

Irish Foreign Affairs

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“Every nation, if it is to survive as a nation, must study its own history and have a foreign policy”
—C.J. O’Donnell, *The Lordship of the World*, 1924, p.145

Editorial: John Bruton and the Balance-of-Power p. 2

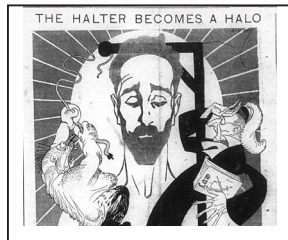
How *Irish Times* West British Intelligence Understood “Herr Hitler” – Part One
Manus O’Riordan p. 8

The American Imperial Perspective on the Philippines *Eamon Dyas* p. 11

Documents

Nazi and Zionist Co-operation in Germany, 1937-1939 (Part 2) p. 13

In Year Zero, A Contribution to the History of the German Press,
by Hans Habe, with an Introduction by Philip O’Connor p. 17



THE UNKNOWN ROGER CASEMENT (III)

A Selection of his Writings from *The Continental Times* 1914-15 p. 21

Plus his Letters to Bigelow, with an Introduction by Pat Walsh p. 32

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Editorial

John Bruton and the Balance – of – Power.

England declared itself an Empire about 500 years ago—486 years ago to be exact. The meaning of that declaration was that it asserted itself as an absolutely independent sovereign Power. By doing so it detached itself from Europe.

John Bruton, the former Taoiseach, has written a long article for the *Cork Examiner* about this matter. He tells us that “England felt it[self] so much part of continental Europe that Henry VIII actually contemplated being a candidate for Holy Roman Emperor” (EU protects Ireland from UK domination, *Irish Examiner*, 13.6.17).

That would have been in the 1520s. In the 1530s everything changed. Henry broke free of European civilisation and set in motion the establishment of an English counter-civilisation.

It took this new English civilisation about a century and a half to settle down into a regularly functioning system of state. When it did settle down, during the generation following the Glorious Revolution of 1688, it adopted a strategy towards Europe that was designed for mastering Europe in the sense of disabling its coherent development. That strategy is summed up in a phrase which has a reassuring ring to it—the Balance of Power.

Here is John Bruton’s view of it:

“If one reviews European history over the period since the Reformation 500 years ago, the role England has sought to play in Europe has been that of holding the balance between contending powers.

“It used its naval strength, and the overseas colonies its naval strength allowed it to hold, to exercise that balancing European role.

“At no time in the last 500 years did the UK seem to disengage from, or turn its back upon, continental Europe. Indeed, England felt it so much part of continental Europe that Henry VIII actually contemplated being a candidate for Holy Roman Emperor.

“England sought to be sufficiently involved in Europe to exercise its balance of power role effectively, but without being so intimately enmeshed in continental issues that it lost its freedom of action. England’s extension of its power to Ireland and Scotland were contributions to its goal of defence against, and influence over, continental Europe.

“The same motivation lay behind the decisions the UK took to go to war in August 1914 and September 1939, that of maintaining a balance of power in Europe.

“The position the UK held in the EU on 22 June 2016, the day before the Brexit referendum, could be said to have been a perfect expression of that traditional English approach. The UK was having its European cake and eating it.

“The UK was a full voting member of the EU, but was exempted from aspects of EU policies that it might have found too entangling, like the Euro, the Schengen passport free zone, justice and home affairs co-operation and, for a time, the Social Chapter of the EU Treaties.

“But, as a full voting member, the UK could still influence the direction of the EU, and, if necessary, slow down developments it did not like...

“The UK, it could be said, had the best of both worlds the day before the referendum.”

Why, then, did it decide to leave the EU? And why, in 1972, did it do something that was apparently so destructive of its

mission in the world—the mission it had given itself in the world—as submitting its absolute sovereignty to a collective European sovereignty that was in the process of construction, and that lay beyond the reach of its balance-of-power manipulation?

It joined the united Europe, that was the unexpected outcome of its 1939 World War, for the purpose of subverting its development from within. In order to get in it had to simulate and dissimulate. In order to get in it had to persuade Europe that de Gaulle’s dismissive characterisation of it was no longer the case: it was no longer insular and maritime with a honeycomb of imperial connections around the world. The Empire and its pretensions had fallen away, and it had become a moderately-sized European state, attached to the European land-mass by a few miles of water.

For this purpose it appointed a Prime Minister who neither simulated nor dissimulated, but was authentically convinced that the only future for England lay in its becoming a European state. Heath had taken certain aspects of the World War propaganda too naively. But a national purpose was found for his naivete—it gained Britain membership of the new Franco-German-Italian Europe which it had disdained twenty years earlier. And then Heath was sacked—as he was trying to introduce German socio-economic structures into the British economy—and was replaced by Margaret Thatcher.

Thatcher immediately set about subverting European development and reducing Europe to a condition where it might once more be brought under balance-of-power manipulation.

For a third of the century there was a continuous friction between the original European impulse and British diversionary influence. Each had its successes. But the development envisaged by the founders was not derailed. In the early 1990s, when European development seemed to be flourishing, the *London Times* carried an editorial on the terminal danger that this posed for Britain’s historic European policy—the balance-of-power—and therefore the danger it posed for Britain.

Ireland has no foreign policy worthy of the name. It does not even have a Northern Ireland policy. It must therefore be difficult for somebody bred within the Treatyite culture (which ruled out foreign policy for Ireland) to understand that foreign policy is central to British existence. Britain must be a Power in the world, forcibly “teaching the nations how to live”, in order to feel that it exists. That Millenarian vision of Cromwell’s Secretary of State, John Milton (the Puritan poet), survived the fall of the totalitarian Puritan State and became the central purpose of the Hanoverian State that is still with us.

The pioneering nationalism of England, which made nationalism the norm of the modern world, cannot live contentedly within its own nationality. It must always be interfering with others for their own good, whether they welcome it or not, and whether it is good for them or not. And it has been doing this for so long, and so spectacularly, with five World Wars to its credit and hundreds of Small Wars, that it is doubtful whether it is something that would be capable of existing as itself in the way that most peoples do. The *Times* didn’t think so about 25 years ago.

The main European development since then was the establishment of the Euro money system. Britain was unable to prevent it, and therefore it is endangered by it.

There is an argument over whether the Euro is a good thing or a bad thing, but it is undoubtedly a thing. It may fail sometime in the future but it is not failing now, and “*the now*” is when strategic decisions must be taken.

As the Euro continues to exist it becomes increasingly indispensable. If it seems to be in danger of failing, great efforts must be made to sustain it. And those efforts must increasingly take the form of a State structure organised around it.

British Tory Minister, Chris Grayling, concluded that the Euro development had gone so far that Europe could not allow it to fail. The point of no return was being reached. Britain should leave and make its own arrangements before it was marginalised in Europe by State development around the Euro.

He did not say that if it left now, before the State organisation around the Euro had happened, its leaving might exert a discouraging influence on the EU. That would not be a useful thing to say. It is something that should only come to light later, if appropriate.

Grayling’s position is in effect that Britain was failing to exert disabling balance-of-power influence within EU membership and that, if it hung around while the Euro was being consolidated, its future prospects as an independent Power would be damaged.

It should be taken as axiomatic that England is in the grip of an absolute nationalism with a singular destiny in the world. And Bruton does so take it.

It seems that Bruton has got over the resentment he felt as the Constitution Convention Chairman when he saw Britain brazenly pursuing its own objects against European consensus, and now admires it in recognition of the force of destiny that it was and that it still aspires to be. Why not? He has declared himself a Redmondite.

But he is too frank. He describes Britain’s 1914 war as a Balance-of-Power War. Redmond denied that absolutely in 1914. He continued to deny it in the face of mounting evidence until he died in 1918. The British Government still denies it, as do the regiments of British historians—and, of course, the Irish ones too.

And another Balance-of-Power war in 1939. Bravo!

But what is the historical meaning of Balance-of-Power? I figured it out in the seventies as I was constructing the context of “*Derry, Aghrim, Enniskillen and the Boyne*”.

As I was putting the detail together, it struck me suddenly that it was the most destructive principle I had ever come across. I would’ve called it *evil* if that was a word I used.

I did not rush into print with this revelation. I was inclined to think I must have missed something and was mistaken. But then I came across Salvemini being struck by the same thought. He was an active anti-Fascist who had been Professor of History at Florence, and I found him being struck in one of his pamphlets with the thought of that the meaning of that reassuring phrase, “*the balance of power*”, was diabolical.

There were many intellectuals in post-1945 Europe who saw that European development required that the balance-of-power game should be stopped. And Christian Democracy stopped it for a generation.

The British idea of a European balance-of-power does not include Britain itself within the balance. If Europe was balanced with Britain within the balance, that would be disabling for Britain in the world role it chose for itself. It must stand outside the European balance in order to be able to determine the course of European affairs by unbalancing Europe by adding its weight to one side or the other.

There is only one academic book on English history that purports to be Irish: *The Coming Of The First World War* by Nicholas Mansergh—an English Imperial civil servant, academic and war propagandist who was born on a Cromwellian Estate in Munster that was lost under the 1903 Land Act. During the 2nd World War he ran the British Ministry of Propaganda (called “*Information*”). In 1944 he took time off to come to Dublin and deliver the “*Lady Ardilaun Lectures*” at the Queen Alexandra College for young ladies on the subject of the 1st World War. These were published as a book in London in 1948, and the book was used for teaching in Queen’s University, Belfast.

Mansergh gives two conflicting meanings for the term, “*balance of power*”:

“The classic definition... was that given by Lord Castlereagh, who described it as meaning ‘the maintenance of just such an equilibrium between the members of the family as should prevent any one of them becoming sufficiently strong to impose its will upon the rest’...”

Mansergh varies the definition:

“When an Englishman speaks of the need to maintain a Balance of Power in Europe he means, not the maintenance of an exact scientific balance, but rather the perpetuation of a system in which the weight of England is sufficient to bring down the scales on whichever side it is thrown” (p4).

Castlereagh’s definition looks to equilibrium in Europe: Mansergh’s to English advantage against Europe.

According to Mansergh:

“Between 1870 and 1904 England saw no need to restore a state of equilibrium in Europe. She pursued on the contrary an isolationist-opportunist policy... the logical justification for the departure from a prudent tradition was that the Central Powers did not, during those years, actively threaten the liberty or independence of the smaller states. Consequently British statesman felt no need to redress the balance, and they did not recognise that such a need had arisen until uncertainty about the underlying purpose of German policy created a feeling of insecurity in almost every country in Europe”.

It was only when Anglo-German negotiations about a proposed alliance—

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“revealed the indefinable, ominous character of German ambitions that British statesmen became conscious of the potential menace to the liberties of Europe involved in the military predominance of the German Empire”.

Germany threatened the independence of no European state between 1871 and 1904—or between 1871 and 1914. It tended to its own interests in other parts of the world—chiefly trading interests. In fact, the four major European states, Russia, Germany, France, and Austria, tended to their own affairs, and let each other be, during that period. There was equilibrium in Europe. But Britain was in conflict with Russia in Asia and with France in North Africa.

Balance of power was not forgotten in the British Corridors of Power. It was just that France retained the status of the likely enemy in the next war until Britain changed its mind around 1900 and decided it would be Germany. This change had nothing to do with a demand made by Germany on any European country. It had to do with developments beyond Europe.

What Britain decided to do in 1905 was not to restore a balance in Europe, but to imbalance Europe. It did this by making overtures to France which re-activated its irredentist claim on Alsace, and by indicating to Russia that it would now support its ambition to conquer Constantinople (Istanbul), although it had gone to war against Russia only two generations previously to prevent it from getting Constantinople. Germany's offence was that it had become too effective an economic competitor with Britain in the world market, was building a Navy to protect its foreign trade, and was helping the Ottoman Empire to modernise its administration in the Middle East, which Britain was planning to occupy so that it would have a continuous land empire from India to Egypt.

*

Europe—the EU—cannot write its own history. It considered doing so but quickly gave it up as imprudent, Britain having been admitted to membership.

The construction of what became the EU had a defensive anti-British European purpose. The War had given rise to a European intelligentsia that understood the destructive purpose of balance-of-power and was determined that Britain should not be allowed to play that card again.

External circumstances facilitated a core development of European unity.

Europe had become very small through having been saved from Fascism by Communism. It stretched from France to West Germany. The bogey of Prussia was taken away to become the GDR. Three large states and three small states combined to form an economic union with a political dimension. Britain gave it its blessing, not expecting that much would come of it. British political commentators referred to it dismissively as an attempt to restore the Holy Roman Empire—which is to say that Protestant Britain saw it as Catholic and judged it in accordance with the Reformationist view that the Roman religion was obsolete.

Hapsburg Europe had disappeared. It was the substance of Europe for centuries but it was broken up by the Versailles Powers in 1919, and a series of ‘Nation-states’, without prior national development, carved out of it. All of those states were hot-beds of anti-Semitism between the Wars as the undeveloped national middle classes, prematurely given states to govern by the Versailles imperialists, asserted themselves against the Jews who had been the middle class of the Empire. They all failed—most notoriously, the Versailles's favourite, Czechoslovakia, which allowed itself to be broken by Britain in 1938 and a chunk of it given to Hitler; and Poland which, after the death of its competent dictator, General Pilsudski, frivolously broke

its Treaty with Germany in favour of taking part in a military encirclement of Germany with the British and French Empires.

All of those Versailles States were taken into Soviet possession in 1945 without Western opposition—the West having been reduced by the course of the War to the USA, with Britain as its military base.

The ideology of the latter phase of the War—the Anti-Fascist phase—did not allow this arrangement to be questioned. That ideology said that a force of evil had arisen in Central Europe which endangered the whole of civilisation and threatened to restore the age of Barbarism. In the face of that danger the little difference between Capitalism and Communism was set aside. And, since it was the force of Communism that had stopped the march of this Evil, and then ground it down, Communism was entitled to secure its position at the end of the War, and take the brittle Versailles states under tutelage.

Europe “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic”, as Churchill put it a few years later, was taken out of the European political situation.

(Austria was let be on the pretext that it was a victim of Fascism, but by agreement of East and West it was given the status of a permanent neutral. And, as to its victimhood, it was a patriotic Austrian Fascism that resisted unification with Germany after it became possible in 1933. (Prior to 1933, Versailles vetoed the unification of democratic Austria and democratic Germany. But the merger of 1938 bore none of the signs of conquest.)

*

The seeds of the EU were sown and nurtured by German Christian Democracy in the shelter of the Cold War. The ideology of Christian Democracy was based on the Papal Encyclicals of the preceding half-century. The Catholic Church was the only substantial force in German society that had resisted merger into the Nazi regime.

National Socialism exerted immense attractive power on a Germany that was shattered by the Allied starvation blockade of 1919 and the disruptive conditions imposed by the Versailles Treaty. The Catholic Church, an international institution that was experienced in establishing relations with nationalist regimes which allowed the State to function without submerging the Church in it, established a Concordat relationship with the National Socialist State. A Concordat is a Treaty between Church and State, guaranteeing the Church a degree of autonomy within the nation state. It was a normal relationship on the Continent, but it was not a relationship that Britain would contemplate as a Protestant Empire during the centuries after the Reformation when it governed Catholic Ireland. Its purpose for a couple of centuries was to exterminate Catholicism. When it became clear that that would not happen, it made back-door arrangements with Rome against nationalist developments in Ireland. But Rome could not stop Irish nationalism any more than Britain itself could, and the Roman efforts were negated by Bishops who took on the nationalist outlook of the people they came from. The outcome of that last period of British Government—the last half-century, or three-quarters—was that the Roman Church acquired a position of great influence in the administrative framework of the British State in Ireland while remaining entirely free of the State. That would not have happened under a Concordat relationship.

When an Irish state was established, in 1919, the first thing Britain did was make war on it. The second thing it did was make it fight a “Civil War” against itself. It offered a degree of recognition of Irish statehood by means of a ‘Treaty’ which was finely judged to divide the national force that had fought it to the negotiating table. It insisted that those who accepted this ‘Treaty’ should make war on those who resisted it, otherwise it

would launch all-out war of reconquest. A war was fought on the issue of Crown Government versus Republican Government, in which those who fought for the Crown did not want the Crown any more than those who fought against it did.

The more spirited elements of the Nationalist movement fought for the Republic. The Church used its influence to draw people into the Treaty side, and it pronounced excommunications on those who fought on the Republican side. By this means it consolidated, in the first decade of the Irish state, the extraordinarily powerful position it had achieved under the British administration.

In the early 1970s a magazine called *Church & State* was launched. It focussed on the comprehensively abnormal position of the Catholic Church in the Irish state, and suggested that it should be regularised by Concordat. The suggestion was met with a recoil of rejection. Insofar as it was thought about at all, it was seen by anti-clericals as a move to confer greater power on the Church, and it was seen on the other side as an attack on religion.

About twenty-five years later, the position of the Church began to crumble, but under external pressures and not through internal conflict and development. The decline of the Church, therefore, was not accompanied by a corresponding growth in the coherence of the state. And the European dimension of Irish life, which had been maintained in some degree through the Church, melted away, leaving British war propaganda to fill the vacuum of knowledge about Europe in the crucial first half of the 20th century.

The German Concordat was not a submission to National Socialism, but a hedge against National Socialism.

The Pope recognised that German national life had been restored in the form of an effective national state. So did Winston Churchill, who said he hoped that, if Britain was ever reduced to the shambles to which Germany was reduced after 1918, it would have found its Hitler to restore it.

Germany did not become the enemy in Churchill's eyes because it had restored itself by means of Fascism. He supported Fascism unequivocally as the force that had saved capitalist civilisation from Communism. Germany became the enemy under Balance-of-Power rules just because it was a strong, orderly state once more. France was the enemy during the 1920s: Britain prevented it from disabling Germany. But then Germany restored became the enemy once more.

The Pope, accepting that there were states of many different kinds in the world, negotiated a Concordat with the vigorous new German State, establishing a degree of autonomy for the Church within it.

The Pope has been condemned, long after the event, for not launching the Catholic population of Germany into an assault on National Socialism instead of making terms with it. But the Vatican was not the guardian of the Treaty of Versailles. That responsibility was uniquely Britain's. Britain, by disabling France, had made itself the policeman of the Versailles restrictions on Germany. It had the legal authority, because Versailles purported to be a system of international law. And it had the power. Although it had connived at the secret re-arming of Germany by the Weimar Governments, the scale of this was trivial. National Socialist Germany was effectively an unarmed state in 1933.

Hitler said it was his intention to free Germany from the Versailles shackles. Britain could have stopped him without firing a shot. But what Britain decided to do was collaborate with him in breaking the Versailles terms.

The first major act of collaboration—not of “appeasement”, which implies conciliating a strong force—was the Naval

Agreement of 1935. This was done by Britain on its own authority, without reference to the League of Nations.

Britain collaborated with Hitler to break the Versailles Treaty—and then in a later generation it holds the Pope accountable for recognising the German regime as an accomplished fact and securing a degree of autonomy for the Church under it!

(The fact that the Reformationist Germany, the Germany where the Reformation that brought ‘freedom’ to the World after 1000 years of Roman despotism was born, became part of the National Socialist regime, is not a detail one tends to hear about.)

The Concordat was a discordant element in the state. It was the major compromise made by the regime, and it was seen within the regime as a base of resistance to it. Elements of the regime favoured an all-out campaign of destruction against this Church, which had been a thorn in the side of all the Empires that preceded the Fourth. And now the Pope is condemned for not launching a Church assault on the regime.

There is a millenarian strand in English life deriving from the part that the Reformation played in its origins as a declared Empire. This strand might be quiescent for generation but it can always be enlivened when there is occasion for it. In 1914 it was the atheistic social scientist, H. G. Wells, who gave frenzied expression to it with his pamphlet, *The War That Will End War*. It has become a strand in the general national culture, and is no longer dependent on Christian belief.

Millenarianism is posited on the end of the world in one way or another. In 1914 it was the end of the Fall of Man. The defeat and eradication of Prussia by means of total war would free the world from the source of Evil in it and there would then be perpetual peace. The world as it had been known throughout recorded history would cease to exist.

Well, ‘Prussia’ was defeated. Germany was subjected to a rigorously enforced starvation blockade by the Royal Navy for eight months after the Armistice in order to compel it to confess that it was Evil by signing the clauses of the Versailles Treaty that said it was. Some hundreds of thousands of Germans died in that post-war starvation blockade that was needed to persuade it to purge itself of its war-guilt. The League of Nations was established to monitor the era of Perpetual Peace. The Irish voted to establish an independent Government in Ireland. Their delegates were locked out of the Versailles Conference on Britain's insistence. And Britain made war on the electorate that had voted so presumptuously.

(In Catholicism—Christianity phased into the life of an Empire of long-standing—the world is treated as ongoing and durable. The Millennium is not denied—that would not be Christian—but neither is the expectation of it encouraged. It has the status of an improbable possibility.)

