etc. is a travesty of the history of the structure of Catholicism in Ireland, a construction which is now falling apart. It was not in any sense a Roman imposition. It was sought by the burgeoning nationalist movement of the early 19th century as a kind of

defiance of perverse British government. And it developed consistently with that nationalism throughout the century as Britain denied any measure of secular self-government. Rome would often have liked to do what Britain asked of it. It had wider interests in the world which Britain facilitated. But the secular Irish nationalists at the start, and the Bishops later on, made it clear to them that Rome would lose a lot if it accepted Britain as a Gallican intermediary with the Church in Ireland.

When we set out to erode the abnormal dominance of the Church in the early 1970s, we figured out how it had happened and published a book about it: *The Veto Controversy*. That book was widely circulated for review but not a single review of it was published.

One bookshop took a dozen copies. They sold out within a week. But it refused to re-stock. Other shops refused to take it at all.

The early issues of this magazine carried a series of articles on *The Rise Of Papal Power In Ireland*, explaining it more or less as it is explained here. They were issued as a pamphlet, under that title, on the occasion of the Pope's visit in 1979. Again they were widely distributed for review. One curt notice, dismissing the subject as inappropriate, was published, in *Books Ireland*:

#### Vatican 2

So the Pope came and he was received with mindless adulation, lay and clerical, with only two noticeable expressions of dissent—this magazine and the Bishop of Cork, who is now taken to be a by-word for obscurantist reaction, Con Lucey.

The Taoiseach was Cork City politician Jack Lynch, who had won an overall majority in 1977 in an election campaign which was unusually Catholic clericalist for Fianna Fail. But, two years later, the Pope did not visit the second city in the state because the Bishop did not invite him. And, some time later, Lucey retired and went off to be a missionary in Africa. He did not ever explain his failure to invite the Pope to Cork, but it is not hard to see a reason for it.

Vatican 2 Catholicism undermined and trivialised the earnest Catholicism of Pius IX on which the Irish Church had formed itself, in association with the developing national movement, since the mid-19th century. That phase of development was not exhausted in Ireland when it was halted by Vatican 2. It was still filling itself out when it was ordered to stop. If the original impulse given by the triumph of Anti-Vetoism in the Veto Controversy was running out of momentum, there would have been evidence of this in the appearance of a sceptical intelligentsia to

dispute certain areas of ground with the Hierarchy, and by so doing to provide for an evolutionary transition to a new relationship of Church and State.

What happened instead was that the new Church formed in Ireland in the mid-19th century—by O'Connell's Roman colleague, Cardinal Cullen—was stopped in its tracks by the Vatican, while there was still no social development against it to take its place. The Vatican 2 changes had to be imposed on Ireland. And their imposition devalued the values to which the generations then in their prime had dedicated themselves.

Religious development in Ireland, with which social development was connected, was suddenly written off as an aberration. My Lord Bishop suddenly became Bishop Jack or Bishop Jim. Communion and Confirmation became occasions for display of fashion. Hell was abolished—and Heaven along with it, for all that was said to the contrary. And convents and monasteries were deprived of meaning.

The *ersatz* intelligentsia, which is now kicking the Church because it is down, did nothing to bring it down. It was the Vatican that undermined it. But that is an inadmissible thought in the fashion of the moment because the futile scepticism which is the outcome of Vatican 2 must have it that Vatican 2 was good thing. (The creature must love its creator.)

#### A Concordat?

McCarthy (John-Paul) says that, in the interests of democracy, the Church should have been prevented from gaining the position it held in the Irish State—or that it should have been excluded from the democracy—or that there should have been a force over the democracy which would overrule it on certain matters: one of those things.

There is only one thing that could have curbed the Church, and that is a Concordat with it. It was the usual arrangement in Europe for the position of the Church in a state to be limited by a Concordat—a Treaty between the Government and Rome. When we suggested a Concordat movement back in the early seventies, the proposal was

**"Godless Colleges" And Mixed Education In Ireland**, Extracts from Speeches and Writings of Thomas Wyse, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy, Frank Hugh O'Donnell and Others. Introduced & Edited by Angela Clifford. 132pp. 1992.

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met with horror by the Left and private Voltaireans. In Ireland there was "*a free Church in a free State*", and the hegemonic influence of the free Church was such that it conveyed to its potential liberal opponents the idea that Concordats were Fascist. Didn't Franco Spain have one? And wasn't Franco Spain a form of Clerical Fascism? (The intelligentsia of the Church was the only real intelligentsia of the State, and it was easily able to nip liberalism in the bud.)

In fact, Franco Spain was far from being a Clerical dictatorship. It was a dictatorship in which the Church was allocated a limited and subordinate sphere in the state, in combination with other elements with which it might otherwise have fallen into antagonism, and the whole was organised into a functional State which made an easy transition to democracy.

O'Toole might well be right when he says that the Church disabled the capacity for thought—at least for thought against itself. But, if so, it was not the Church as a Roman imposition—the agent of a foreign State—that did it, but the Church as an organic part of national-democratic development.

We feel we can speak with some authority, as we have been in public opposition to the Church on these grounds since 1973.

#### Where Do Incorrect Ideas Come From?

How do we explain our existence? As a belated development from the strong movement against Redmondite Catholic Ascendancy around 1910 in Munster, and particularly in North Cork, which defeated Redmondism electorally on this issue in the 1910 Elections. (That movement has been written out of his history by Diarmaid Ferriter etc. And Canon Sheehan, who set it in motion, is depicted as an ineffectual, sentimental, backwoods reactionary.

The would-be post-Catholic intelligentsia still disables itself by the way it continues the disembowelling of history that was begun by the Catholic regime which it aspires to wipe out. It was in *Studies* that the disparagement of Canon Sheehan began, back in June 1917.

Human life is lived in history. It is not a closed species, governed by a set of eternal principles. The historical development set in motion 200 years ago, when the Veto was quashed by popular demand of the Dublin middle class cannot be set aside in an act of denial and eternal principles invoked in its place, and it won't be. Rome is not extinct. The only question is whether a substantial intelligentsia of a kind other than the Roman is still impossible.

Julianne Herlihy

The Fall of the Irish Catholic Church

Part 2

## The Winnowing of the Wheat from the Chaff

**"The notion of race was even more to the fore in the thought of the eugenicists, an influential current of opinion in the birth control movement of the 1920's, as also, in child welfare. Under the optic of 'race hygiene', the poor were mental and moral defectives, a hereditary selection of the unfit—the 'sub-normal types' who fascinated the imagination of inter-war social investigators—and whose compulsory sterilisation a Parliamentary Commission in 1933 was solemnly pondering".**

(*Patriotism: The Making And Unmaking Of British National Identity*. Vol. 11: Minorities and Outsiders. Ed. by Raphael Samuel. Routledge. London & New York. 1989.)

**"For us—for the Catholic Church—there is a feeling of deep-seated hatred—a feeling that lies as deep as the gravel bottom over which London stands. It seems it is an English feeling—hatred of Catholicity... This bitter dislike... shows itself everywhere... and it burns with a malignant, sulphurous flame ... a Catholic Priest is like the prowling wolf or the crafty fox, and a show of millions of hands would be uplifted at any hour to banish us out of the country, if the thing were possible."**

(*The Great Link*. Canon Bernard Bogan. London. 2nd Edition. 1958.)

Reading the newspapers over the last few weeks in Ireland and listening to the commentariat howling outrage at the Church was rather like the experiences encapsulated in the above quotations. From the media to the Dail, there was no attempt at objectivity; only the most toxic quotient fell upon our ears. When the good and elderly Bishop Willie Walshe of Killaloe referred to a "*public trial of Bishop Donal Murray of Limerick*" (79 years old) on an RTE Radio programme, he was immediately called to book by *The Irish Times*. Next day they revealed "*that in a sometimes emotional interview... he accepted that he now realised "my interview caused a lot of offence and maybe I used words which weren't appropriate but it's not in my nature to make a judgement on anyone. I am too well aware of my own frailties. I accept the fact that I may not have put the case well"*...".

During the year, we had the international scandal of the Swiss seizing the great film Director Roman Polanski on an outstanding warrant that the United States had out on him since he fled from their jurisdiction some thirty years ago. He was up on charges which were admitted—that he had drugged and raped a 13

year old girl. He fled to a very forgiving Europe before the trial started and has remained mainly in France since with his second family. Now the Swiss have him tagged in his multi-million chalet after releasing him from custody but awaiting execution of the warrant. All of liberal America is horrified at the Swiss burgers. Whoopie Goldberg, an Oscar-winning actress said: "*It wasn't rape, rape.*" From the 1 in 4 and other campaigning children's right's groups here, as well as the all powerful Rape Crisis Centre—there has been not a peep.

When we had the Cathal O Searcaigh scandal here—an Irish poet who lured young men in Nepal into sexual relationships as documented in the RTE documentary 'Fairytale of Kathmandu' by filmmaker Neasa Ni Chianain, we had a lot of the arty lot crying foul at the filmmaker—including the widow of Conor Cruise O'Brien, Maire Mac Entee —and standing up for the name of the poet—O Searcaigh.

Another man, the writer Desmond Hogan, received a two-year *suspended sentence* after pleading guilty to sexually assaulting a 15 year old boy. He had the good fortune of having a court character reference from the writer Colm Toibin read out in court. Dr. Niall Muldoon, of

#### Catholic University

"The setting up of a Catholic university in Ireland has been called for by a prominent educational leader. Dr Peadar Cremin, President of Mary Immaculate College of Education in Limerick, said it was time to take stock of the standing of denominational education at third level.

"The State now has seven secular, state-funded universities, as well as 14 institutes of technology. At a time of severe cutbacks in state funding, the dominance of the State... has to be a matter of concern."

"His call came as a national strategy group is considering the higher education sector.

"Are we satisfied that it has become almost inevitable that the individual's education is to be completed at a state college or university rather than in a Catholic university", he asked.

"If we believe that Catholic education is a life-long process of human growth and development, including spiritual growth, is it not important that we have a Catholic presence as part of the diversity of the third-level sector?"

(*Irish Indep.* 31.10.2009).

the sexual abuse victims agency CARI, criticised the leniency of the sentence and claimed the reference had "*a strong influence*" coming from a leading Irish writer. When this was put to Toibin by Muldoon, the criticism was dismissed: it had been just a "*standard character reference*". Can you imagine any TD or priest getting away with that? And no newspaper—especially not *The Irish Times*—has as yet called on Toibin to explain why he was trying to interfere in a case before an Irish Court of Law?

But with regard to the Irish Catholic Church, well—the hunt was now well and truly on—and what is striking is the lack of any voices calling for calm and a period of *some reflection*.

The Commission of Investigation: Report into the Catholic Archdiocese of Dublin July 2009 is in 2 parts with separate Appendices. The Chairperson was Judge Yvonne Murphy, who sat with two members Ms Ita Mangan, Mr. Hugh O'Neill. What is most interesting about the Appendices is 'Appendix 1 Timeline of Events of Significance to the Works of the Commission':

"1940 John Charles McQuaid was appointed Archbishop of Dublin".

"1950 The Mother and Child Scheme was introduced to provide mothers with free maternity treatment and their children with free medical care up to the age of 16."

"1951 The Mother and Child Scheme was dropped by the government following opposition from the Catholic Church and the medical profession. Dr. Noel Browne resigned as Minister for Health." Etc.

This timeline "*of events of significance*", according to the Commission, takes us up to 2009 and the issue of what came to be known as the Ryan Report. Throughout this dated timeline there is a heavy prejudice against the Catholic Church, showing the author's inclination to believe that the latter was in need of 'regime change'. So in 2006 when this Commission was established, it can never be in any doubt that such a *layout* represented a chance to 'get the church'. And in this article, I hope to prove that to be the case beyond any doubt. But first we have to go and look at the author herself and find out how she came to this position.

### The Judge

Judge Yvonne Murphy came to this writer's attention when she and her husband Supreme Court Judge Adrian Hardiman caused upset and bad feeling at Portnoo, County Donegal in 2007, when the local priest, Father Philip Daly wanted to build his retirement home in the parish he had faithfully served. But Murphy and Hardiman objected stating

that if "*it went ahead it would interfere with their scenic views*". The clout of the new elite, as in Fintan O'Toole's case and Neil Jordan's, won the day, as if there was ever any doubt. Both Murphy and Hardiman had rapid career trajectories, especially the latter. Yvonne Murphy was schooled as a boarder in a convent in Kiltimagh, Co. Mayo and, after her Leaving Certificate; she went into the public sector as an executive officer for the estate duty office of the Revenue Commissioners while studying law in UCD part-time.

According to the profile by Kieron Wood in the *Sunday Business Post*, 29th September, 2009, while in UCD, she met her husband-to-be history student Adrian Hardiman and they both went on to the King's Inns where Murphy was called to the bar in 1971, three years before her husband. She then took a job as an Aer Lingus hostess for two years. After marrying Hardiman in 1974—their best man was former Justice Minister Michael McDowell, who set up this Commission in 2006 and got his good friend to Chair it. And another link to Murphy/Hardiman was their son Hugh who was McDowell's personal assistant while he was Minister for Justice.

Hardiman himself, who had joined Fianna Fail at UCD, became one of the founding members of the Progressive Democrats but left the party when he was plucked from the Law Library and "*appointed directly to the Supreme Court bench*".

Meanwhile Murphy herself joined the National Union of Journalists during her six years at the National Social Service Board and she joined RTE in 1979 where she worked in the newsroom for three years. From RTE, she was appointed Special Advisor to An Tánaiste, Labour Party TD Michael O'Leary, and when he lost his seat, she worked variously at the Employment Appeals Tribunal and the Employment Equality Agency. She also qualified for the English Bar in 1988 and the Northern Ireland Bar in 1993. She later sat in the Circuit Criminal Court and in 2003 was appointed to the Special Criminal Court of which her husband was presiding Judge. She was also founding co-editor of the Irish Times Law Reports and wrote two books, one in media law, and another on insider dealing with her first-cousin Michael Ashe QC, who is also a canon lawyer.

The family used to live in a large house in the affluent Palmerston Road but the couple have now moved to a penthouse apartment in the Portobello area of Dublin. Their two other sons are in medicine and law respectively. (Many thanks to Kieron Wood for the use of his article for this background work.)

### Browne

Before I write about the actual Commission itself, I thought it necessary to look at Murphy's assertion—one that is frequently made—that it was Dr. Noel Browne who initiated the Mother and Child Scheme in 1950. Edward Thornley, brother of Dr. David Thornley stated in a fine article, *The Thornley Family And Noel Browne' (Unquiet Spirit, Essays in Memory of David Thornley*. Ed. by Yseult Thornley. Liberties Press. 2008) that Browne was "*not even the author of the scheme, having inherited it from the previous Fianna Fail government when he became Minister for Health in the 1948 coalition government*", having been elected for Clann na Poblachta in the so-called Inter-Party Government. The whole matter had been under discussion between the former Fianna Fail Government under Eamon de Valera as Taoiseach, the Catholic and Protestant Churches, and the medical establishment who were the real players in this field. The matter was actually progressing along quietly behind the scenes when in came the *real nemesis of the scheme as it turned out*—Dr. Noel Browne, whose—

"constitutional obduracy, meant he was incapable of negotiating on an equal footing with anybody in any matter whatsoever, brought down the government and blew the whole affair *which otherwise would have been dealt with behind closed doors*, into the public domain." (Edward Thornley).

And, while Minister for Health, Noel Browne was given access to the accumulated capital of the Irish Sweepstake fund to launch a campaign aimed at eradicating TB nationally. Even though he himself was tubercular, Browne threw himself wholeheartedly into the project. In 1951, Sean MacBride requested Browne to resign which he did as he had no other option. What was galling for all concerned was that he then went ahead and published private correspondence; some contended that it was highly selective so that it would enable him to look like the terribly wronged hero. Both John A. Costello and his Government (and de Valera afterwards) deplored Browne's actions but the later *myth of a martyr was born* and in one of life's ironies David Thornley was the actual author of this image. In the General Election that followed, Browne was returned to the Dail as an Independent. The Thornley family canvassed for him and were instrumental in his success.

In 1953 Noel Browne told his followers that he was joining Fianna Fail and a 15 year old David Thornley "*reluctantly*" followed him. "*Initially things went well for Browne but in May 1954, he lost his seat in the general election but this did not appear to alter his standing in Fianna Fail. The real crisis was to*



come in 1956." The Suez Crisis occurred when the British, French and Israeli invaded Egypt but were warned off by the United States and in Hungary, Imre Nagy's rebellion was put down by the rolling in of Soviet tanks who quickly deposed of any opposition and executed those involved in the rising. In Ireland, Dr. Browne wrote a letter to the press arguing that too much attention was on Hungary and not enough on Suez. It was, as Edward Thornley wrote

"precisely the sort of letter that a communist fellow-traveller would write... One should remember that this was a situation where people were photographed lying down in the streets in an effort to stop the Russian tanks."

Edward Thornley went on to write about challenging a "faithful acolyte of Browne"—the lawyer Noel Hartnett, a former Dev follower—if he had anything to do with the

"disgraceful letter about the *reported* aggression in Hungary? To my surprise, his face twisted with rage. 'Edward, my boy, you have no idea what I have had to put up with from that man'. The immediate effect of this letter was not apparent, but the long-lasting effect was serious. It was probably the main reason Browne was refused a nomination by Fianna Fail in the General Election of the following year."

In order to maximise damage to Browne, the party waited until just before nomination day to state that the latter was being refused a party nomination. Browne had no idea this was in the offing and arrived in the Thornley house in a "state of collapse".

The Thornleys reacted with effect. They told a willing (but still whining) Noel that they would do all the work and in the process would "make a martyr of you; you won't even have to appear". And so it was, they marshalled the sympathetic vote and Browne was swept back into the Dail. Edward claimed that David did so much work that he collapsed with pleurisy. For a week, Browne was attentive to the young patient but then just didn't bother to even telephone to inquire after his health. The Thornleys were the main contributors to Browne's election expenses and their mother provided food for all the canvassers. Because the vote Browne got was seen by his followers as by definition anti-Fianna Fail, they also assumed that he would vote against de Valera as Taoiseach. "Instead, he decided to abstain—for which he received a hearty handshake from Lemass". At a stormy hotel meeting afterwards with his people, there were "a number of walkouts, one of them by a prominent trade unionist".

Browne then formed a new political party the 'National Progressive Democratic Party' in 1958 and again against

the Thornley's advice decided that Noel Hartnett would run as a member, but he forfeited his deposit. Edward Thornley in his capacity as a practising accountant, auditor, and tax expert—with a master's degree in economics from TCD for research in the field of taxation—often prepared questions for Browne who squandered them, unlike Labour's Joan Burton who was Spokesperson on Finance when Charlie McCreevy was the Minister there. Eventually the Thornleys begged David to rethink his position in relation to Browne, citing the case of the barrister Ernest Wood who joined Browne's new party—the National Progressive Democrats (later Dessie O'Malley *et al* would borrow that name but leaving out the word 'national'—no co-incidence that!) but a few days later Wood walked out, citing a point of principle.

Edward Thornley speculated that Browne never got over being ditched by Fianna Fail and had some kind of breakdown from which he never really recovered. In 1962, during the Cuban missile crisis in the Presidency of John F. Kennedy, Noel Browne picketed the United States embassy and was "photographed being savaged by police dogs". In 1970, Browne "decided to nail his colours to the mast: he openly espoused what he called 'the Marxist-based revolutionary socialism of James Connolly'..."

In December 1976, Browne was formally nominated as the Labour Party candidate but the party's National Executive rejected him and he won as an Independent. He retained his seat in 1981 and voted for the Fine Gael-Labour budget, the one which famously led to the Government's collapse. He took himself off to Connemara where he wrote his autobiography *Against The Tide*, which won him many plaudits from the media who always seemed to focus on his role as some kind of national saviour.

I remember reading a recent book from Cork academia about Ireland's forgotten decade—the 50s—and thinking what a stupid theme *even* for Irish academia. So much happened in that era, as is evident from some of the work written about above and we were quite focused on world events. I also read Browne's autobiography *Against The Tide* and being struck by his savage bitterness and his denigration of those people who genuinely had stood by him.

Edward Thornley wrote that it was a pity his brother David ever got stuck with Browne, who according to him was most definitely: "not a democrat, not an intellectual in the mould of those he is often associated with, like David, Justin Keating, and Conor Cruise O'Brien". According to Edward, David's career was harmed by the misfortune of running full-tilt into first that "crypto-communist

Browne, and later into the crypto-unionist Conor Cruise O'Brien who eventually joined, for a time, one of the northern unionist parties".

It may seem to my readers that I have spent an inordinate length of time on describing Noel Browne's career but Judge Yvonne Murphy, Chairperson, gave it as the second point of reference in her "timeline", with its focus on the Mother and Child Scheme. The Commission repeats a myth and a lie that the Mother and Child Scheme "was dropped by the Government following opposition from the Catholic Church..." The facts were that Minister Browne attempted to introduce the Scheme in his department without Cabinet approval and he was dismissed by his party leader who was Sean MacBride. The Scheme was later agreed with the medical profession when Minister of Health Tom O'Higgins, Fine Gael, successfully introduced it as a means-tested scheme in 1954.

But what was really inexcusable was the

Commission's total omission and negligence of another and more significant date in the judicial/political calendar and which has subsequently made me very suspicious of their whole agenda.

### 1968: The Kennedy Report

This eleven-member committee was set up by Fianna Fail's innovative Minister of Education, Donogh O'Malley TD, to inspect Industrial Schools. For some time there had been growing disquiet about conditions in these reformatories where the buildings were Victorian and antiquated. Long before the present media furore over abuse, there were questions being asked in the Dail by amongst others—David Thornley TD, John O' Connor TD, and others about the conditions for those incarcerated in what one Board of Works architect, Martin Reynolds, stated were dilapidated structures. The Departments involved were the Department of Health, Department of Justice and Department of Education and above all **the Judiciary** itself who were committing these children/teenagers to incarceration for various misdeeds.

Professor Mary Henry, a TCD Senator from 1992 to 2007 who now Chairs The Association and Trust of Trinity College, Dublin wrote an article on *The Kennedy Report* in honour of David Thornley for his daughter's book, *Unquiet Spirit* (op cit). As I couldn't get this Report from any of the Government Agencies—even from the Department of Education (where a very knowledgeable woman knew of its history) in time for this article I feel it is very necessary to study it and then write up its findings before I get onto the subject of the present Commission. This I intend to do in the next issue of *Church & State*. ©



## Wilson John Haire

Review: *The Invention Of The Jewish People* by Shlomo Sand (Verso, 332 pages including index. ISBN—13: 978-1-84467-422-0. Price £13.48 from Amazon; translated from Hebrew into American-English)

### Sand Unriddles

Shlomo Sand was born in Linz, Austria on the 10th of September 1946, of Polish Jews who were communists and anti-imperialists. After life in a Displaced Persons Camp the family moved to Jaffa in 1948. Like his parents he became a Communist as a teenager. Disillusioned, after a time he joined the anti-Zionist Matzpen. He resigned from that movement in 1970.

He declined an offer by the Israeli Communist Party, Rakah, to be sent to do Cinema Studies in Poland. In 1975 he graduated with a BA in history from Tel Aviv. From 1975–1985, after winning a scholarship he received a MA in French History and a PhD for his thesis on "*George Sorel and Marxism*". Since 1982 he has taught in Tel Aviv University as well as at the University of California, Berkeley (Wikipedia).

The gist of the book is: there never was a Jewish people only a Jewish religion and he goes on to qualify that statement. Sand makes no bones about being anti-Zionist. He sweeps aside the propagandistic nature and naïve sloganising of the Zionist movement, writing:

"'Who is a Jew' has stirred up the public in Israel chiefly because of the legal issues it entails. But it has not perturbed the Israeli historians. They have always known the answer: 'A Jew is a descendant of the nation that was exiled 2000 years ago.'"

This book sets out to disprove this theory. He points out that in 60 years Israel's history has not matured.

I must stop here a moment to pay tribute to Brendan Clifford who courageously raised many of the issues stated in this book over the years and which has made this intense academic work easier for me to read.

The book is highly quotable, in fact the whole book could be quoted in its entirety between quotation marks. It is a struggle to decide which is the best quotation to use. Sand states:

"Israel sees itself as a Jewish state belonging to all the Jews in the world even though they are no longer persecuted but full citizens of the country in which they chose to reside. The excuse for this grave violation of a basic principle of modern democracy, and for the preservation of an unbridled ethnocracy that grossly discriminates against certain of its citizens, rests on the active myth of

an external nation that must ultimately foregather in its ancestral land."

Chapter One he calls: *Making Nations: Sovereignty And Equality*.

Quite a complicated argument ensues over what constitutes a nation. He draws on Mao Zedong, Ho Chi Minh, Giuseppe Garibaldi and quotes from Stalin's *Marxism And The National Question*. Later in the book he is at pains to call himself an anti-Stalinist. Thus, just as Zionism made the realistic examination of Jewish history taboo, so this learned academic has one more taboo to overcome. My idea of an anti-Stalinist is someone who will not accept the history of the founding of the Soviet Union, which came into the world bawling and bloody and in need of protection, to add to Marx. Can today's modern developed Russia be reborn, does it need to be? I would think that the European colonial powers, plus American Imperialism, have the edge on the killing fields as compared to an early Soviet Union's struggle to survive.