When England switches from the drunken millenarian mentality to a very sober *Realpolitik*, or vice versa, memory ceases to function. Each phase is perfect in itself, connected with its complementary phase by complete absence of memory.

England went into active collaboration with unarmed Nazi Germany in 1933 and helped it to arm itself. It gave Hitler permission to build a Navy, in breach of Versailles. It allowed him to build an army greatly in excess of what was allowed by Versailles, and to push it up against the French border—the “*remilitarisation of the Rhineland*”. It allowed him to unite Germany and Austria—a thing which it had forbidden Democratic Germany and democratic Austria to do in the 1920s. Finally, in the Fall of 1938, it gave him a chunk of Czechoslovakia to add to Germany, and the advanced Czech arms industry—that was ‘*Munich*’.

Munich established Germany in a position of *de facto* hegemony in Eastern Europe, under which Czechoslovakia was

comprehensively dismantled, bits going to Poland, bits going to Hungary, and Slovakia detaching itself to be an independent state.

Then, through God-knows-what operations in the collective unconscious, it decided to make war on the Germany which it had just restored to the status of a major Power. And it chose as the occasion of war the one remaining German complaint about the Versailles Treaty: the anomalous and unsustainable position of the German city of Danzig within the Polish state but not governed by it. Danzig was a popular German issue. Its status under the League of Nations had not been accepted by the Weimar democracy. Its transfer to East Prussia would have made little difference to the structure of Europe compared to the Sudetenland, the *Anschluss*, the Rhineland, the Naval Agreement etc. But Britain, having done all those other things, and raised Germany to the status of a major European Power, chose to affront it by inducing the Poles to revoke their Treaty with Germany and enter into a military alliance with Britain and France against Germany.

What political sense was there in this sudden British switch from collaboration with Nazi Germany to war against Nazi Germany, using the trivial issue of Danzig as the occasion?

British historians don't ask questions like that. Irish historians should be asking them as the Irish State refused to take part in the War and was sceptical of the British propaganda reasons about it—but Irish academic historians approach all questions affecting British interests with frightened minds.

Balance-of-Power considerations influenced British policy against France in the 1920s. If British war propaganda of 1914-18 had been acted upon in the making of a post-war settlement after 1918, France would have become the hegemonic state in Europe. But when the War ended, Britain discarded its own war propaganda. It insisted that the Germany of 1914 should be maintained as a territorial unity as a counter to France (with some irritating losses), and therefore as a likely enemy to a France which had delighted in plundering and humiliating it.

But what balance-of-power consideration led it to collaborate in the rapid restoration of German military power in the Nazi period? Presumably the consolidation of the Communist State in Russia, which in the early thirties secured an agricultural base through Collectivisation for rapid industrialisation.

But what further consideration then led it in 1939 to decide to make war on the German State which it had restored as a major European Power?

Germany was not a World Power in 1939. Britain was. Germany only acquired the status of a World Power for a moment by its competent conduct of the war into which it was pressed by Britain. And Britain did not treat it as a rival World Power in 1939.

Britain became an ally of Russia only after it had effectively lost its war on Germany in 1940 but refused, as the dominant Naval Power in the world, to make a settlement, and Germany tried to force Britain to make a settlement by taking Russia out of the running as possible British ally.

In 1939, Britain, keeping all options open, had refused to make an alliance with Russia but had not ruled it out either. In September 1939, having provoked a German/Polish war with its military alliance with Poland, it left the Poles to fight alone, and contented itself with *declaring* war on Germany. In the Spring of 1940, with the declaration of war with Germany lying on the table, it made active preparations to make war on Russia in Finland. When the Fins made a settlement, it prepared to breach Norwegian neutrality in order to prevent trading relations between Scandinavia and Germany. Germany sent a military expedition to Finland and responded to the declaration of war on it by attacking in France.

One is left with the impression that Britain was a headless World Power, lost between competing notions of its fixed idea of balance-of-power, and not knowing what it was doing or what it wanted to do.

Germany, through skilful military action of an essentially defensive character, with inferior forces, in a war that had been pressed on it by the blundering World Power, took on the illusory position of being itself a World Power for about four years. It was defeated when numbers of men and quantities of resources came into play, as they did in Russia in 1942.

Whatever Britain's reasons might have been for suddenly deciding to make war on Germany in the Spring of 1939, instead of collaborating with it, if it had made serious preparations to wage that war, it would in all probability have won it. Or, what is even more likely, there would have been no war in Europe in 1939. Hitler responded to military encirclement by striking at Poland because he saw that Britain and France were making no credible preparations to give effect to their military guarantee to Poland.

Britain might have contained the German development with which it had collaborated for five years. But it appears that containment is incompatible with the millenarian streak in British political culture.

If Hitler must be regarded as a monster, let it at least be said that he was developed by British policy—and that he was an Anglophile monster.

British balance-of-power strategy is not the neat thing presented by John Bruton. It has always been catastrophic in its consequences for Europe. And it is hard to see how the chaos of things called the Second World War can be understood on balance of power terms at all.

The saving of Western Europe from utter catastrophe can be seen to depend on two things. The American policy of "*pastoralising*" Germany could not be implemented in close proximity to the Communist force that had destroyed the Nazi state. And the emergence from its Concordalist refuge of the Christian Democracy that had resisted the regime.

Christian democracy did not return to Germany with the Occupation Forces. It had been there all the time, without becoming an agency of the Nazi regime. And its leader, Konrad Adenauer, had been politically active since the Great War. He had experienced British conduct in the 1920s. He had been removed as Mayor of Cologne by the Nazis. He knew what happened in Germany in the 1930s and he acted on that knowledge—regarding which the Germany of the past quarter century is in denial—in the construction of the post-war set up. His immediate purpose after 1945 was to prevent Britain from gaining the kind of influence on German development that it had in the 1920s.

The National Socialist Party, after slipping into Office in 1933, had quickly established itself in unchallengeable dominance by breaking the mass movements of Weimar politics, Communist and Social Democratic. But it had not done this by mass slaughter. It had done it by drawing the substance of those movements to itself by the application of a very slight degree of pressure and giving them an achievable purpose in the form of restoring a functional national state with strong social welfare dimension.

The *Brown Book Of The Hitler Terror* had the purpose of showing the dreadfulness by which Nazi political power was consolidated. There is no account in it of any great slaughter.

The significant political killings had been done in the chaos of 1919, under the conditions of the Armistice and the intensified Allied starvation blockade, for the purpose of safeguarding the democratic Republic that had recently been declared. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were killed by Freikorps

elements with the approval of the flimsily established, self-proclaimed, Social Democratic Republic, which was recognised as the Weimar democracy by the Versailles Conference a few months later, at which it agreed to sign a confession of German guilt for the World War.

In 1933 the only political leader killed by the Nazis was Fritz Gerlich, Editor of the Catholic newspaper *Der Gerade Weg*, which was relentless in its hostility to National Socialism.

Gerlich was not accorded the status of heroic martyr in defence of Parliamentary Government after Britain decided to make war on Hitler after supporting him actively for five years, and set about creating a mythology to serve as a history of the period.

Hubert Butler, who is now much in vogue for his condemnation of independent Ireland as a hidebound system of Catholic bigotry, published a number of essays on Germany in the 1930s. He sought a pure martyr to the cause of Parliamentary democracy against Fascism—one who had not collaborated for a while before becoming disillusioned. He awarded the prize to Carl von Ossietzky, a Protestant. But Ossietzky's martyrdom was rather belated. It came in 1936.

Another figure given publicity in recent times as a 'good German' of the fascist era is Fritz-Dietlof von der Schulenberg, grandfather of Kim Bielenberg, because he was executed for trying to kill Hitler.

But that was in the Hitler Plot of 1944. And anybody who was in a position to play a part in that assassination attempt had to have been a good Nazi—a very, very good Nazi—for eleven years. (See Manus O'Riordan's *Martin McGuinness And Some Third Reich Comparisons in Irish Political Review*, June 2017.)

Poor Fritz Gerlich was never a good Nazi. He had not even been an ordinary decent citizen who kept out of politics. He had never been anything but an anti-Nazi. But he did not fit the bill of the post-war mythology because he was a Catholic,

and the mythology said that Catholicism was the seed-bed of Fascism.

The first major bout of political killing happened in 1934. It was not directed at Social Democrats or Communists, but at a wild element within National Socialism—the Roehm leadership of the Brownshirts which wanted to carry out a scorched-earth assault on many traditional elements of German national life, including the Catholic Church.

But the Roehm purge was a very mild affair compared with killing sprees later carried out for democratic purposes—that is, with the approval of the USA and Britain—in many parts of the world. In 1965 in Indonesia, for example, a million people were killed for the purpose of establishing a pro-Western regime.

The Brownshirt purge of 1934 stabilised the National Socialist regime as a functional compromise between socialism (as a social welfare system) and entrepreneurial capitalism, allowing a very wide range of social opinion to participate in it. The only substantial body of non-participation was the Catholic Church, preserved by its own system of dogmas and shielded by the Concordat.

The Christian Democracy emerged in 1945 to restore the German state from within. It availed of the opportunity to put the social system advocated by Papal Encyclicals into effect. And it ensured the stability of the new regime by maintaining extensive continuity with many elements of the old regime.

In collaboration with the Christian Democracy of Italy and Belgium, and with a disorientated France which was in many respects a continuation of the Vichy regime, though in denial about it, Germany established the nucleus of what became the European Union.

Britain, bewildered by the idea of Christian Democracy, stayed out. Then it got back to destroying what had been created in its absence. Having failed to do that sufficiently it is now getting out again. □

(Continued from p. 20)

now stood on German soil. Bad Neuheim was still hundreds of kilometres away - did it even still exist? - but the experiment with the German press in Year Zero could now begin.

With the help of an outstanding team, which consisted of a single American-born writer, Richard Hanser (now a successful television writer for the New York's NBC), I brought the first two newspapers to life, which we had printed in Luxembourg.

One of them, *Feldpost* (Military Post), appeared in a very small format, roughly the size of a paperback. But it was a proper newspaper. It carried the most up-to-date news that the OKW (German High Command) withheld from its population – “Fortress Kolberg, the last German stronghold in Pomerania east of the River Oder, has fallen”; “American tank convoys break through German positions from the Moselle”; “On 18th March, 1,300 American bombers launched the largest air raid on Berlin since the start of the war.” As well as these prosaic reports on developments at the front, the *Feldpost* also carried authentic news from Germany under the heading “Forbidden World”. These reports were often accompanied by a quote, such as from Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, for example: “When a state is leading a nation to its doom, rebellion becomes not just the right but the duty of every member of that nation.” There was also a “gossip column” which was especially effective because of how it related closely to the frontline units, demonstrating our ubiquitous knowledge and attracting the attention of every German soldier. Among the items in the issue of 6th March 1945, for instance, one read: “Major Krebs and Captain Günter of the 532nd Bridging Engineers Battalion are quite content

with their lives at the front. They have managed to find quarters at battalion for their two girlfriends from Metz so that they are never without their companionship.” The little newspaper even carried jokes and cartoons of a political nature with the wording changed to match the local dialects of the troops they were directed at. One joke went: “LAATSCH: What are you studying there? BOMMEL: An English dictionary. LAATSCH: What? Don't you know the words 'I sörrer' by heart? BOMMEL: Of course. But the NSFO (National Socialist Political Officer) also want to know the English for 'I was always against the Nazis.’”

The *Feldpost* was circulated in a highly unusual way: it was delivered to its “subscribers” by artillery. Copies of the latest issue were packed into shells and fired off, and when the shells exploded above the ground the newspapers dispersed over a wide radius. The *Feldpost* was intended mainly for the poorly or uneducated ordinary German soldier, and its effects would be seen in December 1944 in particular, during the Battle of the Bulge, to which I'll return.

The *Mitteilungen* was a different kettle of fish entirely. Apart from the fact that it consisted of just two pages, it was otherwise a regular newspaper, produced in standard newspaper format. The reporting couldn't have been more primitive. Each day two of my staff members would travel to the narrow strips of land over the Belgian-German and Luxembourg-German borders conquered by the Allied armies. They collected news in the conquered towns and relayed it to us by field telephone. □

(To be Continued)

How *Irish Times* West British Intelligence Understood “Herr Hitler” – Part One

By Manus O’Riordan

Over each of the 52 weeks of 2016, a publication entitled *The Revolution Papers 1916-1923* published, along with academic commentary, facsimile reproductions of newspapers from the era, describing itself as “an independent publication produced in collaboration with the Centre for Contemporary Irish History, Trinity College Dublin”. In my article “Centenary of the 1917 National Democratic Revolution”, published in the February issue of *Irish Political Review*, sister publication of *Irish Foreign Affairs*, I highlighted how *The Revolution Papers*, in devoting only a single sentence to the Republican victory in the February 1917 South Roscommon by-election, had failed to acknowledge the revolutionary significance of an event that had been so well analysed at the time by those foremost opponents of our National Democratic Revolution, the Unionist *Irish Times*.

2017 has seen a second weekly series of the publication, now entitled *The Revolution Papers 1923-1949 - From Free State to Republic*. The collaboration with Trinity’s History Department continues, but a change in editors from Steven O’Connor to Ian Kenneally has, in the main, lifted the standard of commentary, with some exceptions, one of them being the issue of June 13, wherein Fearghal McGarry of Queen’s University Belfast restated his Frank Ryan “collaborator” slander, although somewhat more tentatively than before. I have refuted McGarry at length in a three part Ryan series published in the March, June and September 2012 issues of *Irish Foreign Affairs*. See also <http://irelandscw.com/docs-Ryan2.htm> for my 2003 review of McGarry’s biography of Ryan.

The issue of *The Revolution Papers* published this past May 2 was, however, a particularly good one. Entitled “Year by Year, 1936: Edward Abdicates - Britain’s crisis is Ireland’s opportunity”, Kenneally’s review of the press said of the *Irish Times* of 14 December 1936 (a full facsimile of which was included with that issue):

“In its editorial on page 6, the *Irish Times* declares itself saddened by Edward VIII’s abdication, declaring that it has ‘caused the most grievous pain to all his loyal peoples’. However, most of the editorial is directed at de Valera’s government. The *Times* claims that the government is ‘guilty of a deplorable breach of good manners’ for using the crisis to introduce legislation that removed the British monarchy from the internal affairs of the Free State... ‘There shall be no King in the domestic affairs of the Saorstát. Every nook and cranny of the Constitution has been ransacked for mention of His Majesty’s name’... On pages five and seven, the *Times* provides an overview of the Dáil debates on the legislation... The first Act deleted all mentions of the monarch from the Free State’s constitution, while the second Act reduced the monarch’s role to a single function: approving ‘the appointments of diplomatic and consular representatives and the conclusion of international agreements’ on the advice of the Irish government.”

Kenneally’s main feature article was entitled “Farewell to the King: The ‘abdication crisis’ changes the relationship between Ireland and Britain”, and contained the sub-headings of “England’s difficulty” and “Ireland’s opportunity “. He related:

“Sir Harry Batterbee, assistant secretary of the Dominions Office, had travelled to Dublin to discuss the developing crisis with de Valera. According to Batterbee, de Valera was open to the idea of a morganatic marriage, and thought that every avenue ought to be explored before Edward VIII was excluded from the throne. Batterbee recounts that de Valera acknowledged that divorce was not recognised in Catholic countries, but that Edward was a Protestant and in Protestant countries the attitude to divorce was different. De Valera’s attitude was laudable, although there was undoubtedly a little deviousness in his advice to Batterbee: if the marriage went ahead it would undermine the monarchy as an institution in Britain, and weaken the constitutional position of the British cabinet... De Valera had been planning such legislation since forming a government in 1932, as part of the stepping stone strategy he had employed to tear up the Anglo-Irish Treaty. The events in Britain provided the perfect cover to push through the legislation.”

The *Irish Times* editorial in question - entitled “Noblesse Oblige” - was indeed a good example of the mindset of that West British organ and its “legendary” editor, Bertie Smyllie:

“On last Thursday the King of England, visible head of the British Commonwealth of Nations, abandoned his Throne in circumstances which caused the most grievous pain to all his loyal peoples. Throughout the world the news of King Edward’s abdication was received with deep regret, and even in those countries which have no direct concern with the British Commonwealth - notably in Germany (i.e., the Nazi Third Reich - MO’R) - the profoundest sympathy was expressed with the British people in their hour of heavy trial. Advantage was taken of the occasion, and of the new King’s accession, by all the overseas Dominions to reaffirm their loyalty to the Crown. One of the first to send a message of loyal greetings was General Hertzog, Premier of the South African Union, who thirty-five years ago was an active enemy of the British Empire, and fought against its forces in the field. The whole world wondered at this striking proof of the Commonwealth’s unity; but in this sorrowful moment of imperial destiny one member-State of the group was silent. Irishmen of all shades of thought will hang their heads in shame when they contemplate the attitude of the Free State Government during the recent crisis in Great Britain. There has not been a word of sympathy from Dublin - not a word of loyalty, or even of congratulation, to the new King, who has taken up his mighty burden with a devotion to duty and a sense of dignity that have commanded the respect of all men... In our opinion, the Free State Government has been guilty of a deplorable breach of good manners. Not only did it not show the slightest sign of sympathy with the people of the neighbouring island, but it actually went out of its way to try to offend them in the most gratuitous fashion... President de Valera ... took advantage of the occasion, when the British Government was sorely embarrassed, to rush through Dáil Éireann two new bills ... that represent an attempt to weaken the Commonwealth bond. One of them provides that there shall be no King in the domestic affairs of the Saorstát. Every nook and cranny of the Constitution has been ransacked for

mention of His Majesty's name, and henceforth there will be only one estate in the Oireachtas - namely, Dáil Éireann, or, more properly, President de Valera, who rules the Dáil with an iron rod... What will the British people, and the other people of the Commonwealth, think of us in this country? Hurtful things have been said and done in the past, but the events of the last few days have no precedent..."

The second *Irish Times* editorial on page 6 of its issue of 14 December 1936 was no less significant, in showing Smyllie's thoroughgoing commitment to the colonisation of a territory conquered by British Imperialism less than two decades previously, irrespective of the wishes of the indigenous Palestinian population, to whom it devoted not a single word, not even to acknowledge its existence. Under the heading of "Rebuilding Zion", the editorial enthused:

"A correspondent who has accompanied the Royal Commission on Palestine in its tour of the Holy Land describes, in the *Daily Telegraph*, 'the terrific dynamic energy that the Jews are putting in the work of re-building Zion' ... No Jewish colonies in the 'National Home' of the race could rise if the immigrants were afflicted by the snobbery which regards the useful callings as less honourable than those which are merely lucrative. Though the Jews have played so great a part in the history of money and finance, it is clear that their settlers in Palestine have not carried money-worship with them as their social code."

Yet it was on the facing page 7 that an advertisement reminded me of how, a few weeks previously, the otherwise much improved editorial approach of *The Revolution Papers* had failed to meet a key challenge. That advertisement in the *Irish Times* of 14 December 1936 read: "*GERMANY UNDER ADOLF HITLER: The series of fourteen articles under the above heading by our Special Correspondent 'Nichevo', which appeared in the Irish Times some weeks ago, now have been reprinted in pamphlet form. The booklets ... are illustrated profusely.*" Bertie Smyllie, editor of the *Irish Times* 1934-54, adopted the nom-de-plume "Nichevo" for his "Irishman's Diary" column. Caught offside in Germany on the outbreak of the First World War, he had been interned there as an enemy alien for the war's duration, acquiring an intimate knowledge of German language, culture and politics. Accordingly, as assistant editor in 1933, Smyllie was already penning the *Irish Times* editorials on Germany during that critical year.

This April 4, the theme of *The Revolution Papers* for that particular week was "Year by Year, 1933: Hitler Comes To Power". Editor Ian Kenneally provided his usual "Review of the Press", while on this occasion the main feature article, entitled "Dictatorship by the Ballot Box", was by Mervyn O'Driscoll, of University College Cork's School of History, and author of the 2004 book, *Ireland, Germany and the Nazis: Politics and Diplomacy 1919-1939*. O'Driscoll rightly focused on the March 1933 Federal Elections that followed Hitler's assumption of the office of Chancellor at the end of January: "Hitler immediately called a new federal election... Remarkably, despite its control of the political system and its campaign of intimidation, the Nazi Party could not secure an overall majority in the election of 5 March 1933. It won 43.9 percent of the turnout... To complete their takeover, on 23 March Hitler put the Enabling Bill, which would allow him to govern by decree for four years..."

But neither the March 1933 election, nor its "govern by decree" follow-up, was covered at all by editor Kenneally in his "Review of the Press". Rather was it a facsimile of the *Irish Times* for the earlier date of 31 January 1933 that was

reproduced, and for which Kenneally penned the following abstract, opening with a quotation from the editorial for that date:

"'Adolf Hitler ... represents the most extreme form of German conservatism, having drawn his inspiration, such as it is, from Benito Mussolini.' 'Every nation gets the government it deserves', claims the *Irish Times* in its page-six editorial. The paper has not fully grasped Hitler's true nature, declaring that 'Doubtless, the new Chancellor will find some embarrassment in the disposition of his Storm Troops...' As can be seen in the page-seven report, many commentators still cling to the belief that Hitler's previous speeches and actions are not necessarily a guide to his future conduct. Faced with the burden of governance, they argue, Hitler will naturally moderate his policies or will be restrained by conservatives and business leaders. The Nazis were already making a mockery of such predictions, intimidating and arresting political opponents, particularly the Social Democrats and Communists. Nevertheless, the *Irish Times* offers a summary of Hitler's career on page eight, a story it describes as 'one of drama and romance.'"

Kenneally might well have chosen what he regarded as the best 1933 issue of the *Irish Times* for reproduction, because of the sheer number of German news items on its pages. But I find it inexplicable that, having opined that this issue dated 31 January had "not fully grasped" Hitler, he did not then, at the very least, allude to the fact that less than five weeks later, in its editorial of 4 March, the *Irish Times* had actually gone on to acclaim Hitler's impending consolidation of power. Apart from it been an obvious research task for *The Revolutionary Papers*, it is not as if that editorial has hitherto gone unnoticed. It had been Conor Cruise O'Brien - during his Green Nationalist phase, years before his metamorphosis into a caricature of himself as a UK Unionist - who first shed post-war light on it. In 1965, calling himself an "aboriginal writer" to distinguish his own Gaelic pedigree from the Anglo-Irish who were his target, O'Brien produced an essay entitled *Passion and Cunning: An Essay on the Politics of W. B. Yeats*. O'Brien would self-censor and excise the "aboriginal writer" reference when he republished that essay more than three decades later in 1988. But his assessment of the *Irish Times* still stood:

"Post-War writers, touching with embarrassment on Yeats's pro-Fascist opinions, have tended to treat these as a curious aberration of an idealistic but ill-informed poet. In fact, such opinions were quite usual in the Protestant middle-class to which Yeats belonged (as well as in other middle-classes), in the twenties and thirties. The '*Irish Times*', spokesman of that class, aroused no protest from its readers when it hailed Hitler (4 March 1933) as '*Europe's standard bearer against Muscovite terrorism*' and its references to Mussolini were as consistently admiring as those to Soviet Russia were consistently damning. But the limiting factor on the pro-Fascist tendencies of the '*Irish Times*', and of the Irish Protestant middle-class generally, was the pull of loyalty to Britain - a factor which did not apply, or applied only with great ambivalence - in the case of Yeats."

It is, therefore, instructive to reproduce - in full - that *Irish Times* editorial of 4 March 1933:

"HERR HITLER'S WAY"

"Events in Germany are moving rapidly towards a dramatic *denouement*. The general elections take place to-morrow, and, although opinions vary concerning the result, there seems to be a fairly general belief that Herr Hitler will score another of his spectacular triumphs. He will conclude his election campaign tonight at Königsberg, in East Prussia, which may

be said to be the cradle of Junkerdom; and he proposes to fly across the Polish 'Corridor', much to the annoyance of the Poles. In the meanwhile, the burning of the Reichstag, for which Communist extremists were almost certainly responsible, has caused much indignation throughout the Reich. Few believe that the official Communist Party had any part in the outrage, especially on the eve of an election; but the country is honeycombed with Communist clubs which owe no allegiance to anybody. The new Chancellor has taken the fullest advantage of the popular resentment to pursue a ferocious campaign against Communism in every shape and form. Thousands of individuals have been taken into custody. The notorious Nordviertel, in Berlin, which is inhabited mainly by extremists, has been combed from one end to another; and the Nazi storm troops have given short shrift to any Communists who have been foolish enough to cross their path. Omelettes cannot be prepared without the smashing of eggs. Innocent people have suffered, and are likely to suffer, before Herr Hitler achieves his object; and the Jews, in particular, dread the next forty-eight hours. His insane hatred of Jewry is the weakest plank in Herr Hitler's programme. Germany owes much to men of Jewish blood. Israel has contributed very largely to German thought and German science, and the imputation that every Jew is, *eo ipso* (by that very quality - MO'R), a menace to the state is unworthy of any national leader. The Jews are excellent citizens, and it would be a great pity if the Nazis should sully an otherwise praiseworthy scheme of national regeneration with the blot of an unreasoning anti-Semitism. In reasoned warfare against the Communists Herr Hitler will have the support of all civilised nations. At the moment he is Europe's standard-bearer against Muscovite terrorism, and although some of his methods certainly are open to question, nobody doubts his entire sincerity. If he can stabilise Germany, he will place the whole world in his debt. At all events, he has earned his chance; we have little doubt that the German people will give it to him to-morrow."

Smyllie himself was no Nazi. In Part Two I will examine in detail his 1936 fourteen-part series (later issued as an *Irish Times* booklet), entitled "Germany Under Adolf Hitler", where he "balanced" all that he admired in Hitler with all that he abhorred - particularly so, what he described as Hitler's "unreasoning anti-Semitism". It is a fascinating series, with Smyllie applying his sharp, West British, intelligence to produce a report that would enable his Anglo-Irish readership to properly understand and "appreciate" what he himself regarded as both the pros and cons of Hitler.

Good intelligence reporting and good journalism can often go hand-in-hand. Let me give an example in the case of Elizabeth Bowen, whose wartime British intelligence reports, *Notes On Eire*, have been published by the Aubane Historical Society. Such reports, including details of conversations which Bowen's interlocutors naively believed to have been confidential, were designed to ensure that whatever wartime policy positions might be taken by the British Government towards Ireland, they would be taken on an informed basis. And Bowen was at pains to point out to Churchill that Ireland would indeed fight to preserve its neutrality against any invader. But Bowen was no less concerned to ensure that British public opinion might appreciate that *realpolitik*. In 1941, redacting the private conversations from her espionage reportage to Churchill, Bowen also produced a piece of reportage for the *New Statesman*, simply entitled "Eire", wherein she sought to educate her readership on certain Irish facts of life:

"Difficulties arising from the position of Eire have been on the increase since the start of the war, without being, on either side

of the water, at all comprehensively understood. It has been difficult for the people of Britain to see Eire's declaration of neutrality, and resolute abiding by her neutrality, as anything but a passively hostile and in some senses rather inhuman act... The British popular press does not allow such pictures to lapse... But misstatements about Eire, in irresponsible columns, have a serious aspect... Britain - that is to say, the mass of people in Britain - is not only in the dark as to Eire's intentions, but doubts, apparently, the validity of her will... That the overwhelming wish of the people of Eire was in 1939, and is still, for neutrality is an indisputable fact. In Mr de Valera's declaration sounded the almost unanimous voice of his people - a people to whom the *positive* aspects of peace were newer, and seemed more essential, than Britain may realize... It had one aspect of an assertion of strength. It was Eire's first major independent act... Eire feels as strongly, one might say as religiously, about her neutrality as Britain feels about her part in the war... Factions have come together, and national unity is more than a phrase. The Army shows, with regard to the size of the population, imposing figures; the size and zeal of the Local Security Forces - whose junior group has been taken over for training by the Army command - shows citizen readiness to defend the land. While the rights of Eire's neutrality may be questioned, the conviction behind it must be believed." (*The Mulberry Tree*, writings of Elizabeth Bowen, edited by Hermione Lee, 1986, pp 30-35).

As I have said, good intelligence and good journalism can make excellent companions. In 1936, Bertie Smyllie's fourteen feature-length articles for the *Irish Times* on Hitler's Germany constituted so intelligent a series, that they might have doubled as a British intelligence analysis of the highest quality, with the writer making sure that his own assessment and evaluation did not get in the way of an up front presentation of all that he had actually observed. For Smyllie was writing at a time when the strategic policy of British imperialism was to give Hitler a *carte blanche*, in order that a shift in the "balance of power" towards Germany might counterbalance the weight in European affairs of both France and the USSR. Smyllie might well be described as a West British Germanophile, with such sympathies persisting until such time as it became apparent that Hitler's own preference for an Anglo-German understanding - by which both the Empire and Reich might rule the world between them - was not going to materialise. Only at that point did the pro-British imperialist priorities of the *Irish Times* lead to its editor belatedly turning his back on that other country he loved.

Evidence of just how long Smyllie's enchantment with Nazi Germany lasted was to emerge as a by-the-way in the 2007 book by Gerry Mullins entitled *Dublin Nazi No.1 - The Life of Adolf Mahr*. On pages 63-66 Mullins quoted the following from the *Irish Times* of 21 December 1936:

"A very enjoyable Christmas Party was held by the German Association in Dublin at the Royal Hibernian Hotel, Dublin, yesterday afternoon ... The Reverend Wilhelm Tanne said ... they could be glad that their country was not only strong and united again today, but there was no room for bitterness there ... If a stranger asked how that had been done, and what was the recipe for it, one must answer that there was only one recipe for a German - Adolf Hitler, who had put into effect what could not be done by books, and certainly not by newspapers ... The party concluded with the singing of *Deutschland über Alles* and the (Nazi anthem) *Horst Wessel Lied* ... Among those present were ... Mr. R.M. Smyllie."

The American Imperial Perspective on the Philippines

By Eamon Dyas

The author

The author of the article from which the extracts below has been taken was Worthington Chauncey Ford (1858-1941). He was considered the foremost scholar on the works of the founding fathers of the United States of America having edited many collections of the writings of people like George Washington (14 volumes), Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. He held official positions in successive American administrations having been Chief of the United States Bureau of Statistics at the State Office (1885-1889) and a similar position with the United States Treasury Department (1893-1898). He was then made the Head of the newly established Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, a position he held from 1902 to 1908. During his tenure at the Library of Congress he undertook a project to organise and copy manuscripts relating to early American history that were kept in foreign institutions, notably in the archives and libraries of France, Britain and Spain. It was while he was at the Library of Congress that he also edited and published the complete Journals of the Continental

(Continued from p. 10)

Mullins commented: "It is unfortunate that the newspaper style of the era did not include the name of the reporter beside the report; furthermore, it is written in such a way that it is difficult to know where the Reverend Tanne's opinions end and those of the reporter begin. It can be assumed, however, that the editor of the *Irish Times*, R.M. Smyllie, wrote the piece: not only is he listed as one of those who attended the event, but he was also a German-speaker. The speeches were all delivered in German ... The *Irish Times* had always regarded itself as 'the newspaper of record'; at the time, it was owned and run by an Anglo-Irish elite. From the report of the Christmas gathering, it seems that he was still by that time under Hitler's spell, but during the war he became anti-German and pro-British..."

"The Christmas party in 1937 followed a similar formula, but different from the earlier one in some important respects. Both the *Irish Times* and the *Irish Independent* reported (20 December) on the celebrations, which took place in the Gresham Hotel on O'Connell Street. The *Irish Independent* reported that the 'Swastika and the Tricolour draped the balconies', and the *Irish Times* said: 'Smaller flags embossed with the Swastika were evident along balconies and on the tables' ... 'The German Minister, Herr Eduard Hempel, asked those present to rise and salute the leader and Chancellor of the Reich. With right arms raised in the Nazi salute, the gathering sang *Deutschland über Alles*, the *Horst Wessel Lied* and *A Soldier's Song*'. It is difficult to believe that Éamon de Valera and his advisers would not have noticed this public display of support for a foreign power. Those in attendance were listed in the newspaper reports; the attendees included ... R.M. Smyllie."

An *Irish Times* celebration that the self-proclaimed "newspaper of record" would now no longer wish to record; nor indeed, it seems, would *The Revolution Papers*. All the more reason, therefore, to next examine the penetrating study of Nazi Germany that was undertaken by Smyllie in 1936. □
(To be continued)

Congress, 1774-1789. He was later Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University from 1917 to 1922.

Consequently, it can be assumed that the policies which Worthington Chauncey Ford explains in the article were representative of the colonialist strand in American establishment thinking. As someone whose career placed him in the position of custodian of the American historical record he occupied a vantage point from where he could assess the prevalence of such sentiments. As such it can be assumed that the policies towards indigenous populations that he reveals reflected a core attitude of the American establishment to the peoples which inhabited that country's newly won colonies at the end of the 19th century.

In the article from which the quotations are taken Ford attempts to point the way forward for US policy in the Philippines. In the course of this he explores previous and existing American policies towards indigenous populations like the American Indians, the Cubans and the Hawaiians but comes to the conclusion that the Philippines need a different policy. He arrives at that conclusion not because of the inherent immorality of existing policies but because of the distance of the country from the United States, the difficulty of colonising the place and the hostile demeanour of the indigenous population. He may personally find the prevailing policies distasteful but acknowledges the reality of them and constructs his arguments along lines that deliberately avoids any moral judgment while pointing to the need for a different one in the case of the Philippines.

The historical context.

The Filipino-American War (1899-1902) could be said to have been the first colonial war fought by the American Army against an indigenous people outside of the United States. The war in the Philippines created a need on the part of the new imperialists to understand what was to be their relationship with their newly acquired lands and peoples. The article by Worthington Chauncey Ford represents an early, and therefore honest, articulation of what that relationship should be. Unsurprisingly, Ford echoes in large part what had already been the attitude of Anglo-Saxon America to the native Americans and in fact many among the United States military who fought in the Filipino-American War came to the Philippines as veterans of the late 19th century wars against the American Indians.

The Spanish American War officially came to an end as a result of the 1898 Treaty of Paris. Under the terms of the treaty the United States was given temporary control over the island of Cuba and the Spanish ceded to the United States ownership of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands. As compensation for the infrastructure that Spain had created in the Philippines the United States agreed to pay Spain the sum of \$20 million.

Of all the lands that the United States gained as a result of the 1898 Paris treaty the Philippines was the one that was to prove the most contentious. Having exploited Filipino

resistance to Spanish rule during the Spanish-American war in order to achieve victory the United States now found that the Filipino resistance, rather than welcome their new rulers with open arms, continued to want independence. The Americans on the other hand had different ideas and tensions between the American military and the Filipino resistance came to a head when American troops landed on the outskirts of Manila. By 1901 the Americans had defeated the Filipino army and after that Filipino resistance took the form of a guerrilla war. It was during this phase of the resistance that the United States began to use tactics that they learned from the British in South Africa. These tactics were directed against the civilian population as a means of breaking the logistical support supplied by the civilian population to the guerrilla resistance.

“In order to prevent the civilian population from supplying the guerrillas, he [Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell - ED] introduced his ‘concentration’ policy. In each garrisoned town in the region, the U.S. troops created ‘zones’ where all local residents were required to remain. Outside these areas, the American soldiers were free to destroy all caches of food and to pursue the enemy relentlessly. The ‘concentration’ policy led to widespread suffering. Within the zones, food was scarce and housing inadequate, and several thousand Batangueños [the people of the region of Batangas - ED] died of disease or starvation.” (*Resistance and Collaboration in the Philippine-American War: the case of Batangas*, by Glen A. May. Published in the Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Vol. 15, no. 1, March 1984, p.72).

The numbers of civilian Filipinos who died as a result of American tactics has been a subject of contention but the general consensus is that hundreds of thousands died as a result of the privation and disease caused directly by American policies. It is worth noting that the behaviour of the American Army in the Philippines was used as a threat to the German Government in the lead up to the signing of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. At that time Colonel Arthur L. Conger was chief of United States military intelligence at Trier and the main architect of the unofficial communication channel between the United States and the German Government. As the prospect of the Germans refusing to sign the harsh terms of the Treaty became more likely he referred to the behaviour of the Americans during the Filipino-American War as an example of what the Germans could expect in the event of an Allied invasion of Germany in the wake of such a refusal. In this regard it is reminiscent of the threat of the British Government in 1921 that there would be an immediate and terrible war should the Irish delegation refuse to sign the Anglo-Irish treaty.

Extracts

The following is an extract from an article entitled, *Trade Policy with the Colonies*, by Worthington C. Ford. Published in Harpers New Monthly Magazine, July 1899, pp.293-303.

“In dealing with the commercial aspects of the islands now under our protection or in the possession of the United States we are fortunate in having no connection with duty or with destiny. That super-sensitive nerve that runs to the pocketbook often mistakes its moods and tremors for something moral; but at the best the competition of markets is not controlled by the agencies so freely invoked in the interest of expansion. For geographical reasons the commerce of the Antilles belongs to us by right, it is said; the trade of the Philippines will be of advantage to us, it is asserted. Nothing further need be said, and questions of conscience need not trouble us. Here are rich lands, held by those who do not or who cannot get the best

out of them, and awaiting the fructifying application of capital and organisation in commerce. It is a theory as old as man that the land belongs to those who can till it, the mines to those who can work them, the watercourses to those who can use them – and who possess the force to hold their own. Under this beneficent view the natives, an inferior race, must get out or become laborers – an uglier word would be nearer the truth. If the mestizo [people of mixed Spanish and indigenous descent – ED] cannot hold his own against the American, he must leave Puerto Rico or submit to occupy a secondary place – an agent, not a master of production. Machinery is higher than hand labor in every form save the artistic; and the old-fashioned and picturesque methods of Cuba must give place to the highly perfected and rather prosaic agencies of the United States capitalists. Neither duty nor destiny, nor charity, nor good-will, nor fellow-citizenship intervenes without removing the weaker factor outside the sphere of competition. The American Indian is protected, but he is not and never has been an industrial or an agricultural factor – a thing more nearly like the white inmates of a State institution, than a competent being possessing an unquestioned right to employ his energies where they may find reward – or defeat. The Filipino is an encumbrance to be got rid of, unless he accepts the mandates of a purchasing and conquering power. The Hawaiian is not to weigh in defining the policy of the island, and he has already been reduced to the position of cattle, an useful and necessary adjunct to farming, but easily, nay, profitably, led to the shambles when the time comes. In every case, if infected by the disease of independence, by the spirit of revolt against injustice or tyranny, these natives are to be treated as pests – not to be listened to save after an absolute submission to the will of Congress. The Cuban is an interrogation mark, and cannot yet be interpreted. We have control of the island in a military sense; the Secretary of War gravely proposes a railroad from one end of the island to the other – a curious jumble of military, capitalist, and eleemosynary [relating to charity or charitable donations – ED] ideas; the Secretary of the Treasury fixes the tariff on imports; military officers collect local revenues at their own rates, clean streets, pay off the Cuban army, check as far as possible ill feeling and discontent among the native population. Is Cuba free? Yes, from the yoke of Spain. Is the Cuban free? No; for he is in a stage of tutelage and charity, and whether he is to end as a Cuban or as an American citizen no one can foretell.” (*Trade Policy with the Colonies* by Worthington C. Ford. In Harper’s New Monthly Magazine July 1899, pp.293-294)

“This leaves to be discussed the Philippines. Little of what has been said of Cuba and Puerto Rico will apply to these Pacific Islands; it is hardly possible to expect a repetition of the Hawaiian development. The archipelago stands by itself commercially, and all the more solitary in its relation to the United States, its owners by purchase, its possessors by force, its exploiters of the future. A population that can never be assimilated, and whose most active industry is rebellion against foreign domination, promises little in the way of progress through internal change other than through extermination. This may be accomplished by war, by labor akin to slavery, or by contact with a higher civilisation and its consequent disastrous results to the weaker race. Even if the native population is subdued, they will make unwilling toilers; if driven out of the larger and more fertile islands, some form of labor must take their place. It will not be American, it will not be European, for it cannot be either. It must be Asiatic; and if left to a free settlement, would be Chinese, and is it right to apply another rule to the Philippines – American territory? Yes this question of labor is the most important one to be faced.” (Ibid., p.300). □

Nazi and Zionist co-operation in Germany, 1937-1939 (Part 2)

[The following are extracts from the book entitled “*The Secret Roads: the ‘illegal’ migration of a people, 1938-1948*” written by John and David Kimche and published by Secker and Warburg in London in 1955. Part 1 was published in Irish Foreign Affairs June 2017.]

Why did the Gestapo in Berlin and the S.S. in Vienna agree to this co-operation with the Jewish emissaries? What strange irony of fate— or sinister purpose—brought together Adolf Eichmann who could joke seven years later that he was “a happy man because he had the death of 5 million Jews on his conscience,” and the young men who were to play the star roles in bringing about the Jewish State just ten years after this strange encounter?

Though the fact was for long to be hidden from the outside world, within the Nazi hierarchy there was at this time confusion on such subjects. These included the Jewish question— until Hitler himself stepped in and ordered in precise terms the encouragement of Jewish mass immigration to Palestine. The German Foreign Ministry had become intensely interested in the Palestine question when publication of the “Peel Commission’s” report was anticipated by diplomatic “leakages” in the summer of 1937. These informed the Germans that the Royal Commission would recommend the partition of Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish State in a part of the country. The Foreign Ministry thereupon made a series of attempts to define German policy on the Palestine question.