Sand, though, is too dignified, too intellectual, to go in for crude anti-Stalin propaganda. I did hesitate when he came to Eric Hobsbawm and Michael Ignatieff but they are soon swallowed up by other more profound historians and their numerous works on the founding of a nation.

His courage knows no bounds when he refers to the "*scholarly Joseph Goebbels*" on pages 86 and 87. In this period of Good and Evil the intellectual examination of Nazism is also taboo.

Chapter Two is entitled: *Mythistory: In The Beginning God Created The People*.

This is where he takes the Old Testament apart:

"Right from the start there was a close connection between the perception of the Old Testament as a reliable historical source and the attempt to define modern Jewish identity in prenationalist or nationalist terms. The more nationalist the author, the more he treats the Bible as history—as the birth certificate of the common origin of the 'people'"

No one knows exactly when this library of books was written, and who its authors are.

Sand in his analysis of the period has a guess that the Old Testament was written over a period of 300 years and it could

have been rewritten, edited and revised continually. What is most alarming are those people who take it as the 'Word of God'. This is an idea among some of the settlers in the West Bank.

Sand says Jericho had no walls and was just an ordinary town without historical significance. He reckons the Book of Joshua was fantasy and claims there never was genocide. These facts he has gleaned from archaeological findings and quotes his sources.

He also will not accept that the Jews were imprisoned by the Pharaohs and released after 400 years. If this were true, he says, they would no longer be speaking Hebrew. After this he makes nonsense of the 40 years' wandering in the wilderness. The claim that there were 600,000 warriors wandering meant they had women and children which would have added up to three million wandering people. Could a mostly desert wilderness sustain such a number of people over such a long period of time?

(Such an examination of the Old Testament reminds me of my own father who was both a Communist and a life-long student of the Bible. He also drew out such facts. I can imagine Sand's father doing the same.)

To build a nation on such a premise has led to barbarity.

Pharaoh documentation, says Sand (and they were known to keep meticulous records) does not mention the Children of Israel.

"After forty years of wandering the Children of Israel arrived in Canaan and took it by storm. Following divine command they annihilated most of the local population."

A myth says Sand. It took Canaan a century to fail. Again there is archaeological evidence.

Chapter Three: *The Invention Of Exile: Proselytism And Conversions*.

Today's Orthodox Judaism seems to the outside world to be inward-looking and exclusive, forever discouraging converts. (Liberal and Progressive Synagogues will encourage conversions if one or the other partners is a non-Jew but there is no lifelong commitment)

On the other hand Orthodoxy is nearer to what Zionism wants—the pure Jew descended from the 'people of the book.' But do they really exist? Sand is definite they didn't and don't.

"The Romans never deported a whole people and their records doesn't show the deportation of the people of Judea," says Sand.

He goes on to show that there was already a large Jewish community in Rome long before Titus attacked Jerusalem.

To drive this myth further of a people displaced all over the world, Zionism

turns to the 7th Century and the invasion of Judea by the desert people under the flag of Islam. Another great exodus of Jews? The truth would not be palatable to Zionism when it accepts that there was a mass conversion to Islam by the Jews. The desert people were not toilers of the land whereas the Jews were. A tax was put on those who were not Muslims. The converted Jews were then able to also remain on their beloved soil. It seemed the practical thing to do was to convert. It was a mono-theist religion like Judaism and Islam had learnt a lot from both Judaism and Christianity. Sand believes that many Palestinians today are descendants of those Judean Jews, maybe even those exclusive people Zionism is looking for but is inadvertently killing and injuring.

I was struck by how easily people converted to any of the three monotheist religion for economic reasons and to safeguard their nation.

Conversion to Judaism, says Sand, produced great Jewish communities around the Mediterranean.

#### Chapter Four: *Realms Of Silence In Search Of Lost (Jewish) Time.*

"Johann Wolfgang von Goethe compared architecture to music frozen in space. Can we compare historical Judaism since the fourth century to an immobile architecture structure whose sounds have meekly turned inward for hundreds of years?"

This is Sand breaking out of the tomb of silence.

Though there are five different chapter headings, the same theme continues throughout the book. It is a matter of qualifying what he said in the earlier pages with the work becoming even more interesting as a result.

Judaism had its own converts to Christianity and, before the advent of Islam, both monotheist religions had the field to themselves. Christian propaganda as a result cut to the quick. The accusation against the Jews for killing Christ sounds logical when you had two competing monotheist religions. Somehow in the modern world this accusation became anti-Semitism.

Islam seemed the most tolerant (towards the monotheists at least) when Mohammed called Jews and Christians 'people of the book.' who must not be harmed.

#### Chapter Five: *The Distinction: Identity Politics.*

Much of this chapter speaks of mass conversions to Judaism in the early part of the first millennium. He says:

"Most Sephardic Jews have a North African background and are a mixture of Berber, Arabs and Europeans, converted in the rise of the first Jewish

community in western Asia, North Africa and southern Europe in the 12th Century."

"The Muslim invasion of Iberia, which was begun in 711, was carried out mainly by Berber regiments that may have included many proselytes who enlarged the demographic size of the older Jewish communities. Contemporary Christian sources condemned the treasonable action of the Jews in various cities, who welcomed the invading forces and were even drafted as auxiliary troops. Indeed, as many Christians fled, the Jews their rival, were appointed acting governors of many cities."

And:

"Judaism probably began to germinate in the Iberian Peninsula in the early centuries CE, mainly among proselytized Roman soldiers, slaves and merchants —much as it did in other imperial colonies in the north-western Mediterranean. In the New Testament, Paul writes: 'whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you' (Rom, 15:24). He probably intended to preach to the first Jewish Christian congregations that were beginning to be organized there. The decision adopted by the council of bishops in Elvira bears evidence to the monotheistic syncretism that was still going strong in the south of Western Europe during the 4th Century CE. Later the heavy-hand of the Visigoth rulers toward Jewish believers and the new proselytes, chiefly in the 7th Century, drove many of them to flee to North Africa. Their historical revenge was not long in coming."

He also examines the origin of the Ashkenazi Jews mainly from Eastern Europe. This ties in with Khazaria:

"A medieval kingdom of the Khazars that began in the 4th Century CE with a coalition of Turki or Hunnic-Bulgars when some nomadic tribes accompanied the Huns as they surged westwards. It continues with the rise of a great empire in the steppes along the Volga River and the Northern Caucasus and ends with the Mongol invasion in the 13th Century which wiped out all traces of this extraordinary kingdom. At its peak it encompassed an assortment of tribes and linguistic groups—Alans, Bulgars, Magyars and Slavs. The Khazars collected taxes from them all and ruled over a vast landmass stretching from Kiev in the northwest to the Crimean peninsula in the south, and from the upper Volga to present day Georgia."

So why did the Great Kagan, as the King was known, convert his kingdom to Judaism?

Sand says to avoid the deadly embrace of the Abbasid Muslim Caliphate who punished heathen idolaters with death.

Also, in order to remain independent, he had to stay clear of the Orthodox Christian Byzantine Empire. Judaism developed in stages in Khazaria from the 8th Century onwards. Sand says rulers and tribal elites came to believe in a single deity because it consolidated their rule. Soviet historical sources, says Sand, claimed that only the elite of Khazaria converted to Judaism. But at least those sources did recognise that at one time such an empire existed and that it was influenced by Judaism, unlike the forces of Zionism who has forbidden its mention in the schoolbooks of Israel.

"Zionism had to resort to modern scientific discipline, that of biology—which was conscripted to reinforce the foundation of 'the ancient Jewish nation.'"

Sand continues:

"The historical myth required the appropriate 'scientific'—for if the Jews of modern times were not the direct descendants of the first exiles how would they legitimize their settlement in the Holy Land which was the 'inclusive homeland of Israel'. If justice was not to be found in the religious metaphysics it had to be found, if only partially, in biology."

Nathan Birnbaum was the first Zionist intellectual. Sand says it was he who coined the term *Zionism* in 1890.

The search was on for the Jewish gene.

"Such Jewish-Israel research cannot be entirely free from crude and dangerous racism," says Sand.

"The collective identity needs a misty, promising image of an ancient biological common origin. Behind every act in Israel's identity politics stretches, like a long black shadow, the idea of an external people and race."

Even the naming of this new 'paradise' would have problems. The name Israel—from the ancient kingdom of Israel—under the Omride dynasty did not, on religious tradition, have a good reputation.

"The state of Judea as a direct successor to the House of David and the Hasmonean kingdom? But if named Judea its citizens would be Judeans, meaning Jews. This would have infringed on the identity of Jewish believers throughout the world and the Arab citizens would have become Jewish citizens with full civil rights. To be named Zion, the Zionist movement would probably have to disband and Arab citizens would become Zionists. So the name Israel was the best bet."

There then came about one of the most disturbing periods in the being of Zionism—eugenics.

"Arthur Ruppin was in 1926 appointed



lecturer on 'the sociology of the Jews' at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Until his death in 1943 he continued to develop demographic ideas about the Darwinist struggle of 'the Jewish race'. Right up until the outbreak of the Second World War he maintained contact with eugenicist thinkers who were thriving in Germany. The victory of Nazism didn't curtail these contacts. Even after the rise of Hitler he travelled to Germany to visit Hans Günther the 'pope' of racial theory who had joined the Nazi party in 1932."

In another passage Sand continues to be disturbed:

"The concept of Jewish heredity, and even the theory of eugenics associated with it, was especially prominent among scientists and physicians who joined Zionism. Dr Aaron Sandler, a leading Zionist in Germany who emigrated to Mandatory Palestine in 1934 and became a physician of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, knew there were no pure races but argued that the Jews had in effect become a racial entity."

There was even a period when Zionist eugenicists went around measuring skulls in order to find a typically Jewish one. But of course such things were going on in a number of European countries at the time, not only in Germany but most notably in Sweden which measured the skull in search of the degenerate.

Sand is appalled at the idea of racial purity being advocated and sees it as an idea that will lead to separation from others. This is a book about Judaism as a religious culture, so the plight of present day Palestinians doesn't have to be spelt out for he lays the groundwork and it isn't difficult to understand what Zionism has led to.

He advocates the creation of a democratic binational state between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River but he doesn't think, because of their past tragedies, that the Jews are likely to agree to become a minority in such a state. If this pessimism wasn't enough he has a greater one:

"Should a Kosovo erupt in the Galilee neither Israel's conventional military might nor its nuclear arsenal, not even the great concrete wall with which it has girdled itself will be of much use. To save Israel from the black hole that is opening inside it, and to improve the fragile tolerance toward it in the surrounding Arab world, Jewish identity politics would have to change completely, as would the fabric of relations in the Palestino-Israel sphere."

A book that will be of help to a great many non-Jews who feel intimidated or self-conscious, as I have been, in wanting to know more about the true history of the Jews. But above all it is what every Jew should know about his long and lasting religious culture and be all the stronger for it.

Wilson John Haire

A school-mistress at the London Jewish school, married to a Jew and who had converted to Judaism, had her son rejected for attendance at that school, on the grounds that he was not Jewish

## Jewish Religion/Race Mishmash!

"Judges ruled yesterday (16-12-09) that one of Britain's most successful faith schools had racially discriminated against a 12-year-old boy who was refused admission because the school did not recognise him as Jewish.

"In a landmark legal decision, supreme court judges found the Jewish Free school, a north-west London comprehensive, had broken the law by refusing to admit the boy, a practising Jew known as M. The school has twice as many applicants as it has places so gives priority to those children whose mothers are recognised as Jewish by the chief rabbi.

"M's mother converted from Catholicism to Judaism under a non-Orthodox authority, meaning the chief rabbi does not recognise her as Jewish, so does not acknowledge her children as Jewish either. The boy's father took the school to court, claiming racial discrimination. In June the appeal court ruled in his favour, saying the school's policy amounted to racial discrimination" (*Jewish School Racially Discriminated Against Boy, Judges Rule*. The Guardian 17.12.09).

It seems odd that a change of religion that isn't recognised is contested on racial grounds when it should be contested on grounds of sectarianism:

"The judge ruled by a majority of five to four that the school had 'directly' discriminated against M on grounds of his ethnic origins

"Philips (the president of the supreme court) said the judges did not consider the chief rabbi to be racist."

M's father said: *"It is important for people to know that the same Race Relations Act that provides such valued protection for Jews..."*

So it seems that, if you are accepted by Orthodoxy as a convert Jew (and a few have been), you have changed your race.

According to Shlomo Sand in his *The Invention Of The Jewish People*, Judaism has been for many centuries a proselytising faith. The founding of Israel in 1948 put a stop to this. The search for the pure race began. In 1984 and again in 1991 the black Falasha Jews of Ethiopia were airlifted to Israel. This caused consternation among Orthodoxy. As recently as 1999, in Israel, DNA samples have been taken from the Falasha and the claim is they may be traceable back to the time when the state of Judah existed, about 1000 BC. Despite this embarrassing hiccup, looking at Orthodoxy here in London and in Israel, you can't help noticing they are predominantly white, if not 100% white.

But why should I, a non-believer, care what Judaism is up to? It is how this drive to be a race is affecting the Palestinian people that concerns me.

### Senator David Norris

Letter in *The Irish Times* on  
23rd November 2009

### Israel and Gaza

May I comment on two elements in your most interesting account on November 14th of the publication by the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on European Affairs of an official report of their visit to Israel and Gaza in July. The article accurately reported me as warning against "too much fairness and balance" and saying that we were right to criticise the use by the Israeli authorities of the pretext of rocket attacks to justify the ferocious assault on Gaza. The reference to "too much fairness and balance" was in the context of proportionality, which is a recognised legal concept. I also pointed out that in the months immediately prior to the attack by Israel, rocket and mortar fire from Gaza had virtually ceased.

An Israeli embassy spokesman contradicted this, saying that what I said was untrue and "that there had been hundreds of rocket attacks daily on Israeli soil". I think your readers are entitled to the full truth of the matter.

In June 2008 there was in place an Egyptian-brokered ceasefire with Israel.

The terms of this were that Israel would lift the blockade on Gaza in return for a Hamas ceasefire.

From June 19th, 2008, until November 14th, 2008, as a result of this agreement there was a reduction of 98 per cent in the frequency of both rockets and mortars. The Israelis, however, made no attempt to relieve the blockade and on November 4th, 2008, there was an armed incursion into Gaza by the Israeli military which resulted in the death of seven members of Hamas. The Israeli intelligence and Terrorism Information Centre (ITIC), a source regularly used by the Israeli government, is on record as saying, "As of June 19th there was a marked reduction in the extent of attacks on the western Negev population. Hamas was careful to maintain the ceasefire."

Moreover, the official Israeli government spokesman, Mr Mark Regev, appearing on More4 News on January 9th, 2009, when interviewed by David Fuller, accepted that this was in fact the situation.

Moreover, according to international newspaper reports, Israel had, especially in the case of the town of Sderot, actually held official celebrations to mark public relief at the efficacy of this ceasefire. It is therefore clear that far from safeguarding the civilian population of Israel, the action of the Israeli government in launching its blitzkrieg against Gaza inevitably resulted in the resumption of rocket fire. It is to be regretted that such cynicism should prevail. The facts and truth, however, must also be allowed to prevail.



# V O X

## Crusade Cerberus Leonard Steinberg Camus Mosque

# P A T

**Crusade:** One of the most barbaric incidents in the long history of the Christian Crusades took place on 12th December 1098.

In the so-called Massacre of Ma'arrat al-Numan, Christian Crusaders breached the town's walls in what is now Syria.

The Muslims inside surrendered, but the Crusaders immediately began to massacre the population.

An estimated 20,000 inhabitants were slain.

In an atrocity that remained in the Muslim mindset for centuries after, some of the Crusaders then resorted to cannibalism when there was not enough food in the town for them.

A year after the event, one of the Crusader commanders is said to have written to Pope Urban II, explaining their actions.

"A terrible famine racked the army in Ma'arra, and placed it in the cruel necessity of feeding itself upon the bodies of the Saracens."

Another chronicler spoke of his horror that the Crusaders did not stop at eating humans and feasted on dogs instead.

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### Cerberus

"When we left the college, [St. Patrick's Teacher Training College, Drumcondra, Dublin] the dean, a Fr Johnston, a strange figure known as "the Bat", gave us all a little packet of salt, very like promotional packets of breakfast cereals that are pushed through letter boxes nowadays. I think it was called Cerberus. The Bat informed us that while we had our own Catholic country now, nearly all the wealth of the country was controlled by Protestants or Jews. This salt was the one brand owned by a Catholic company. Saxa, the best-selling salt, was in the hands of the Protestants. As we were sent out to lead the little children unto God, we were given the little packets of Cerberus to promote Catholic salt and all things Catholic. At the time when I had acquired the sky above the rushy hill as the image of heaven and all eternity, we were told that if we could manage to place a pinch of salt on a bird's tail

we could capture the bird, even in flight, and we threw salt time and time again towards branches where birds sat. The little packets of Cerberus, I am happy to report, proved as ineffectual as the other grains of salt we had scattered so hopefully on the swift birds" (The Irish Times, 5.12.2009—The full version of *The Church And Its Spire* appears in *Love Of The World: Essays* by John McGahern, published by Faber & Faber.)

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### Leonard Steinberg

The late Leonard Steinberg, was born in Belfast on 1st August 1936, the grandson of Jewish immigrants who had fled from Latvia to avoid persecution in the early years of the 20th century.

He died on 2nd November 2009.

Steinberg went to school at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution and it was here that he took his first step in the business that was to make him a multi-millionaire.

Some sixth-form students asked him to take their stakes, which totalled £3, to a bookmaker but he resolved to undertake the risk himself. It was for the 1954 Epsom Derby, the year that Lester Piggott won on an outsider, Never Say Die, at 33-1, so Steinberg made a profit of £2 which he thought a fortune at the time.

He admitted that if the favourites had come home, he would not have been able to pay up.

He continued dealing as an illicit bookmaker until the strict laws for gambling were changed and in 1958 he was able open his first betting shop. By the 1970s Steinberg had a chain in Belfast under the name L Stanley Ltd (an anglicised version of his name that his father had used as a salesman during the war) and had expanded into the Isle of Man.

During this time, he refused to pay protection money to either republican or loyalist paramilitaries. A gunman shot him five times in the thigh on the doorstep of his house on the Antrim Road.

He moved himself and his company to Manchester and continued to buy up small chains of bookmakers, modernising them, replacing boards with screens and adding synergistic business lines.

In 1986 the company was floated on the London Stock exchange. It was initially valued at £9 million but within 20 years was worth £1 billion.

Steinberg was a passionate Zionist. Last year he was president of the newly established Northern Ireland Friends of Israel which, he told a meeting in Stormont, "*embodied the two most important strands of my life*". A liberal donor to various schools, medical centres and a synagogue in Israel, he also gave money to many educational, cultural and welfare causes in Britain and in Northern Ireland. One of his pleasures was watching cricket and as President of Lancashire County Cricket Club, he was responsible for raising most of the funds for the club's youth academy.

He made large donations to the Conservative Party and at one time was their Deputy Treasurer. In 2004, he was elevated to the House of Lords as Lord Steinberg of Belfast, a life peerage. In an interview he said: "*I am Jewish, Northern Irish and an Ulster Unionist. I hope that does not cause confusion.*"

We now read that the Jewish population of Belfast face a very uncertain future with its population at a low of less than 100, from a peak of 2,500 in the 1960s.

The Jewish community settled in Belfast largely by accident. Fleeing pogroms in central and eastern Europe, refugees were duped into believing they were travelling to the USA. After paying for passage, they were dumped in Ireland and in the UK.

The first wave of Jewish migrants, principally Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews from Poland, Germany, Lithuania and Russia, took up residence around Carlisle Circus in North Belfast. As they prospered they moved to the leafy suburbs around Fortwilliam, under the shadow of Cavehill.

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### Camus

"I sometimes think of what future historians will say of us.

A single sentence will suffice for modern man:

He fornicated and read the papers" *Albert Camus*

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### Mosque

"A new mosque with a tower and minaret is to be constructed for Galway's Muslim community.

"The building is to be constructed at Monivea Road in the city and will facilitate up to 100 people at a time.

"Planning permission has been granted for the mosque to be built by the city's Ahmadiyya Muslim Association and construction work is due to start in the new year. (*Irish Examiner*, 7.12.2009).

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## Catherine Dunlop

*Composition Francaise, Retour sur une Enfance Bretonne.*

By Mona Ozouf (Gallimard, 2009)

### Identity And Difference In France

In 1944 during the German Occupation, Mona Ozouf was called to the office of her headmistress, with her mother, to answer an accusation, at the age of thirteen, of having spent the previous two years organizing support for Sinn Féin. Her mother defended her by saying that Mona wouldn't know what Sinn Féin was; her daughter was incensed by this defence but kept quiet.

Her daughter did know, not because she had been agitating, but because she had read the contents of her father's bookshelves; he was a socialist and a Breton nationalist, and had died when his only child, Mona, was four years old. Her description of her life at home with her widowed mother and grandmother is very moving.

The historian Mona Ozouf is one of the French authorities on the French Revolution, and she has quite a strong media presence; she was interviewed recently on France Inter about her reading preferences (they are literature before history) and her name is often mentioned. Her present book looks at the history and politics of Breton feeling but ends with reflections on differences today within the French State brought about by immigration. She looks at the role the French Revolution played in suppressing local differences and the role it is being made to play today against the expression of communal differences.

She still has sympathy for the Breton nationalism of her father; she also has sympathy for the tendency of Maghreb immigrants to live communally. The Republic is 'One and Indivisible' but it includes Bretons and Algerians. There is no contradiction, you can be French and Breton, French and Algerian. The demands of the different groups should be examined on their merits; if the Bretons wanted certain jobs to be reserved for Breton speakers, this would not make sense because they are too few. If Algerian girls want to wear a scarf in class, this should be allowed because it is better for them to receive an education in a state school than no education. Mona Ozouf is being both pragmatic and logical; could you accept that a group speaks Breton and puts out a black and white flag on the 14th July, but refuse another group the use of its language and symbols?

The French continue to invoke the Revolution and the Republic in their political discussions; so different interpretations of events can be roped in as counter arguments. Ozouf does not

put it as crudely as that, but I read her in the light of my learning of history at school, and the received ideas that stayed with me since, and which she indirectly invites me to revise.

It is an exaggeration to say that the Revolution destroyed the identity of the regions.

#### Alternative View

Below I indicate my received ideas, and give Mona Ozouf's alternative interpretations and views.

Received idea one: the Revolution destroyed the old territorial units of the provinces by cutting up the country into brand new, smaller units with new names, the *départements*.

In fact the new units had to follow older boundaries, if only because they were given capitals (*chef-lieu*), which could only be existing towns. At first, moreover, the head of the *département*, the representative of the King, was to be elected locally. The Revolution might have liked to start again with new boundaries, but it could not be done. We were told at school that the Revolution proclaimed France to be 'One and Indivisible'; I did not understand this: of course France was one and indivisible; it was like being told that the sky was blue and the grass green. I did not understand at the time that this was a slogan, a statement of intent, not a statement of fact.

Received idea two: the Revolution had no sympathy with the regions.

In fact, at the beginning, revolutionary laws and decrees were translated into the regional languages, Breton etc, often with compliments to the region added by the translator. It was only later on that attitudes hardened.

Received idea three: the later Revolution, with the centralising Jacobins and Robespierre, is the true Revolution.

In fact, they were victorious over the less centralising Girondins only because of war circumstances. We could with profit go back and study Brissot and other revolutionaries. The Republic was founded in 1792, after the flight of the King; before then, few called themselves republicans, and what sort of republic should be established was discussed feverishly during a state of emergency. What came out was an emergency solution, which has prestige because its authors saved the country at war.

Received idea four: the Republic is the

fruit of the French Revolution.

In fact, the First and Second Republics (1792 and 1848) were short lived; why not consider the legacy of the Third Republic, which, founded in 1870, started a continuous republican regime? The principles of the founding fathers of the Third Republic were different and allowed for far stronger civil society, with freedom of the press and of trade unions. The Le Chapelier law of 1790 banning associations was repealed only in the 1880s. The legislators of the early Third Republic knew how to make their new laws accepted: by not demanding immediate and absolute compliance. For example, with the separation of Church and State, schools were taken from the clergy; crucifixes then had to be removed from school walls; the directive was, depending on circumstance, to wait till there was redecoration, take down the crucifix, and forget to replace it afterwards. If there was protest, it would be put back, if not, it would not be replaced. Alsace-Lorraine returned to France in 1918, having been spared the upheaval of the separation of Church and State. It was not forced to undergo that process.

Mona Ozouf describes the world view of the nondenominational school in one of its aspects: children were deemed to be equal and similar; the differences between them were studiously ignored. Their origins, their homes, were left behind once they entered the classroom. The books they were given as class readers, for example *The Tour of France of Two Children*, gave them a description of France as a whole, and an idea of the nation. The message of 'no difference' was not however the message she received from home, which was "*equal and different*". As for the message she received from the Church at catechism class, where the children from the state school were put at the back of the classroom behind the children from the religious school, was that inequality was the normal state of things.