A memorandum by Schumburg, head of the “German Department” of the Foreign Ministry, explained that “the interest of the British Empire in a Jewish State in Palestine as the basis of British Mediterranean interests should be regarded as an essential factor in judging the future development of the Palestine problem.” On the other hand, Schumburg continues, Germany can have no interest in a Jewish State in Palestine. World Jewry would not be absorbed by a Jewish State, but would use it as an additional active political organisation (Jewish citizenship, diplomatic missions, international representation). The German interest in promotion of Jewish immigration to Palestine, Schumburg concludes, is therefore offset by the far greater interest in preventing the formation of a Jewish State.

At the same time, however, the Middle East expert of the Foreign Ministry, the head of Political Division VII, Otto von Hentig, also prepared a brief for [Ernst von] Weizsäcker [Director of the Policy Department of the Foreign Office – ED]. He argued that there were two great advantages for Germany in the establishment of a Jewish State. It would relieve the Reich of a large number of needy Jews, who had still to be looked after; it would also “make it possible, when we are attacked by Jewry, to deal with official representatives and not, as heretofore, with anonymous and therefore irresponsible elements.” He also expressed his conviction, after consulting the German envoys in the Middle East, that if the English were determined to establish a Jewish State in Palestine, the Islamic world, though opposed to a Jewish State, will “not quarrel with England over this question.”

The Foreign Minister refused to take a decision. Months passed. The deadlock was complete. Hitler was pressing for faster emigration of Jews from Germany. He was anxious also that they should not settle on Germany’s borders, in Switzerland, France, Sweden and Czechoslovakia; he wanted them forced out of Europe. It was decided therefore by the Ministers involved to ask Hitler for a final ruling. Hitler, in turn, asked Rosenberg

for a special report. After he had studied this document from his racial expert, Hitler’s decision was communicated by the Foreign Affairs Office of the Nazi Party to all Ministries concerned. They were told that the Fuehrer had decided again that “Jewish emigration from Germany shall continue to be promoted by all available means. Any question which might have existed up to now as to whether in the Fuehrer’s opinion such emigration is to be directed primarily to Palestine has hereby been answered in the affirmative.”

There was nothing more to be said. And at that moment Bar-Gilad landed in Vienna and Pino in Berlin. They could not have better arranged the time of their arrival.

When Heydrich heard of their proposition from Eichmann in Vienna and from the Gestapo in Berlin, it seemed to offer possibilities. He saw three possible benefits from this projected co-operation with the Palestinian emissaries: it would satisfy the Fuehrer’s clamour for forcing the pace of Jewish emigration without rousing the fears of Goering or Schacht about possible economic consequences; it would embarrass the British in Palestine; and it would create difficulties between the British and Palestine Jewry, and with the Arabs, who were encouraged by the German Consul-General in Jerusalem and the German envoy in Baghdad, the notorious [Fritz] Grobba, to object to this German-assisted immigration of Jews.

The Jewish emissaries were not unaware altogether of these German calculations. But they did not care. Their end was to them far more important than the means which they were now compelled to employ; and though they could not see the future, nor imagine what it would bring, they had no qualms about the price they had to pay so long as they managed to get their Jews to Palestine. And did Heydrich, Eichmann and the Gestapo ever pause to imagine that in this project of theirs, and in the collaboration with these two young Jews which caused then no little amusement, they were helping to hew the rock on which ten years later, when their power had vanished and they were either dead or hunted, a Jewish State would arise and exact reparations and restitution for this very policy of theirs? But the road from that first interview in Berlin and from that first meeting with Eichmann in the Rothschild Palace in Vienna to the final achievement of 1948 was hard, and it twisted and turned, and those who fell by the way were numbered in millions. The time has not come to describe that journey.

Thus – when in the summer of 1938 Pino received permission from the Gestapo in Berlin to remain in Germany and to move about freely, he immediately set about reorganizing the Zionist Organisation’s H.Q. at 10 Maineckstrasse. He found an organization embracing many thousands of young Jews who, however, had been left virtually leaderless by the Gestapo policy of arresting the leaders of the Jewish community. Those heads of the Zionist Organisation and of the Jewish Community, the *Reichsvertretung*, who remained free were at first skeptical and even hostile to the idea of illegal immigration. They did not believe it could work; they suspected there was a hidden trick. The beginning was slow but the grim night of November 9th, 1938, during which the Nazis carried out their organized riot of arson and assault on German Jewry convinced the German Jewish leaders that emigration, by any means at their disposal, remained their only hope.

As this realization dawned on the Jewish masses, Jews from all over Germany began to stream to Maineckstrasse; applications for emigration flooded the offices of Hechalutz, the Zionist pioneering movement, which was Pino’s H.Q. A feeling

of despair swept across German Jewry, which added a note of pressing urgency to the work of emigration. The Palestine situation was forced into the background by the overall need of saving lives before it was too late.

The "Apparat" in Paris had meanwhile decided that the German Jews en route for Palestine should be joined to the transports organized in Vienna. Therefore, the main job inside Germany was to organise those wishing to leave, to establish connections with the Nazi authorities, without whom there would have been no emigration, and to select those who would be sent to Palestine.

By giving the Gestapo a guarantee that he would arrange their immediate emigration, Pino was able to save a large number of young Jews from the concentration camps. A certificate signed by him was sufficient to obtain their release. At the same time, he enlarged the training farms, which were bought with money provided by the Jewish *Reichsvertretung*; these farms became the starting posts for intending immigrants to Palestine.

But the Gestapo were not yet satisfied; Germany was not being cleared quickly enough of her Jews. Pino was called once more to the Gestapo headquarters. In a stormy meeting the Gestapo chief demanded that 400 Jews should sail every week in ships provided by a half-German Greek shipowner who was present at this conference. Fantastic sums of money were demanded for these ships which later turned out to be tumble-down and unseaworthy. The Palestinian replied that he was not there to receive orders from the Gestapo, but to work with them on this project. If they were not prepared for that, he would leave Germany. The storm subsided; Pino stayed on. He knew where the financial Achilles heel of these Nazis connected with Jewish emigration was to be found. They had other considerations than the purification of the Fatherland at heart.

For a travel bureau had meanwhile been established by [Heinrich] Mueller and Eichmann, leading officials of the Nazi Security Service, through which all emigration activities of the Palestinians had to be directed, and which became a cover for taking huge sums of head-money for every transport leaving Germany. Pressure was put on the Jews to leave in every possible form. Many Jews were ordered to report to the Gestapo three times a week to give an account of what they were doing to arrange their emigration. Others were accused of working against the State and were given the choice of emigrating within a short space of time or of being thrown into the concentration camps. Many had their shops and their means of livelihood confiscated and were left destitute with no hope other than emigration. In all such cases it devolved on the Palestinians to save them, and their rule of selecting only young pioneers for the illegal transports was constantly waived in order to save such people from the concentration camps.

The biggest problem of all was financial. Here was no powerful international Jewish organization, backed by rich Jewish financiers, as might have been supposed. No Rothschilds and no Rockefeller's loomed behind the figure of the Palestinian, only the "Apparat" in Paris, the Haganah in Palestine and the Union of Communal Settlements, which certainly did not have the funds for such operations. The purchase of human lives was an expensive business, and the money was not always forthcoming. The *Reichsvertretung* itself rallied bravely to the cause and the German Jews saw to it that money was provided. But had there been more money, many thousands more Jews might have been saved from extermination.

In March 1939, the first transport of 280 German Jews organized by Pino, whose destination was ostensibly Zionist training farms in Yugoslavia, left Berlin. The Nazi authorities provided a special train and Nazi officials accompanied the train as far as Vienna, where the group joined another and larger

transport of Austrian Jews which was accompanied by Austrian Nazis.

The Austrian part of the transport had been organized by Bar-Gilad, working in Vienna. Bar-Gilad had not agreed to Eichmann's proposal that he should content himself with establishing training farms and that the actual transports would be left to the Revisionists and to private agents. These had no organization in Palestine to facilitate secret landings; the result was that many of their boats were caught by the British coastal patrols, and some of the immigrants were deported back to Europe.

Bar-Gilad, therefore, ignored Eichmann's decision, and set to with a will to organise the first transport. But here, once more, help was to come from where it was least expected – not from Eichmann's S.S. but from the Gestapo. On studying the Nazi institutions dealing with Jewish affairs, Bar-Gilad found that in addition to the S.S. Section headed by Eichmann, there was also a Gestapo office dealing with the Jewish problem, headed by the notorious Dr. Lange and by [Otto] Kuchmann; while the S.S. were responsible for directing immigration to Palestine, the Gestapo office were responsible for the granting of visas to other countries. Bar-Gilad made it his business to get in touch with the Gestapo office – and succeeded with the aid of an Italian Gestapo agent named Metossiani whose wife had been a Jewess. Through him he obtained connection with an influential Nazi named Karthaus, who was to become one of his chief aids in organizing emigration. Karthaus was an Austrian who believed in a "Greater Germany," but whose conscience was afflicted by the anti-Jewish policy of his party. He considered his help for Bar-Gilad as a form of absolution for the sins of his party, and he was throughout honest and sincere in the help he tendered.

Strengthened by such allies, Bar-Gilad turned his attention to the next great problem, that of obtaining transit visas for a port of embarkation. The Revisionists had been using Rumania as their country of embarkation; Rumania, however, was expensive and risky; the journey took months, and the Danube boats were very expensive and had to be paid either in gold or in Swiss francs.

Yugoslavia was the only other possibility. But the Yugoslavs were difficult. It was Karthaus and his friend, an Austrian Stadthalter, and a leading member of the brownshirted S.A., who finally obtained permission for Jews to cross Yugoslav territory. The Yugoslavs agreed on the condition that there would be a definable destination for the travelers, and that they leave by a proper passenger ship. A liberal distribution of bribes—a golden key which was to open many locked doors in the future—had softened the hearts of Yugoslav officialdom. In a similar manner, and for much less money, Mexican visas were obtained for the transports thus giving the travellers' final destination which the Yugoslavs had requested.

In the meantime, the "Apparat" in Paris had hired an old Greek passenger ship, the *Colorado*, which was to await the transport in the Dalmatian port of Susak. The *Colorado*, being a passenger ship, satisfied the Yugoslav stipulations concerning the emigration from her ports; she was, however, a slow and cumbersome vessel. The plan, therefore, was for the *Colorado* to take its passengers out to sea, where, in the vicinity of Corfu, it was to transfer them on to the faster and more powerful salvage-vessel, the S.S. *Otrato*, which, under the command of the same young Levi Schwartz who had organized the sailing of the *Vellos* five years earlier, had already made one successful landing in Palestine.

Thus, by March, 1939, the first large transport got under way. The train with the hundreds of singing pioneers, with the bored Nazi guards leaning out of the windows, must have been an incongruous sight as it rattled through the lazy countryside of

southern Austria. The sailing went according to plan; several hundred young Jews landed secretly on the shores of Palestine where they disappeared at once into the communal settlements. The British had no knowledge of the landing, and the *Otrato* returned safely to Europe.

There was, however, an unfortunate aftermath to the operation. After transferring his passengers to the *Otrato*, the Greek captain of the *Colorado* found that he had some time on his hands; he remembered the pretty Yugoslav blonde he had got to know in port and decided to “forget” the instructions he had received from the Mossad agent in Yugoslavia who had warned him not to return there. The fact that a ship which had taken off with a full complement of passengers bound for Mexico should return empty after three days caused a sensation in the port. Long articles on the “mystery ship” and the “pirate boat” appeared in the Yugoslav Press; demands for an investigation were made. As a result, Bar-Gilad’s permission giving him transit facilities through Yugoslavia was withdrawn. It was only renewed after the head of the Yugoslav Jewish community had gone to the Prime Minister, to the Queen-Mother, and to other members of the Royal family, who intervened to help in the matter.

Soon afterwards, the *Colorado* sailed again for the last time, this time a complement of 400 pioneers from Poland and Rumania. The Polish frontier guards had been only too pleased to see the special train with 600 Jews, half of whom were taken on another ship, leave Poland for the last time. And the Rumanians had no qualms about letting the transport through their territory; a liberal distribution of bribes proved a telling argument, and the promise to include some Rumanian Jews in the transport clinched the deal. After all, the Rumanians also wished to get rid of their Jews.

Once more Levi Schwartz took over the refugees on the ship. Only this time he was not so lucky. A British destroyer picked them up a mile off the Palestine coast and towed them into custody.

Back in Vienna, Bar-Gilad found himself involved in the familiar departmental rivalry; Eichmann and the S.S. were annoyed by his success, while the Gestapo, after receiving a formal assurance that the emigrants had, indeed, been bound for Mexico, were willing to help him, and gave him permission to continue sending transports to “South America.” The erstwhile member of a Galilee communal village was now learning the game fast, and he lost no time in using this rivalry between Eichmann and Lange to his best advantage. When, shortly after the first transport, the S.S. suddenly arrested a large group of pioneers and sent them to the dreaded Dachau concentration camp, Bar-Gilad persuaded the Gestapo to release them, and smuggled them out of the country in another transport with Gestapo connivance, before Eichmann had a chance to protest.

But this could not last. At the beginning of May a note was delivered in the office of the Zionist Organisation. It was from Eichmann. Bar-Gilad was to leave the country within 24 hours on orders of the *Sicherheitsdienst*, the Security Service, a special branch of the S.S.

Bar-Gilad was in the middle of organizing his third large transport. His work was now going smoothly and he had great hopes of dispatching this time a really large number of immigrants. With every new anti-Jewish outbreak in the streets of Vienna, Salzburg and Graz, his work took on a new urgency, and the offices of the Zionist Organisation were gripped with a new tension. Now came Eichmann’s note. Instead of leaving Austria, Bar-Gilad went to the Gestapo and asked for their help. They told him it was a trick of Eichmann’s and that he should go to Berlin to see the key man in charge of Jewish Affairs, Heydrich himself.

With Eichmann’s order expelling him from the Greater Reich in his pocket, Bar-Gilad, feeling very much the proverbial Daniel, left for Berlin.

Heydrich gave him permission to return to Vienna; but Eichmann would no longer brook his presence there. Bar-Gilad now met the real Eichmann – without the façade of suave worldliness. “Sie verschwinden oder ich werde Sie verschwinden machen” – either you disappear or you will be made to disappear – he threatened and shouted across his office in the Rothschild Palace to which Bar-Gilad had been summarily ordered shortly after his return. So, with no alternative, he left for Switzerland, leaving the continuation of the work in Vienna to one of the leaders of the Zionist pioneer movement in Austria, Ehud Avriël, whom we shall meet often enough as this story unfolds.

With Bar-Gilad out of the way, Eichmann turned on the Revisionists, and ordered them to stop emigration. He had had enough of his too-independent aides. He was determined to take over himself. A new office to run illegal immigration was established—managed by the S.S. alone.

In order to carry out his plan, Eichmann used an Austrian Jew, named Storfer, a wealthy non-Zionist with virtually no Jewish connections or interest, to carry out his instructions. His terms of reference were simple: with money provided by the Jewish community, Storfer was to hire ships and send illegal transports to Palestine. He should not waste his time selecting pioneers, as Bar-Gilad had done before him; he should not have scruples concerning the conditions or the seaworthiness of the ships. Thus what must have been one of the most paradoxical episodes of the entire period of the Nazi regime began: the man who was to go down in history as one of the arch-murderers of the Jewish people entered the lists as an active worker in the rescue of Jews from Europe. The presence of this strange competitor in the shipping markets of Greece was soon felt by the Mossad.

Here was a novel situation to be faced in their Paris headquarters by the three members of the “Apparat.” Should they overcome their extreme revulsion for everything Nazi and extend their co-operation to the extent of working hand-in-glove with Eichmann’s agent? The answer was quick to come. Jews were being saved, were being sent to Palestine. The means by which they were being sent were unimportant.

Storfer was contacted and a meeting arranged between him and Bar-Gilad in neutral Zurich. Storfer, who was no Nazi, but a self-styled Austrian doing humanitarian work, agreed to Bar-Gilad’s request not to send unseaworthy ships and to include in the transports those who did not have the large sums demanded of them.

But meanwhile, the Mossad itself was sending an increasingly larger number of ships. Throughout 1938 it had sent a steady trickle of small boats through, starting with that apology of a boat carrying 65 Polish pioneers at the beginning of the year, and gradually increasing their scope and organization, till, by the end of the year, ships carrying as many as 800 illegals were being dispatched. Nor were the sailings restricted to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. In July, 1939, Shmarya Zameret, a young American settler of the prosperous left-wing communal settlement of Bet Hashita, who had been sent to Europe originally as an emissary of the Union of Communal Settlements, but had soon joined up with the Mossad, succeeded in sending the first illegal transport from the Atlantic coast. The S.S. *Dora* sailed from Holland with more than 500 refugees from Germany on board, safely reached Palestine and returned to Europe without the Mandatory authorities in Palestine having an inkling that another group had succeeded in breaching the blockade. The transport had included 120 Polish nationals who had lived in Germany, and whom Pino in Berlin had succeeded

in smuggling over the German-Belgian frontier under the very noses of units of the Wehrmacht which were on manoeuvre in that district at the time.

A group of 120 had been earmarked for deportation, together with other Polish Jews living in Germany who in November, 1938, were dumped in the marshy no-man's land between Germany and Poland. 16,000 Jews were left stranded in the vicinity of the frontier-town of Zbonszyn, where, in a state of degradation and semi-starvation, many remained for over a year. The Polish authorities had brought up armed reinforcements to prevent their return to Poland. They had "too many Jews" already.

Although the British Committee for Refugees with George Lansbury, M.P., at its head, made valiant efforts to rescue them, responsibility of this task naturally fell largely on the agents of the Mossad, who smuggled them through the ports of the Black Sea, Yugoslavia and Greece where the boats were largely waiting for them. The organization had to be enlarged; the work speeded up.

This was the situation when, in the midst of the abortive round-table conference between Arabs and Jews held at St. James's Palace, Dr. Weizmann, the Zionist leader, first heard of the British proposals regarding His Majesty's Government's future immigration policy for Palestine. The proposals, published in the form of a White Paper by the Government on May 17th, 1939, decreed that within the following five years 75,000 Jewish immigrants be allowed to enter Palestine, the rate of entry being fixed in six-monthly quotas by the Government; after the five years, no further Jewish immigration would be permitted without Arab consent.

The reaction of the Jewish leaders, from the moderate Dr. Weizmann to activists of the Haganah High Command and the Mossad members, was sharp and unequivocal. The White Paper was considered an illegal document by them. The immigration quotas were, therefore, not to be heeded. Instead unauthorized immigration would be stepped up. The task of saving the refugees of Zbonszyn, and the pioneers in Austria, Germany and Poland would continue in defiance of the policy of the Chamberlain Government, which, in the opinion of the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere, had sold out to the Arab extremists fighting the British and the Jews in Palestine for the past three years.

While Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was announcing the new policy for immigration in May, 1939, the thunder-clouds gathering over Europe gave already an all too clear indication of the storm which was about to burst. The men of the Mossad saw only too plainly that their labours had become a race against time. In their view, there was now little difference between the status of the Jews under Nazi domination and those about to come under it—refugees and potential refugees; their respective position was equally untenable, and no efforts were to be spared in getting them out.

And so the boats were organized on an ever-larger scale. When the British reacted by suspending the six-monthly quota of legal certificates from October, 1939, to April, 1940, as a punishment for illegal immigration, Ragin, Shind, and Yehieli in Paris and their emissaries throughout Europe were only spurred on to greater efforts.

Many of the transports they organized got through without the knowledge of the British, but some were caught. In June, 724 immigrants on the *Astir* were interned; in August, five small boats with 297 German refugees, and a larger one carrying 800, were intercepted and captured by patrolling vessels of the Royal Navy.

New steps were announced by the Mandatory Government to combat the immigrant ships. R.A.F. planes joined the naval

patrols; representations were made in Turkey and the Lebanon asking the authorities there not to help the ships or allow them to anchor; C.I.D. agents were sent to Europe to try and discover the ports from which the boats left. When, on July 26th, Mr. MacDonald was asked in the House for the size and number of British ships engaged in preventing Jewish refugees from landing, he replied that one division of destroyers in addition to five launches were engaged in this task. When asked whether by a division of destroyers he meant a flotilla, he would not reply.

Reporting the situation in the House of Commons on July 20th, 1939, Mr. MacDonald, the Colonial Secretary, announced that in the two months from May 24th, British patrol forces on land and sea had "captured" 3,507 illegal immigrants. Between 500 and 1,000 were thought to have entered the country undetected. And, he reported, some 4,000 intending illegal immigrants were converging on Palestine in ships, at the time he was speaking, "intending to force their way into the country."

Mr. MacDonald was indignant in his speech to the House. "It is perfectly clear that this is an organized movement to break the immigration law of Palestine for the sake of breaking the immigration law of Palestine; it is an organized movement to try to smash the White Paper policy for the sake of smashing the White Paper policy," he declared. He went on to relate how the immigrants "are being instructed, by those who are responsible for this traffic, when they get on board ship to throw their papers overboard, so that when they come to Palestine we have no proof whatever on which we could get them taken back into their countries of origin."

Mr. Macdonald was partially correct in his accusations. For the Mossad, even when its work became one of rescue on a grand scale, never lost sight of the political implications involved. In their view they were doing more than just finding a home for helpless refugees, more than even building up Palestine's pioneering movement. Their work was an expression of their belief in national self-determination, of their conviction that they had the right to run their own immigration policy without the benediction and blessing of any other government. After the policy of the White Paper was announced, this strand of theirs became the credo of the overwhelming majority of Palestinian Jewry and its leaders.

A few of the Jewish Agency leaders, however, still denounced the policy of illegal immigration, and the dissension was brought to the fore during the twenty-first Zionist Congress, which met in Geneva barely a month before the outbreak of war. Five hundred and twenty-nine delegates and over 1,000 visitors crowded the Grand Theatre as Dr. Weizmann, the President of the Zionist Organisation, opened the assembly. Such leaders as Rabbi Silver, who was backed by the Zionists of the United States, urged the Congress not to support unauthorized action against the White Paper; there were still hopes of annulling the policy by persuasion; illegal immigration, he maintained, was potential murder and was, moreover, a policy which would antagonize non-Jewish public opinion.

As was the case five years earlier, it was again primarily Berl Katznelson who took the lead in defending the policy of the Mossad. Only a few weeks before, the Palestine labour daily *Davor*, of which he was chief editor, had been suspended for his forthright article on illegal immigration. Now, from the forum of the Geneva Grand Theatre, he castigated Silver and his colleagues for their defeatist attitude. Rabbi Silver's speech was like a stone thrown at the refugees wandering the seas, he declared. Even the seas were more merciful to the refugees, he said, recounting how a little while ago a tiny boat with twelve German Jews had reached the Palestine coast. They had rowed all the way, they had no motor.

Among the visitors to the Congress was Pino, the Mossad emissary from Berlin. He had just concluded the biggest deal he had yet made with the Nazis. They had agreed to his bringing his illegal ships to Emden and Hamburg, thus circumventing the difficulties of getting transit visas for other countries for the immigrants. Under the deal, 10,000 Jews were to be evacuated. The first four ships had already been negotiated, and the Jewish community in Germany, the *Reichsvertretung*, had already made the first payment for them. The ships were due at the beginning of October.

But as he sat in the Congress Hall, he knew that the sands were running out fast. The alarming sequence of events leading to the outbreak of war was reaching their climax. On August 21st the French Ambassador reported to his Foreign Office the beginning of German troop concentration. The mobilization of French reserves was urged. On August 23rd the German-Soviet non-aggression treaty was signed; the last hopes for the holding off of the war thus disappeared. Three days later, the British Ambassador at Warsaw reported German breaches of the Polish frontier; and those British citizens still in Germany speeded up their evacuation.

Pino received instructions from Paris not to return to Berlin, and to await further instructions in Geneva. But too much was at stake. With difficulty he rescinded the Paris instructions and in the last week of August, returned to Germany.

The Tempelhof airfield outside Berlin was alive with frantic evacuees; British, French, Poles, clearing out while there was still time. But Pino had a job to wind up, and he meant to do it before he left. Within 48 hours, he had made a lightening tour of all the training farms in Germany, distributing money, organizing emergency committees, giving orders about how to continue. It was now September 1st; the blare of Hitler's speech could be heard from countless radio sets as Pino strode up to his office on Mainkestrasse. There was a message from the "Apparat" in Paris; it ordered him to leave immediately.

Before he left, he returned for the last time to the imposing Gestapo H.Q. He wanted, and received, an assurance that he would be allowed to return and continue his work if war was not declared.

He crossed into Holland on Sunday morning, September 3rd; two hours later the world was at war. □

In Year Zero

A Contribution to the History of the German Press

Hans Habe 1966

by Philip O'Connor

This remarkable memoir is one of the few books in German by Hans Habe, among his vast output, which have never been translated into English (he also published many in English itself). It was published in Munich in 1966 as *Im Jahre Null. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Presse*. It is perhaps not surprising that this book has not been translated, as it is so frank about the remaking of Germany. *Irish Foreign Affairs* will be publishing it in instalments, in a translation for IFA by Angela Stone.

Habe's adventurous life was of a type with that of many central European intellectuals of his time. Born János Békessy in Budapest in 1911, Habe was a journalist and novelist of Jewish background, though reared as a Protestant by his parents. His father, Imre Békessy, was a business and newspaper tycoon who published one of Austria's first tabloids, *Die Stunde*, which was renowned for its scurrility, character assassination and right wing politics. In the early 1930s Habe (a translation of his original Hungarian name) rose rapidly in the world of journalism through his father's influence, editing three leading Viennese newspapers by the age of 22, and working briefly for the Mussolini-financed press office of the Austrian fascist Heimwehr. In the mid-1930s he moved to Geneva as foreign correspondent for the Prague newspaper, *Prager Tagblatt*, and covered events at the League of Nations. In this capacity he attended the Evian Conference on Jewish emigration, later publishing a novel based on it (*The Mission*, 1965). He was deprived of his Austrian citizenship, and his books banned, due to his Jewish background in 1938 after the German takeover of Austria, and moved to France where he joined the Foreign Legion and fought the German invasion in 1940. Taken prisoner, he was interned near Nancy, but escaped and eventually made his way through Vichy France to Portugal and the USA. There he became a successful novelist and screenwriter in Hollywood. After Pearl Harbour he joined the US Army and was directed

to the intelligence service, where he trained in psychological warfare ("PW"). He led a PW unit in North Africa and Italy where he was involved in front line propaganda and prisoner interrogation, before being recalled to the US as a psychological warfare trainer, and was then dispatched back to Europe after D-Day to lead the unit charged with preparing a German press in occupied Germany. He personally selected a large team of fellow German exiles with backgrounds in acting, academia and the media for this task and went on to found many of the initially Allied-financed newspapers of post-war Germany, at least sixteen in total, and to edit the US-funded Munich *Neue Zeitung* – one of the leading newspaper in the American Zone, until 1951.

The taking in hand of the German political and publishing world by the western powers after WW2 has been recounted in several articles published previously in *Irish Foreign Affairs*. The Allied wartime demand for a German "Unconditional Surrender" had been accompanied by agitation by leading government figures, such as Lord Vansittart in Britain and Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau in the US, for a "Carthaginian Peace". Germany must not only be militarily defeated, but deindustrialized and dismembered. The unification of 1870 had to be reversed as Nazism was not just a political system but the political expression of what Germany, and centuries of German culture, amounted to (Vansittart identified its roots in the Germanic resistance to Rome in the first century AD!). To root it out required a total remaking of German society from the roots upwards.

The US "Morgenthau Plan" towards the end of the war advocated the "pastoralisation" of Germany and the reduction of the population to "an agrarian people". It was accepted that this would probably involve the deaths of millions. Elements of the British and US governments began from 1942 planning for the occupation of a defeated Germany, incorporating much of

this thinking. But from 1944 a new emphasis began to emerge which stressed the need for basic civic structures that would enable the Germans to survive without becoming a drain on the western allied economies. Plans changed to encompass this new strategic priority, but if anything the idea of a total reconstruction of civil institutions under the guiding hand of Allied Military Governors became more radical and urgent. The surviving Germany was to be a kind of kindergarten supervised by a system of pro-consular rule while its population was remoulded. If German émigré intellectuals working with the US intelligence services, the OSS (forerunner of the CIA), such as Franz Neumann and Herbert Marcuse, pioneered the ideas of the German “behemoth” requiring guided restructuring and remoulding from bottom up, it was their British counterparts who came up with the idea of “re-educating” the Germans, reconstructing their individual minds through careful orchestration of the press, broadcasting and education. It was as part of this programme that plans were made for developing a new press in Germany under tight tutelage. During 1944, these plans also increasingly included secret measures to be taken to surgically eliminate any Soviet influence from the planned western occupied zones of what was supposed to be a four-power jointly administered occupation regime. The western strategy of “containment” famously inaugurated by George Kennan’s “long telegram” of February 1946 had in fact long been the secret but actual policy of western military-intelligence agencies.

Large numbers of Germans – political exiles and others – were drafted in as the personnel for implementing these plans on the ground, in particular for overseeing the construction of local administrations, political forces and the press and broadcasting systems. “White” lists were drawn up of the potential appropriate personnel for these, and “Black” lists of those to be excluded. It was to this programme of re-education and press building in occupied territory that Hans Habe and his staff from the Propaganda and Psychological Warfare Detachment were assigned. Other selected German exiles were assigned to other tasks, such as steering the reconstruction of the labour movement, of companies, the banking system etc. Many of these Americanised individuals secured central roles in the institutions they rebuilt and went on to become leading figures among the intellectual and political elites and institutions of the West German state which from 1946 it had become western Allied policy to construct for Cold War reasons. The exigencies of the Cold War, and the sealing off of the west from Soviet influence, led to the scrapping of the “de-nazification” programme and to a rapid reconstruction of western Germany through the cooption of the personnel of the former Nazi regime. Many of the formerly “anti-fascist” intellectuals now in leading positions took this change of direction in their stride, as a “necessary evil” to meet the new threat of communism.

Habe was a colourful character, marrying six times, including once to a Hollywood actress and another time to a Hungarian actress, and even became embroiled in a bigamy suit at one stage. He was friends with many of the leading Austrian and German writers of his generation, including Erich Maria Remarque (*All Quiet on the Western Front*), Erich Kästner and Stefan Heym. Heym, who Habe recruited for his PW unit, later moved to East Germany where he later became a controversial novelist and early dissident. In his later life, from the 1950s, Habe lived between Switzerland and the US and published a further dozen novels (often under pseudonyms) as well as screenplays for several Hollywood films. He also continued as newspaper commentator, writing from a conservative perspective on European affairs in German and American newspapers. His prestige among American establishment circles can be gauged

from the fact that when Willy Brandt, the German Chancellor, inaugurated a policy of rapprochement with the USSR and East Germany (“Ostpolitik”) in 1969, Habe wrote a long memo to Henry Kissinger, also a former intelligence agent in post-war Germany and now US Secretary of State, warning him that Brandt’s policy was anti-American, and that its tendency towards advocating a neutralized Germany between East and West “played into Russia’s hands.” Kissinger raised Habe’s memo with President Nixon, who praised it for its “astute and disturbing analysis, but one I think that is all too near the truth.”

IN YEAR ZERO A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PRESS by HANS HABE 1966

Translated for IFA by Angela Stone

It all began in February 1944, in the middle of the war.

I was in Camp Ritchie, Maryland, the training camp for American counter intelligence. I had just returned to Washington from Italy after taking part in the invasion of Salerno with the 531st Engineer Regiment.

But even my flight home had been unusual. In the Naples headquarters my immediate superior, Colonel Hazeltine, had informed me that I had to return to America for three to four months. I had just been released from the field hospital and though not completely healed was not entitled to home leave.

“Your mission is classified, of course”, said Colonel Hazeltine. “I have no idea why they want you in Washington”.

I boarded a bomber in Naples. There were twelve highly decorated air force officers on board, so there were thirteen of us in all. As soon as the plane started one of the officers confided in me, telling me that one of the engines was broken and that we were definitely going to crash. He then proceeded to ask me if I was acquainted with the “navigator”. When I said no, he explained that it was the young lieutenant’s first flight and that he had no clue of the navigation map. It was extremely uncomfortable.

We landed in Dakar on Christmas Eve in the boiling heat, where we were met by some very dark Negroes and some very fair WACs (Women’s Army Corps). It was only here that I learned from the captain that our plane was something of a “Ship of Fools”. Each of the twelve officers had flown over 120 missions over enemy territory. They were dive bomber pilots who, strictly speaking, should have been dismissed after their eightieth mission, the whole lot of them. They were now what was called “Section 8s” – the tactful name for those who were no longer the full shilling. They could no longer stomach heights or the sensation of flying. Without any regard for their mental state they had been simply put on our flight to Washington. The engines were in fact in perfect working order and the crew highly trained and proficient. After five days with this “Ship of Fools” we landed in Washington without further incident, having flown via North Africa, Casablanca, Dakar, Puerto Rico and Florida. Nevertheless, the “Ship of Fools” turned out to be an omen for the future that awaited me.

That same day I was sent on to Camp Ritchie, the same place I had completed my training as a counter-intelligence officer two years before.

Men built from scratch

My alma mater, at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains, was the strangest army camp on earth. It was surrounded by great secrecy and half the students went around in disguise. Whole companies marched in German Wehrmacht uniforms, Japanese snipers – actually Japanese-Americans – perched in the trees and in one enclosed part of the camp there were even fake SS people. Otherwise we lived as if we were in a golf club. The chef had once worked at the Waldorf Astoria. Lieutenant Colonels attended training next to the enlisted men. The daily news, delivered through a loudspeaker in the canteen, was repeated in fifteen languages. Camp Ritchie was a “Ship of Fools” at anchor.

The location of the camp was so confidential that it was not even marked on the map of training camps. And so it came as an even bigger surprise when the camp commander, General Banfill, informed me that I was to be appointed the only instructor in another “even more confidential” camp. I had difficulty finding this place, which was located on the hill of the historic battlefield of Gettysburg. Camp Sharpe was essentially a large yard surrounded by empty barracks. There had been some black workers stationed there for years to look after the war cemeteries from the American Civil War, but they had been booted out the day before. Here at this camp I was to train a company – which was to grow to four companies over time – in so-called “combat intelligence” and “psychological warfare”. The subject matter consisted of speeches for broadcast, calls over loudspeakers to enemy troops to surrender, the composing of all kinds of leaflets, prisoner of war interrogation, the psychology of the Germans, evaluation of prisoner testimonies, and espionage behind enemy lines.

In early February 1944 my work took a sudden change of direction. I was brought in a jeep back to Camp Ritchie where I had an unforgettable conversation with General Banfill, which to this day, even when doubts are voiced around the world, renews my confidence in America, in the American Army and in the democracies as war fighting powers.

“We’ll have to bring a new press into being in Germany”, said General Banfill. “As soon as we enter German territory we will ban the Nazi newspapers. There’s no two ways about it. It will take a while for us to find publishers, editors and journalists we can trust. But an uninformed nation is a dangerous nation, so you will immediately set up a newspaper in every city as our troops occupy them.” And then came the most surprising statement: “Your new base will be in Bad Nauheim.” He showed it to me on the map. “The spa town is central, not far from Frankfurt. You will be based with your personnel into the Bristol Hotel. The air force has received instructions to spare Bad Nauheim.”

February 1944. It was still about five months before the invasion of Normandy. The war in Italy had turned into a static slogging match. German paratroopers – the “Green Devils” – were still holding the Abbey and fortress of Cassino. I had myself lain in the mud before Monte Cassino for several weeks with Fifth Army General, Mark W. Clarks. The Russians were demanding a “Second Front” but no one knew where or when it would be established. The whole of France was still in German hands and the Wehrmacht controlled Paris. But in a counter intelligence camp in America plans were already being made for our living quarters at the Bristol Hotel in Bad Nauheim!

General Banfill was certainly prepared. He was even able to answer my question: “And who should I make these newspapers with?”

I was given the highest “priority one” status. It would soon be apparent if the otherwise slow and bureaucratic

Americans could rise to the challenge of being efficient in an emergency.

I passed a “wish list” of the type of personnel I required to an intelligence officer in the Pentagon, the US Department of Defence in Washington. What I sought were soldiers with a meticulous command of German, both spoken and written and, most importantly, former editors, journalists and writers, printing house managers, layout designers and machine typesetters, intellectuals with a knowledge of specific states and the cultures of various German towns, lawyers, actors and radio journalists, as well as a few young people who were not afraid of hard work and who could be trusted with confidential material.

My “wishes” were fed into a giant machine – a computer, something that is Greek to me to this day – and this spewed back dozens of files with the names of the “ideal soldiers” I sought. The files showed where these men who had been literally “dreamt up” for me were stationed. One was on kitchen duty in a Californian camp, a second was repairing tanks in Maryland, a third was working in the clerical department of a quartermaster’s store in Tennessee, and a fourth was based at an infantry training camp in Iowa. Some were already stationed at Camp Ritchie.

Within forty-eight hours this clueless bunch had been assembled at Camp Sharpe. Among them, to name but a few, were the writer Josef Wechsberg (today with *The New Yorker*, the *Weltwoche* and *Harper’s Bazaar*), bestselling author Stefan Heym (later in the Soviet Zone and the most controversial novelist in the GDR), the lawyer Dr. Otto Brandstätter (now an industrialist in Saarland), the actor Walter Kohner (now a literary agent in Hollywood) and university students Max Kraus (now a senior official in the State Department) and Ernst J. Cramer (now managing editor of *Die Welt*). I was also promised that further “experts” would join us later – including the writer Klaus Mann, son of the Nobel Prize winner, and Hans Wallenberg, a highly regarded journalist and son of the former editor-in-chief of the Berlin daily, *BZ am Mittag* (now president of the publishing company, Ullstein-Verlag). The “Ship of Fools”, as you can see, was taking shape.

The training did not go as smoothly as I had anticipated. Three episodes in particular stick out in my mind.

As I had learned from my frontline experience in Italy – the reason for my being recalled for this assignment in the first place – the eighty or so soldiers were not to be trained only in press work. There was special training in all aspects of shaping public opinion. In addition, loudspeaker vans and transmitters were installed in the bleak camp at Gettysburg and for an hour or two each day we addressed the “Wehrmacht” through these. Whole radio programmes were broadcast on a trial basis.

As I have already mentioned, Camp Sharpe was a highly confidential place, all “hush-hush”, as the saying goes. It was so secret that we wore the lapel badges of various branches of the army that we definitely did not belong to, my soldiers were not allowed to leave the camp at all for the first few weeks, and they had to sign a declaration stating that they would betray nothing of the purpose for which they were there, not even to their wives. Unfortunately we had not taken technology into account and I’m afraid that mistakes were made of the type that in the secret service had already led to a few near defeats. I was living in the Gettysburg Hotel as I shared General Patton’s belief that “any fool can live without comfort”, and was having a refreshing whisky at the bar one evening when the tender greeted me in German. The chief technician at my camp wanted to try out the transmitters, as technicians can’t resist doing. The result was that the local farmers around Gettysburg found themselves being called upon, partly in German, to “surrender to the Americans.” From then on no one doubted that “the

strangest goings-on” were taking place at Camp Sharpe. The fact that there were no serious repercussions from the incident was due to the one thing the secret services could always rely upon: that the enemy’s intelligence services were even more inept.

The second incident almost cost me my head. At the end of the course I organised a field exercise. According to the plan I had worked out with my adjutant, Lieutenant Peter Hart (later London director of *Life*), we were to move into the Maryland forests to act out our roles under conditions simulating as far as was possible those of an “invasion”. The “front” was construed in such a way that some of my people were concealed in the forest in Wehrmacht uniforms to be later taken “prisoner” – I chose mainly former actors – and subjected to in-depth interrogation.

At four in the morning I arranged for some of the soldiers who were specialists in leaflet-writing to be woken, and explained to them where the “American Army” had just “landed”, the general circumstances of the landings, the “German” units opposing us and the effect we wanted the leaflets to have. Written in some haste, the leaflets were then printed on our portable high-speed press and shot by light artillery shells over to the “German” units.

After two days, during which we didn’t get a moment’s sleep, we returned to camp happy with the success of our exercise. But an hour later I received a bewildering instruction from headquarters in Camp Ritchie that I, accompanied by one adjutant only, was to return to where the exercise had been held and to personally collect all the leaflets strewn around the forest, “down to the very last one, and that’s not a joke”. I was then to report on my own to the Pentagon in Washington.

Black and white propaganda

All hell broke loose when I turned up at the office of the Chief of Counter Intelligence, General Strong. At the very start I was threatened that if I “opened my mouth” I would be court marshalled and would be looking at twenty years, “at least”. I was then cross-examined for two hours on where exactly I had heard about the plan to land in Normandy near the small town of Arromanches. I swore on oath that I had merely guessed the coastal strip of the intended invasion from the general circumstances, its closeness to England, the flat expanse of the beach and the proximity of that location to the main road linking Cherbourg, Bayeux and Caen. It soon became clear that my interrogators were torn between having me shot or assigning me to the rear. Luckily for me, they chose a third option. Once the leaflets on which the name of the Norman town of Arromanches had been printed for all to see had been burnt, they sent me back to Camp Sharpe. Yet again I had had to learn the lesson for the Army that I’d served for five years: if you can’t trust your officers, you can’t run a war.