Received idea five: Jules Ferry, Minister for Public Instruction at the end of the nineteenth century, sent teachers to all corners of France with a mission to make all children French, and eradicate local languages.

In fact, most teachers were locals, and their official instructions were to start with the geography and history of the locality; many did, and came to write books about their region. As for the local language, official policy was to forbid it at school, but parental opportunism played a larger part: they knew their children should learn French if they wanted the easier life of the towns.

The politicians at the birth of the Third Republic were called the Opportunists. Not a name to set the pulse racing, not

one to serve as a founding myth of the nation, but one that could be usefully studied in a time when accommodation and flexibility in social relations are called for.

### Some Comments

What is happening here? The clarifications brought out in *Composition Française* are not an absolute contradiction of the traditional interpretation; you could say the historian filled in the detail without changing the story.

Hum. When I learnt recently that the Irish Brigades had taken part in the Battle of Valmy in 1792, a vital and glorious revolutionary victory, I was not best pleased. What! Foreigners! Mercenaries! In our hour of danger and glory! They may have been on the right side, their officers may have spoken French like the natives, but they weren't French. Valmy and the French Revolution are the foundations of the state. Mona Ozouf's book could shake these foundations, from the best of motives, but Liberty, Equality and Fraternity might be shaken out at the same time, and what is there to replace these ideals?

The power of words is immense and you change them at your peril. It is dangerous in my opinion to revise the French Revolution as Mona Ozouf does; it would be better to find new arguments away from history. Politicians always invoke the French Revolution to bolster their arguments. For instance, on wearing the burqa, a communist mayor, on the radio station France Inter, in December 2009 invoked the 1789 decree on freedom of religion "*as long as it does not disturb public order*". Let him invoke this and involve his public in a shared identity, but then let us carry on the discussion; the phrase is meaningless by itself and needs interpreting, away from 1789. A historian was asked, in the context of the 2009-10 debate on 'national identity', when nationalism had ever done any good. He replied: "*Valmy*". Let us keep Valmy: it is a founding symbol, which represents strength and generosity. We need opportunism of course too, but not on the same level and at the same moment.

The words 'liberty, equality, fraternity' are taking on a new importance today, when this type of vocabulary and idea can sound quaint and archaic. I do not think we can keep these ideas in all their authority without the revolutionary foundation and origin. It is true that in France unfair tax policies and attacks against mutual societies are what threatens fraternity, but the idea of fraternity as an ideal is something fundamental in France, and not in Britain or the US, thanks to the Revolution.

Seán McGouran

Review: Christopher Hitchens, *God Is Not Great*

## Hitchens Is Not Great

The (alleged) Belfast interrogative "*Are you a Catholic atheist or a Protestant atheist?*" is mentioned in two recentish books. They are *God Is Not Great* by Christopher Hitchens and Richard Dawkins's *The God Delusion* (to be reviewed in the next *Church & State*). For men who have (essentially) found the Way, the Truth, and the Light, they are surprisingly grumpy.

Hitchens's is, as might be expected, the more crudely grumpy. His title is a direct sneer at Islam. He is (presumably still) a 'Leftist'—one of those who felt able to cheer on Bush and Blair in their fight against brown-skinned people who live too near to oil deposits and feel they should be the prime beneficiaries of the wealth the oil produced: "*Islamists*", or "*Islamo-fascists*" as they describe them,

Hitchens' first mention of Belfast is on page 18. An American religious broadcaster asked him if he would feel more or less safe if a group of men approaching him were leaving a religious service. He replied: "*...just to stay within the letter 'B', I have actually had that experience {of feeling unsafe} in Belfast, Beirut, Bombay, Belgrade, Bethlehem, and Baghdad*".

He is a wee piece unspecific about where he encountered people exiting a "*religious observance*" in these places. He claims that murderous 'sectarian' gangs roamed Belfast. And that the Catholic authorities there connived in maintaining sectarian ghettos. If we were taught in the same schools we would all learn to love each other. Why the products of Anglican, Jewish, Muslim, and RC schools in Britain are not constantly at each other's throats is not examined. Nor is the fact that, in Northern Ireland, working class youngsters leave Catholic schools with better qualifications than those from state schools.

Another aspect of his list, especially, one would have thought, for a 'Leftist' is that nearly all of these cities have a further shared quality. Belfast, Bombay (correctly 'Mumbai'), Bethlehem and Baghdad were all part of the British Empire. France was helped on a number of occasions to subdue Beirut. Britain bombed Belgrade under the cover of 'humanitarian intervention'—the new alias of Imperialism.

Belfast, Bombay, Bethlehem and Baghdad were all mis-governed.

The 1912 Third [Irish] Home Rule Bill (which offered fewer powers than the London County Council got in 1899)

led to the foundation, in 1913, of the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force). It was armed by the UUC (Ulster Unionist Council). And large numbers of influential people in Great Britain (and the whiter bits of The Empire) helped out. The Unionist Party (the Conservatives, the Chamberlainite social-reform Liberals and the Ulster Unionists) backed the UVF and the UUC. The latter constituted itself a Provisional Government-in-waiting for Ulster, should the Parliament (to which it professed undying loyalty) pass a fairly feeble enactment.

The 'Indian Government'—as Britain described its colonial rule—encouraged a separatist element among the Muslim population, starting with the straightforwardly sectarian partition of Bengal in 1907. The authorities created a situation where partition became inevitable. They then prevaricated for so long that partition was excessively bloody.

London wanted a 'little loyal Ulster' in Palestine and encouraged the plantation of (largely east European) Jews in the place. Relations were envenomed between Arabs and Jews (or more precisely, the new Zionist settlers, who despised the 'religious' Jews already living in the area).

The East India Company (and after 1870 the 'Indian Empire') had a 'station' in Basra from the mid-18th century. One of its achievements was the setting up of Kuwait as an 'independent' entity. The Emirs reneged on their loyalty to the Turkish Sultan. They got to live, lavishly, off the earnings from the oil deposits the UK exploited.)

Hitchens gives no reason for including Bethlehem in his list, except that Jesus was born there, and that is the root of a lot of sectarian hatred.

Sectarian violence in Beirut is due to the artificial nature of the State which was established with a sectarian constitution by imperial France. This is not noted. The Christian Phalange is held particularly responsible for the violence.

Hitchens runs Hitler and Stalin together as the most evil people of the twentieth century. Stalin "*who had trained to be a priest in a seminary in Georgia*" (that was the origin of the 'evil' presumably) is described as "stupid", "boorish" and "pedantic". Stalin is accused of not being "Stalinist" enough (p245) because Catholics were allowed to sit in the Polish parliament in the 1950s. (*Solidarnosc* is not mentioned in this book. It would



be fascinating to learn how Hitchens thinks Poland ought to be run.) All of this would be more or less acceptable, (even if his argument that Stalin turned Bolshevism into a form of religion is debatable), but on pages 152-153 there is an encomium on Trotsky, which is, in context, simply embarrassing.

He does not imply, like many English 'rationalists', that Hitler was a serious Roman Catholic. He blames Catholicism for Fascism, including its most virulent form, Nazism. This, in part, has to do with the Vatican signing Concordats with Italy and Germany after the fascists took over. In the case of Italy it is said to be "shortly after" Mussolini took over. He took over in 1922. The Concordat was signed in 1929. When Harold Wilson said that "a week is a long time in politics" he was referring to parliamentary routine, not the explosive, fissiparous, politics of 1920s Italy, or Germany.

Apparently, the Catholic Church was sympathetic to Fascism in partly because "its old Jewish enemy was in the most senior ranks of Lenin's party". As Mussolini was emphatically not anti-Jewish (until, in 1938, he emulated Hitler's 'race laws') this is just a 'big fib'. Hitchens is a lapsed Trotskyist (the British IS / SWP-International Socialists / Socialist Workers' Party). And it shows. Trotskyists are supposed to be opposed to the falsification of history. But he goes for it in big way.

There are minor falsehoods, like the implication that Horthy of Hungary was a fascist and a Catholic. He was a Calvinist and an authoritarian by default. He sat on the Fascists as well as the Communists. He had been high in the administration of the Hapsburg dual-monarchy (Austria-Hungary), which was pro-, even philo-Semitic.

"Even in a country like England {stand down the Celts!—SMcG} where fascist sympathies were far less prevalent... they [got] an audience... by the agency of Catholic intellectuals such as T. S. Eliot and Evelyn Waugh." Eliot was Anglo-Catholic, not a Papist, was anti-Semitic, but too reactionary to be a Fascist. Despite pages of smear by implication, Hitchens does not make the case that Waugh was Fascist, much less Nazi.

Ireland is not left out of the denunciation. O Duffy's boys in Spain are noted. That they were sent home in disgrace is not. The Connolly Column is ignored. "As late as April 1945, on the news of the death of Hitler, President Eamon de

Valera put on his top hat, called for the state coach, and went to the German embassy in Dublin to offer his official condolences." (The author of this pig-ignorant gibberish is often accused of being a 'prose stylist'—you could've fooled me.) Once the Germans were defeated, ought Dev have behaved like a jackal and joined in the rubbishing of Hitler—and the German people—engaged in by the 'Anglo-Saxon' powers? During the 1933-39 period the UK had aided and abetted Hitler. In the same period De Valera was a consistent anti-Fascist democrat. The "Blue Shirts" were not anti-Semitic.

On page 237 Hitchens adverts to the Encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*: "To the credit of the church, it must be said that its German pulpits denounced this hideous eugenic culling from a very early date". {The reference is to the killing of the mentally and the physically handicapped, often by the cruel method of letting them starve to death.)

On page 239 there is the following:

"...Pope Pius XI had always harbored the most profound misgivings about the Hitler system and its evident capacity for radical evil... this ailing and weak pope {Pius XI may have been 'ailing' but he was never physically or intellectually 'weak', SMcG} was continually outpointed, throughout the 1930s, by his secretary of state, Eugenio Pacelli ..."

Hitchens floats the notion of an encyclical specifically on the persecution of the Jews, which was thwarted by 'Pacelli'.

'Pacelli', along with Cardinal Faulhaber (Archbishop of Munich) drafted the Encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (issued in German as opposed to the usual Latin). 'Pacelli' sharpened Faulhaber's original draft. (Then Pius XI sharpened his—but always attributed the substance of the Encyclical to 'Pacelli'.) The Encyclical is an attack on Nazi racism, as well its treatment of those unable to protect themselves (the physically and mentally handicapped). It attacks the Nazi persecution of the Church as well as of individual Catholics. The Encyclical was smuggled into Germany and was read from every pulpit on Palm Sunday 1937. The Nazis afterwards dragged hundreds of monks and nuns, and 'secular' priests through their Courts. The charges ranged from (mostly) sexual, to financial malfeasance.

Hitchens writes that the Vatican's was the first diplomatic recognition of the Third Reich, signing a Concordat with it in 1933. (It had been in discussion with the German authorities about a Concordat since the foundation of the Republic.) In fact there was no rush by 'the West' to repudiate the new régime. Britain actively wanted a fanatically

anti-Bolshevik state in Mitteleuropa. Hitchens quotes an obsequious message to the Führer from 'Pacelli' (now Pius XII) within days of his being elected Pope. But that was the language of diplomacy before Cold War 'megaphone diplomacy'. Presumably the heads of other states gave and received the same soft-soap.

This Papal exercise in international *plámás*, and the Concordat, was aimed at protecting the Church. The Church in Germany was worried by Nazi amorality, racism (including anti-Semitism), and 'paganism'. They felt the Nazis might engage in a *Kulturkampf*, in the manner of Bismarck. The *Kulturkampf* consisted of policies and laws restricting the freedom of movement and expression of the Catholic Church, and even of individual Catholics. Many of these laws and policies were still on the Statute Book, and in effect, in the 1930s. The Nazis had a substantial basis to build on if they decided to put their anti-Christian (and specifically anti-Catholic) policies into effect.

Hitchens claims (p238) that the Vatican "instructed the Catholic Centre Party to disband". This was an element of the Concordat on which the Nazis insisted. The Vatican gave way on the point rather reluctantly. *Zentrum* in the 1920s had experienced tensions between its left (allied to the Christian Trade Unions) and conservative wings. The latter applied standard Liberal economic *nostrums* when in government in the 1920s. (James Murphy claims (see *On Hitler And Mussolini*, p86), that Hitler's attitude to social matters was influenced by the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and by Karl Lueger's Christian Social Party. Murphy claims that the Nazis used Lueger's policies on a national level after taking power. Brendan Clifford implies in a Biographical Note (in *On Hitler...*) that Murphy may have been a British agent. He lived in London from 1939 having worked for the Nazi Government for five years.)

To Catholics in these islands the German Church's attitudes must seem a bit wimpy. The *Kulturkampf* lasted about twenty years—and was a mild affair compared to virulent British anti-Catholicism, traces of which remain. Both Hitchens and Dawkins blandly assume that the UK is the epitome of liberalism with only those nasty people in Northern Ireland being concerned about religion.

**James Murphy:** *On Hitler And Mussolini. With Who Sent Rudolf Hess?* (1923, 1934). Appendix: *The Jewish Problem In Eastern Europe*. Introduction by B.Clifford. 200pp, 2002.

€13, £9.99.

**Karl Lueger And The Twilight Of Imperial Vienna.** A compilation, translated by Philip O'Connor. Preface by Labour Councillor, Mark Langhammer, Newtownabbey (Belfast). Introduction by Angela Clifford.

112 pp, 2002.

€10, £7.50.

Hitchens may well have lied about other religions and denominations in this book. He certainly attacks everything from the colourful world of US fundamentalism to the Church of England. Buddhism gets a bashing (mainly in its Sri Lankan form). So does Hinduism in India. A particular attack is made on Islam in Pakistan. He attacks Pakistan for being brutal to other Muslims in Bangla Desh; instancing the latter's war of independence. He attacks Japanese Buddhism for backing the Japanese effort in WW2.

From this angle a lot of what he writes

is sardonically funny, at least for readers of *Church & State*. He picks the most extreme sects he can find in any and all religions and treats them sardonically, in the manner of an enlightened Westerner. He claims that religion belongs to the "*dark childhood of mankind*", a curiously reductive 'progressive' attitude to human history and culture. Especially as he excuses the flaws in the US Constitution to this matter. Presumably he just can't get his mind round the thought that Jefferson (one of his major heroes) supported chattel slavery and the extermination of the Native Americans.

from them is necessary. It grates all the more if you have been tearing your soul out night and day trying to establish a new church that is based more directly on Scripture, as Zwingli, Luther and Bucer all had been doing" (*Essays*, ed. John D. Roth, pub. Mennonite Historical Society, 2000).

While not technically "*magisterial*" the Irish Presbyterian Church had some vulnerabilities deriving from that same outlook. This might sound odd to some readers, but I tend to see it, even in its less ecumenical manifestations, as a church within the Catholic tradition. It was and is therefore open to attack from the 'right wing' just as the Jacobean English Church was open to attack from the Puritans. The typical accusations were that it was in bondage to manmade creeds; it was in a liturgical and musical straitjacket; it practised unbiblical rites such as infant baptism; it had a sacramental theology of the Lord's Supper; and so on.

In the new world of possibilities post-1859 it didn't seem at all obvious why people should accept things just because a Minister said so. (There was a saying, long obsolete: "*I wouldn't have believed it unless a Minister had told me*".) Of course the Church had always been governed by Ministers together with "*ruling elders*" who were not ordained Ministers, but this new type of lay participation, post-Revival, was different in that it was set over against church authority, and maybe it appealed to a rebellious, levelling streak within the Ulster Protestant psyche. Ministers had been long used to trading low blows with fellow Ministers in a dog eat dog kind of way, but for the sheepdogs to be savaged by the sheep was a new experience. Education didn't count for much either. In the world of gospel certainties the value of a learned ministry was somewhat downplayed, as had happened in America fifty years earlier, with the result that all over the Deep South and the Mountain South people with Scotch-Irish genes had adopted Baptist manners. It wasn't that the Irish Presbyterian Church fell off a cliff, but there was a slow seeping away of its prestige.

### Late Of This Parish

One casualty of this seepage in Ulster was the parish structure of Presbyterianism as rival Churches sprouted up, as did new transport opportunities. It certainly isn't unusual even within the Presbyterian Church for people to stay loyal to a congregation with which they have some ancestral connection even though this might mean travelling for miles to attend worship. This intense loyalty, and at times corresponding disdain for 'rival' congregations would appear to be an alien concept within<sup>19</sup>

Stephen Richards

Part Two

## The Ulster Revival Of 1859: Darker Reflections

In the last issue I explained some of the historical background to the Revival and gave a sketchy account of its progress. I now want to consider the even more complex question how the shock waves affected the development of the Ulster Protestant (and specifically evangelical) outlook in the century and a half since. This consideration will be partial (possibly in every sense), personal and, given that we have no alternative model, highly speculative. My non-acquaintance with the relevant academic disciplines of history, theology and sociology will no doubt be apparent as I proceed.

### Hardcore Presbyterian?

At its core the story of the Revival is a Presbyterian story because that Church was the dominant institution in the life of the society which was caught up in it. In his *Ulster Presbyterianism* (republished Athol Books 1994) Peter Brooke argues that 1859 was a culminating event in a process that had been going on since the 1820s whereby the Church was trying to establish its theological and then Pietist credentials to compensate for the erosion of its social power; and indeed these very attempts tended to accelerate that erosion! This is how he sums up what was happening:

"I have argued that the Ulster Presbyterians were a distinct political society, and that in relation to that society the Synod of Ulster played something of the role of a National Church... Of course the Presbyterian Church continues to exist and even to thrive. But the distinct political society no longer exists. There is a distinct Ulster Protestant political society but not a distinct Ulster Presbyterian political society. The paradox is... that the decline of the society complemented the flourishing of the Church."

And so Henry Cooke, who lent his

clout to the idea of a pan-Protestant alliance, would have been well satisfied with the way things turned out. By mid-century, Presbyterian leaders, unlike the Irish Catholic hierarchy, had become convinced that the Church stood for more important things than its own institutional power. Organizationally of course the Church continued but to some extent on autopilot as it became preoccupied with the "*heavenly vision*" (See *Acts of the Apostles* ch. 26). The moral, perhaps, is that even though the wind may be filling your sails you still have to keep the engine of the boat fully maintained for that day when the wind might not blow so strongly.

From a position of almost unrivalled ascendancy in the non-Catholic communities of East Ulster in 1850, the Church found itself fifty years later having to compete for attention as one of a number of what would now be called "*faith groups*". These other bodies were not necessarily new but, as a result of the Revival, had become a force in the land. To a much lesser extent than before did the typical Presbyterian live and move and have his (or her) being within the context of the Church. The often bitter polemical exchanges that had characterized Presbyterian intellectual life had been family rows, but now there were those who had left home and were flinging stones at the house.

The late John S. Oyer, who taught at the Mennonite College at Goshen, Indiana, describes in similar terms the tensions between the "*magisterial Reformers*" on the one hand and the Anabaptists on the other:

"The basic, underlying root of the charge of sectarianism was a resentment of goody-goody people who refused fellowship with the religious *hoi polloi*. No earnest Christians like to be told that they are not good enough, that their inadequacies are so great that separation



Catholic Ireland. These days the voting with feet inside the denomination has been taking a slightly different form and has led to the numerical impoverishment of many rural congregations, as many young families opt to commute to larger, more 'happening', urban churches.

So, whether it's a case of family or fashionable allegiance, the parish structure of Presbyterianism has become very shaky. And these days people don't think twice about travelling ten or twenty miles to go to Church, an option that was more demanding in the days of the bicycle. As the parish structure fades away, so the social glue begins to lose its stickiness.

### The Dambusters

Tensions that had previously been contained within the structures of the Church now had full play. Churches are a bit like human societies, where rights and responsibilities, freedom and authority, intellect and emotion, formality and improvisation have to be balanced, not in the sense of a middle way but in the sense that these are all good things which somehow have to co-exist if we're to be humanly, and therefore Christianly, functional.

To use the language of Communist China one could say that the years after 1859 were characterized by definite splittist tendencies emerging within evangelical Protestantism all over the Anglophone world.

Revival days saw the emergence of gifted and fluent lay preachers who made many Ministers seem wooden. Others were criticized for their perceived lack of evangelistic purpose. Now that Trinitarian orthodoxy had been restored, there were few if any Ministers with 'liberal' tendencies, but there were plenty of other sticks to beat them with. One notable convert of the Revival was a man called Roger Luke who was a charismatic preacher. He was known to taunt Ministers as being "*tradesmen*".

The mention of Roger Luke brings us into the country of the (Plymouth) Brethren. The movement had its origins in Pietist Anglican circles in Dublin and Bristol in the 1830s, among upper middle class folk who were disillusioned with Anglicanism but didn't feel at home in the rough and tumble of nonconformity. For them the institutional Church—"Christendom", that crumbling edifice—was a lost cause, full of false religion. The faithful remnant within the denominations should cut their losses and move over to the new "*non-denominational*", non-political, self-governing, and, if that were possible, non-liturgical, fellowships that were springing up.

One could say that until 1859 the Brethren movement didn't really have legs in the North of Ireland, nor in areas like the North East of Scotland, where

it also subsequently became strong. Its novel ecclesiology and anti-theology somehow coalesced in the wake of 1859 to propel many of those converts and their families into newly constituted assemblies, meeting in "*gospel halls*", what were disparagingly referred to as "*tin tabernacles*", all over the country. This is a subject all to itself and a story best told in Roy Coad's *A History of the Brethren Movement* (Paternoster). One interesting feature of the Brethren is how these subversive Anabaptist-type communities, cut off from seminaries, managed to produce a steady stream of linguistic scholars in both Old and New Testament fields.

The Brethren and the Baptists had so little of real substance dividing them that it should have been possible for there to be some form of united approach, but differences that might seem minor loomed large and still do. In mid-Antrim at least the legacy of John Galway McVicker was decisive in preventing some *rapprochement*. McVicker, who received his ministerial training in America, had already been a Reformed Presbyterian Minister in Cullybackey for some years when he realized with a shock in 1859 that, if the Revival preachers were right, then he wasn't a Christian at all. He forsook his denomination, together with the system of creeds and confessions that buttressed it, and was one of the founders of the congregation that became known as Hill Street Baptist in Ballymena. The first major split in that Church, from which some would argue it never really recovered during the next 150 years, occurred when McVicker led a secession which resulted in the foundation of the first Brethren assembly in Ballymena. His rejection of Christless ecclesiastical orthodoxy thus culminated in his rejection of any kind of ordained Christian ministry at all, and gave practical demonstration to the maxim *ecclesia reformata semper reformanda*.

McVicker's new orientation gave rise to a number of scurrilous attacks accusing him of being (among other things) a home-grown version of Brigham Young. That was the equivalent of comparing someone with David Koresh, the leader of the Branch Davidian sect, gunned down by police with many of his followers at Waco, Texas in the era of nice Mr. Clinton in 1993. But McVicker was a pioneering spirit, and he shortly after removed to London where he continued to urge the case for a Revival-based network of non-denominational fellowships, until his death in 1899.

As has been noted, the village of Ahoghill was a citadel of Presbyterianism, but with the coming of the Brethren to the village under the leadership of one Bob McMeekin, the question asked

of new pupils in the local school had to be rephrased: "*Are you Presbyterian, Church of Ireland, or Bob's?*" Ulster Protestantism, a bit like McVicker, had gone on a new identity quest.

### A United Front

While this realignment was still going on, the crisis brought about by the first Home Rule Bill erupted in 1886. The Revival culture was into a second generation phase by this time. The default position of resistance to Home Rule for ostensibly faith-based motives was hard to avoid. That same period coincided neatly with the bicentenary of the Williamite Wars, and the Orange Order went through a process of purging itself of its rowdier elements.

So we ended up with a coalition that brought together the children of the Revival, the common or garden respectable Presbyterian and Church of Ireland members who perhaps made no claim to being born again, and the more atavistic Orange sector of society. Of course this is a vast over-simplification. There was besides a Presbyterian and Reformed Presbyterian constituency around Ballymoney in North Antrim that marched to a different drum. But at a general level it could be said that Presbyterians had started acting less self-consciously as such, and were more integrated into the general Protestant body politic of Ulster. The Revival wasn't solely responsible for this, and in fact the fading of its first glad morning was one of the reasons why this development became possible but, with that fading, the Presbyterian world left behind was less distinctive. The 'form and discipline' of the Irish Presbyterian Church had become diluted. Evangelicals within it felt more of a common bond with fellow-evangelicals than they did with many of their co-religionists. There is a line of descent from Henry Cooke to the Unionist Family (once again these days a rather unhappy family!).

### Rest Rambling Hearts

But the splits weren't over yet. By the end of the Great War the leaven of liberal theology was beginning to percolate through mainstream Presbyterianism; and the acquittal of Professor J.E. Davey in a heresy trial in 1927 led to what might have become a large scale defection. As it turned out, the extent of the damage caused by the newly-formed Evangelical Presbyterian Church was limited.

This was only one of the destabilizing features of the post-War era. Around

**Ulster Presbyterianism,**  
The Historical Perspective, 1610-1970  
by Peter Brooke.  
208pp, 1994.

£15, £12



1921 the Ulster-Canadian Presbyterian evangelist, W.P. Nicholson, started holding gospel missions in churches and town halls all over the new entity of Northern Ireland. It seems that the preaching of Nicholson at that time had an explosive impact on his audiences that subsequently eluded him. His reputation led to him being asked a couple of years later to conduct the Cambridge University Mission. In Belfast in 1921, such was the eagerness to hear him, that the pressure of shipyard workers outside Ravenhill Presbyterian Church bent the gates. Nicholson possessed qualities that made him go down well with his audiences. He was earthy, quick-witted, a master of aphorism, and would depict graphically the fate of the unsaved. This was a return to Revival preaching, with an accompanying swathe of new converts. At a time when civil war could have engulfed the whole island, the preaching of Nicholson was one reason why it didn't. He had no political agenda at all.

Time would fail me to tell of the various interesting sects that sprang up from the 1920s on: the Elim Pentecostal Churches, the Faith Mission movement, the Independent Methodists, and the Church of the Nazarene. There were itinerant evangelists who held series of meetings in Mission Halls, Orange Halls and Gospel Halls all over the country. On foot in North and East Belfast today one is struck by the plethora of Mission Halls and small Churches of one kind and another, all with their peculiar emphases, and giving credence to the common view among Catholics that Protestantism is a mixed up mess, where heresy just spawns rival heresy, and so on *ad infinitum*.

There is a book which gives an authentic taste of what it was like to be part of this variegated religious scene in the 1920s. It's called *Climbing Slemish: An Ulster Memoir*, by Denis Kennedy. The author, a product of Methodist College Belfast and Trinity College Dublin, was subsequently involved in an EEC office in Belfast, and, I believe, in Unionist intellectual circles, if that's not an oxymoron. His very interesting family history, with all kinds of dour Presbyterian, and lively Elim influences sloshing around, together with his deceptively simple, novelistic style, convey a sense of those times that would otherwise take about twenty books to acquire. Strongly recommended.

Closer to our own times, the ultimate 'splittist', and himself an historian of the Revival, was one Ian R. K. Paisley, whose mother before him was a leading player in another of the splits endured by Ballymena Baptist Church. I seem to recall that Moloney and Pollak in their 1986 book on Paisley (recently

republished in extended form) had a chapter entitled *Hill Street Blues*. The new church building now opens onto Mount Street and has its back to Hill Street, so maybe that particular ghost has been laid.

The Free Presbyterian Church of Ulster was founded in 1951 with the establishment of the Crossgar congregation, caused by a walkout from Crossgar Presbyterian. The mantle of Nicholson is one of the many mantles that its founder has tried on but, as with Carson and Cooke, the points of divergence are as striking as the similarities. It could also be said that the only really Presbyterian feature of the new Church was its name. Even though all sides would be mortified by the comparisons, I think it's fair to say that, while the traditional Brethren assemblies were like traditional Baptist Churches without the organ, the Free Presbyterians were like Baptists with a lot of added politics and anti-ecumenical grandstanding.

If I could digress for a moment—what? a digression in *Church & State*?—I would say that the old-style Brethren assemblies and the Free Presbyterians, who post-date them by a century, are more like brothers and sisters under the skin than one might think. What commonality could there be between a self-consciously aggressive Protestant sect with an authoritarian power base and a political manifesto on the one hand, and, on the other, the scattered, self-governing assemblies of non-creedal, non-sectarian believers, outside the camp of 'Christendom'?

A fair bit actually: allegiance to the Authorized Version, hats (for women), the use of "thee" and "thou" in public prayer, the literal singing from the same hymnbook, the same type of no-holds-barred preaching, the same fundamentalist approach to the Bible. And of course by fundamentalist I don't mean extreme or mindless or dangerous. I mean the tendency to prefer literal interpretations and to shy away from any attempt at the systematizing, contextualizing or historicizing of theological reflection. The fundamentalist gospel preaching style is chiefly emotional and less directed at the mind or the imagination. Anyway, Brethren and Free Presbyterians often understand one another well enough in practice, often to the extent of marrying one another.

### Just The Simple Gospel

This 'lowest common denominator' approach tended to permeate the evangelical mindset all over the Ulster Protestant world after the Revival era, not least in the Presbyterian mother ship. It was felt that there was no need to preach the Gospel in a manner that fitted in to an overarching epistemological framework.

Why should people be confused with stuff that wasn't necessary to salvation? All that was needed was a presentation of Man's Ruin and God's Remedy. So the idea was to throw out the theological bathwater while leaving the Gospel baby unharmed. There was more esoteric teaching for believers at various conferences and conventions, but again this wasn't in the intellectual tradition of the Princeton divines (on whom see my last article); and much of it would have been condemned by them as being either simplistic or misleading. The New Testament message is necessarily complex because the human condition is complex, and so is human experience. That doesn't mean that complex ideas can't be presented in simple form, but it takes considerable skill to be able to do this.

At its worst Ulster Protestant fundamentalist preaching degenerated into sloganizing of anaesthetic proportions, and even the slogans were unclear except to those who by hard training had learned to recognize them. A sort of revivalist stasis had crept in by the back door.

By the 1970s, in reaction to this, many Evangelicals began looking for something more. Some found it in the corpus of Reformed teaching, to which Presbyterian evangelicals had tended to pay lip service only. Others began to develop new types of non-denominational fellowships, often but not always influenced by the teaching of the new-style Pentecostals, now called the Charismatic Renewal Movement, in connection with which links were developed with "Charismatic Catholics" who emerged with Vatican II.

A variety of kaleidoscopic permutations has continued to this day, with an accompanying slow haemorrhaging of Presbyterian numbers. Once again it would appear that Ulster Evangelicals are taking a leaf out of the Athenian book and delight in nothing more than talking of some new thing (see *Acts of the Apostles* ch.17). Exciting Christian music is one of these attractive things. There is a reluctance to accept that Church and the Christian life, like work, like school, even like marriage, can be a bit boring and stodgy at times. Boredom is not to be actively encouraged, and no doubt boring Ministers should be lined up and shot, but, sometimes, to get from A to B we have to wade through a bit of stodge. We need our porridge. A diet of febrile religious special effects can't be good for the soul. Can we blame this restlessness on the Revival? To some extent we can.

### Fear Of Flying

Much of what I've said might be categorized as internal agonizing within the Protestant tradition. But my darkest reflection is that one of the long-term

effects of the Revival was to contribute towards a communal Protestant defensiveness in the second half of the century, a lack of curiosity about, and accordingly of engagement with, the culture and thought processes of the Catholic population. The Protestant community became self-absorbed. In the pre-Revival days even such a stalwart anti-Catholic as Robert Stewart of Broughshane was a contributor to Catholic church building funds. There was in those days still some residual fellow-feeling between Catholics and Presbyterians as fellow sufferers under the late Penal Laws.

But, as the nineteenth century wore on, and increasingly during the twentieth, an attitude developed of wary condescension in respect of the values of the other community, and a desire not to live in the middle of that other community. Here is an extract from John Dunlop's *A Precarious Belonging*, Blackstaff, 1995, in a passage that somehow makes me think of red squirrels and grey squirrels:

"In some areas people have moved because of intimidation. Much of the movement of populations in Belfast has been due to intimidation. The peace walls of Belfast are not like the Berlin Wall: they were built because people wanted to feel safe. In some places Presbyterians, like many other people, are burned and intimidated out of their homes. But in some other areas it appears that Presbyterians do not wish to be outnumbered by their Catholic neighbours. Catholics often move into what were largely Protestant areas: they seem to be unconcerned about being outnumbered.

"When the percentage of Catholics increases in some middle-class urban areas, Presbyterians, along with other Protestants, stop buying houses in those areas while others move out, leaving Presbyterian churches and controlled schools marooned like islands in a surrounding sea of Catholic people.

"What will happen when Catholics start to buy houses in these new areas to which Presbyterians have moved? Will it result in another retreat? Where will it all end?...

"Instead of advocating withdrawal the New Testament bears witness to the Church engaging with the wider society and crossing religious, political and cultural frontiers, not withdrawing behind them...

"We need to evolve an ideological construct or mental attitude which is rooted in reformed convictions about individual liberty, and is capable of accommodating diversity. It may be like the Presbyterian thinking which helped to shape notions of liberty and diversity in the early days of American independence."

Of course the same siege mentality about which Dunlop complains dominated the political landscape of Ulster from 1886 to 1921 and beyond, and resulted in the formation of the "*secession state*" of Northern Ireland, which in turn facilitated the process of existential detachment from the influences that were shaping and reshaping Catholic Ireland.

### Wholistic Holiness?

The Seattle-based pastor Mark Driscoll, who is a sort of hippy Calvinist, has devised the following interesting equations:

*Gospel plus Culture minus Church equals Parachurch;*

*Culture plus Church minus Gospel equals Liberalism;*

*Church plus Gospel minus Culture equals Fundamentalism.*

Ulster Evangelicals historically seemed content to exist in a zone where cultural preoccupations, including the arts, were largely absent. Generally speaking, one group of Evangelicals tended to gravitate towards, or at worst became a prisoner of, some kind of Orange culture (which was a tribal, oppositional sort of culture, without much substance outside the context of the 'national conflict' within Ireland/Northern Ireland), while another group, consisting mainly of Brethren, and Baptists, took a principled stance that to get involved in "*worldly*" entanglements negated the New Testament principle found in such texts as *St. Paul's Letter to the Philippians* ch.3 v. 20: "*For our citizenship is in heaven*".

Both these tendencies were in contradiction to the Reformed approach, particularly associated with the Dutch Reformed Churches and their US cousins, which was to get involved in the culture, not in an assimilationist but in a critical way, and thereby influence it. The aim should be to have the wider culture saturated with Christian values, while the believers have some inkling of what is happening outside their doors. Evangelical Christians in Northern Ireland tended to react in a Goering-like manner to the wider culture, which was deemed to be corrupt and subject to the wrath of God. In the middle of our careers and our Church commitments there wasn't much space or toleration for frivolous cultural pursuits.

These Evangelicals, being often middle-class and educated, were not blameless for the overall Protestant lack of interest in Irish music and the Irish language, as well as in the arts generally, and even the prevailing indifference to Protestant Ulster's own cultural and intellectual past. There were many gifted people in the Catholic community who were ready to step into the vacuum and represent,

and in some ways misrepresent, both communities to the world.

### Legends In Their Time

Of the Ulster Protestant legends maybe only Joey Dunlop is the product of a distinctively Ulster Protestant culture, just as Seamus Heaney is a representative poet of Catholic Ulster. George Best, C.S. Lewis, Van Morrison—all incidentally with an East Belfast background—and James Galway (from North Belfast), seem to be individualistic geniuses, without very traceable roots in the Ulster Protestant soil. One would hesitate to call them rootless cosmopolitans but there is an almost Jewish sense of how to communicate with the world as a whole, to think outside the constraints of the local culture. Lewis in a sense came back to the Church of his childhood but it was hardly an Ulster-style conversion, despite the catty comments of Betjeman. Interestingly Lewis described himself as "*a converted Pagan living among apostate Puritans*". The context was, I think, the post-Christian world of mid-century England, not fundamentalist Ulster.

My thesis would be that Protestant Ulster has produced great individuals but not great traditions, except for motorbike racing and pipe bands, both of which are acquired tastes.

### Middle Ground

A related phenomenon within the Protestant community is the strange polarity between what one might call 'religious' and 'non-religious' Protestants. This was an aspect of life in the Deep South noted by singer Jim White in the course of an interesting film entitled *Searching for the Wrong-Eyed Jesus* shown on BBC 4 some time ago. The impression was given that in large areas of Mississippi and Alabama either you were involved in one of the Baptist or Pentecostal Churches or else you were in and out of jail.

In the context of Irish Catholic social life there is a comprehensive framework within which all kinds of interaction can take place, both positive and negative, but as far as I'm aware there's no such clear-cut self-conscious distinction between Catholic believers and non-believers. Or, to put it another way, Catholics don't see their fellow-Catholics as a potential mission field in the way that Evangelicals would view most Catholics and most Protestants. The fact that many individual Catholics and non-evangelicals of Protestant background have given their allegiance to the gospel of the Evangelicals seems to be evidence of the supernatural power of the message, because there are so many cultural barriers placed in their way, in terms of the demand for sub-cultural

compliance, that it doesn't look humanly possible.

The missionary mindset is unavoidable for those who take the Bible seriously at all, but unfortunately the Protestant community has lost any unified field of cultural discourse, except in relation to its oppositional attitude to the Nationalist threat. It is culturally as well as theologically fractured. This I see as a consequence, albeit maybe not a necessary consequence, of the Revival. The urgency of the Gospel message had meant that preaching lost its God-centred, theological edge, and therefore led to a distortion of the message itself; and the equation in some circles of godliness with Pietist disengagement necessitated a particular view of the regenerate nature, which proceeded on the basis that believers were purely spiritual beings without normal human orientation.

C.S. Lewis's observations on some members of the Greeves family of Belfast are apt:

"Certainly all, except Willie, bore the ugly marks of ex-Puritanism—of those who are brought up in a crude antithesis of Grace and Nature, and who therefore, when they abandon the Grace, straightway become startlingly natural. All revealed each passing sensation of greed, jealousy, anger, pleasure or disappointment in an almost savage nakedness. Their upbringing gave them no *humane* tradition to turn to when once their theology was gone" (cited in *The Letters Of C.S. Lewis To Arthur Greeves 1914-1963*, ed. Walter Hooper, Collins, 1979.)

### Back To The Future

Back to my home village of Kells, cradle of the Revival and still with a thriving Presbyterian congregation. But according to my grandfather, born in 1887, in his youth it was a place noted for fighting, drinking and general ruffianly behaviour. His wife had a theory that those areas that had been most strongly affected by the Revival suffered a reaction in the succeeding generation. It's as if there was a kind of scorched earth effect going on. When the Revival fire had burned out there wasn't enough vegetation left to support normal Christian life.

The price of the undoubted resurgence of 'vital religion' associated with the Revival was the breakup of familiar timeworn Protestant institutional structures. Different charismatic—usually small "c"—leaders pursued their respective visions of the heavenly Zion. The Evangelicals have been self-indulgent and undisciplined. As in the days of the Old Testament Judges, "every man did what was right in his own eyes". Various

stars shone brightly, flickered, and then went out.

What you were left with was a Protestant populace that was punch-drunk with the Gospel, or what they imagined to be the Gospel. They knew just enough of it to be inoculated against infection. If hope deferred makes the heart sick then false expectations disappointed lead to cynicism. We're not going to be caught that way again. Political disorientation, which is very much a feature of present Protestant experience—new Paisley is but old O'Neill writ large—is only a sideshow to a more profound spiritual disenchantment.

Admittedly Northern Ireland does continue to punch above its weight, and

in the field of apologetics John Lennox and Alister McGrath have attracted worldwide notice. But, congregations that buck the trend notwithstanding, the Protestant Churches in Ulster are on the retreat (the Church of Ireland in the Republic is not, but that's a different story). The particular circumstances of each denominational decline are variations on a theme. The increasingly secular place called Protestant Ulster has become a wasteland of the soul, populated by broken dreams. The subcultures have failed, and the cultural understanding is lamentable. The answer, as some are aware, is to understand the Gospel, understand the culture, and preach the Gospel to the culture. The paradox is that, to do that effectively, one might need, well, a Revival . . .

Sean Swan

A contribution to the Evolution Debate in Church and State

## Inevitability Of Evolution Process

Looking back at the debate on evolution, I have to agree with John Martin except that I would not use the term 'Darwinism' when I mean evolution. Joe Keenan gave us long quotations from *The Descent Of Man* which demonstrate that Darwin was a racist . . . well, sort of. *The Descent Of Man* demonstrates really only that he was a Victorian Englishman and reflected the prejudices of his age and class. Isaac Newton was similarly a keen believer in alchemy, but just because he had foolish beliefs about one part of reality does not mean he was wrong on gravity; and Darwin was correct about the general mechanism of the origin of species through natural selection. There were things that he could not explain, such as how characteristics were carried from one generation to the next, because DNA had not been discovered yet. He could observe it but could not explain the mechanism.

The use of the term Darwinism to mean evolution risks it being confused with 'Social Darwinism' and suddenly Auschwitz is used to 'disprove' evolution. This works in the same way as pointing out that the Nazis were 'national socialists' proves that Nazism and Socialism are the 'same thing'. Same distortion. But it would actually make no difference to the truth or falseness of evolution if it turned out that Darwin advocated making Blacks into pies and eating them. It is a moral, not a scientific, point. *Ad hominem* attacks on Darwin are not proof of anything about evolution, they are simply attempts to play the man and not the ball.

But maybe that is the only argument

against evolution that is left. Certainly when Jack Lane tries to tackle evolution itself the results are mildly hilarious

"It is not clear what laws are operating and how and why they are operating in the transformation of a caterpillar into a butterfly. It looks like the transformation of one species into another but nobody claims it as such no doubt because caterpillars continue to exist unchanged".

Caterpillars do not exist 'unchanged'. Caterpillars are just the larval stage of moths and butterflies. They no more exist 'unchanged' than does a foetus. And nobody claims that it is the transformation of one species into another because it isn't and has nothing to do with it.

Or this:

"The improvement and development of a species cannot be disputed and, as John says, it has been going on long before Darwinism appeared".

Yes, and apples were falling down long before Newton. So?

But let's take Jack on even in his moralistic attacks on Darwin: he quotes Darwin saying

"the civilized races will almost certainly exterminate, replace, the savage races throughout the world".

Now compare this to Marx

"[capitalism] compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves".

The key difference here between Darwin and Marx is that Darwin thinks



as a biologist and fails to take culture and economic life into account. He forgets when he shifts from animal to man that, while the social and 'economic' life of an organism like the bee is fixed, these things are adaptable in man. Modern man's main evolution is cultural, not biological. Marx understands this. But Darwin is essentially correct: the culture/economics of the 'savage races' will certainly be destroyed and replaced by that of the 'civilised races' (capitalism). And those peoples who fail to adapt quickly enough will be destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally, (though some may survive or be spared as sort of theme parks, human zoos or reservations where we can go on holidays and watch 'the natives' perform dances or engage in antiquated economic activity like hunting or basket weaving, etc. But here, too, the real nature of these activities will now be capitalist (service industry, in fact) no longer hunter-gatherer).

This is the dynamic of capitalism. This is what is happening and what has been happening since the start of the colonial age. The 'savages' may continue to exist biologically, but culturally they will be destroyed—yes, they may go on dancing or speaking 'native' tongues, but the real 'culture' will be capitalism and the bare cash nexus. And as this wave rolls across the world, do not be surprised if the 'opium of the masses', like everything else that kills pain and stupefies the senses, will be in great demand.

Joe Keenan disapprovingly quotes Darwin

"The remarkable success of the English as colonists, compared to other European nations, has been ascribed to their "daring and persistent energy"; a result which is well illustrated by comparing the progress of the Canadians of English and French extraction; but who can say how the English gained their energy? There is apparently much truth in the belief that the wonderful progress of the United States, as well as the character of the people, are the results of natural selection; for the more energetic, restless, and courageous men from all parts of Europe have emigrated during the last ten or twelve generations to that great country, and have there succeeded best".

But compare this to what Marx wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (Feb 1849):

"will Bakunin accuse the Americans of a "war of conquest", which, although it deals with a severe blow to his theory based on "justice and humanity", was nevertheless waged wholly and solely in the interest of civilization? Or is it perhaps unfortunate that splendid California has been taken away from the lazy

Mexicans, who could not do anything with it? That the energetic Yankees by rapid exploitation of the California gold mines will increase the means of circulation, in a few years will concentrate a dense population and extensive trade at the most suitable places on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, create large cities, open up communications by steamship, construct a railway from New York to San Francisco, for the first time really open the Pacific Ocean to civilization, and for the third time in history give the world trade a new direction?"

Both remark on the supposed 'energy' of the colonisers, Darwin tries to explain it but I cannot see where what he is saying is any more racist, to the extent it is racist (in the context of the nineteenth century), than what Marx is saying.

However I wonder if John Martin

thought it through when he wrote that he has 'the same attitude to Creationism as I have to Atheism', then follows it with the claim that he subscribes "*to the Marxist view of the world*". The Marxist view he quotes from includes:

"In summary communists are in philosophy materialists in their conception of the world, which does not have recourse to the idea of God. They think that the development of science gives to the world an explanation, if not sufficient, at least rational, which approaches the closest to the truth."

I agree with John that we cannot know conclusively that there is no God, but there is no materialist proof for a God and, in materialist terms, the claims of creationism are easily refutable but the claims of atheism are not refutable, they are just not provable—which is often the case in trying to prove a negative.

John Martin

The Evolution Debate

## Darwin: Reply to Jack Lane and Sean Swan

Jack Lane in reply to my article (*Church & State*, No. 98) concedes that species evolve, but refuses to accept that one species can evolve into another. But I don't see why not! It is perfectly conceivable to me that at a certain stage of development what a living organism has become is qualitatively different to what had existed before.

It is true that in the case of human beings we cannot observe evolution as it occurs, but scientists have been able to form a picture of how a human being looked at a distant point in time. The evidence from fossils suggests that the ancestor of the human being was an ape-like creature who bore a closer relationship to the chimpanzee than to *Homo Sapiens*. Engels thought that the ability to stand erect was a significant development in evolution because it freed the hands to use tools.

However, Darwin did not think that human beings were the direct descendants of the chimpanzee as Jack suggests. The chimpanzee was not "*left behind*". The chimpanzee is not a less evolved version of the human being. Darwin believed that if one traced the origin of the chimpanzee and human being back far enough the similarities would become more pronounced until eventually there would be convergence at one common ancestor. The chimpanzee branch of the primate family developed separately and in a different direction to the human being branch. As both branches evolved they were competing less and less for the same types of food since their environments had become different.

Darwin was very clear that a less

evolved version of a human being (or any other species) could not exist for long side by side with a more evolved version. The less evolved species would soon become extinct since it could not compete in the same environment with the identical requirements for food and sustenance as its more evolved counterpart. This is why fossils of intermediate forms between one species and another are so rare.

Nevertheless scientists have adduced evidence that birds are the descendants of dinosaurs. In 1861 in Bavaria they discovered evidence of the existence of an *archaeopteryx* which had the reptilian characteristics of a dinosaur such as a long bony tail and teeth, but also had feathers. The feathers originally were to provide insulation, but later evolved into wings. In the 1980s in China there were also fossil discoveries of a species of dinosaur with feathers. Scientists have also deduced from fossil remains that whales are the descendants of *raoellids* which were land-inhabiting animals about the size of dog that have been extinct for millions of years (see article by William Reville, *The Irish Times*, 19.11.09).

While in most cases evolution cannot be observed there is one life form in which it can. Bacteria evolves in response to antibiotics. Resistant strains reproduce until the antibiotics become ineffective.

Jack wonders why there is variation in life forms if all life has a common origin. There is no great difficulty in explaining this. The earth's environment

is not uniform or static over time. Species evolve in different directions because of the requirement to adapt to different environments. The process of adaptation occurs through reproduction.

Also different species have different strategies for survival. As Jack points out the chameleon hides itself from its predators. But it is wrong to suggest that the "*peacock does the exact opposite*". The peacock exhibits itself, not for the purposes of its predators, but in order to attract a mate. Reproduction is a prerequisite for the survival of the species. Therefore the "*survival of the sexiest*" is perfectly compatible with the theory of evolution. In the case of human beings there is a correlation between "*sexiness*" and the survival of the species. A strong, virile, sexy male might also be a good provider. A sexy female with large breasts, wide hips and regular features might indicate healthiness and a capacity to reproduce.

While Jack's discussion of Paul Davies's theory of "*weird life*" is interesting, I don't see how it is relevant to the theory of evolution. There might very well be "*weird life*" in extreme environments that we are unaware of. The discovery of such life might give us new insights into all life, but until this happens I can see no reason to abandon the theory of evolution.

\* \* \*

I would agree with many of the points that Sean Swan makes. For example the different forms that the butterfly takes in its lifecycle is a completely different question to the theory of evolution. I also agree that while creationism is refutable in materialist terms, the claims of atheism are not refutable or provable.

However, I am less willing than Sean to exonerate Darwin from the charge of racism. Sean is correct to say that the main difference between Marx and Darwin is that Marx saw the evolution of man in economic, social and cultural terms, while Darwin saw it in biological terms. But that is a vast difference even if the distinction might be lost on the victims of imperialism.

Both Darwin and Marx were scientists who were not in the habit of describing the world in moralistic terms. Nevertheless they also believed in progress and progress is not a morally neutral term. That which leads to progress is by implication "*good*" and that which is opposed to it is "*bad*".

Darwin believed that the destruction of "*inferior races*" (i.e. human beings of a non European origin) was good, whereas Marx only believed in the destruction of inferior social systems. I doubt if Marx would have had any moral objections to the son of a Kenyan leading the most

powerful country in the world, whereas Darwin would have thought the idea inconceivable. This difference between Marx and Darwin is very far from being a fine distinction.

In my view, Marxism in its original form was in danger of being nothing

more than a justification for imperialism. Leninism made it something else and the world was better for it. "*Social Darwinism*" with its rigid, biologically determined, hierarchical ideas of the human race was incapable of a similar evolution.