The third episode was even less flattering to the army. One Sunday as I was at home in my house on Kalorama Road in Washington one of my more remarkable subordinates appeared, the Russian Count Igor Cassini (the name had been adopted by a former Russian ambassador to Italy). He was accompanied by his extraordinarily beautiful young wife (now married to newspaper tycoon William Randolph Hearst jr.). After a chuckling introduction he told me of his concerns. He had come by “authentic information” that our units were to be shipped to Europe in the next few days. He personally, however, would like to be assigned to a company earmarked to remain. The newspaper tycoon Hearst, the light blonde young man continued, had offered him a job filling in as gossip columnist in the post vacated by Cholly Knickerbocker. This was the chance of a lifetime for him, one he couldn’t pass up for something so trivial as a war, as he was sure I would understand. Cassini

would later go on to become the self same dreaded “Cholly Knickerbocker” and, later still, to be convicted for spying for the Dominican Republic. His request surprised me, not only for its impudence, but firstly because I had had no inkling of this upcoming embarkation, despite being commander of the unit, and secondly because, just the day before, I had received confidential instructions from Camp Ritchie “not to entrust confidential material to Cassini as he was suspected of having fascist sympathies.” That I bid farewell rather frostily to the picture-perfect Cassini, and to his even more picture-perfect wife, is incidental. What was alarming was that Cassini was right: the “unreliable” Count was the only one who knew the Pentagon’s plans for us.

The task of my unit was to produce a press in occupied Germany, but that would be still some time in the future. In the meantime the Army wanted us to use the war and knowledge we could assemble in the process of it to try out and practice for our role. Any film or stage director would have envied us such a generous rehearsal period.

In autumn 1944 our troops liberated the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. The fleeing German units had left the press of the daily newspaper, the *Luxemburger Wort*, and the brilliant radio station, including the radio towers of Junglinster, pretty much unscathed. I established my headquarters in the Luxemburg radio station. My group operated under Colonel Clifford R. Powell (later General and, later still, a lawyer in New Jersey) and Lieutenant Colonel Sam Rosenbaum (later a lawyer in Philadelphia). The officers moved into the villa on the Rue Brasseur that had formerly belonged to a German mining director who had fled.

The system of “black” and the “white” propaganda that we now worked in parallel needs to be explained. We broadcast eight hours a day from Radio Luxembourg to the German Army and also to the German civilian population, which was now only a few kilometres away. When operating openly - our programme went out alternately as “Radio Freies Luxemburg” (Radio Free Luxembourg) and “Die Stimme der 12 Heeresgruppe” (The Voice of Twelfth Army Group) - this was what was known as “white” propaganda. But a second radio station, hermetically sealed off by the military police, also operated from our base on Rue Brasseur. This was not managed by me, but by Major Patrick Dolan (now head of a large American advertising agency in London). He sent agents across the borders into Germany each night or smuggled them through German lines, and these returned with the freshest information from Germany. This was used for the “black” propaganda broadcast by this second station, called “Annie” after the name of the villa. It operated the pretence of being a secret station of the resistance, an underground movement, located inside Germany. This department worked in conjunction with the famous *Soldatensender Calais* (Calais Soldiers’ Voice), which was run by star reporter Sefton Delmer (later leading reporter with *The Daily Express* and an employee of *Der Spiegel*). The “white boys” and “black boys” were constantly at war with one another. We, the “whites”, regarded the “black” propaganda as unethical and believed that in the long run it could only harm the reputation of the democratic occupation forces.

‘Feldpost’ and ‘Mitteilungen’

It was now that an historic event occurred that for the members of my team will forever be connected with the names of several small German towns, places that I can find on the map today only with the greatest difficulty. Korelimuenster, Monschau, Wuersele and Stolberg became the centre of the world for us. The English, breaking through from the north, and the Americans, who finally took Aachen after a tough battle, (Continued p.7)

The Unknown Roger Casement (III)

Ireland and the War, “*Home Rule on the Statute Book*”.

Continental Times (CT) 26/11/1915

Lord Kitchener’s Mission. CT. 29/11/1915

A Pacific Blockade. CT. 13/12/1915

Free Trade and Neutrality. CT. 29/12/1915

A Letter to Roosevelt. CT. 31/12/1915

Oddities of Empire. (National Library of Ireland) 24/1/1916

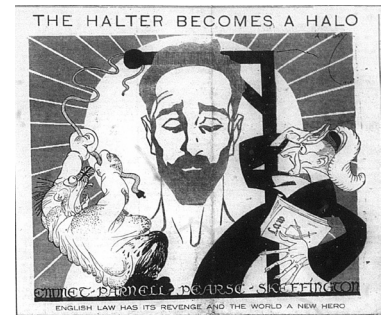
Ireland as a Peace Factor. CT. 9/2/1916

No Ships! No Money! No Men! C.T. 14/2/1916

How the War may affect American Culture. CT. 22/3/1916

Letters to Poultney Bigelow (*New York Times*) 21 May 1916

Written May/September 1914



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IRELAND AND THE WAR

“Home Rule on the Statute Book”

The Charter of Irish Rights. By “A Diplomat”

The following letter, written by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, has been published in the *Munster News* and widely reproduced in the Irish newspapers:

Sir, - The treatment which the poor Irish emigrant lads have received at Liverpool is enough to make any Irishman’s blood boil with anger and indignation. What wrong have they done to deserve insults and outrage at the hands of a brutal English mob? They do not want to be forced into the English Army and sent to fight battles in some part of the world. Is not that within their right? They are supposed to be freemen, but they are made to feel that they are prisoners, who may be compelled to lay down their lives for a cause that is not worth “three rows of pins” to them. It is very probable that these poor Connaught peasants know little or nothing of the meaning of the war. Their blood is not stirred by the memories of Kossovo, and they have no burning desire to die for Servia. They would much prefer to be allowed to till their own potato gardens in peace in Connemara. Small nationalities, and the wrongs of Belgium and Rheims Cathedral, and all the other cosmopolitan considerations that rouse the enthusiasm of the Irish Party, but do not get enough of recruits in England, are far too high-flying for uneducated peasants, and it seems a cruel wrong to attack them because they cannot rise to the level of the disinterested Imperialism of Mr. T. P. O’Connor and the rest of the New Brigade.

But in all the shame and humiliation of this disgraceful episode, what angers one most is that there is no one, not even one of their own countrymen, to stand up and defend them. Their crime is that they are not ready to die for England. Why should they? What have they or their forebears ever got from England that they should die for her? Mr. Redmond will say a Home Rule Act on the Statute Book. But any intelligent Irishman will say a simulacrum of Home Rule, with an express notice that it is never to come into operation. This war may be just or unjust, but any fair-minded man will admit that it

is England’s war, not Ireland’s. When it is over, if England wins she will hold a dominant power in this world, and her manufactures and her commerce will increase by leaps and bounds. Win or lose, Ireland will go on, in her old round of misgovernment, intensified by a grinding poverty which will make life intolerable. Yet the poor fellows who do not see the advantage of dying for such a cause are to be insulted as “shirkers” and “cowards”, and the men whom they have raised to power and influence have not one word to say on their behalf. If there is to be conscription, let it be enforced all round; but it seems to be the very intensity of injustice to leave English shirkers by the millions to go free, and coerce the small remnant of the Irish race into a war which they do not understand, and which, whether it is right or wrong, has but a secondary and indirect interest for them. - I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

Edward Thomas
Bishop of Limerick
November 10, 1915.

This is the clearest pronouncement against the policy and morality of the English war on Germany yet delivered within the limits of British rule. It is fitting and right it should come from a Catholic Bishop and an Irishman.

The *Morning Post* comments on it as an “Extraordinary Letter.” No honest Irishman but will heartily thank the brave Bishop of Limerick for thus saying openly what humbler Irishmen dare not say in public without going to jail for it, or possibly being shot.

Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond will hesitate to apply the Defence of the Realm Act to Dr. O’Dwyer, or order his Lordship to “leave Ireland within twenty four hours” as they recently ordered several Volunteer leaders to do, for daring to act on the advice given by this brave Catholic Bishop.

Dr. O’Dwyer says in his letter to his countrymen what Sir Roger Casement said in his open Letter to the Irish Volunteers of 17th September last year, a letter that we published in the *Continental Times* in December last. It was in large measure for writing that letter that the British Government offered so large a sum to Sir Roger’s man for his “capture” when they became aware of his presence in Norway.

Will the same Government now offer privately a “reward” for the “removal” of the Bishop of Limerick from his See?

How many of the 650 young Irishmen who were thus lawlessly stranded at Liverpool owing to the refusal of the Cunard Company to fulfil its contract, the English recruiting sergeants ultimately got, we do not know.

The *Daily Mail* of 8th November said none were obtained, despite desperate exertions of recruiting agents who were let loose on the young Irishmen, jeered, taunted and giped at by a typical English crowd of shirkers, loafers and other corner stones of the British Empire. This crowd was described as in “an angry mood” at the sight of six hundred “*well-dressed, big and lusty*” Irish lads “*just fit for the army*” who thought it was an Englishman’s duty to fight his battle himself. Instead of going to the front in Flanders to face the armed Germans, the English patriots prefer to jeer the unarmed Irishmen from the safe precincts of the Liverpool Landing Stage.

This flagrant violation of their public contract by the Cunard Company with the Irish passengers it had booked and whose money it had taken is not the first act of bad faith of that great English company to the same people. The Cunard Company has been made by Irish money. During the 65 years since 1850 it is safe to say the Cunard Company has got *one hundred million pound sterling* (£100,000,000) at the very lowest computation, out of Ireland, in the matter of passenger fares and freight. For many years of the last half-century the Irish branch of its trade was far the most lucrative part of its entire business.

In return, the Cunard Company, two years ago, deliberately broke faith with the Irish people, broke its public contract with that country and abandoned Queenstown as the port of call for America. The British Government connived openly at the breach of public faith.

The reason for the abandonment of Queenstown is well known. It was on account of the swifter vessels being built in Germany that threatened Liverpool’s claim to transatlantic leadership.

The loss of four or five hours at Queenstown meant that the blue ribbon of the American trade would be won by the Hamburg or Bremen ships and not by the Liverpool “Greyhound of the Atlantic.” So the greyhound turned and bit the hand that fed it; and Queenstown was declared to be “a dangerous port” into which no large ship could safely enter, and all Irishmen were ordered to come to Liverpool to embark for America.

This was in August 1913.

Now, in October 1915, Irishmen are refused embarkation at Liverpool, because in the meantime, England thought the best way of destroying the Bremen and Hamburg competition was not by open trade but by secret treaties and the hired swords of French and Russian aggressors.

Hence the war declared on Germany on 4th August 1914.

And, irony of ironies, Queenstown, that was a “dangerous port” in August 1913, when the Cunard Company was afraid of the Hamburg Amerika and the Norddeutscher Lloyd lines, becomes again a “splendid natural harbour” when the Cunard Company is afraid in May 1915 of the German submarines! The port that “could not be entered in safety” in peace times by the large English liners becomes their chief haven of refuge, when German patrols stalk the seas.

It is to be hoped the Irish people will not forget the debt of gratitude they owe to the Cunard Company, when the war is over—or to Messrs. Asquith, Redmond & Co. who have betrayed Ireland with a scrap of paper.

Home Rule that was to have been a kiss of peace, has been the signal for the infamous attempt to betray Ireland into the war.

A colleague of Mr. Redmond’s, the despicable Maurice Healy, Member of Parliament for a Cork Constituency, is engaged at present in trying to recruit a thousand young Irishmen for the slaughter pits in Flanders and Gallipoli at so much per head. He admits that he is doing it for a wager made in London and that, if he wins his thousand dead men, he wins money on the job. And this creature calls himself an Irishman! A patriot!

Another of the same brand, but not nearly so base, Pierce O’Mahoney, some time called The O’Mahoney, recently tried to do the same thing in another way.

He offered himself on 1st October in Mr. Redmond’s name, to the Electors of the Harbour Division of Dublin City. He stood for the war, for Ireland’s part in the war; for Ireland’s duty in the war; and declared he wanted no votes except of those who agreed with Mr. Redmond. He got 913 votes, and the successful candidate, Alderman Byrne, who opposed the war in all its aspects got 2298 votes while Alderman Farrell, also an opponent of the war and an “anti-Enlister” got 677 votes.

Thus one of the Dublin seats has pronounced an emphatic repudiation, by over 3 to 1, of Mr. Redmond’s policy of betraying Ireland.

This is the severest blow yet delivered to the gang of recreants who have tried to sell Ireland to the butcher.

Ireland stands not for war and murder—Ireland stands for peace.

The duty of Irishmen is to their own land—not to invade another land.

The Bishop of Limerick says it today—Sir Roger Casement said it, thus, last year:

“It was not Germany which destroyed the national liberties of the Irish people, and we cannot recover the national life struck down in our own land by carrying fire and sword into another land.

“The cause of Ireland is greater than the Cause of any party; higher than the worth of any man; richer in its poverty than all the riches of Empire. If we sell it now, we are unworthy of the name of Irishmen. If to-day we barter that cause in a sordid bargain, we shall prove ourselves a people unworthy of freedom – a dwindling race of cravens from whose veins the blood of manhood has been drained. If to now fight is our duty, then let us fight on that soil where so many generations of slain Irishmen lie in honour and fame. Let our graves be in that patriot grass whence alone the corpse of Irish nationality can spring to life Speaking in the name of those who helped to found the Irish volunteers, I say in their name that no Irishman fit to bear arms in the cause of his country’s freedom can join the allied millions now attacking Germany in a war that, at the best, concerns Ireland not at all and that can only add fresh burdens and establish a new drain, in the interest of another community, upon a people that has already been bled to the verge of Death.”

Here speak true Irishmen.

When the war is over, Ireland will have to repay not only the Cunard Company and the British Government.

She will have to deal with those false and coward[ly] Irishmen who have abandoned every ideal of nationality, who have sought to lead her soul astray, to plunge her sons in blood and leave their ancient motherland to abiding desolation.

The Bishop of Limerick deserves the thanks of the Irish race throughout the world. If other Irish Bishops will but

follow his brave and Christian lead, Ireland may have the joy and the honour of being the first of the Combatants to open the door to peace.

No. 1206. Vol. XXII. No. 64. The Continental Times
November 29, 1915

Lord Kitchener's Mission.

By Sir Roger Casement.

In July 1911 Mr. Noel Buxton M.P. invited me to accompany him to the Balkans on a private mission of investigation into the alleged "Turkish atrocities" that were then a subject of some political interest in England.

I refused the invitation for I was, at the time, engaged in the investigation of the actual atrocities of the London Putumayo Rubber Co. on the Indians of the Upper Amazon and a few days later I set out on a second visit to that far off region.

Moreover I had some doubt as to the authenticity of Turkish atrocities in general and of English sympathy for the victims in particular. Not that I do not believe that the Balkans have been the theatre of great tragedies in the past, but I did not accept the English attitude. It was not based, to my mind, so much on sympathy for the sufferers as on a hope to derive political results from the suffering.

Political considerations I saw clearly were at the bottom of the humanitarian Crusade of England against the Turk in 1911 and 1912.

With those considerations I could not sympathise, for the object really aimed at was not the betterment of the Balkan peoples but the attainment of British ends against Germany.

It was the last link in the chain of environment that was to be rivetted by a triumph (sic) exposure of the Turk and the handing over of his heritage of centuries to those who might then be welded into a solid south-eastern barrier against the Teuton.

Such was my judgement at the time and the events of the four intervening years have abundantly justified it.

In September last year, while I was still in America I wrote these words:

"Day by day as the war proceeds, although it is now only six weeks old, the pretences under which it was begun are being discarded. England fights not to defend the neutrality of Belgium, not to destroy German militarism, but to retain, *if need be by involving the whole world in war*, her supreme and undisputed ownership of the seas." (Philadelphia, 15. September 1914.)

Fourteen months have passed and the truth of that statement must now be clear to all men.

The first victim was Belgium, the latest is Serbia and tomorrow will come another.

Three or four months ago we had the visit to Athens, Sofia and Bukarest of Sir William Tyrrell, the special envoy of Sir Edward Grey, to secure the adhesion of the Balkan States to the policy of Environment.

Sir William Tyrrell's mission failed and now we have Lord Kitchener's. I do not know if Lord Kitchener goes to the Near East as a general or as an envoy; but it is clear why he goes.

Where "Turkish atrocities" failed and Sir William Tyrrell failed, the victor over the Mahdi and the Boers may have a better chance.

The British government is repeating the error that led them into the war.

War for England in the past has been always an adventure abroad, not a great national duty at home.

There has never been for three hundred years and more a war undertaken by England for the defence of England, but only a series of expeditions abroad to lay hands on other people's territory and swell the foreign dominions of the Empire.

So true is this that whenever England fights the force sent into the field is not called the "British army", but the "Expeditionary Force in Flanders", China, Gallipoli or wherever the adventure lies. Instead of the fact we have a euphemism, just as when it is sought to bribe some still neutral power into the fray the process is termed "an advance to our allies".

The mistake this time is a vital one and one I warned Sir William Tyrrell against three years ago. An English war against Germany could not be of the old character—a great adventure to be conducted by raids, by expeditions, by subsidies to "allies" and picnic trips in quest of new "friends." Sir Edward Grey thought that England would have an easy task, that indeed she would suffer no more by going to war with Germany than if she stayed out.

The error was based on a profound misapprehension. England thought that war with Germany meant only to attack a Government—she has discovered a People. Too late she realizes the error. An organized Nation fighting for all it holds dear, with all its strength cannot be faced, much less overcome by the old methods. And yet England has no other methods. Hence, instead of sending her own armies against the foe, she sends a general to find the armies of others. The truth is beginning to dawn on the minds of enlightened Englishmen; but then none of these are in the Government.

Sir Edward Carson resigned because he saw the truth and detested the deception; but then Sir Edward Carson is at bottom an Irishman and has some of that ruthless sincerity that makes an Irishman always his "own worst enemy."

The debate in the House of Commons on the 2nd November may be regarded as the turning point in the war. Here for the first time it is frankly recognized that the time has gone by when large offers of other people's territory can affect the issue. Arms and men alone can win the war, and unless England can furnish these herself, from within, her diplomacy to get them from elsewhere is doomed to failure.

This and more was said in the debate on the 2nd instant but the Government did not remain to listen to the truth.

The Prime Minister, Sir E. Grey and other members of the Cabinet having delivered their traditional commonplaces, left the House to the critics and then only did the truth emerge—the first time since the declaration of War on August 4, 1914. The return of truth to the House of Commons is the first victory England has won, and I sincerely hope it will soon be followed by others.

The ablest critic was not Sir E. Carson, who followed Mr. Asquith, but Mr. Amery, once a war correspondent in the South African War, compiler of the *Times* "History of the Boer War", and now member for South Birmingham.

Mr. Amery I met more than once during the Boer War. He has as much regard for the "small nationalities" as for the land system of the Zulus or Bechuanas, and probably still less for the diplomacy of Sir Edward Grey. His speech in the House of Commons is the first frank confession of complete failure that any Englishman has emitted, and it comes from the ranks of the Jingo imperialists.

Here are some points from the speech: "The Government had hardly ever led, but had continually yielded. They had hardly

ever foreseen, but had always been surprised. They had been surprised that there was a shortage of munitions, that there was a shortage of men, that cotton was of use to the German artillery, that the Turks fought well in trenches, that Bulgaria was hostile to Servia and that Greece hesitated... Our policy was that of meeting unpleasant solid facts with empty promises—a policy of self-deception, timidity and indolence... Then we began to make extravagant offers of territory to Greece. It was not a bribe of more territory that Greece wanted... it was men; it was the certainty of success... It was impossible to buy *nations by acres; they were bought by men*. What were we doing now?

Having no plan and no policy we were sending General Munro to try and save the situation... They had to face the actual situation. *It was too late to prevent the forcing of the gateway between Germany and the East. It was too late to save Servia from devastation.*"

For his frankness Mr. Amery deserves the gratitude of his countrymen.

It is the first time that the House of Commons has been told that the war is not a great adventure, but a great disaster. The next admission may well be that it is not only a disaster but a crime—the thing I have always called it, "the Crime against Europe".

Lord Kitchener in the Near East will be as futile as Lord Kitchener at the West End. The English Government went into the war with only [one] idea—the hope of destroying Germany as a great power. They saw only a government, and they struck a Nation.

They had not counted the cost—they did not weigh the means—they did not understand their opponent.

They reckoned by heads —and overlooked the human heart.

England, today, is beginning to realize the truth, but its statesmanship is still bankrupt. It resorts to methods of panic, and grasps at every straw that shows on the surface of the hurrying tide. But the river sweeps always to destruction, and straws cannot stay the swimmer.

What England wants today is not a general to prosecute the crime, to lead to fresh disaster, but a statesman to give the land peace.