Jack Lane

The Evolution Debate

## Evidence?

### Reply to John Martin

John Martin rightly focuses on the real problem area for theories of evolution—actual evidence. He quotes some evidence but I have great difficulty in accepting that it is sufficient to prove the origin of new species. John says that the reaction of bacteria to antibiotics proves evolution. It does prove one type of evolution about which there is no dispute—the adapting, development and strengthening of the bacteria species, but does it automatically lead to new species of bacteria rather than new strains of what exists, a slight realignment of the genes? In equine terms creating Shergars rather than carthorses. Or greyhounds rather than St. Bernards.

He says that "*Species evolve in different directions because of the requirement to adapt to different environments*"—which is correct as far as it goes, in the sense of a species adapting to its environment (as with bacteria) again to consolidate and develop itself.

But I find it difficult to understand why, for example, there seems to be an infinite number of fish and marine species in the sea to adapt to a basically common and consistent environment. Every time I watch a nature programme on the subject there seem to be more varieties, each more weird and wonderful than the last. Why such a variety in a similar environment? There are certainly more varieties of species than there are varieties of environment. Will only one or a few species survive eventually? Are all the rest, whichever they are, just random mutations, the vast majority of whom will not survive because they are 'less evolved'? Darwinism would seem to say Yes, but can we ever know which ones exactly are the most evolved and which will survive and why exactly? And how long will the losers last?

Another form of evolution theory would say they are all interdependent and that it is essential to all that all survive and thrive (or evolve) as the species they are. I suggest that all actual evidence supports the latter theory. Is it a case of all against all or all for all?

I see some sense in the 'weird life' theory because it would explain the origin of variation in life forms which Darwin

himself found inexplicable. And I cannot see how the variation of life forms can be separated from the very nature and origin of life itself which remains unknown.

Since this discussion with John began I have taken a somewhat more than passing interest in the recent scientific research that has emerged on the subject of evolution to see if it makes the evidence any less problematic.

### Toenail clippings....

There was an interesting comment reported recently by a Dublin University researcher who made a valuable discovery when compiling her PhD work on a study of 10 million-year-old frog fossils. Dr. Maria McNamara spoke at the British Science Association's annual Festival of Science in Guildford and said:

"... 'People have been collecting fossils at least from Bronze Age times. The problem is there are huge gaps in the record of life which stretches back several billion years.' Dr McNamara was nominated to deliver a prestigious Charles Lyell Award Lecture at the festival yesterday which she titled: *What rots? How dead animals decompose and its importance for decoding the history of life*. She described how fossils form when dead animals are buried in sediments to be preserved in rocks that later migrate back to the surface due to movements in the Earth's crust. "Ninety-nine per cent of the fossil record is made up of scattered bits of bone, fragmented shells and isolated teeth", she said. "The incompleteness of this record made it difficult for palaeontologists to understand the animal's size and shape. It was like trying to understand what humans look like by studying their toenail clippings" she suggested." (Irish Times, 9 September 2009).

It seemed an excellently realistic way to describe the work of her profession and I am sure she will make progress in it on that basis. It is refreshing to see such modesty from scientists these days. She deserves a prize for her plain speaking.

### Dinosaur with a sore throat.....

The issue of what happened to the dinosaurs got another outing recently.



Compared to dealing with frogs it should be easy peasy to come to definite conclusions about these monsters with tons of bones available. The big question is what happened to them and several reasons have been argued—a meteorite, ice, climate change, hunger, disease, etc. But there is now a new theory—a sore throat:

"Dinosaur enthusiasts are revising their image of the mighty Tyrannosaurus rex after discovering that the most famous specimen on public display was felled not in mortal combat, but by an infection that causes sore throats in pigeons. Nicknamed Sue, the seven-tonne T. rex at the Field Museum in Chicago is the largest and most complete example of the prehistoric predator ever unearthed. The fossil, which stretches 13m from nose to tail, cost curators a record-breaking \$8.4m at auction in 1997. The 65m-year-old beast is known to have survived violent skirmishes that left her with three broken ribs, torn tendons and a damaged shoulder. But according to a study of Sue's remains, her death was far more mundane than her combat-scarred remains suggest. Researchers led by Ewan Wolff at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, examined gouge marks in Sue's jaw that were thought to have been inflicted in one-on-one battles with other tyrannosaurs. But closer inspection of the holes revealed striking similarities with indentations seen in modern birds that are caused by a common parasite that infects the mouth and throat. The disease, called trichomonosis, causes bone loss in the jaw in its later stages... As the infection spread, Sue would have found it increasingly difficult to swallow and may eventually have starved to death, according to a report in the journal Public Library of Science One. "It's ironic to think that an animal as mighty as Sue probably died as a result of a parasitic infection. I'll never look at a feral pigeon the same way again." (Guardian, 29 September 2009.)

This shows that even when full bones are found the problems facing analysts do not end. Modesty is certainly required in this business.

#### Good bye Lucy, hello Ardi, for now....

But by far the most interesting announcement was the discovery of Ardi, our new oldest ancestor—maybe. Up to recently, Lucy, discovered by Richard Leakey in 1974, was our common ancestor with the other lower chimp-like animals and was about 4 million years old. But no longer. Ardi has taken over from Lucy and ruins the idea that we had a common ancestor with chimps and similar 'lower' animals. Instead:

"...“Throw out all those posters and

books that depict an ape evolving into a human being”, says Kent State University Professor of Anthropology Dr. C. Owen Lovejoy. An internationally recognized biological anthropologist who specializes in the study of human origins, Lovejoy is one of the primary authors who revealed their research findings today on *Ardipithecus ramidus*, a hominid species that lived 4.4 million years ago in what is now Ethiopia. “People often think we evolved from apes, but no, apes in many ways evolved from us”, Lovejoy said. “It has been a popular idea to think humans are modified chimpanzees. From studying *Ardipithecus ramidus*, or 'Ardi', we learn that we cannot understand or model human evolution from chimps and gorillas”...” (Kent, Ohio—Oct. 1, 2009.)

This means that we and the chimps, baboons etc are evolving on parallel lines for about 4.4 million years. With Ardi now in the picture we have to go back another million or two for some possible convergence of ourselves with others with a common ancestor. So the missing link is now at least six million years away.

The *Irish Times* was very enthused and its Science Editor explained:

"Chimps, bonobos and gorillas are undoubtedly our closest living ancestors, but how does this now match up in light of the findings related to Ardi? Scientists believe that the missing link, our last shared common ancestor with the apes, lived at least six million years ago. Ardi undoubtedly exhibits traits that would be seen in this earlier ancestor if its fossils could be found" (IT, 2 October, 2009, emphasis added.)

We know very well that the (tax-dodging) *Irish Times* with its prejudices and selectivity is well able to produce cartoon versions of Irish history and politics and still call itself the journal of record for Ireland. But does this science from its Science Editor make it just as hopeless a journal of record for science?

Something would exist at a certain time in the past if the evidence could be found! There is no need to wait for the evidence. This is blind Darwinian faith and has nothing whatever to do with science as commonly understood. Darwinism can't be wrong on this basis because the evidence will turn up to prove it right—given time. That's the secret weapon. Time which does nothing in itself will prove Darwin right—eventually. In the meantime the common ancestor keeps receding in time but it's always there, just over the horizon. But we need only patience and all will be revealed. Time will tell.

The problem is that with time anything

is imaginable and anything is therefore possible. We all know that a monkey could write the works of Francis Bacon (aka Shakespeare) given time, and then the Bible, given more time, and then the whole literature of the world given extra time and then discover the whole science of the world given another bit of time and the secret of life no doubt—given even more time. Time is the key to Darwinian theory—it does or will explain all. But time itself explains nothing. Darwinism can't be wrong because given time the common ancestor will turn up—it's inevitable. But will it happen before the sun stops shining—which is certain?

And, when the missing link of all humans and animals is discovered (including Sue the dinosaur, Ms. McNamara's frog, Vincent O'Brien's horses, the Martins and the Lanes), our common Mother, then we must go on to find the common link with all vegetable life. And then with all gas and mineral life? Eventually we will find the cell that started all this and which multiplied and filled the earth and the heavens and the oceans. Or the little acorn of the tree of life which is another analogy for the same thing.

Is this not another genesis story with an Eve, not an Adam, in keeping with the times we live in? A secular religion that arose in a specific time and place for a specific reason—the result of England's dissecting and discrediting of Christianity and the dire need for a new god and theology to satisfy itself and to sanction its Imperial purposes for the world. A theory that created a theology of survival of the fittest to explain all conflict, down to bar room brawls. Every dog-and-cat fight became a conflict to determine the future of a species. Conflict was not allowed to indicate interdependence in any shape or form. The fittest replaced the holiest, and the methods to achieve this had all the genocidal, murderous characteristics of the Judaeo-Christian god.

And the *Irish Times* being a 'dedicated follower of (English) fashion' in all things promotes it blindly as science, evidence or no evidence.

Why is it assumed that life had to go from the simple to the complex? From one cell to trillions of trillions? As far as I know the sheer amount of matter can only change in form and location, not increase or decrease and therefore it goes from one complexity to another. Any other view seems sheer human arrogance imposing its own limited mental constructions on the world. We could simply be playing shapes with the toenail clippings.

#### And bye, bye Ida, whoever you were...

If the evidence for Darwinian evolution was not problematic we should look at



the latest on Ida. This story throws Lucy and Ardi completely out of court in the evolution stakes—they are yesterday's news literally and metaphorically. This 47 million old fossil was discovered just a few months ago and was hailed as the key to evolution as we know it. David Attenborough—no less—hailed her saying "*At last we have a fossil link to the rest of animal life*". However, *The Guardian* reported the latest developments as follows:

"Her arrival was announced with unrestrained razzmatazz. She was the "eighth wonder of the world", "our Mona Lisa" and an evolutionary "Rosetta Stone", according to the researchers who unveiled her. The female in question was Ida, a 47 million-year-old primate, whose exquisitely preserved fossil was touted as the remains of our earliest human ancestor. She was, they said, the "link" between us and the rest of the animal kingdom.

"Or maybe not. Writing in the journal, *Nature*, a team of palaeontologists from New York claim that Ida is not related to humans at all. Instead, they conclude, the \$1m fossil looks more like a small lemur or maybe a loris.

"The challenge is being seen as the opening salvo in what is shaping up to be a hearty academic slugging match. At stake is not only the significance of one of the most extraordinary fossils unearthed, but the reputations of some of the world's leading researchers. So far, relations between the two sides are strained but courteous.

"Our analysis and results have convinced us that Ida was not an ancestor of monkeys, apes, or humans, and if anything has more relevance for our understanding of lemur and loris origins", said Erik Seiffert, a fossil hunter at Stony Brook University in New York who led the *Nature* study.

"Researchers behind the Ida fossil, known formally as *Darwinius masillae*, immediately defended their own interpretation, which is based on two years of meticulous measurements of the remains.

"We expected a challenge like this and it's interesting it has taken five months for the first attack to come", said Jørn Hurum, a palaeontologist at Oslo University's Natural History Museum where the fossil is now lodged. "What we claim about Ida is really quite controversial."

"Seiffert and his team claim *Darwinius* didn't have much anatomical detail to study because it is so crushed, but none of the authors have ever seen the original specimen. She's not that crushed, there's a lot of information in the fossil. We really trust and stand by our interpretation", Hurum said.

"Hurum bought Ida for \$1m after

agreeing to meet a private dealer in a vodka bar in Hamburg where he was shown a series of photographs of the fossil. At the time, its exact place in evolutionary history was unclear. What Hurum did know was that Ida came from a time when the primate lineage that led to monkeys, apes and humans split from another group of animals that became lemurs and lorises. Hurum took a gamble. "It would have been quite an expensive lemur", he told the *Guardian* at the time.

"The Ida fossil, which was found in the Messel Pit on the outskirts of Frankfurt, was revealed to the public in what amounted to the greatest publicity coup in modern science. The mayor of New York, Michael Bloomberg, appeared alongside the fossil, wearing a T-shirt carrying the TV tie-in logo, "The link". A book about Ida was already coming off the presses.

"Ida was an immediate media sensation. The fossil received blanket coverage around the world and newspapers hailed her as the "missing link" between humans and animals. The *Guardian* even gave away free wallcharts of "humanity's long lost ancestor".

"The controversy erupted after Seiffert's team unearthed the fossilised remnants of a similar, but much younger primate in northern Egypt. Analysis of the 37 million-year-old lemur-like fossil showed it was a close relative of Ida and had several dental features that are commonly seen in apes and humans.

"Seiffert's team fed information from the new fossil and 117 living and extinct primates into a computer model to find out where the new species sat in the tree of life. Writing in *Nature*, Seiffert explains that while the new fossil, named *Afradapis*, is related to Ida, both emerged along the evolutionary path that led to lemurs and lorises. Their anatomical similarities with later primates evolved independently from those seen in monkeys, humans and apes, he explained.

"They are trying to explain all of the traits we see in *Darwinius* in terms of parallel evolution", said Hurum. Parallel evolution is when two groups of animals evolve similar features without being related to one another.

"In an email, Philip Gingerich, a leading paleontologist at Princeton University who worked on Ida, said both fossils were almost certainly part of the lineage that led to monkeys, apes and humans. He wrote that it was "puzzling" to see Seiffert's team claim they were related to a group that became lemurs and lorises "with which it shares no resemblance".

"Further work by Seiffert's team appears to add insult to injury. According to their study, neither Ida nor *Afradapis*

have any living descendants, meaning they became extinct at the end of a side-branch of the evolutionary tree.

"This will be part of a discussion that will run for weeks and months to come", Hurum said." (*The Guardian*, 21 October 2009). (This article was amended on 22 October 2009. The original located Messel Pit on the outskirts of Hamburg. This has been corrected, and the fossil's current Oslo location clarified).

It seems therefore that any possible missing link must be pushed back to well over 47 million years and that we were all on parallel lines for at least that length of time. This means that there has been about a tenfold lengthening of the human/animal evolution timeframe in the last few months of announced research on the matter. Still no sightings of the missing link, and so we go merrily onwards into the Darwinian past.

The question that must be asked is: is there a danger that the absolute conviction of a convergence of all evolutionary life might be a hindrance to the real practical advancement of science in this area? The case of Ida shows how this actually happened in her case.

Forgive the pun, but maybe we are barking up the wrong tree of life?

### Reply to Seán Swan

I agree with the gist of John Martin's response to Seán re Marx and he makes the very pertinent point that the development of Marxism helped change the world for the better, by any standard, but the same cannot be said for the development of Darwinism.

Seán says that "*Modern man's main evolution is cultural, not biological*". I assume he accepts that man's thinking is therefore part of modern man's evolution and related to his culture and the context of his time. Even Newton and his theories were related to his time and culture—'*standing on the shoulders of giants*' etc. And no doubt his theories will be amended as other giants appear.

But, in contrast to Darwinian evolutionary theory and Newtonian theories on gravity, as I think I have indicated above, the actual proof of such evolutionary theory is problematic so far whereas Newton's theories are demonstrable. Newton can therefore be separated from his theories. As Copernicus can be separated from his theories which are no longer theories.

But for Sean the very modern theory of Darwinian evolution is above and beyond the man who formulated it. Because when Joe Keenan and I draw attention to him—the cultural context—Seán cries foul and wants to separate the man from the theory and accuses us of playing the man not the ball, i.e. the cultural context must disappear. But Darwinian Theory

is just that, a theory, an idea, a thought that has not yet been proved. We are still awaiting the missing link and therefore knowledge of how exactly we evolved. Therefore the cultural context and the man are inseparable from it when dealing this or any other theory.

He claims that Darwinian evolution has nothing to do with Social Darwinism in the same way as National Socialism has nothing to do with socialism. But National Socialism *was* a form of socialism and there is no point denying it. Similarly with Social Darwinism. Otherwise all the very eminent people who took it up were a pack of fools. And Darwin himself did not dissociate himself from 'the survival of the fittest' ideas which were developed in his lifetime. Darwinian evolutionary theory (as opposed to other forms, and there were and are others) came out of the toxic mix of Victorian racism, imperialist aggression and Malthusian genocidal economics and that is also undeniable as the reading of the latter was specifically acknowledged by Darwin himself as his Eureka moment. The man and the ball are inseparable. His theory confirmed all the above attitudes for Darwin's audience and led on to many others adopting them. Not a pretty sight but nonetheless true. Seán is being squeamish about this but he cannot refute the facts. Neither is it moralising to point them out. Darwin cannot be sanitised from the origin or results of his theory.

The Nazis were latecomers, very late, to Social Darwinism. It—and its offshoot, eugenics—flourished decades before the Nazis ever existed and was experimented with on both sides of the Atlantic with gusto as the height of self evident wisdom. It had all the sudden and wide popularity and scientific support that Global Warming has going for it today. All the best people were believers and supporters: the Fabians, Shaw, the Webbs, Keynes, Wells, Churchill, Russell, Stopes, Balfour, Beveridge, etc. etc. The need for '*lethal chambers*' to deal with '*the residuum of society*' was openly discussed, and the Mental Deficiency Act passed in 1913 would have been music to Nazi ears. WWI slowed the movement but it proceeded apace in the US and the horrors of the mass legal sterilisation programmes are infamous. Hitler wrote to one leading figure of the movement and friend of Presidents, Madison Grant, to praise him and claim that his book *The Passing of a Great Race* was his (Hitler's) "*bible*".

See a recently published book *The Political Gene: How Darwin's Ideas Changed Politics* by Dennis Sewell for a detailed discussion of all this.

Social Darwinism was just one more idea that Hitler copied from England and, as it was the most successful state

in world affairs, it had to have the best theories about such things—had it not? That is why he was such an Anglophile.

Seán plays Marx the man and I have no objection to that, but this man did not agree with Darwin though of the same era. He saw Darwin precisely as a man of his own specific culture—a proof of Seán's point, I would submit. It is therefore a complete distortion of Marx to insist on giving him a Darwinian version of history as Seán does.

Seán seeks to make Marx as much of a racist as Darwin but there is no comparison. Marx was keen to display the *spirit* of the capitalism of his day, and that included racism, to those who were softheaded about such processes and in the piece quoted he was engaging in a polemic with Bakunin and was trenchant as usual in making his case. But there is no admiration as such about the process. For example, when dealing with the British in India he said:

"When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production and subject to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain" (*The Future Results of British Rule in India*, 1853, Marx Engels, Selected Works. Volume 1, p.499).

And when Seán quotes him:

"[capitalism] compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves"

it is clear that what capitalism calls civilisation is its description of the process—not his.

So capitalism was a transitory, monstrous, phenomenon for him. Marx saw societies being assaulted by capitalism—he did not see races. The fact that the society might be formed of a certain race was not the issue for him, whereas for Darwin that biological fact is all. So Marx cannot be married to Darwin despite all the efforts to do so.

And Darwin was not just a run of the mill racist as he was able to give the aura of science to the following observations:

"...[man] has diverged into distinct races, or as they may be more appropriately called, sub-species. Some of these, such as the Negro and Europeans, are so distinct that, if specimens had been brought to a naturalist without any further information, they would undoubtedly have been considered by him as good and true species" (Note-

books).\*

Could anyone imagine Marx writing this?

Seán says:

"The key difference here between Darwin and Marx is that Darwin thinks as a biologist and fails to take culture and economic life into account... Modern man's main evolution is cultural, not biological. Marx understands this. But Darwin is essentially correct—the culture/economics of the 'savage races' will certainly be destroyed and replaced by that of the 'civilised races' (capitalism). And those peoples who fail to adapt quick enough will be destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally, (though some may survive or be spared as sort of theme parks, human zoos or reservations)..."

This is playing fast and loose with both Marx and Darwin and recreating them to suit his views. On the one hand Darwin is wrong as he does not understand that modern man's evolution is non-biological, but then he is right as regards capitalism. But a man with a biological view of society must be racist as opposed to someone who does not have a biological view of society. Seán cannot have it every which way and make both of their views interchangeable as his fancy takes him.

And anyway Marx did not believe modern man's evolution was a cultural matter. It was a political matter. Aristotle had that right two millennia ago when he said that only gods and dogs (and other animals) were outside politics which was essentially about the functioning of the state(s). Marx was a political

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\* Darwin's theories were taken up and added to enthusiastically in the popular press as soon as they appeared. A great search for missing links began and within a couple of years of the publication of the *Origin of Species* a link was found in London:

"A gulf certainly, does appear to yawn between the Gorilla and the Negro. The woods and wilds of Africa do not exhibit an example of any intermediate animal. But in this, as in many other cases, philosophers go vainly searching abroad for that which they could readily find if they sought for it at home. A creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro is to be met with in some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland, whence it has contrived to migrate; it belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages: the lowest species of Irish Yahoo. When conversing with its kind it talks a sort of gibberish. It is, moreover, a climbing animal, and may sometimes be seen ascending a ladder laden with a hod of bricks." (*Punch*, 1862).

I don't think this was not just a joke to all its readers.



economist and politics was therefore primary for him. Society was a collection of competing tendencies of all sorts and he emphasised the economic aspects that had hitherto not been given due attention. But it was not a question of iron laws and that is why he was not a Marxist as he explained, exasperatedly. But Seán gives us iron laws of economics and calls them Marxist or Darwinian, or both, as far as I can make sense of him.

All societies in history have been subject to sudden assaults of various kinds—military, economic, biological, climatic or whatever—and have either succumbed or adapted. That is nothing new. But what exactly makes some survive and others able to adapt and utilise elements of their assailants is the central fact that needs explaining.

Seán talks about cultures being inevitably destroyed. But what is the culture of a people? Culture is constantly changing. For example, look at the socio-political organism that is China. It has evolved and changed over millennia—in not much more than a century it has been an imperial power, a colonised power, a communist power and now a leading player in the capitalist world. It we had a world war, it would no doubt be a military power. And, if capitalism collapses, I am quite certain it will survive it and remain recognisable as China. Changing and adapting to circumstances in order to remain Chinese is the one constant. Its culture is to change to remain Chinese. So where is the inevitable destruction of culture that Seán sees inherent in capitalism? China changes, adapts, survives and thrives because its politics/civilisation is more powerful than anything else. It has taken capitalism, or the cash-nexus, in its stride and because of that very fact proving that there are more powerful forces and tendencies in operation. Its use of the cash nexus is not directed at destroying societies by any and every means possible. And that difference makes all the difference to the peoples concerned.

The main races and cultures that have been specifically destroyed are those of the native North Americans and of Australia because they got the full blast of Anglo Saxon colonisation and the reason why was explained as follows by one of the leading lights of the Darwin era, Sir Charles Dilke:

"The Anglo-Saxon is the only extirpating race on earth. Up to the commencement of the now inevitable destruction of the Red Indians..., of the Maoris and of the [indigenous] Australians, no numerous race has ever been blotted out by an invader." (*Greater Britain: a record of travel in English-speaking countries during 1866 and 1867* (1868)).

Dilke would have been the Liberal

Prime Minister after Gladstone but for a messy divorce case, a precursor to the Parnell case.

It was not therefore some inevitable iron laws of economics or some 'unintentional' process that destroyed these peoples—it was Darwin's peers and their politics. It was only in North America that human beings were exhibited for entertainment in zoos, put in reservations and on the stage. Therefore Seán's great generalisation has far too narrow a basis to be valid and does not work. For example, even the natives of nearby South America did not suffer the same fate and for the same, but opposite reason, they escaped Anglo-Saxon civilisation. So the economic determinist drive that would be necessary to put people in zoos, etc. is very specific.

Or do random mutations come into this in some way? And, as these can explain anything, would it not be another way to explain away the real issues rather than explain them.

Describing societies, cultures, economies being destroyed in Darwinian language simply poses the old Darwinian tautology—it is just a case of the survival of the fittest because the survivors are the fittest? It is about as enlightening as saying the best team won the All-Ireland Final because they are winners and the other team did not because they're losers. Far from being scientific, it is an anti-scientific banality, I submit.

Sean says:

"The 'savages' may continue to exist biologically, but culturally they will be destroyed—yes, they may go on dancing or speaking 'native' tongues, but the real 'culture' will be capitalism and the bare cash nexus."

There is a comforting glib inevitability about this approach, but let's take a brief look at how just one group of 'savages' were introduced to the 'bare cash-nexus' and were not even allowed to continue dancing etc:

"In 1830 Tasmania was put under martial law, a line of armed beaters was formed across the island, and an attempt was made to drive the aborigines into a cul-de-sac..." (Moorehead, *The Fatal Impact*).

"The final extermination [of the Tasmanians] was a large-scale event, undertaken with the co-operation of the military and judiciary... Soldiers of the Fortieth Regiment drove the natives between two great rock formations, shot all the men and dragged the women and children out of fissures in the rocks to knock their brains out..." (Ziehr, *Hell in Paradise*).

I would assume that Sean would regard

it as mere moralising not to accept this type of behaviour with equanimity as we are simply dealing here with one of "*those peoples who fail to adapt quick enough (who) will be destroyed, either intentionally or unintentionally*". Could the progress of the world not have waited a little while in these cases? The fact is that cultures/economies are only destroyed when the peoples are destroyed. Otherwise they adapt. And the specific people that destroyed peoples were Darwin's inspirers, peers and admirers. Thankfully such behaviour cannot be accepted as any kind of inevitable law of economics or politics—it was specific and exceptional. Sean is putting ideology before facts.

### Zoos etc

Speaking of zoos. The Gaza Strip can be described as a zoo these days but both sides, Arabs and Jews, have no problems with the cash nexus of trade and commerce. They are both experts in it since time immemorial so it hardly explains why we have a genocidal war on one by the other and the horrors of the Gaza strip. Something else is clearly at work and "*the bare cash nexus*" would be a meaningless approach to take in offering any explanation. It would, again, only explain away the issue.

And how does "*the bare cash nexus*" help explain any of the major formative events in the world since Darwin and Marx? All defy any form of any such economic determinism.

As for the importance of DNA, this is an impartial factor, a hereditary mechanism, in theories of evolution and is utilised equally by creationists and evolutionists to seek to prove their points.

### Butterflies, moths and caterpillars

I am pleased for him if Seán is quite satisfied with the explanation of caterpillars becoming butterflies as a case of larvae creating butterflies and seeing it essentially like a foetus. "*Caterpillars are just the larval stage of moths and butterflies*" he says. True, but that's a butterfly/mothcentric view. The purpose of butterflies and moths can also be considered as simply an exotic mechanism perpetuated by fully developed sentient beings, caterpillars, creating wings to spread their eggs and also enriching the beauties of nature in the spectacular process of doing so.

To a caterpillar, the butterfly is itself with wings attached for that specific, very transitory purpose. The caterpillar and its reproduction is the point of the whole exercise but the caterpillar seems to be put on a very much lower order of beings for Seán. It depends on one's cultural viewpoint I suppose. To follow his analogy, it's as if the foetus was the biological purpose of human beings rather than the reproduction of more



human beings.

But I can't appreciate the similarity with the behaviour of a foetus as the latter always remains very much identifiable as the being it is and will become, and by comparison simply grows. It is, and remains, the same species and does not go through amazing transformations, grow wings and fly

out of the womb metamorphosed into a completely different-looking and differently-behaving entity—as another species. I can only appreciate the glaring differences in the two processes not the tenuous similarities.

But being a true Darwinian Seán's curiosity seems easily satisfied.

Tim O'Sullivan

The Evolution Debate

## Intelligent Design

When Darwinian evolution comes up for discussion in the public domain, often it is referred to in relation to *Creationism*. What is this "*Creationism*" actually, is not always clear. Usually, it appears to refer to the teaching and promotion of the Old Testament creation story as the narrative which best explains how mankind came to inhabit the earth. According to this narrative a supreme deity created the world and all living things on the planet, including man, within six days. On the seventh day the deity, who according to the narrative was male, took a rest. It was rest, given the extraordinary and capacious achievements of the previous six days, only the most mean-minded and sullenly myopic would begrudge.

The deity figure, otherwise less grandly referred to simply and plainly as "*God*", does not get off lightly in the ever-simmering Darwinism debate. Some refer to him disrespectfully as just an auld cod, a hoax, a character devised by primitive peoples aeons ago as a device to explain the world and to anchor a fear ridden social order. With a sneering air of superiority, others point to the historical material in a major biographical work on God called *the Bible*. They chirp triumphantly about how archaeological evidence does not corroborate the history the book contains, such as the stories of the early Israelite kingdoms. The story of God's extravagantly productive six days is dismissed with a nod and a shrug.

Less frequently "*Creationism*" is used to refer to the writings and thoughts of some scientists who appear to have a problem accepting and believing in Darwinism as a comprehensive and valid explanation for how living things came to inhabit the earth. More clarity results if "*Creationism*" is taken to be the belief that the explanation of the origins of life as found in a traditional religious text or narrative is broadly historically accurate. Creationism does not have to be Christian. There are, for example, Muslim creationists.

Those who challenge Darwinism from a solely scientific point of view are today better known as proponents of "*Intel-*

*ligent Design*". They argue that random genetic drift and natural selection alone cannot account for the "*irreducible complexity*" in certain natural phenomena. The classic example of this is the human eye. How could such a complex mechanism with so many independent parts have arisen by gradual incremental changes, when the mechanism would not function without all of the parts working together?

Intelligent Design (ID for short) looks at evolution from a critical standpoint, based on scientific concerns. It is not concerned with the promotion of any religious tradition. Creationism, on the other hand is concerned with traditional religious origin stories or myths. Most stalwart supporters of ID are adherents of traditional religions to some extent or other. An example is the Muslim anti-Evolution activist Harun Yahya who has circulated his book *Atlas Of Creation* worldwide in a variety of languages. So, essentially, every proponent of Creationism is also a proponent of ID but every proponent of ID is not necessarily a proponent of Creationism. ID has its origins in scientific endeavours. Creationism has its origins in the mists of time, so to speak.

Since Darwin first propounded his theory of evolution in the mid-nineteenth century there have always been scientists who were not convinced. For instance, they pointed to the absence of transitional fossils in the fossil record. If evolution had taken place, there ought to have been a great many transitional structures preserved in fossilised form recording the stages of development from one type of organism to another type. No fully convincing examples of such fossils have been found despite over a century of endeavour.

As recent developments have enhanced science's understanding of life at the molecular level, more scientists are prepared to challenge Darwinism. In 1985 *Evolution: A Theory In Crisis* by Australian molecular biologist Michael Denton was published. The book called attention to the extraordinary complexity

of living tissue at the level of the cell. The author questioned how such complexity could arise merely as a result of epically long processes of chance modification over generations down the ages. According to Denton, at the time he wrote his book he was an agnostic and had no religious agenda to promote.

Denton's book confines itself to the natural world and concentrates on the biology of the cell; cells being the essential components of all living tissue. His point was that evolutionary theory does not hold up well against what we actually know about the natural world at the cellular level.

In 1996, with '*Darwin's Black Box*', Dr Mike Behe, an American university biochemist, first coined the phrase: "*irreducible complexity*". The book developed further the ideas expressed by Denton.

These writer scientists promote Intelligent Design theory in its scientific context. The question as to what could be the nature of the intelligent aspect of existence involved is not dealt with. As biological scientists it is not theirs to be concerned with such questions which belong more to the realm of philosophy or, indeed, the realm of Creationism.

As they said it in *Star Wars*; may "*the Force*" be with you.

Pat Muldowney

### Statement of UN Ambassador Susan Rice, regarding Iran's nuclear policies:

"And while we have been and remain in constant consultation with our P5+1 partners on the way forward, we have said that this is a dual-track effort - there has been an engagement track, which we have been very actively engaged in, but there is also a pressure track, and as Iran makes choices that seem to indicate that it is not at this stage ready and willing to take up the offers on the engagement track, then we will put greater emphasis on the pressure track. Time is short, and we are serious about implementing to the fullest extent that dual-track policy."

(<http://usun.state.gov/briefing/statements/2009/132756.htm>)

"Engagement track"

v. "pressure track":

The velvety bribe

Or the blood-spattered rack?

Who should we coddle?

Who should we whack?

So many small countries,

So hard to keep track!

Should we play Santa,

With gifts in our sack?

Or crush them like beetles,

With a blitzkrieg attack?

Diplomacy's dandy,

But patience we lack.

Let's hope they see reason,

And remember **Iraq**.

# Between a Rock and Hard Gospel

## The Orange Order and the Church of Ireland

Extracted from *An Affair With The Bishop Of Cork*, Aubane, 2009

Judge not, that ye be not judged.

For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?

Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?

Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

**Gospel of Matthew, chapter 7, verses 1 to 5**

**The Church of Ireland Hard Gospel project arose from media depictions of the Orange Order's contentious use of Church property and facilities, and from participation in the Order by clergy and laity. The Church divided against itself, its pluralist image in Ireland ensnared in sectarian conflict during the 1990s.**

After Easter each year the Orange Order initiates public celebration of what the supremacist organisation regards as its British way of life, based on support for biblical Protestantism and the "being Protestant" British monarchy. It habitually wears out shoe leather until leaves fall in the autumn, in celebration of "civil and religious liberty". Approximately 2,500 marches, parades, feeder parades, band practices and bonfires occupy the highways and byways of the North. Many Britons, on encountering these displays, find them alien to British identity. They are always accompanied by physical attacks on Catholics and by other provocations, some of which are detailed here.

The Order's insistence on marching in some mainly nationalist areas of Northern Ireland caused a crisis in the Church's relationship with the Order during the 1990s. Sectarian violence that accompanied the Order's attempts to defy bans on marching in those areas appalled many Church members.

The ban on marching through the mainly nationalist Garvaghy Road in Portadown in particular, one week prior to the annual 12th July protest, provoked violent opposition:

"In 1995, after two days of violence, mediation between local nationalists and the Order took place and a limited parade was allowed. In 1996, the parade was banned. While police and soldiers held the Orangemen back behind steel barricades, Billy Wright - who by this time had a terrifying reputation throughout mid-Ulster - sent his gang to murder a Catholic [Michael McGoldrick, a taxi driver]. The chief constable changed his ruling. The parade would be allowed, he said, because otherwise too many lives might be lost." (Susan McKay, *Guardian*, 17 Nov 2001)

The epicentre for mobilisation against police and then statutory Parades Commission marching bans was the Drumcree Parish Church. It was used for an Orange Order church service each year, before a futile post-1996 attempt was made to walk the Garvaghy Road. Facilities offered by the church, in the form of meeting rooms, plus toilet and cooking facilities, helped to maintain the protest for weeks on end, year after year.

Though Wright, nickname 'King Rat', was a notorious sec-

tarian killer, association with violent loyalists seemed a winning formula. It was tried again. On 30 April 2000, the *Sunday Times* reported that Portadown Orangemen "entered a secret alliance with Johnny Adair, a loyalist terrorist, to seize control of the Drumcree protest in July." Adair, nickname 'Mad Dog', was a leader of the illegal UDA's 'C' Company on Belfast's Shankill Road. He adopted the slogan 'Kill 'em all, let God sort them out' with regard to Catholics. A 1995 newspaper feature on Adair contained:

"So did he ever have a Catholic in his car before? 'Only a dead one,' he says. We drive on in silence... 'What do we do with Taigs?' Mad Dog asks. 'We spray them,' obliges the combat jacket [his companion] with a friendly drunken grin. Ask Mad Dog what he is and he says an 'Ulster man.' Ask him what he is going to die for and he says: 'The Crown' .... 'I know they will get me,' says Mad Dog. But he doesn't lose sleep over it. He has no remorse for the killing and no pity for his victims. 'Once you get your first Fenian blood, it is easy after that.'" (Maggie O'Kane, *Guardian*, 7 Sep 1995)

On 2 July 2000 Stoneyford Orange Order leader Mark Harbinson mounted a British Army Saracen vehicle and set the scene. He proclaimed Drumcree as "Ulster's Alamo" and continued, "the war begins here." (*Belfast Telegraph*, 3 Jul 2000)

As predicted, Adair arrived in Drumcree on 3 July 2000 with 50 tee-shirted supporters and arranged for the firing of shots in a nearby estate. Further violence and intimidation ensued. He claimed, "I was in Portadown at the request of the Protestant people and in response to [Orange Order District Master] Harold Gracey's comments." A spokesperson for the Order in Portadown, David Jones, refused to condemn Adair or his activity. Instead he welcomed "all expressions of support," while hoping protests would be "peaceful." The local Church of Ireland diocesan council sometime later stated, "It was particularly saddened" that Gracey "refused to condemn the violence or dissociate the protest from paramilitary involvement." (*Belfast Telegraph*, 4 Jul, 6 Sep 2000)

There was an attempt to down play the Order's takeover of church facilities. In July 1998 the *Irish Times* Religious Affairs Correspondent reported "disquiet" by the Drumcree select

Johnny 'Mad Dog' Adair arrives at Drumcree 3 July 2000 - Drumcree Parish Church top right of picture





vestry over use of the church hall. The Order's public address system then announced that the main church hall was out of bounds and "is closed until further notice." (*IT*, 10 Jul 1998)

This was typically disingenuous, as "The hall became to all intents and purposes the headquarters of the Orange Order's stand-off at Drumcree, and has been such from the beginning." Democratic Unionist and Free Presbyterian Church leader Ian Paisley, an opponent of the Church of Ireland,

"arrived there ... to meet Orange officials... He returned to the hall again before leaving Drumcree... The select vestry at Drumcree... approved the use by the Orange Order of an annex at the back of the hall during the current impasse. A kitchen there is used to prepare food for protesters. Toilets are also used by them and a room has been set up as a first aid station." In addition, "One of the two rooms upstairs was being used during the week by members of the Star of David accordion band, Portadown, when it rested between performances up and down the hill. The other room has been used for political meetings." (*Ibid*)

Orangemen were, "seen emerging from the hall a number of times during the week and it is believed that the public address system, or 'Radio Orange 1690 FM' as it describes itself, is based there." (*Ibid*) Furthermore,

"The Portadown district standard, which was carried at the head of last Sunday's parade, is stored against one of its walls. The Orange Order also uses a small building attached to the graveyard at Drumcree. It is known as "the stables" and has been used for daily prayer services. These are conducted by the chaplain of the Portadown district lodge, the Rev Duane Russell, an Independent Methodist minister (unconnected to the Methodist Church). The Order uses two fields each side of the Church of Ireland rectory in Drumcree, as car parks." (*Ibid*)

The rector of Drumcree, the Rev John Pickering, claimed ignorance of disquiet surrounding use of the parochial hall. He thought it "rather odd someone should have said that when I haven't heard it." He believed that the reported expression of disquiet by vestry members was "not a truthful statement" and suggested that the Church of Ireland press office should be contacted. A press office spokeswoman said the Church of Ireland's Representative Church Body, "has no jurisdiction over the hall. It belongs to the vestry who are its trustees." She said the same applied to the lands being used as car parks by Orangemen. (*Ibid*)

As part of widespread violent protests against the Garvaghy Road ban, in 1998 three young members of the Quinn family, "died when their home in Ballymoney, Co Antrim, was fire-bombed on the morning of July 12th, because their mother was

*In 2000 Mark Harbinson called Drumcree "Ulster's Alamo" and said, "the war begins here"*



a Catholic." (*IT*, 16 Nov 1998) While the deaths caused outrage and division they did not diminish the massed Orange protest at Drumcree. Those who questioned the path the Order was taking either resigned, were shouted down, or were forced out. Those running the Order today are those who kept to the more sectarian path. (see Kennaway, 2006, on this)

On 16 July 1998 the *Irish Times* reported, "police roadblocks were set up on approach roads to the church after the discovery of assorted weapons at the stand-off

field yesterday. Twenty people were arrested. All cars going to the field will be checked by police to avoid any future build-up of such an arsenal.

The police search began at 7.30 a.m. yesterday and continued until late last night. It followed violent scenes early yesterday morning when about 50 men crowded before the barrier and threw 10 blast-bombs at police, as well as an assortment of "heavy duty" fireworks. A gas cylinder was also blown up. By 4.30 a.m. police had fired 80 plastic bullets and arrested six men.

During the following search police recovered a home-made sub-machinegun, spent and live ammunition, a number of explosive devices, including parts for blast-bombs and petrol-bombs. A five-gallon drum of petrol was also recovered, as well as a Chinese-made mortar, fireworks and a launcher, (described as deadly within 25 meters), two crossbows with over a dozen explosive-tipped darts each containing a ball-bearing, and catapults."

### Primate ignored and threatened

The Church of Ireland Primate received what he thought insulting and disturbing responses to attempts at influencing the Order. In July 1998 in the English Roman Catholic newspaper, *The Tablet*, Dr Robin Eames revealed that a letter he sent to the Order before Drumcree that year, "stressing the importance of linking Christian worship to behaviour outside and after the service," was not replied to. "I was told my letter had been noted." He continued, "The response from so-called loyalist sources to my call for the Drumcree protest to end was a defiant increase of calls for support." He said there, "was also a response of threat to me personally and to the Church of Ireland in general. Enough said." Eames wondered if the Order should be regarded as "truly Christian." (*IT*, 24 Jul 1998)

In the *Church of Ireland Gazette* the Provost of Tuam, the Very Rev Robert McCarthy, wrote: "Like most church people in the South, I am ashamed to be a member of a church which is so timid and craven as to have protested at the unauthorised use of its property at Drumcree only after such use had effectively ended." The Rev Tony Whiting from Mallow, Co Cork, found "everything about the Orange Order distasteful and unchristian." The Rev David Oxley of Tullow, Co Carlow, stated that the bishops and general synod "must take steps to clearly repudiate the Orange Order and what it stands for . . . we can either act decisively or stand condemned as ineffectual babblers and fellow-travellers with bigots." (*Ibid*)

A letter to the *Gazette* from Dean Victor Griffin, Canon Charles Kenny, the Rev Brian Stewart, the Rev Stewart Heaney, the Rev William Odling-Smee, Mr Brian Fitzpatrick, Ms Faith Gibson, Mr Norman Gibson, Ms Joan Douglas and Mr Michael Arlow referred to a submission made to the Church of Ireland's sub-committee on sectarianism in January 1998. They said:

"Common worship should never be compromised by parades to or from a church, by requests from organisations with no formal links with the C of I to attend public worship in

*Drumcree 13 July 1998: Orangemen dance after loyalists fire-bombed a house killing three Catholic children on July 12*







Former RUC officer and sectarian killer Billy McCaughey on 2005 July 12 Orange Order parade in ballymena - never expelled



McCaughey (beard) organises the 1996-97 Harryville anti-Catholic Mass protest with fellow lodge members in ballymena

regalia, or by attempts to impose or request particular readings, prayers, hymns, sermon topics or preachers. Since certain Orange church parades give rise to public strife and serious controversy, the synod (which meets once a year) as a matter of urgency should decide and make public what specific actions need to be taken about such parades.”

They asked:

“Can the church be true to its witness if it fails to treat these critical issues with a sense of urgency? Or are we hoping that they will somehow go away or that others will solve them for us?” (Ibid)

Leading members of the Church of Ireland began, significantly, to acknowledge responsibility for the Order’s actions and sentiments:

“It would be dishonourable to say the Orange Order is not in some sense our responsibility, because if we didn’t create it, we certainly nurtured it. And we were very happy to have it, because our mistake was to encourage loyalty to a community rather than loyalty only to Christ.”

The Bishop of Meath and Kildare, Dr Richard Clarke, continued, “in previous generations the Order had been nurtured in order to create a loyalty to a particular Protestant sect.” (IT, 5 Oct 1998)

In 1992 five nationalists were killed by loyalists on Belfast’s Ormeau Road. Opposition to the Orange Order escalated when marchers held up five fingers in celebration at the massacre site



These vocal protests were mainly from southern based representatives or members of the Church. They mirrored criticism of unionist sectarianism during Northern Ireland’s 1920-22 state formation. It needs to be born in mind, however, that attempts to voice opinions such as these in the North could have placed lives, if not livelihoods, at risk (see later discussion on the Reverend David Armstrong). A report on Protestants in Border areas noted a 1999 Drumcree-related Synod decision to restrict the flying of flags at churches to those bearing the cross of St Patrick or of the Anglican Communion:

“in some parishes it would appear to be the Select Vestry who hold the balance of power. The Cleric is not easily able to assert either their own position or the ‘official position’ of the Church of Ireland over the views and wishes of the Vestry. This sense of Clergy ‘walking on egg-shells’ in their own parish is palpable in some situations. When Clergy are ‘advised’ by parishioners that they have been seen going somewhere, such as into a local Public house, or doing something which is considered ‘unhelpful’ or ‘inappropriate’, such as attending the opening of the local GAA grounds/ premises, it creates for the Cleric, at the very least, a huge dilemma.

“Whatever you say, say nothing,” a report on the views and experiences of Border Protestants for the Church of Ireland Diocese of Clogher, by David Gardiner, commissioned by the Hard Gospel Project, 2008.

This atmosphere encouraged caution and a fear of speaking. The co-author of *Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland* (1998), John D Brewer asserted, “It is as important to decommission this particular Protestant mind-set as it is to decommission weapons. It has killed people such as the Quinn brothers and [RUC] Constable Riley” in 1998. (IT, 16 Nov 1998). Riley, a Catholic, was attacked with a blast bomb “during Orange Order protests in Portadown and was described as a papist spy by

‘Shankill Butcher’ Eddie McIlwaine carries an Orange ‘bannerette’ celebrating fellow UVF sectarian killer, Brian Robinson, June 2003







'KAI' on Orange drums means 'Kill-all-Irish'; or it refers to a Glasgow Rangers Danish footballer from the 1960s?

those unapologetic for his death." (ibid)

Brewer, a Presbyterian who prefers to describe himself simply as a Christian, suggested that those attempting to obscure the history of the Order, "would have to face the truth about the Order's bigotry and what was done in its name if they were to truly exorcise its anti-Catholicism... The Order's insistence on marching through Catholic areas was more an expression of Protestant domination/ triumphalism than of Protestant identity." (ibid) This was the challenge for the Church of Ireland, one that could only be faced by understanding and confronting the nature of politicised anti-Catholicism, otherwise known as sectarianism. But it was also a challenge that could be deflected by obscuring the nature and effects of orangeism, something the Order has already adept at obscuring on its own behalf.

### 'Orangefest'

The Order claims that those engaged in illegal activity are expelled from its ranks. It is a lie.

"An Orangeman may not marry a Catholic. However, he may, it seems, kill one. Billy McCaughey was an RUC constable, an Orangeman, a member of the Black Preceptory and a member of the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force, when he murdered Catholic shopkeeper William Strathearn in Co Antrim in 1977. "I was never expelled from the Orange Order," said McCaughey, now the Ballymena spokesman for the Progressive Unionist Party.

"The Black Preceptory did expel him. However, in 1980, McCaughey presented a banner to the Apprentice Boys. The SDLP protested that the banner commemorated "the contemporary crime of sectarian murder", but the Apprentice Boys carried it at their annual parade.

*Irish Times 14 July 2007*

Madam, - It was good to read in Thursday's edition that "hopes [were] high for peaceful parades on the Twelfth", that the SDLP's Patsy McGlone had made a "call to link funds to bonfire emission limits" and that your Editorial looked forward to a "quiet, dignified and family-friendly Twelfth of July".

Hopes, though, need to be built on the full reporting of realities. Your photograph of the huge bonfire at Ballycraig, Co Antrim (page 10) is shot from the side, concealing the fact that affixed to the pyre is the Irish national flag with the letters "KAT" ("Kill All Taigs") written on it.

Had the flag been the Israeli flag with "Kill All Jews" on it, or the South African flag with "Kill All Blacks" on it, would the photographer have chosen a similarly discreet angle? And would your accompanying report have likewise failed to mention the flag and its obscene lettering?

Toxic tyres damage the atmosphere. Partial reporting damages credibility. - Yours, etc,  
JUDE COLLINS,  
Co Antrim.

"McCaughey also took part in the 1996 Harryville "protest", among the organisers of which were members of the Orange Order. [See photographs]

"Loyalists, some wearing sashes, launched a weekly attack on Catholics going to mass at the Ballymena church. They assaulted people, hurled sectarian abuse and grunted like pigs...

"In 1997, Orangeman Norman Coopey and another man picked up 16-year-old James Morgan in Co Down. They beat him to death with a hammer, burned his body and buried the remains in a pit full of animal carcasses. The following day, Coopey confessed to the police and was arrested. He was not expelled from the order." (Susan McKay, *Sunday Tribune*, 14 Jul 2002)

In 2003 the previously mentioned Mark Harbinson, alongside a Royal Irish Regiment soldier, was one of four Orangemen convicted of riotous assembly at Drumcree. (*Irish News*, 13 Nov 2003) Harbinson has since been questioned for stealing intelligence information and for assault on a Catholic teenager and a Sinn Féin Counsellor in Stoneyford. He appeared in court in October 2009 "charged with grooming a child for sex." (*Guardian*, 27 Oct 2009) He was then "suspended" from the Order. (*Irish News*, 4 Nov 2009)

The Order has made attempts in recent years to clean up its image, if not its act. In 2006 councillor William Humphreys referred to "accommodation" and "shared space" in relation to 'Orangefest.' Complicating facts on the ground kept obtruding, however. That year the *Irish News* (18 Jul 2006) reported, "a banner commemorating UDA leader Joe Bratty was carried through Belfast city centre" in an Orange parade:

"In April 1994 Bratty was questioned about the murder of mother-of-two Theresa Clinton.... [She] was killed after UDA gunmen threw a concrete block through the window of her Balfour Avenue home and opened fire with automatic rifles hitting her 16 times... Bratty had also been implicated in the UDA gun attack on Sean Graham's Bookmakers on the Ormeau Road in February 1992 which left five people dead."