And here again I will quote Mr. Amery; although I apply his words in another sense. "What we wanted was courage, decision, leadership. Any man who *would lead this country as it ought to be led*, who would not look over his shoulder afraid of his own shadow would find an invincible host to follow him to victory."

Yes: but the victory must be won not over Germany, but over England.

If, even now at the eleventh hour, England could produce a Statesman, she would do something better than subsidise her allies—she would save them, as well as her own honour.

The prolongation of the war in the vain hope of getting Germany down is not only the greatest crime in human affairs, but the greatest folly in English history.

A year hence the hope will be as vain, or vainer, than it is to day, and a year hence millions more of mankind will have suffered. The man that is wanted is not Lord Kitchener in the East, in Greece, in Gallipoli, in Egypt—but an Englishman at home who will realise, again to quote Mr. Amery, that "it is not too late to save our honour".

Roger Casement

November 11th 1915.

[10-sheet hand written MS in Casement Papers, NLI 13084/12]

No. 1206. Vol. XXII. No. 70. The Continental Times
December 13, 1915

"War Depression."

A new Disease which has stricken London in severe Form.
Civilisation suffering from complex Ailments.

A Pacific Blockade

Latest Developments of Malady lies in Coercion of Greece
Assailing very Existence of that Country.

By *Diplomaticus*

A new disease appears to have been discovered in London. It was announced at a recent sitting of the Clerkenwell County Court when a medical certificate was handed to the presiding Judge to excuse a subject from his legal obligation on the ground that he was suffering from "War Depression".

We should say that War Depression is a widely extended malady to-day and probably has its acutest phases exhibited in localities very remote from Clerkenwell.

We have known of cases of war depression in America, for instance, and a notable example is to be found in the depression of the English sovereign on the American exchange. If gold be the "veins of war", then the English pulse shows a marked decline of vitality with the golden sovereign down from 4, 90 to 4, 57.

A new type of international malady is chronicled in the London press of the last few days to take its place beside that "War Depression" first discovered in the same quarter.

The latest form of the complex ailments from which our civilization is suffering is termed "a pacific blockade".

In some "Last Words to Greece", uttered on the 22nd November, the Liberal *Daily News* defines in the following words the scope and aim of the new disease which has so providentially been discovered, just when needed to aid the cause of the Allies in the Balkans.

The specific object in view, of those controlling the new international malady is to "assist" the King of Greece to arrive at a "decision" in conformity with their interests.

To achieve this end the friends of Greece have devised a new weapon—we are told they have "ready to their hand a form of pacific pressure to which Greece is peculiarly susceptible."

This latest development of a war, begun on behalf of the violated neutrality of Belgium, takes the form of a scheme of "pacific pressure" to be exercised on Greek neutrality, which we are told should "be interpreted in a broad rather than a technical sense." In a technical sense it might be hard to defend, much less to define, but taken in a "broad" sense, its philanthropic aim is at once apparent. Greece is to adopt an attitude of neutrality based on a friendly blockade of her external trade calculated to "paralyse" the entire national life.

Her "extensive carrying trade" is to be brought to a standstill and her means of existence cut off by laying her "under a constricting grip at a moment when imports by land are unattainable."

The euphemisms of the Liberal *Daily News* are exchanged for the rattling of the bared sabre when the Conservative *Daily*

Telegraph takes up the case for an enforced “friendly neutrality” on the part of Greece.

The “pacific pressure” of the organ of the Nonconformist Conscience becomes the very antithesis of a “peaceful blockade” in the mouth of the City money lenders. They have no hesitations of speech any more than of conscience. What the Greeks understand we are assured, and what must be applied to their case “is strength, not too refined in character, and a downright masterfulness which is first cousin to brutality.”

Greece must be “under no illusions as to her position, if she chooses to oppose our projects and must be fully aware that a blockade would be ruinous to her trade, to her shipping and above all to her corn supplies.”

The Allies mean to have their “way”, we are told, “and will use all *legitimate* means to secure the objects at which they aim.” We are left in no doubt as to what “legitimate means” involve for this unhappy neutral State, but we should welcome a definition by the *Daily Telegraph*, of what illegitimate methods could be employed other than those it advocates against a people whose sole desire is to maintain at once their neutrality and peace with their neighbours.

The *Daily Telegraph* assures its London readers that the French are popular with the Greeks “and so are the countrymen of Byron”. Byron came to aid Greece in a war of independence; “the countrymen of Byron” to-day are doing their utmost to plunge Greece in a war of unexampled peril and disaster to all her future.

If Byron could say in his day “*tis Greece but living Greece no more*”, his fellow countrymen to-day are assuredly determined, that the strict fulfilment of the poet’s words shall come to pass a century later.

Not content with occupying Greek territory and marching large forces through it in defiance of the protest of the Greek Government, these friends of Greece and of the small nationalities proceed to assail the very existence of the country they have lawlessly invaded and threaten it with everything, short of open acts of war, if it will not “aid their projects.”

No. 1219. Vol. XXII. No. 77 The Continental Times
December 29, 1915.

Free Trade And Neutrality
England As The Old Trading House. Tenement
Full Of Cracks And Seams.
The Christmas Dolls
They Must Be Of Unblemished Character. Fresh
Conception Of Neutrality. German Trade Pest.
(By *Diplomaticus*)

A recent leading article in the *Morning Post* (30 Nov.) points out that England, a very old trading house, is and has been long infected with Bugs.

England, we are assured, is like “*an old and neglected tenement full of cracks and seams*”, and into these the insects have crawled and now “*infest*” the house to a degree intolerable to the legitimate tenants.

The insects, the *Morning Post* insists, must be got rid of by one or other of two methods—“*the one destructive, the other constructive*”.

The difficulty is apparently that the English housekeeper, discarding the proverbial cleanliness of her kind and race, “*seems to be so partial to these parasites that she will take no really effective measures against them*”.

Insects of Two Kinds.

The article proceeds to point out that these insects are of two kinds—first and foremost the obvious German pest who has for so long monopolised many departments of English trade and honeycombed the country with his depredations, and next the less obvious but entirely noxious home product, the English “*Free Trader*”.

Both forms of the noisome pest must be got rid of—the German bugs by the destructive process, the household bugs by the adoption of a higher plane of political thought.

One of the proud boasts of Britain in the past was that where France, Germany and all other less enlightened lands had sought to hinder competition by restrictive or protective legislation, England alone in the world stood for the “*open door*” and complete equality of opportunity. Since English methods were unsurpassable, English commerce had nothing to fear from the most widespread emulation and wherever the British flag waved, there the foreigner was welcome to bring himself and his goods secure of just and friendly reception.

To Be Rooted Out.

As the war proceeds, we live and learn. To-day the chief organs of English opinion declare that at all costs all German trade must be rooted out of the British Empire wherever it may have extended, and that under no circumstances can Germany be permitted after the war to retain any colonial possessions of her own much less to trade in those of Great Britain.

This claim indeed is not limited to German possessions. Quite recently the Dutch have learned the lesson of “*Free Trade*” in a manner that must bring home to them the benefit all neutral countries derive from the British claim to “*Police the Seas*”.

It appears that from Holland to her Colonies a Christmas trade exists in the shape of toys sent by those at home to the families of the many Dutch Colonies in Java, Sumatra etc. In view of the possible dispatch of German toys to the Dutch overseas children the British Government took prudent steps some weeks ago to see that no German war-babies in this guise should proceed from Holland to her Colonies. It has been announced that no shipment of Christmas dolls can be made this year until the character and nationality of the dolls have been established to the satisfaction of a British Consular Officer in Holland.

Must be Free of Taint.

Dolls of unblemished character and great personal charm, before they can be received by parcel post for despatch to the Dutch East Indias must be pronounced as free from the taint of possible German origin. It is not clear whether the doll requires a certificate of morality issued by her parish priest, but a declaration of nationality is essential and a passport issued by the British Consulate General in Rotterdam must be obtained before any Christmas doll can embark on her long voyage to the East or be entrusted to the hands of a Dutch colonial baby.

We are convinced this kindly intervention to safeguard the morality of Dutch children abroad will be appreciated by Dutch family circles at home.

As a manifestation of the spirit in which the Home land of “*war babies*” combines the highest moral aims with a strict regard for the sanctity of “*Free Trade*” and the freedom of the seas the case of these Christmas dolls leaves nothing to be desired.

At the same time as we learn these things from Holland news comes from another source of a fresh conception of neutrality, devised in London commercial circles, that must win many admirers in America and other neutral countries to the British standpoint.

Boycotting American Autos.

The London Fruit Carriers Association has issued a circular letter to all those corporations which, like itself, use motor vehicles in their trade, calling on them to boycott the automobiles of the Ford Manufacturing Company.

The Ford cars, as is well known, are made not in England but in the United States. The Ford car factory is one of the greatest establishments in the world and turns out cars that are known in every country. The business is one of the most legitimate in existence and stands very high among American industries. The principal of the firm, Mr. H. Ford, is alleged to have recently declined to subscribe to the war loan floated in America on behalf of the Allies. As a neutral citizen of a neutral country, employing in his labor representatives of all the warring countries of Europe, Mr. Ford was personally within his rights in not taking part in a war loan devised solely in the interest of one of the combatants. To have done so might not only have compromised his neutrality, but might legitimately have caused pain and grief to many of those with whom he was industrially associated. He therefore, it is alleged, abstained from subscribing to the Loan and for this act of citizenship he is now being vigorously penalized in England and his goods boycotted [where]ever English influence can carry weight.

When the Chinese people attempted on national grounds a boycott of Japanese commodities it was at once asserted by the Japanese Government to be an unfriendly act and representations were made to the Chinese Government to impose administrative measures upon the boycotters.

But the Chinese are Heathens and it is clearly a Heathenish act for a Heathen to boycott Heathen goods, while it is but an expression of the highest culture when an English Trade Association demands a boycott of American goods because they are made by a neutral.

This application of an English boycott to the Ford motor cars and on the grounds stated is perhaps the most singular revelation yet shown us of the underlying motives that induced the British Government to declare war on Germany.

German trade had become a “*pest*” to be got rid of by “*destructive means*”—and all those who will not aid England in cleansing her house from the insects must incur the same penalty and find their own trade threatened by similar methods—destructive and constructive.

No. 1220. Vol. XXII. No. 7. The Continental Times
December 31, 1915.

Letter to Roosevelt.

To the Editor:

In an interview with a Correspondent of a French paper you expressed yourself about the criminal violations of the law of nations, also about what you call useless atrocities of the Germans. No doubt you would have acted, if you had still been President.

Sir, have you ever looked at the other side also, have you ever as a neutral judge, investigated the case of your elected defendant? If you would have done so, and there is still time, you would have come to quite a different conclusion.

I wonder what you would have to say to a representative of a German or Austrian paper? Would you consider the English blockade justified? Is there no criminal violations of the law of nations in trying to starve 130 millions of civilians, women and children of Germany and Austria, or do you think it is a just course in war time? Some London papers suggested even that all the crops in Germany should be destroyed by a fleet of aeroplanes. Lately the American Post Office parcels are excluded by the English blockade. The parcel post service between America and Germany is suspended. The English call it an ingenious scheme of sending heavy exports of food to Germany under the guise of Christmas parcels. Not even the Red Cross Committee can forward any most needed articles for invalids. There is a good chance to act even for an Ex-President and there is still another serious matter to act and protest against useless atrocities.

Nearly 40,000 civilians are interned in England! I state without exaggeration that no more horrible crime has been committed in the history of the world. No element of torture is absent, the Inquisition of the dark ages could not have been worse. With few exceptions the victim is arrested either late in the evening or as early as 5 o'clock in the morning. No time is given to arrange anything, hardly any time to say good bye to his family and it was very often good bye for ever. It depends on the Police Inspector if the prisoner has to stop two hours or a week, or in a few cases even months in a prison cell just like the worst criminal before he gets to the camp. After a day's journey under heavy escort without getting any food whatever the doors of the camp are opened. The reception differs, the officer calls out the names and if one of the prisoners forget to add to every answer “Sir” or he does not stand like a soldier the sergeant strikes him with his closed fist. At last the victims are put in the cage. All round them barbed wire (made in the U.S.A.) and any amount of armed sentries watching them. Have they suddenly become wild animals? The position is worse in many ways than that of a criminal. These so called prisoners of war never know when they will be free again. The life in the camp is worse than anybody can imagine, yet some do not feel the hardships as the majority do. In camp nobody knows what will happen next, it is always necessary to be prepared to be punished for something you had no control of. Once a sentry let his gun off with the intention of killing one of those—Germans, he had just heard that his son had died for his country. If one of the prisoners breathes in the wrong direction the whole camp is punished. No papers, no parcels, no letters. The wives or friends may get permission once a month to visit the prisoners for a quarter of an hour, how degrading it is, they have to speak through the wire or in another camp between two tables without even room enough to shake hands. The sanitary and sleeping arrangements are most horrible. The food is insufficient, the canteen charges very high prices, there is corruption everywhere. Personal punishments are horrid. One old man once asked kindly to be allowed to carry rubbish of smaller weight preferring to go oftener. It was refused and the poor man had to go for seven days in a dark solitary cell! And there are a good many similar cases. There are boys of 14 years and men of 70 years old in the camp, many fishermen since the 5th August 1914, taken before their boats were sunk or captured, also any amount of cripples, cases which are very sad, families, wives largely English starving at home, the bread winner interned. Nearly all had worked before the war in the interest of England now they are driven mad, and why, what have they done? They were not born in England, that is all!

It would be easy to write pages about this crime of internment, but what is the use, will you Sir or anybody else act, will anybody protest? In Austria-Hungary hardly any English or Frenchman is interned, yet in England nearly all of the Austrians-Hungarians are interned. One Englishman who had lately come back from Austria or Hungary to England, gave £100 out of gratitude for his good treatment during his stay there, to be distributed amongst interned Austrians and Hungarians in England. England began this devilish crime of interning civilians.
Someone who knows.

ODDITIES OF EMPIRE

(National Library of Ireland). 24/1/1916

The “benefits” of the National Insurance Act in Ireland.

A question was put by an Irish member in the House of Commons as to the grants made to Ireland under the Insurance Act and the amounts contributed by Irish employers and employees under the Act during the last twelve months.

The answer given by the Treasury was that the total amounts granted to Irish contributors under the Act came in the financial year to £337,700. Against this the amount received by the Treasury from the contributions by employers and employees in Ireland was “approximately £699,000.”

The surplus of £361,300 contributed by Ireland was “absorbed” by the British Treasury and devoted to “Imperial purposes”, i.e. was spent in England on purely English needs.

At the same date we learn in the *Times* that the Grand Canal, the chief waterway between Dublin and Limerick, has burst its banks and that houses, crops and cattle have been swept away, and the inhabitants of the inundated district are “cut off from communicating with the towns, and boats are carrying passengers to and fro. The rivers Shannon and Barrow have overflowed their banks and the districts through which they flow are a vast expanse of water (*Times*, 17 January 1915).

The yearly inundations caused by the overflow of these and other Irish rivers has been the subject of Parliamentary appeal by Irish members for over half a century. No serious attempt has ever been made to deal with this evil. Each year damage to the extent of hundreds of thousands of pounds has been caused and the executive has deplored its inability to attempt a remedy owing to the “lack of funds”. One year’s surplus of Irish payments under the Insurance Act, now misappropriated by England for purely English purposes, would put at least one of these uncontrolled rivers into a safe channel. Such are the benefits of English “care” for Ireland.

Ireland has the honour, along with England and Scotland, she is assured, of “*Sharing the Empire*”. Such are the benefits derived by this important member of the sharing from the scheme of imperial control of half the world devised and directed from London!

*

“Amongst 1,186 inquests which Mr. Wynne Baxter, the East London coroner, held in 1915 were 17 inquests for the Liberty (District) of the Tower of London. Six of them related to deaths from natural causes, two to accidents, and nine to executions of spies in the Tower. (*Times*, ‘News in Brief’, 17 January 1916)

*

Ireland has no share or part in your Empire’s crimes – your Empire’s yours.

A land with no government. The thing taking its place consisting of officials of a foreign government whose duties are to see that the land is skilfully and silently robbed, its

courage depressed, its education prevented and every outlet for ambition, pride or betterment carefully closed save if the direction taken leads to the advantage of the other land. No walk in life at home is left for those who love their country and only those who despair of it and enter the service of the other land find places of public profit in Ireland.

*

Sweden

In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the Swedish Riksdag on 17 January the King of Sweden is reported by Reuters as having said: “*The Government had more than once been obliged to intervene against attempts to put Sweden’s industrial and commercial life under the usurped control of another Power. The work for the increase of the nation’s defences ought to be consolidated. In spite of great economy in the drafting of the Budget, new taxes would be necessary. The speech adds that the Government has the intention of asking the Riksdag to appoint special delegates to discuss questions of a secret nature with the Government, as was done in the autumn of 1914.*

The Berliner Tageblatt states that the Swedish postal authorities have kept back 42,000 postal packages bound for England as retaliation for England holding up Swedish postal packet from America. (*Times*, 18 January, 1916)

This attempt at usurped control of the industrial and commercial life of neutral countries by one of the belligerents is not confined to the British efforts to strangle the legitimate trade of Sweden.

It has certainly been clearly and actively demonstrated in the British interferences with the industrial and commercial life of the United States and has not been confined to those aspects alone of their national life. It has in several departments of state sought to interfere in the political life of the country, to control the executive functions of the state and even the exercise of military and naval acts of a supposedly sovereign state.

But while Sweden pointedly draws attention to the outrage in the Royal utterance, the Chief Executive of the Great Republic (USA – Editor) has remained silent.

Two striking instances of how far England has carried her usurped control over American life have recently been published in American newspapers. They reveal an extraordinary contempt not only for the claims of humanity at large but for the sovereign rights of America.

*

Oddities of Empire

That a people at war is a people gone mad has never been more clearly shown than in the course of the present conflict. A perusal of the London *Times* any day of the week reveals not the reasoning of a sane understanding but the shifts of a disordered intellect to conceal its malady.

From any recent issue a medical indictment of the patient could be drawn, warranting his seclusion as a dangerous lunatic if an individual. But as Burke said “you cannot indict a nation” – you can only curb its – -- by depriving it of its power to do evil.

The *Times* of 8 January contained several letters from the leading Cocoa firms in England (J. A. Fry and Sons, Limited, Rowntree and Co., Limited, Mazawattee Tea Company, Limited. – Editor) protesting against the export of cocoa to neutral countries, particularly to Scandinavia and Holland.

The government is called on to check “the export of cocoa or so rigorously to control it that no neutral country shall

be permitted to have a pound of the commodity in excess of its barest internal needs, lest the odd pound go over the border into Germany. The same issue of the *Times* (17 January) presents in big type on p. 5 the following memorable advertisement from the Plasmon Cocoa Company:

A LETTER

Englanderlager, Rahleben,
8th September, 1915.

Dear Sir,

We beg to thank you in the name of this camp for the sixty-seven cases of Prisoners' Comforts which you so generously sent us through the Prisoners of War Help Committee. We found the contents most acceptable, especially the Plasmon Cocoa and Plasmon Oats which were a great boon, particularly to those who required special diet.

(Signed) FRED W. HANSON,
STANLEY LAMBERT,

Barrack Superintendents.

To the Editor, "Khaki Magazine," London.

PLASMON (Scotch) OATS
— 6d. per packet —

We presume these British war prisoners in Germany will continue to receive their nourishing diet of cocoa at the hands of the German military authorities, while German mothers, children, sick and wounded will not be permitted to import one pound of the commodity from any neighbouring state, however willing that country may be to dispose thus lawfully of its products.

The difficulty of dealing with a lunatic at large who controls enormous resources and lives on an island unapproachable by any appeal to sanity or reason is the problem facing the world, just as it was in the times of Imperial Rome when a succession of ---- [remainder of piece - four lines - illegible]

*

That a people at war may be a people gone mad has never been more clearly shown than in the course of the present conflict.

A perusal of the national organ, the *Times*, any day of the week, would furnish ample evidence to warrant the seclusion of one of the combatants to the nearest lunatic asylum, if any such could be found strong [enough] to restrain so dangerous

a patient. Each issue of that paper, to take it as a type of belligerent journalism, reveals less the reasoning of a sane understanding than the shifts of a disordered intellect to conceal its malady.

The average lunatic is sane on many points, only mad upon one or two. But the *Times* is mad upon most points and only sane upon one. Were it not that this insanity is shared by its readers and that there is a method in its madness, which constitutes perhaps the greatest danger, one might read the laboured invective and pass by the conscious falsehoods with a shrug of the shoulders or a smile of pity.

We don't agree. We are convinced that the thing needed is something else. One week of truth in the *Times* would probably end this war.

*

To end this War:

An American paper says that what England needs is not compulsory service but compulsory courage. What is more urgently needed still, and one week of which in the columns of the *Times*, would go far to end the war, is compulsory truth.