That is twice that the Orange Order celebrated Ormeau Road killers. First of all in 1992 when Orangemen passing the massacre spot held aloft five fingers in celebration (see photograph), an action giving initial impetus to demands for re-routing parades. A UVF sectarian killer named Brian Robinson had his image similarly celebrated in 2003. It was carried by Orange Order member Eddie McIlwaine in his Orange regalia. (see photograph) McIlwaine had been sentenced to eight years in prison for membership of the 'Shankill Butchers.' The group, led by notorious UVF killer Lenny Murphy, routinely tortured and killed Catholics during the 1970s. The Orange Order responded that this was an unofficial Orange 'bannerette.' It is also regularly asserted that 'KAI' adorning Orange drums refers not to "Kill all Irish" (*IT*, 14 Jul 2008) but to Kai Johansen, a 1960s Glasgow Rangers footballer (see photograph). Possibly, use of the alternative slogan, "KAT" or "'Kill all Taigs", fell into

25 July 2006: the Orange marching season is usually accompanied by an increase in sectarian attacks on Catholics

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

# THE IRISH NEWS

www.irishnews.com TUESDAY JULY 25 2006 55p (€1)

**Paisley's ranting fuels paranoia**  
SUSAN MCKAY: Page 10

**Provide for fans or pay the price**  
AGAINST THE BREEZE: Page 71

## Sectarian attacks increasing despite quiet march season

By Maria Lavinia McCreery and Barry McCaffrey

**S**ECTARIAN attacks have risen by 20 per cent in a year, averaging five attacks every day. Despite increased efforts to maintain peace, around halfpenny Orange Order parades, the summer has nevertheless seen a marked increase in sectarian attacks compared with last year.

Latest police figures show that since April there have been 20 attacks on Catholics in the north and south.

Between April 1 and July 7 there were a total of 491 reports.

That compares to 393 for the same period in 2005, an increase of 12% - up more than a third.

The figures came after a brief outbreak of violence in north Belfast.

The houses of Catholic families in the Whitewall area were targeted by a gang of 20 to 30 masked men armed with crowbars, who claimed to be retaliating for attacks on Protestant-owned houses in the nearby Garraheen estate.

Based in the houses in the town of a six-day-old child whose parents were among those attacked by the gang.

The child's great-grandmother was the victim of a separate sectarian attack on her own home in the north of the city earlier this summer.

The period referred to in the police figures covers the high-profile killing of Catholic teenager Michael McGlone in Baltimore.

Four male teenagers have been charged over the attack. Meanwhile, a 29-year-old Catholic man featured in an attack on Terry in the early hours of Sunday July 16.

Police said the attack at Chapel Road in the Whitewall area was sectarian and they are treating it as an attempted murder.

However, Paul's father Jim McCaffrey has said he was unhappy at that fact that it is being seen in some quarters as a sectarian attack - as obviously don't know the motive of the attacking group.

The PSNI started gathering figures for sectarian attacks last year.

The first annual figure available shows police recorded 475 in Northern Ireland between April 2005 and April 2006.

Irish police, despite that negative picture of the Community Relations Council, said there was much work being done to help build community relations.

"The issue of the moment is relating to young people, gangs and night clubs," she said.

"There are no formal structures in place."

"There are large groups of young people out and about together with some sectarian attitudes of gangs."

"It's like a predator by night, out of a more normal society."

That young people feel safe in the city at night.

Mr. Lavinia said there was also an issue with availability of services.

"A lot of structures are not available during the summer," she said.

"There's a gap between what's available for the youth and the young people."

- Story - 196



relative disuse because it did not approximate to the names of soccer players.

The Grand Master of the Orange Order in England, Ron Bather, said in 2006 that “membership of a paramilitary organisation may not break the laws of the institution.” (*Irish News* 6 July) Bather was addressing the case of two members, Roy Barwise, sentenced to four and a half years for UVF membership and possession of weapons, and John Irwin, jailed for two and a half years for membership. Both were also members of the ‘Liverpool Volunteers Flute Band.’ One of many appendages to ‘Orangefest,’ such bands play sectarian tunes and engage in loud and determined drumming when within earshot of Roman Catholics or their places of worship.

Councillor Humphreys objected to comparisons with the US racist organisation, the Klu Klux Klan. (ibid)

## Hard Gospel

While the Orange Order’s Drumcree protest in 1997 and 1998 was the catalyst that led to the Hard Gospel project, the Order itself and the Church’s relationship with it was the cause. A 2009 Church commissioned report noted,

“The Hard Gospel Project initiated, developed, supported and co-ordinated a wide range of activities involving more than 7,500 people across every diocese in Ireland between November 2005 and December 2008.”

Tony MacAuley, *What difference did it make? An independent evaluation of The Hard Gospel Project*, 2009: 22

However, it would appear that the aims of the Hard Gospel project may have become somewhat diffused. The Rev William Deverell of the Church of Ireland Tallaght, reported in his parish newsletter on October 15, 2007,

“The Hard Gospel came out of the Drumcree situation ten years ago when the Church of Ireland was seen, unfairly, as aligned with sectarianism. As time has moved on it is still relevant in modern Ireland as it addresses the issues of racism and helps us to deal with areas of difference that we are called to deal with.”

Unfairly? The 44 page 2009 report summing up the Hard Gospel experience noted significant differences on how to tackle sectarianism and even whether it should be prioritised:

“During the first year... there was considerable debate and a degree of confusion on what constituted a ‘Hard Gospel Issue’. Some expected the project to address only sectarianism and cross community dialogue between unionists and nationalists on the island, while others expected the project to address the wider legacy of the conflict such as loyalist paramilitaries. Some expected the project to address sectarianism as one of a range of diversity issues while others, particularly in the South, perceived sectarianism to be a ‘Northern issue’ and had an expectation that the project should be addressing mainly multi-cultural issues. Meanwhile others expected the project to address any community/social issue not currently being addressed by the Church. Inevitably, such a range of expectations could not be met fully and this resulted in a sense of disappointment in the project for some. At times this lack of clarity also resulted in the project staff sensing that some of the issues they were pursuing were perceived as of personal interest rather than of strategic importance. This could result in staff feeling their work was undervalued.” (MacAuley, op cit)

Some Orange Order rules - there have been many expulsions for marrying Catholics, none for killing them

Intermarriages with Papists.

Any Member dishonouring the Institution by marrying a Roman Catholic shall be expelled; and every Member shall use his best endeavours to prevent and discountenance the marriage of Protestants with Roman Catholics, such intermarriages generally occasioning domestic unhappiness and tending to the injury of Protestantism.

Sunday Sports.

And it shall be deemed an offence for any member to facilitate in any way Sunday sports, amusements or dances organised by Roman Catholics, and that such offending member be dealt with under Law 93.

Absent from this significant discussion is a discussion of the legacy of sectarianism within the Church community, something envisaged by those who originally questioned the church’s relationship with the Orange Order. Instead, a degree of self-congratulation appears to have crept in. Point five of the report’s executive summary observed:

“The project developed demonstration projects that addressed key strategic issues in relation to the legacy of conflict and an increasingly multi cultural Ireland. The projects on immigration and loyalist communities were at the ‘cutting edge’ of contemporary diversity and inclusion issues in Ireland during the past three years.” (ibid: 4)

While there are three references to the Order in the report there are, surprisingly, none to Drumcree, not even in the ‘Background’ section. The “flagship” project asked the Order for its opinion, though nationalist residents were not asked theirs.

Within the body of the report a pertinent question posed by an ‘external stakeholder’ was cited but left hanging:

“The Church of Ireland doesn’t do conflict. There is a possibility that the Hard Gospel could be passed through deferentially, without any real change in behaviour. What would change look like on the ground if local parishes were really addressing sectarianism?” (ibid: 21)

Issues such as immigration and multi-culturalism, while important in themselves, may have functioned to deflect, or perhaps partition, the Church from its particular responsibility for the Irish form of racism, called sectarianism. It may have become a safe and worthy project rather than an attempt to challenge and to face uncomfortable truths. Despite involvement in Orangeism, the Church sometimes sees itself as aloof from Sectarianism. Thus, on ABC Australia’s ‘Religion Report’ (14 Jul 1997) Robin Eames said his Church “stand[s] midway between the extremes of Presbyterianism and Loyalism on one side, and Roman Catholicism and Nationalism on the other.” He went on to support the right of clergy to participate in the Orange Order.

One of the issues raised post Drumcree was anti-Catholic elements of the Church’s constitution. The Orange Order’s ‘Qualifications of an Orangeman’ contain references to ‘fatal

3 July 2007: Orange Order Drumcree march banned again, sectarian gangs attack Catholics during marching season

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

# THE IRISH NEWS

www.irishnews.com TUESDAY JULY 3 2007 60p (€3.1)

**Decision to ban Drumcree is right**  
SUSAN MCKAY: Page 10

**A rare dose of Kerry honesty**  
AGAINST THE BREEZE: Page 71

## North's airports return to normal

By Marie Louise McCreary

A REPORTER in the north was slowly returning to normal yesterday, following last night's car bombings in Glasgow and London.

Management at George Best Belfast City Airport, devastated by the attack, is today expected to resume normal operations. The airport was closed for 24 hours yesterday morning and drivers intending to collect passengers were asked to park in the short-stay car park.

Belfast International Airport yesterday said it was operating as normal but a spokesman warned that the security situation was "under constant review".

Meanwhile, Chief Constable Sir Hugh Orde said there was no intelligence to suggest that those who planned bombings in London and at Glasgow Airport had planned to target Northern Ireland.

Speaking after a meeting in Belfast with new Secretary of State Stephen Woodward, Sir Hugh said his discussions with other senior officers did not point to a Northern Ireland land mine at this stage.

Mr Woodward said: "It is more that on the first day of my being in Northern Ireland there is a critical threat."

"This critical threat is from a group of extremists who have nothing to do with Northern Ireland. They pose a threat to the people of Northern Ireland in a way that is totally different."

Scotland Yard yesterday confirmed that an eight-man band had been arrested in connection with the investigation into the car-bomb attacks.

And there was major disruption at Stansted last night as a group of about 50 men, some with a gun, drove the airport for around 30 minutes before a suspect band was arrested.

A man was arrested but not in connection with the terrorism.

Police > p10  
Terrorist attacks > p10

## Gang broke boy's skull in savage 'sectarian' attack

By Marie Louise McCreary

A MOTHER has said how her young son was beaten unconscious with a golf club in a savage attack by a sectarian gang who then tied him around his neck and dragged him along a street.

Surgons were last night waiting to see if 13-year-old Niall Ferrin, a boy who was last night taken to hospital, had survived the attack.

Residents also gathered at the scene of 11th Street, where the boy was beaten, and there was a lot of anger. Niall, who is from the nationalist district of Belfast, was taken to hospital.

A gang of five men, believed to be in their twenties and thirties, were seen in the street, one of whom was holding a golf club.

The teenager, who is just 11 in his last year, was last night being treated in a neurology ward in the Royal Victoria Hospital, where he underwent surgery following the attack.

His mother, Patricia, appealed for no retaliation and pleaded members of the Protestant community who had contacted her family offering support.

The mother-of-five said her son had been innocently talking with another boy and two young girls near a park at several times on Friday.

"Niall's school was not even open on Friday and he was not in school," she said.

And there was major disruption at Stansted last night as a group of about 50 men, some with a gun, drove the airport for around 30 minutes before a suspect band was arrested.

A man was arrested but not in connection with the terrorism.

Police > p10  
Terrorist attacks > p10

"Before he went unconscious he remembers looking up and they were still hitting him"

Patricia Ferrin, mother of Niall (pictured)



She remembers a Protestant woman came out of her house and started shouting. "They think we were put down last week and we were taking up the baton."

"The girls came up and were lying down the street and he is in the ground and cut. His head is swollen and he has cuts to his knees and legs."

She said she and her husband Edward were "very, very angry" about the attack. "I definitely think they were out to kill," she said.

"This family is not sectarian. We don't live in a sectarian area. We've never been involved in sectarianism."

"I want no retaliation. I don't want anyone to go through what we are going through."

She has Protestant friends who have been on the phone offering support.

A man in the early twenties was arrested in connection with the attack. He has been released on police bail.

Residents protest > p11  
Editorial > p10



errors and doctrines of the church of Rome', refusal to attend "acts of popish worship", opposition to mixed marriages and to Roman Catholics attending dances or playing games on a Sunday (see p.35). When criticised, spokespersons often point to the Church of Ireland's defining 39 Articles. Brian Kennaway observed, the Qualifications "cannot be judged as to be any more 'anti-Catholic' than the doctrinal standards of the three main Protestant churches in Ireland." (2006: 5) The Church of Ireland may at best be said not to actively promote these standards. The Orange Order does.

Some clergy continue to raise the point, but they appear to have been marginalised rather than empowered by the Hard Gospel process. On 29 January 2008 the Reverend David Fraser from Meath wrote to the *Irish Times*:

“The Church of Ireland is rightly offended when the Vatican and its representatives use unwarranted and hurtful language, questioning the validity of its sacraments and the validity of Anglican ordination. [...] It is equally unacceptable that the Church of Ireland should retain statements of doctrine which refer to ‘the sacrifices of masses’ as ‘blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits’ and which condemn ‘Romish practices.’

At its next meeting, the General Synod of the Church of Ireland must be asked to disown that language. After Drumcree, the church set up a Hard Gospel project to tackle bigotry and sectarianism. Clearly, there are some hard decisions that must now be faced.”

After 11 years of activity designed to confront sectarianism, including confrontation with paying lip (or ‘Article’) service to it, why does the issue remain unaddressed? An Orange Order moat and Church of Ireland beam comes to mind.

## Cork Seminar

It is in this context that the holding of the one-day closed seminar in Cork in December 2008 under the auspices of the Church of Ireland and of the Hard Gospel project should be viewed. It was tasked with 'Understanding our History', the

*The vulnerability of all Catholics to sectarian attack was highlighted by the marching season assault on Damien O'Loan, son of the Police Ombudsman, Nuala O'Loan. She gained a reputation for exposing collusion between the police and loyalist paramilitary organisations, and received vigorous criticism from unionist politicians (Irish News, 24 Jul 2006)*

experience of Protestants in Ireland's 1919-21 War of Independence.

If the original purpose of the project was addressed, we might have expected some questioning of sectarianism within the community, particularly as the setting was determinedly private. Instead, the seminar became a platform for the promotion of a noisy political campaign originating with the Dublin based Reform Organisation.

Members of Dublin and Wicklow District Loyal Orange Lodge (1313) set up Reform in 1998. The lodge came briefly into public view some years ago when it proposed an Orange parade in Dublin. They decided not to march when the select vestry of St Anne's parish church on Dawson Street, citing Drumcree, refused the Order use of the church. (*IT*, 13 Apr 2000) In an *Irish Times* profile, Ian Cox, manager of the Dublin-Wicklow Lodge, swore allegiance to Britain's Queen Elizabeth, claimed he was prepared to date a Catholic, but not marry one, and stated he was "fed up with the Church of Ireland." (25 Mar 2000) When Dean Victor Griffin of Dublin's Christ Church criticised Portadown Orangemen, Cox protested,

"I was enraged by Dean Victor Griffin... His weak moral fibre is symptomatic of the current malaise within the Church... the Protestant tradition in this country is rooted in... Victorian morals and self help. We owe our individuality and resilience to these entirely British values." (*IT*, 30 Apr1997)

Cox later argued, in disagreement with fellow Protestants:

“Continuation of the union therefore, is imperative if the Protestant tradition in Ulster is to survive. One need only look to the Romeward trend of Protestants in the Republic to justify this stance. The Orange marches throughout Ulster are an expression of this complex and threatened identity, both religious and cultural. The preservation of fundamental Protestantism and the union with Britain are integral to the Orange Order. Martin Luther and John Wesley were both vociferous fundamentalists, theologically opposed to Papism, and therefore aligned with the policies of Orangeism. To deny this would be absurd.” (*IT*, 7 Jun 1997)

The Reform organisation campaigns today for the Irish Republic to rejoin the British Commonwealth. It also actively promotes the contentious idea that Protestants were sectarian

13 July 2007: Peter Neil removed a banner from a 12 July Orange Order bonfire. On it was the name of his 13 year old son, Aaron, who had died of heart disease, alongside that of another dead Catholic youth. The banner contained the added slogan, 'Who's Next?' Neil was then warned by police that unionist paramilitaries wanted to kill him for interfering with their celebrations

[illegible][illegible]





2006 Orange Order 12 July bonfire. The target of the insult, Catholic teenager Michael McIlveen, was killed in a sectarian attack in Ballymena in May 2006

targets of the IRA during and immediately after the Irish War of Independence, from 1919-22. In other words, it promotes the notion of Protestants as innocent victims driven from their homes, rather than ever as politicised authors of sectarianism. This is, relatively, a comforting and passive, rather than challenging and disturbing, position to occupy. UCC History Professor John A Murphy referred to the claim some years ago as "Paisleyite myth mongering," believing it to have little evidential basis. (*Sunday Independent*, 10 Oct 2004)

A leading Reform spokesperson and one time Orange Order advisor (*Times*, London, 19 Aug 1997) spoke at the conference. He used the opportunity to highlight this campaign. This speaker, Senator Eoghan Harris, devoted his weekly *Sunday Independent* column to the private, "day of learning and reflection." He criticised "Don't-rock-the-boat Dublin Protestants," described as "wimpy." (14 Dec 2008) Southern Protestants, who in the early 1920s publicly contradicted unionist claims that the IRA targeted Protestants for sectarian attack, were equally dismissed. The speaker appeared to marginalise outspoken Protestant voices disagreeing with his.

Senator Harris was also reported by participants to have criticised Brian Murphy, a respected academic historian who also questions the evidential adequacy of the Senator's view.

Murphy is a member of the Glenstal Community in Limerick and a Roman Catholic priest. Senator Harris reportedly questioned Murphy in this priestly capacity, rather than as an Oxford educated historian. Since the event was held under the auspices of the Church of Ireland and since the purpose of the Hard Gospel project is to challenge sectarianism, this was doubly unfortunate. It is also unfortunate that no one thought to invite Murphy, who has written extensively on the subject discussed at the conference.

It does not appear as though there has been any explicit attempt to distance either organising group from Senator Harris's comments. However, the Church of Ireland Cork diocesan website notes,

"The day closed with thanks and acknowledgement from the Bishop of the hard work of The Ven Robin Bantry-White in securing all speakers, except for Senator Harris, who was invited by Philip McKinnley of the Hard Gospel Project."

Ballymena DUP councillor's comments on murdered teenager cause outrage

## HOW LOW CAN IT GO?



Aaron Wallace is led from Ballymena court yesterday after being charged with the murder of Ballymena schoolboy Michael McIlveen. The five suspects in the murder case, including one aged 15, are all from Ballymena, Co Antrim. PAUL FAITH/PA

**'As a Catholic, he [Michael McIlveen] won't get into heaven. Catholics are not accepted into heaven'**

- DUP Councillor Roy Gillespie

**'I would like Ian Paisley to be at the funeral. If he wants to go he is more than welcome'**

- Michael McIlveen's uncle, Francis

In what was seen as a breakthrough, DUP leader Ian Paisley visited the parents of the dead teenager. He did not, however, attend the funeral (*Daily Ireland*, 12 May 2006)

No contention has been reported in relation to the contributions of the five academic speakers, David Butler, Peter Hart, John Borgonovo, Andy Bielenberg and Joseph Ruane.

The choice of Senator Harris as a speaker is puzzling since, living in Carrigaline, Cork, is the Rev David Armstrong who in 1985 experienced Orange Order sectarianism in his capacity as a Presbyterian minister in Limavady, Northern Ireland. Armstrong later became a Church of Ireland clergyman.

Armstrong's experience revealed the position of Protestant clergy attempting merely to extend the hand of religious friendship to a Catholic clergyman from across the road. For this he,

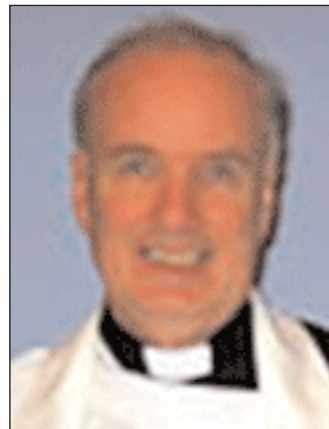
"was hounded out of Co Derry after criticising an attack on a neighbouring Catholic church. He and his family are now based in Co Cork.... The furious cleric, his wife June, and their kids Sarah and Mark were subjected to a terrifying campaign of harassment after extending the hand of friendship to Catholics in their former hometown of Limavady. Their lives were threatened after Rev Armstrong invited Fr Kevin Mullen to speak at his church on Christmas Day after the parish priest's own church was bombed. He recalled: "I went through hell. The abuse towards my family was disgusting. My children's lives were threatened. Men in bowler hats [members of the Orange Order] quoted the Bible at me, saying this was God's work." The family finally fled to start a new life at St Mary's Church in Carrigaline after the cleric received a coffin with his name on it." (*The Sun*, 18 Feb 2005).

Rev David Armstrong, not asked to speak at Cork event

When his church in Cork burned down due to an electrical fault, the *Irish News* (25 Mar 2003) reported:

"A Protestant clergyman who was forced out of Co Derry because of his cross community work has praised Catholic parishioners in a Co Cork town for allowing him to use their local church for services."

In 2006 Armstrong attended the funeral of Ballymena



Catholic teenager Michael McIlveen, who was killed in a sectarian attack. He said he “blushed with shame and total embarrassment” that such violence should be carried out in the name of Protestantism:

“I am at pains when I walk along the main street of my town to point out to Catholic people that I totally disassociate myself from that type of behaviour and I am delighted when they shake me by the hand. My family, our congregation and I are never treated like that. We are treated with decency and courtesy, kindness and warmth and only would wish that for Catholic people who are living in a minority in Ulster, that they would be treated with the same dignity and respect as we are.” (*Irish News*, 11 May 2006)

It might be wondered why the Reverend Armstrong was not asked to speak at the conference. The reason is not immediately obvious. Perhaps it might be explained by those who decided that his experience should not be explored by the Hard Gospel Project. Should it not be celebrated as an example of Protestant bravery and endurance in the face of sectarian bigotry? Surprisingly, it appears not.

### Conclusion

If the purpose of the Hard Gospel project has altered subtly, how has it promoted diversity generally within the Church of Ireland? As part of the General Synod (AGM) of the Church of Ireland from 8-10 May 2009 a Synod Eucharist was held at St Patrick’s Cathedral, Armagh. The Belfast *Newsletter* reported (30 Apr 2009) that the service, “in keeping with the Church’s Hard Gospel process,” was to involve prayers said by representatives of the Orange Order, Royal Black Preceptory, Freemasons and GAA.

“But it was the involvement of Changing Attitude, a group which lobbies for the full involvement of gay and lesbian people in church life, which has led to the Loyal Orders’ angry withdrawal and the subsequent decision not to go ahead with the event as it had been planned.”

An Orange spokesman said the service, “would in particular lend credence to theological beliefs contrary to that of biblical Protestantism.”

Before dealing with the substantive point it may be wondered why members of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) were considered the appropriate representatives of the nationalist

community. Why not nationalist residents’ associations who experience the Orange Order on their streets? Is it because the Order might object, perhaps even more strenuously, to that too?

The *Newsletter* reported that in an original letter to participants,

“the Archbishop of Armagh, Alan Harper, had requested that the various groups be asked to pray at the service. In a statement, the Very Rev Patrick Rooke, Dean of Armagh, who is organising the service, said: “The theme of the service, in keeping with the Church’s Hard Gospel process, will be on the Gospel imperative to ‘love God and our neighbour.’”

In the event, it was decided not to offend the Orangemen, but to offend gay Christians instead. The Reverend Stephen Neill, Rector of Moneygall, Co Offaly, commented on the Church of Ireland’s behaviour,

“We capitulate of course! Wouldn’t do to offend the Orangemen would it?... I pray one day we will see the wrong that we have perpetuated by our cowardice!”

The Hard Gospel project appears not yet to have succeeded in its ostensible purpose of confronting sectarianism among Church members. Perhaps, as a means of defusing and managing internal Church of Ireland tensions, it has fared better.

(An earlier version of this article was published in *An Affair with the Bishop of Cork, some reflections on the Church of Ireland, pluralism, diversity and history*, Aubane 2009.)

### Suggested Further Reading:

**Brewer, John D and Gareth I Higgins, *Anti-Catholicism in Northern Ireland, 1600-1998: the Mote and the Beam*, Macmillan, 1998**

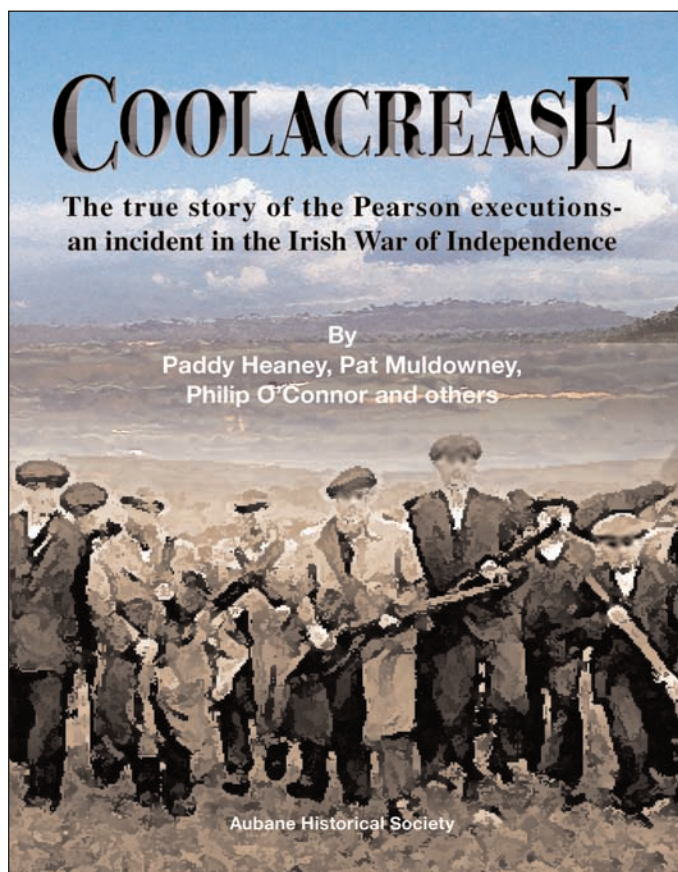
**Kennaway, Brian, *The Orange Order, a Tradition Betrayed*, Methuen, 2006**

**Heaney, Paddy, Pat Muldowney, Philip O’Connor, et al, *Coolacrease*, Aubane, 2008**

**Murphy, Brian and Niall Meehan, *Troubled History: a 10th Anniversary Critique of Peter Hart’s The IRA and its Enemies*, Aubane 2008**

### Also

**Dublin Review of Books, Autumn 2009, [www.drbb.ie](http://www.drbb.ie): articles by Niall Meehan and Pat Muldowney & Philip O’Connor**



## Troubled History

A 10th anniversary critique of Peter Hart's *The IRA and its Enemies*

**Brian P Murphy osb  
and  
Niall Meehan  
Introduction by  
Ruan O'Donnell**



THE AUBANE HISTORICAL SOCIETY 2008 £7/€10/\$10



Tim O'Sullivan

The authenticity of climate change assertions have been thrown into question by the publication of private correspondence of leading academics

### Climate Change Embarrassment

In November thousands of emails and documents were hacked from the prestigious Climate Research Unit at East Anglia University. It is not clear whether this was ultimately the work of a hacking operation from outside or, alternatively, an internal whistleblower. The Climate Research Unit (CRU) is the world scientific nerve centre for the anthropogenic (man-made) global warming movement. The material found its way almost immediately onto a Russian file-sharing site on the Internet. The contents were immediately greedily consumed by an ever swelling host of curious and amazed eyes in cyberspace.

East Anglia University officials have authenticated the material. Coming less than a month before the opening of the Copenhagen Treaty conference, their contents proved an embarrassment to the climate change establishment.

The emails were composed by dozens of leading climate researchers from the US and UK. They include discussions on how to withhold scientific data to ensure that reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change ("IPCC"), a UN body, included only material in support of the contention that man-made climate change is happening. The emails reveal that the scientists at the Climate research Unit (CRU) refused to allow their raw data to be viewed by other scientists who dissented from their pro man-made global warming point of view. In one email exchange, Phil Jones, the Director of the East Anglia climate centre, explicitly states to climate scientist Michael Mann of Penn State University that the research of sceptics is unwelcome: *"I can't see either of these papers being in the next IPCC report. Kevin and I will keep them out somehow—even if we have to redefine what the peer-review literature is!"* In another email, Jones appears to write about a cover-up of long-term cooling trends by using a *"trick"* to exaggerate shorter, more recent warming deviations. Subsequently, in his defence, Jones claims that he used the word *"trick"* in a colloquial sense whereby the word can denote a clever method rather than a subterfuge.

Patrick J Michaels, a Cato Institute climatologist and a global warming sceptic, was also assailed in the email exchanges. *"This is not a smoking gun; this is a mushroom cloud"*, exclaimed Michaels, *"This is horrible. This is what everyone feared. Over the years, it has*

*become increasingly difficult for anyone who does not view global warming as an end-of-the-world issue to publish papers. This isn't questionable practice, this is unethical."*

Commenting on "Climategate" on *The National*, the main television news programme of CBC, which is the public broadcasting organisation of Canada; journalist Rex Murphy said the following:

"...Climategate is evidence that the science has gone to bed with advocacy and both have had a very good time, that the neutrality, openness and absolute disinterest which is the hallmark of all the best scientific endeavour has been abandoned to an atmosphere and a dynamic not superior to the partisan caterwauling of a sub-average question period. Climate science has been shown to be a sub-part of climate politics...."

With this worthy exception, the mainstream media have, rather typically, played down the "Climategate" story and have tended to run with the Copenhagen Conference hoopla.

#### Sources:

Eilperin, Juliet. "In the trenches of climate change, hostility among foes," *Washington Post*

Harvey, Fiona. "Email tirade boosts climate sceptics' cause," *Financial Times*

Johnson, Keith. "Climate Emails Stoke Debate," *The Wall Street Journal*

Revkin, Andrew C. "Hacked Email Is New Fodder for Climate Dispute," *The New York Times*

*The National, CBC News, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*

### EU environmental policy awards millions in windfall profits to oil companies and heavy industry

"As national ministers meet this week in Copenhagen to discuss a new climate change deal, Open Europe has found that under the EU's Emissions Trading Scheme (ETS), oil and gas companies' operations in the UK were granted a surplus of carbon permits worth €28.6m in 2008. For example, ExxonMobil received €4.3m and Total received €5.4m.

Meanwhile, heavy industrial polluters such as Corus received €47m, while cement firms Hanson and Lafarge received €17.3m and €20.2m.

...Due to the economic downturn, many heavy polluters, such as oil and gas companies and heavy industrials, have been left with a surplus of carbon permits—essentially a free asset that firms can sell on to bolster their short term profits.

The glut of surplus permits on the market has driven down the price of carbon and led to a sharp increase in the number of permits being traded via carbon exchanges. Open Europe has found that the two largest carbon trading exchanges, European Climate Exchange[1] and Bluenext[2], which includes members such as Barclays Bank, JP Morgan, Merrill Lynch and Shell, have earned a combined average of €245,000 a day from the trading of carbon permits so far in 2009, in transaction fees alone. In total, they have made over €57m between them in 2009.

Instead of producing a firm carbon price to encourage investment in greener techno-

logies, the ETS has become a subsidy to some of the UK's biggest polluters and has simply created a new breed of carbon traders, which are cashing in on a policy that is failing to achieve its core objective." (Stephen Booth, Open Europe <http://www.openeurope.org.uk/research/ets2008.xls>)

### The Corbett Report (extracts)

"You the environmentalists, you the activists, you the campaigners.

...The ideas you had once fought for were now being sold back to you. For profit.

...the science...[was] dumbed down.... carbon dioxide became the focus and CO2 was taken up as a political cause...

...they began to propose new taxes and new markets that would only serve to line their own pockets... Your movement had been hijacked.

...an insider leaked internal documents and emails from the Climate Research Unit of East Anglia University and exposed the lies, manipulation and fraud behind the studies that supposedly show 0.6 degrees Celsius of warming over the last 130 years. And the hockey stick graph that supposedly shows unprecedented warming in our times...

...We can demand a full re-evaluation of all those studies whose conclusions have been thrown into question by these revelations, and all of the public policy that has been based on those studies...

...we can take back the environmental movement ...serious questions ...need to be asked about... genetic engineering technology whereby hybrid organisms and new, never-before-seen proteins that are being released into the biosphere in a giant, uncontrolled experiment that threatens the very genome of life on this planet.

We can look into the environmental causes of the explosion in cancer and the staggering drops in fertility over the last 50 years, including the BPA in our plastics and the anti-androgens in the water.

...We can examine regulatory agencies that are controlled by the very corporations they are supposedly watching over.

We can begin focusing on depleted uranium and the dumping of toxic waste into the rivers and all of the issues that we once knew were part of the mandate of the real environmental movement....(25 November, 2009)

[http://www.corbettreport.com/articles/20091125\\_enviro\\_message.htm](http://www.corbettreport.com/articles/20091125_enviro_message.htm)

### COPENHAGEN

Global-Warming, the new imperialism, can be worse than nature's cataclysm but tectonic plates will not crunch today, volcanic belching CO<sup>2</sup> now stayed, forget that nuclear burner in the sky, variation of earth's orbit defy, enter the corral of collective guilt. (forget the multi-billion business built) A hundred and fifty nations did meet, a hundred and thirty-two at their feet —Europe, Japan, the US, Australia— sober suits hide military regalia, colony addicts with this urge to hone world diversity into monochrome. Thirty-five thousand delegates listen: 'Rising seas the greenhouse gases christen, decarbonise and you help the gannet, chuck fossil-fuels and save the planet.' Except for Afghanistan and Iraq? Not a suitable subject for the craic? Now get lost you climate-change denier! The same as in holocaust? Taboo mire.

Wilson John Haire. 10 December, 2009

## Pope Benedict Calls For Global Reform

"It is not Socialism but Capitalism that is opposed to religion; Capitalism is social cannibalism, the devouring of man by man, and under capitalism those who have the most of the pious attributes which are required for a truly deeply religious nature are the greatest failures and the heaviest sufferers.

"Religion, I hope, is not bound up with a system founded on buying human labour in the cheapest market, and selling its product in the dearest; when the organised Socialist Working Class tramples upon the Capitalist Class it will not be trampling upon a pillar of God's Church but upon a blasphemous defiler of the Sanctuary, it will be rescuing the Faith from the impious vermin who make it noisome to the really religious men and women." (James Connolly, *The Harp*, January, 1909).

The Pope has called for a new world financial order blaming the global crisis on the greed of financiers and investors in a new Papal Encyclical, *Caritas In Veritate* (Charity in Truth), launched on 7th July 2009.

Denouncing what he termed a profit—at—all—cost mentality, Pope Benedict XVI was also critical of governmental oversight and the absence of global regulation.

In the most socially rooted Vatican encyclical letter since 1967, the Pope wrote:

"In the face of the unrelenting growth of global interdependence, there is a strongly felt need, even in the midst of a global recession, for a reform of the United Nations organisation, and likewise of economic institutions and international finance, so that the concept of the family of nations can acquire real teeth."

The Pope has argued that any economic system must have as its foundation a comprehensive vision of human welfare as opposed to a system driven by "*private interests and the logic of power*".

"Once profit becomes the exclusive goal, if it is produced by improper means and without the common good as its ultimate end, it risks destroying wealth and creating poverty."

Benedict appealed to developed nations not to scale back aid to poor countries because of the economic crisis. He urged wealthier countries to increase development aid to help eliminate world hunger, saying peace and security depended on it.

The Pope said food and water are the "*universal rights of all human beings without distinction or discrimination*" and are part of the basic right to life.

Pope Benedict XVI stated: "*There is urgent need [for] a true world political authority*" to manage the global economy. "*The economy needs ethics in order to function correctly—not any ethics, but an ethics which is people centred*", Benedict wrote in the 30,000 word papal document.

Benedict said that the drive to outsource work to the cheapest bidder had endangered the rights of workers, and he demanded

that workers be allowed to organise in unions to protect their rights and guarantee steady, decent employment.

"These processes have led to a down-sizing of social security systems as the price to be paid for seeking greater competitive advantage in the global market, with consequent grave danger for the rights of workers, for fundamental human rights and for the solidarity associated with the traditional forms of the social state."

The Bishops of Ireland welcomed the publication of *Caritas In Veritate* (Charity in Truth).

The Irish bishops said the Pope had revisited the teachings on "*integral human development*" expounded by Pope Paul VI in his landmark 1967 encyclical, *Populorum Progressio*.

The document was the outcome of two years work, mainly by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, and released the day before leaders of the G-8 industrialised nations met in Italy to co-ordinate efforts to emerge from the financial crisis.

### Ethics

Development programmes and offers of aid that encourage coercive population control methods and the promotion of abortion do not have the good of people at heart and limit the recipients' motivation to become actors in their own development and Progress, the Pope said.

In addition, he states, an anti-life mentality in the world's richest countries is related to the lack of concern for the poor.

The Encyclical condemned corruption, the exploitation of workers, the destruction of the environment, the continuing practice of wealthy nations imposing such high tariffs on imports that they shut poor countries out of the international marketplace and, especially, an "*excessive zeal*" for enforcing patents, especially on medications that could save the lives of thousands of poor people if they were available at a reasonable cost.

"The mere fact of emerging from economic backwardness, though positive in itself, does not resolve the complex issues of human advancement, neither

for the countries that are spearheading such progress, nor for those that are already economically developed, nor even for those that are still poor, which can suffer not just through old forms of exploitation, but also from the negative consequences of a growth that is marked by irregularities and imbalances."

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"As expected, some commentators immediately questioned what the real impact of a 30,000—word papal letter could be. Others, who pointed out that its release coincided with the funeral of Michael Jackson and was therefore "*even less of a story*", suggested that it would have no impact at all"

(The Universe (U.K.), 12.7.2009).  
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### Catholic Social Teaching

The Encyclical as one would expect follows the key principle explored in all previous social Encyclicals, that essentially "*work is for the man, and not man for the work*" (Pope John Paul II), that the human person must be at the centre, and the objective of, all commercial endeavour.

The core of all Catholic social teaching is that the affairs of man and employer/state are secondary to the affairs of Man and God.

### The Markets

The Catholic Church has been generally content to allow democratic capitalism to control the markets, but repeatedly points out that the markets themselves ought to be at the service of the people they employ.

When Pope Leo XIII launched the first Social Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891, he suggested an alternative reading of the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis.

The consequence of 'The Fall' may be that mankind is destined to toil in the dust to find its salvation, but Leo questioned whether that meant implicitly that work had to be useless, exhausting and degrading.

Now, Benedict states: "*Alongside profit—orientated private enterprise, there must be room for commercial entities based on mutualist principles and pursuing social ends...*" (Para. 38).

This, he says, is a way of "*civilising the economy*" and moving beyond that which he eloquently describes as "*the mere logic of the exchange of equivalents*".

Benedict warns against equating the technically possible with the good. Recognising the opportunities and threats inherent in the phenomenon of globalisation which, he says, "*makes*



us neighbours but does not make us brothers". Does it even make us neighbours, in the true sense?

He also said that investing always has a moral as well as an economic significance.

### Ireland

"What should be avoided is a speculative use of financial resources that yields to the temptation of seeking only short-term profit without regard for the long-term sustainability of the enterprise, its benefit to the real economy and attention to the advancement—in suitable and appropriate ways—of further economic initiatives in countries in need of development," he said.

"Veteran Vatican-watcher, John L. Allen, said the Pope had also rejected the theory of unlimited deregulation and a view that the global economy has an in-built "quota" of poverty and underdevelopment which was required to function successfully"

(*The Universe*, 12.7.2009).

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"Like science, the economics of the free market merely tells us what we can do but not what we should do. And just like science, the free market is as good or evil as the moral ether—or lack of one—in which it operates. The free market is an engine, not a steering wheel. And it is merely one kind of engine that can work. Its advantage is that it is the most powerful for generating wealth in the short term. But its inability to plan and self regulate is a huge weakness.

"Most importantly, its measurement of the human person solely using the mechanism of the price of human labour, subordinates human need to the means of production. Incidentally, in this failing the only credible—albeit failed—alternative to capitalism advanced thus far, Marxism is similar.

"Both Marxists and extreme free market capitalists see spiritual values and human dignity as irrelevant to the goal of maximising material output."

(Marc Coleman, *Irish Cath.* 16.7.2009).

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Encyclicals generally provoke a 'progressive' or 'liberal' Catholic criticism but on this occasion George Weigel, a US Catholic commentator has pulled no punches!

Michael Kelly, a reporter on the *Irish Catholic* sums up thus:

"George Weigel, the erstwhile biographer of the late Pope John Paul II and intellectual superhero of a hugely discredited US neo-conservative movement, has launched a blistering attack on Pope Benedict XVI's latest encyclical letter *Caritas in Veritate*."

(*Irish Catholic*, 16.7.2009):

"The net result is, with respect, an encyclical that resembles a duck-billed platypus.

"But the language in these sections of *Caritas in Veritate* is so clotted and muddled as to suggest the possibility that what may be intended as a new conceptual starting point for Catholic social doctrine is, in fact, a confused sentimentality of precisely the sort the encyclical deplores among those who detach charity from truth.

"The incoherence of the Justice and Peace sections of the new encyclical is so deep, and the language in some cases so impenetrable, that what the defenders of *Populorum Progressio* may think to be a new sounding of the trumpet is far more like the warbling of an untuned piccolo"

(George Weigel, *Irish Cath.* 16.7.2009).

Kelly claims that "*Pope Benedict XVI's opposition to unregulated capitalism and the Pontiff's lack of faith in the puritan doctrine of free-market economics has provoked Mr Weigel's anger*".

Weigel's 'beef' is with the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace "*and in its misreading of the economic and political signs of the times*". The rot appears to have begun in the post-Vatican II encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (1967).

"For in the long line of papal social teaching running from *Rerum Novarum* [1891] to *Centesimus Annus* [1991], *Populorum Progressio* [1967] is manifestly the odd duck, both in its intellectual structure (which is barely recognisable as in continuity with the framework for Catholic social thought established by Leo XIII and extended by Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* [1931]) and in its misreading of the economic and political signs of the times (which was clouded by then—popular leftist and progressive conceptions about the problem of Third World poverty, its causes, and its remedies)."

### Creation of Wealth

Weigel continues:

"*Centesimus Annus* [1991] implicitly recognised these defects, not least by arguing that poverty in the Third World, and within developed countries today, is a matter of exclusion from global networks of exchange in a dynamic economy (which put the moral emphasis on strategies of wealth creation, empowerment of the poor, and inclusion), rather than a matter of First World greed in a static economy (which would put the moral emphasis on redistribution of wealth).

"Interestingly enough, Paul VI himself had recognised that *Populorum Progressio* [1967] had misfired in certain respects, being misread in some quarters as a tacit papal endorsement of violent revolution in the name of social justice. Pope Paul tried a course correction in the 1971 apostolic letter, *Octogesima Adveniens* [1971], another *Rerum Novarum* [1891] anniversary document."

Weigel claims that at least two drafts of the latest encyclical, and perhaps three, were rejected by Pope Benedict XVI.

"Benedict XVI, a truly gentle soul, may

have thought it necessary to include in his encyclical these multiple off-notes, in order to maintain the peace within his curial household.

"Those with eyes to see and ears to hear will concentrate their attention, in reading *Caritas in Veritate*, on those parts of the encyclical that are clearly Benedictine, including the Pope's trademark defence of the necessary conjunction of faith and reason and his extension of John Paul II's signature theme that all social issues, including political and economic questions, are ultimately questions of the nature of the human person."

### The Progressive Response

Pope Benedict's latest encyclical on social justice points out some hard truths, writes Emmet Bergin in *The Irish Catholic* (6.8.2009).

"I hope I'm not being presumptuous but I think it is true that few people, even readers of *The Irish Catholic*, are much aware of the existence, let alone the extraordinary breadth of Catholic Social Teaching.

"Many people, including Catholics, think that when the Church talks to its members it lectures only on contraception, abortion and divorce. Yet beyond that sometimes self-inflicted stereotype there is a hidden treasure, a centuries—old tradition of radical, progressive insight on matters of social justice. Catholic Social Teaching is probably Catholicism's best kept secret.

"Pope Benedict XVI's most recent and first "social" encyclical *Caritas in Veritate* ('Love in Truth') comes at a time when confidence in existing economic and political systems is at an all-time low. Many people, not just Catholics, are looking for a system that goes beyond mere economic transaction. *Caritas in Veritate* could provide some answers." (Emmet Bergin is Advocacy Officer with *Progressio Ireland*, an international development organisation working for sustainable development and the eradication of poverty.

Mr. Bergin is surely a little presumptive, particularly when you consider that since 1987, Irish labour has maintained a Social Partnership arrangement with the State, much of it inspired from German labour with its origins in the Christian labour movement on the continent. But yes, it is too good a secret to keep!

It certainly looks as if the Fianna Fail leadership have completely forgotten about that teaching in their dismissal of the Social Partnership concept on December 3rd last.

The present writer has tried in vain to establish if James Connolly read *Rerum Novarum* (1891), Connolly was 23 years of age when it was published—though not specifically mentioned in any of his writings, it is hard to believe that he would have overlooked such a significant document—the first of the social Encyclicals and considered by many conservative Catholics to even be revolutionary.

## Saudi School

The Government of Saudi Arabia plans to establish a school in Dublin. The decision was posted on the website of the Saudi embassy in Dublin.

"It was decided in the meeting to establish a Saudi school to teach the children of Saudi citizens and students residing in Ireland," it states.

A spokesperson for the Embassy, which opened on Fitzwilliam Square in September 2009, has stressed that the plans are at a very early stage. So early, in fact, that the Department of Education says the Saudi Government has not been in contact with the department regarding the matter. Nothing, according to a department spokeswoman, was mentioned during Minister for Education Batt O'Keeffe's visit to Saudi Arabia last September, when he attended the opening of the King Abdullah University of Science and Technology, the country's first co-educational third-level institution.

According to Embassy figures, less than 15 Saudi families live in Ireland, in addition to the more than 400 Saudi nationals currently studying here. A spokesperson said the number of Saudis coming to Ireland for tertiary education is expected to rise within the coming years because the Saudi ministry for education has given its imprimatur to an increasing number of third-level institutions here.

According to Mary Fitzgerald, writing in *The Irish Times* (12.12.2009):

"Saudi Arabia's plan to establish a school in Ireland is receiving a mixed response, especially from non-Saudi Muslims worried that the kingdom's monolithic view of Islam could be a source of conflict."

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YES, RUTH DUDLEY EDWARDS has found a new hero—the jailbird Conrad Black!

Ruth seems to like jailbirds, Sean O'Callaghan, the IRA informer was another of her heroes.

Black is still in the Coleman Federal Correction Complex in Florida, 21

months into a 78-month sentence, in a system where, even with maximum remission, he could not expect to get out before the autumn of 2013. Black, 65, was convicted in 2007 of stealing €4.1 million from the newspaper publishing company, and a U.S. Appeals court upheld the conviction. He has now gone to the U.S. Supreme Court on another appeal.

What makes Black so stimulating for Dudley Edwards are the fearlessness of his views, his grasp of history and the way in which he approaches issues from an entirely new direction.

"Black's columns in the Canadian *National Post* cause readers to cheer or foam at the mouth. Latterly I've enjoyed him on his feminism (*"men have made such a mess of most things; women, who are at least as intelligent, should be given a full chance to do better"*), the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (*"the chief source of apparently informed hysteria"*), the contradictions of the proposed health care reforms, the horror of Mao's China, and the Nobel Prize going to Obama (*"confirms the world's love for weak or at least misguided diffident American leaders, in the mould of previous Nobel laureates Jimmy Carter and Al Gore"*).

"Then there was his essay on his conversion from casual Protestantism to Roman Catholicism, which attracted him because he saw it "as fiercely dedicated to the kingdom of God, resistant to opportunistic fads, concerned to modernise without eroding faith, armed with intellectual arguments quite equal, at the least, to those of their secular opponents or rivals."

"Keep your fingers crossed", Black wrote to me on Friday, "and say an ecumenical, or even secular votive offering to the spirit of John Charles McQuaid."

"Well, I was never a fan of McQuaid, and this is not a week for communing with dead archbishops of Dublin, but my fingers are crossed." (*Sunday Independent*, 6.12.2009).

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"FORMER ANGLO IRISH Bank boss Sean FitzPatrick said "no f\*\*\*ing Protestant" was going to take over his bank, economist David McWilliams claims in his new book: *Follow The Money*, Mr McWilliams recounts a conversation with Mr FitzPatrick at an event in UCD in November, 2008.

"The author says at the time, the word was Bank of Ireland or AIB would take over Anglo.

"This was anathema to him. Bank of Ireland was always seen as the Establishment bank, almost the Ascendancy bank. Many described it as a Church of Ireland bank, while AIB was seen as the ultimate bureaucratic bank. He railed against these big banks, claiming that Anglo did things differently," he writes.

"Mr McWilliams says the conversation continued up to "a moment of truth".

"Then he came closer, squeezed my arm and practically hissed between clenched teeth: "No f\*\*\*ing Protestant is coming near us. Those establishment f\*\*\*ers and Bank of Ireland have been running our country before we came along, and those f\*\*\*ers are not going to bring me down. None of them are ever going to look down on us again. We are the outsiders, and this is our moment. Those f\*\*\*ers don't own us any more"...." (*Irish Independent*, 2.11.2009).

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"JOHN MULCAHY'S passions are many—history, the arts, newsprint, and above all, the preservation of Ireland's cultural heritage.

"Over four decades he has been editor/publisher of a string of successful periodicals, from *Hibernia Magazine* to *The Irish Arts Review*.

"This month he will step down as publisher of *Phoenix*, the satirical news magazine he founded 26 years ago, and he will also make his debut as a novelist. *Union*, an epic tale of revolution and romance in late 18th century Ireland, has been 20 years in gestation, but set as it is against a background of past political corruption, its publication this week could not be more timely.

"If I have learnt one lesson in life it's that people don't change. What we have now is a close parallel of Dublin society 200 years ago", said Mulcahy.

"One somehow assumes that the association with art has a civilising effect on mankind. I'm afraid my unhappy conclusion is that there is no evidence of this whatsoever.

"What really surprises me is that in the short period of human history, we are as uncivilised today as we were when we first began to record our mores"... (*Sunday Business Post*, 18.10.2009).