As the need for truth increases, the channels for its dissemination are one by one obstructed. Thus far its dissimulation remains open - are scientific institutions. Museums throughout England are being closed to the public. Education is being starved - the vote for the current year grant is only £3,500,000 to public education out of an annual expenditure of £1,500,000! (sic) [This appears to omit a zero, Editor].

Children required by law to attend school are being withdrawn, with the open connivance of the authorities, from that compulsory service to truth for agricultural attendance in the fields, while a demand has been seriously put forward that the Factory Laws should be ignored and child workers below the legal age should be employed in the factories—perhaps even in [the] output of those high explosives Mr. Lloyd George regards as essential to the triumph of British ideals of liberty, truth and the enlightenment of the world.

There are three forms of falsity that find expression in the columns we refer to—falsity of thought, falsity of intent, and falsity of word. We might add a fourth—falsity in action.

Handwritten MS in Casement Papers, 24 January 1916,
NLI 13084/12

No. 1237. Vol. XXII No. 95

The Continental Times

February 9, 1916.

Ireland as a Peace Factor

By *Diplomaticus*

An interesting light is thrown on Ireland's attitude to the war by the recent discussions in the House of Commons on the Compulsory Service Bill, and the enforced confession of the British Government that they dare not include Ireland in the scope of the measure.

The far-reaching significance of this omission of an integral part of the United Kingdom from obligatory service to the state cannot fail to impair and eventually, perhaps, to undermine the hoped for utility of the measure as a potent aid to the joint cause of the Allies.

For the end sought to be gained by the imposition of military service on the United Kingdom was as much a moral as a material end. Men were wanted, it is true, but not men alone. It was necessary to assure the world, and above all the Allies of England, that no sacrifice incurred by the other parties to the Entente would be omitted by Great Britain, and that where they gave their youth and manhood to the struggle, she, too, would give hers.

And now the chief end sought has to be abandoned at the outset, and a shameful confession made to the world that the United Kingdom is but a name, and one of its component parts must be exempted from an obligation to the state whose principal value lay in the fact that it was to be a national obligation, imposed on all the King's subjects alike, and fulfilled by all men in the British Isles.

One of those islands, covering much more than a fourth part of the entire kingdom and inhabited by fully a tenth part of the total population, has to be omitted altogether from the Bill and treated as if Sovereign and Parliament had no jurisdiction there, as if, indeed, it were a foreign country and this on the openly confessed ground that it would be too dangerous for the Government to enforce the law of the land over that great area of the Kingdom.

* * *

Perhaps no more portentous failure of British policy has been anywhere apparent since the war began. Students of history cannot fail to be impressed by this attitude of Ireland and the position of powerlessness into which it has forced an elsewhere all powerful Government.

Viewing the magnitude of the issues involved for the British Empire and the enormous contributions in men, money and material made by Great Britain and her great self-governing Dominions, the abstention of Irishmen from the conflict is a phenomenon that admits of no explanation compatible with the claim of England that Ireland and Great Britain constitute one realm united by a common loyalty to a common crown.

In the opening days of the conflict the world was assured by Sir Edward Grey, in the speech that announced the forthcoming declaration of war against Germany, that Ireland was "*the one bright spot.*" Irish loyalty to England, we were told, had been cemented by the "gift" of Home Rule and Irishmen now would stand shoulder to shoulder with their British comrades in resisting the German assault on "the freedom of the small nations" and "the liberties of the world."

When we inspect the figures officially supplied in Parliament, setting forth the available strength in men of military age in Ireland and those who have enlisted in the British armed forces since the war began the attitude of Ireland to the conflict becomes one of interest to all countries and particularly to those where men hope and work for peace.

For in her widespread abstention from voluntary military service and her openly expressed determination to resist any effort to now compel her young men to serve, Ireland has set an example of national morality and high purpose that should have an ever growing effect on the mind of all peace loving men.

She is achieving, unarmed and defenceless, a victory greater, perhaps, than any won in the field—a victory for peace, for sanity, for reason, and is overthrowing by a resolute "No" the machinations of those whose chief aim is to extend the area of conflict and involve ever fresh victims in their widespread scheme of destruction.

* * *

In answer to a question in Parliament the Chief Secretary for Ireland recently stated (January 10) that there were believed to be 562,115 men of military age in Ireland—i.e.

between 19 and 41—on the 15th August 1915. The number of these who had "voluntarily" joined the British forces, both Army and Navy, up to 15 December last, he gave as 94,997.

These figures, it should be observed, do not agree with the Census returns compiled in 1911 which showed a very much larger number of men of military age in Ireland.

But confining ourselves for the moment to the return now presented to Parliament and contrasting the result of sixteen months of unceasing effort to get Irishmen into the Army, it will be admitted that the Bishop of Limerick and the Extreme School of Irish nationalists in their appeal to Irishmen to treat this war as "England's war," have far more truly represented Irish convictions than either Messrs. Redmond and Dillon, or the inspired organs of the Government press who have sought to represent Ireland as cheerfully participating with England in the holiest of wars.

The following are the figures furnished to Parliament:

	Men of military age in Ireland, according to Province, on 15 August 1915	Number who had enlisted in either Army or Navy up to 15th December 1915
Leinster	174,597	27,458
Ulster	169,489	49,760
Munster	136,637	14,190
Connaught	81,392	3,589
	562,115	94,997

Inspecting these figures from within, it will be found that the abstention of Irishmen from the British armed forces rests on moral and religious grounds no less than on national grounds, as the Bishop of Limerick was the first to point out in public.

Ulster, mainly protestant and pro-English, with an available military population of 169,489 gave 46,760 men to the British Army and Navy.

The three nationalist provinces Leinster, Munster and Connaught, overwhelmingly catholic, with close on 400,000 men of military age (392,626) gave only 45,237 (many of whom were protestants) and the greater part of these came from the four cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, where extreme poverty, homelessness and lack of employment furnish, even in normal times, the chief recruiting grounds in Ireland for the British Army.

If we deduct, as we safely may, 25,000 recruits for these four cities there remains but a small contingent of some 20,000 men given by the great mass of 2,500,000 catholic farmers and agriculturalists who make up the rural population of the three provinces.

At the passing of the Home Rule Bill in September 1914, it was confidently hoped by the British Government that Irishmen would "flock to the colours", and the leading organs of British policy claimed that "at least 300,000 Irishmen will respond to this generous act by enlisting in the Army."

Where England has given 3,000,000 of men, we are told, and Scotland, according to the Member of Parliament for Edinburgh, has sent "*at least 460,000 men*" (vide Mr. Hogg's speech in the House of Commons on 17th January), Ireland has sent under 100,000 and nearly half of these (some 41,000) are claimed as Ulster Protestants, passionate haters of Ireland and proudly calling themselves England's "loyal garrison."

Of the residue of some 50,000 Irish Catholics who have been bribed, cajoled, starved or bullied into the war in sixteen months of ceaseless effort, it may safely be said not more than 20,000 had any real desire to help England and the rest had only the cause of their stomachs to serve.

Assuming that the return presented to Parliament on January 11th was accurate, it shows that the effort to get Irishmen to fight England's battle has been a dismal failure. It was out of all proportion to those available, and bore no relation to the response made in England or Scotland, or even in the far distant and quite unaffected Dominions of Australia, Canada, etc. Canada, for instance, we are told today by her Prime Minister, is raising 500,000 men "without compulsion".

If compulsion were anywhere needed within the British Empire, it was clearly in Ireland.

* * *

If we turn to the Census of 1911 it will be found that however unfavourable the situation was revealed to be by the figures given in parliament it becomes infinitely worse if the Census returns are to be accepted as more reliable.

According to the Census there were about 760,000 males between the ages of 18 and 41 in Ireland in 1911. The actual figures on the report were (Table 63, page 99) 735,707 males between the ages of 18 and 40. If we add the approximate number between 40 and 41, namely 25,497, we get a total of 761,204 as the number of males in Ireland of military age from 18 to 41.

As only some 100,000 at the outside have been induced to enlist it is clear that Ireland has a reserve of well over 600,000 men who should be compelled by law "to fight for their King and Country."

Every effort to induce them to do so by voluntary means has failed.

Lord Derby in two months, we are told, enlisted in the neighbouring island of Great Britain 2,184,000 men. While the Derby scheme was being applied in Great Britain, the Viceroy of Ireland at the head of a Committee including Mr. Redmond "the national leader of the Irish race at home and abroad," undertook to recruit in Ireland. Against Lord Derby's 2,184,000 Britons, Lord Wimbourne and Mr. Redmond secured in the same time 10,000 Irishmen.

The population of Great Britain is nine times that of Ireland.

Had Great Britain responded as Ireland did, Lord Derby would have got only 90,000 men. Had Ireland obeyed the call as England and Scotland did, Lord Wimbourne would have got 242,000 Irishmen.

Here if anywhere where the flag of British freedom and equality floats should compulsion be applied. And how does the British Government deal with this one black spot in the otherwise bright prospect of an all consenting British Empire?

* * *

In the House of Commons on the 17th January Mr. Bonar Law, the minister for the Colonies, in opposing an amendment to apply the Bill to Ireland, declared as follows:

"I noticed that my hon. friend who moved the amendment went further and said that in his belief the idea that there will be any serious opposition in Ireland is unfounded. *If the Government shared that view we should not have been justified in excluding Ireland.* But I do not share that view. I believe as strongly as I believe anything that, looking at Ireland as it is, *and there is no use in any of us hiding our eyes of what we all know,* I do not believe that it would be possible to put this Bill into operation in Ireland *without the exercise of force and of a considerable amount of force.*" (Hansard Vol. LXXVIII)

On this ground and on this ground alone the House of Commons rejected the Amendment and Irishmen are excluded from a vital obligation enforced on all other subjects of the Realm, because the British Government has to confess that it would be too dangerous to apply the law to Ireland since it would involve the "exercise of force and of a considerable amount of force."

That is, in fact, a declaration of Irish independence wrung from her foreign rulers.

The fact that, faced with a movement of resistance of this magnitude, aimed at the very heart of the State in a struggle of unprecedented gravity, the British Government has refused to compel the recalcitrant population to fulfil the obligation it enforces on all other parts of the Kingdom is the clearest proof that there yet survives in Ireland a spirit of national self-reliance that even England at war with Germany dare not assail.

That spirit of Irish nationality we see exists more strongly where the Catholic Church claims the spiritual allegiance of the people. The Protestant parts of Ulster with a total Protestant population of some 800,000 have sent fully 40,000 men to the field. Catholic Leinster, Connaught and Munster, with a total population, urban and rural of some 3,000,000 have sent only 45,000, and of these fully 10,000 are also Protestants.

* * *

So far as Catholic, as national Ireland is concerned, the war does not exist. It does not exist as a moral, religious or national obligation, and, again to appeal to the Bishop of Limerick's Letter, Ireland says to England:-

- "This is your war, not mine; fight your battle with your own sons."

This attitude of Catholic Ireland towards the calamity of Christendom we have come to regard as a part of our daily lives to rise with the sun to surely rise again to-morrow—the world war—is one of the few hopeful signs that make us not altogether despair of the morrow.

This war that desolates the whole earth springs not from the soil of peasant minds but was hurled from the battlements over the ruined and the ruled by a handful of men, of no fear of God before their eyes, whom the irony of the political systems of our time designates "the representatives of democracy."

If love and not hate is ever again to rule men's minds its coming must be looked for from the people - from the ruled and not from the rulers - from the Manger rather than from the Palace; from the Crib and not from the Castle.

And it is just here that the attitude of the Irish peasantry gives hope to the warring world.

And it is just here that in very truth Ireland is the one bright spot in all the vast black picture the British Empire today presents to the world of misspent energy and misdirected pride.

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No Ships! No Money! No Men!

To the Editor.

In view of the forthcoming newly organised submarine blockade by Germany upon the British coasts, I think the enclosed taken from an English newspaper, telling of the chaos in British shipping circles is in the highest degree instructive.

“At present all is confusion. The industry is unorganised. War has upset all the normal conditions. The Admiralty needs ships, so does the War Office, so does the Board of Trade, so does the Sugar Commission, so does the Board of Agriculture. It is not suggested, of course, that there is no inter-communication, but the arrangements for co-ordination, as every shipping man knows, are defective. Every demand, from whatever Governmental quarter it has come, has tended to drive freights up throughout the world. It has been calculated by a leading shipping journal, that the tonnage available, through capture or loss, has already shrunk by nearly 1,900,000 tons since hostilities began. Consider what that means if the law of supply and demand is not to be interfered with! The wastage is still continuing; the delays in discharging and loading are not becoming less; there is no falling off in the naval and military requirements of the Allies; there are huge demands for munitions, fuel, and food from overseas. The crisis is acute, and it is steadily becoming more so. Unless a remedy, complete and drastic, is applied, the victory on which we and our Allies count with confidence to-day must be postponed, if not relinquished.”

You see that the English are in a hard plight not only for money but ships. No longer do they sing, “We’ve got the men, we’ve got the ships, we’ve got the money too!”

“Spectator”

How the War may affect American Culture

Interesting study by a distinguished neutral anthropologist

One of the effects of the war upon the United States that has so far attracted little attention is revealed in the returns of passenger traffic between Europe and the Republic for 1915. Probably for the first time in its history the numbers of persons who left the United States for Europe exceeded the number of Europeans who entered the country.

The figures for the last three years are as follows:

Number of passengers:	1913	1914	1915
from Europe to USA	1,811,686	963,000	203,000
“ USA to Europe	698,136	673,000	294,000

	+1,113,550	+ 280,000	- 91,000

A surplus of 1,113,550 immigrants over departures in 1913 becomes a loss of 91,000 inhabitants in the year just ended. This loss will probably be greatly increased in 1916. The population of the U.S. – save for the tiny fraction of disappearing Redmen – is derived from an entirely imported stock. The greater part as we know, is of European origin, with a very large proportion

however – something between a seventh and an eighth of the total citizenship – based on an African negroid origin.

For many years the latter class of citizens has ceased to derive its increase from immigration and has had to depend on its own powers of natural increase. The white population, on the other hand, has been reinforced for the best part of a century by a constant stream of European immigration that has been called the chief factor not only in building up the great mass of American citizens but in ensuring that the European type should greatly predominate in the character of the population.

The actual condition revealed by the immigration return of 1915, furnishes food for reflections that cannot fail to bring home to all white American citizens the menace to their racial stock that underlies the continuance of the present war. In addition to the direct loss of 91,000 persons of European blood caused by the excess of overseas departures, there is a further drain of this element of the population in the silent but none the less increasing recruitment of white American citizens in the ranks of the Canadian Army.

How many white men of American nationality have already joined this branch of the British forces we have no exact means of finding out, but that the number is not entirely negligible is beyond doubt. Recruiting agencies for the British Army have been located throughout many parts of the Union, and not an inconsiderable number of men and lads have certainly crossed the border into Canada to enlist in the ranks of the so-called Canadian regiments being raised for service in Europe, Asia and Africa.

Already, according to the Canadian Prime Minister, Canada has raised up to the end of December 1915 some 195,000 men for overseas services, and has sent 119,000 of these men into the firing line. In the first half of January 1916, he now adds, a further 65,532 had joined the colours, and during the course of this year Canada will put 500,000 men into the field.

It is clear that this half million of men will not be entirely composed of Canadian subjects of King George, whose total does not exceed 7,000,000, but that many thousands of them will be drawn from across the nominal Southern frontier. We say nominal advisedly, for apart from the monetary inducements held out by the British recruiting bureaus, a pronouncement has been recently delivered by the Washington authorities that cannot fail to encourage the enlistment of American citizens in the British Army.

In a letter issued by the Department of Labor at Washington to its officials throughout the Union (Bureau Letter No. 54,003,431 of October 9th, 1915) the Secretary of the Department this definitely decides a question that has been frequently raised since the war began:

“Instructions should be issued by you to the end that hereafter the boards will not question the American citizenship of an applicant because of the fact that he took the oath of allegiance and enlisted in the Canadian forces.”

American citizenship is, according to this edict, wholly compatible with an oath of allegiance to a foreign Sovereign binding the swearer to the strictest military obedience to that Monarch and his successors and committing, if ordered, to attack and slay citizens of the country whose allegiance he has just forsworn but of which, nevertheless, he claims all the rights of citizenship. As an instance of benevolent neutrality in war time we can cite nothing more remarkable than the publication of this ruling of a government department according a dual nationality – belligerent and pacific – to all who choose to claim it by entering the armed services of a foreign State.

The outstanding fact, however, we are called on to consider is not the question of dual nationality raised by the enlistment of Americans in a foreign army, but the continued racial

predominance of the white or European stock as the basis of American life and citizenship.

Since the increase of the European stock depends so largely on the continued influx of European immigrants rather than on the birth rate of those already established in the country, a birth rate which shows a tendency to decline, it may be asserted that, for the first time for over a century, the birth rate of African and Mulatto citizens in 1915 relatively exceeded that of the white-blooded element of citizenship. Should the war be prolonged, as so many claim, until "Germany is crushed" (a matter of certainly many years to come), it is evident the repercussions in America of this long laboured death stroke in the white races of Central Europe must enormously affect the relative position of the white and coloured elements of the population of the United States.

The whites, reduced to rely for all increase upon a yearly diminishing birth rate and with a constant increasing drain upon their youth and manhood for the continuance of the war in Europe may quickly reach the point where deaths, combined with emigration to the war field will equal or even exceed the natural increase due to excess of births.

Against this stagnant condition of the European element will have to be placed the natural increase of the black and coloured elements of the population. These between them already number some 12,000,000 to 15,000,000 out of the total of 100,000,000 of American citizens. Their normal natural increase is probably not less than 250,000 per annum. As the war proceeds, and the entire stoppage of European immigrants goes hand in hand with the falling white birth rate and the increased emigration to Europe, the disparity in numbers between the white and coloured zones of the population must tend to disappear.

It is true that something may be effected by an increased development of lynchings to counteract this unforeseen outcome of a war undertaken in the highest interests of the white man's civilisation, but even the most painstaking cultural extension in this direction can hardly hope to keep pace with a declining birth rate on the one hand and the increasing call of the warfield on the other.

There are, obviously, many millions of American citizens to-day, chiefly residing in the Southern States, who will see this impending consequence of the war with a growing, if discreetly silent, satisfaction.

To-day they may be politically weak, however strong and healthy as husbands, fathers and feeders of the population. Up to the outbreak of this war they had little to hope for from a conflict on the far-off fields of Central Europe.

A war, undertaken, as they were told, in the interest of the highest phases of European civilisation, seemed to offer little to the humbler ideals of trans-planted African culture that had with such difficulty wrestled a patch in the sunlight in the less favoured regions of the Great Republic.

But today, thanks to the very intensity of that conflict for the loftiest ideals of the white man, the prospect brightens and broadens for this dusky and hitherto oppressed, or at least retarded, element of the national growth. The tightening of the blockade against Germany and the resultant extinction of almost all trade between the U.S. and neutral countries must bring a further reduction in the means of subsistence for the class of population engaged in industrial pursuits.

The entire disappearance of Trans-Atlantic immigration to the Union during 1916, 1917 and all following years of the war, and doubtless for many years after the war is ended, will mean the direst loss not only of some 1,300,000 of white immigrants annually, but the equally great contingent loss to the white birth rate of the country as a whole.

As the negroid class of citizens are simpler in their habits, more frugal in expenditure, needing less and spending less, they are bound to feel the strain of the hard times ahead in a much less acute degree than the preponderant class of citizens of white extraction. They are also far more prolific.

An enforced approximation to each other or equalisation in numbers of the two types of citizenship, the white and the coloured, may thus be confidently looked for as the war proceeds.

The closer union of the two Americas – or should we not say – the three Americas – the Latin, African, Anglo-Saxon now being advocated by so many men of scientific attainment in North and South, cannot fail to accentuate a healthy appreciation of the fact that in neither continent is the white race so predominant that it can afford to look on unmoved at the death struggle in Europe which threatens to extinguish the sources of its own existence and to deprive it for perhaps half a century, of all further influx of European blood and culture.

On the other hand, many thoughtful Americans believe that the Hamitic strain, drawn into a closer political union and a deeper and more intensive contact with the predominant European or Shemitic elements in the so-called Anglo-Saxon Republic, cannot fail to ameliorate some of the asperities of the harsher Northern strain. What is lost in colour, they claim, may be gained in character, or to be strictly accurate, one should say, too, what is gained in colour for white is the negation of colour.

In a sense, indeed, little perceived by the warring parties, their colossal struggle for the "very cause of humanity and the future of Civilisation itself," as Mr. Asquith in his Guildhall speech so splendidly phrased it, as bringing with it on a far-off field of human endeavour an ethical "revanche" that far transcends in importance that sought by France and her Old World allies in the Rhineland and one that while it shall leave geographical and political boundaries in the New World intact must profoundly modify the racial character no less than the racial complexion of those who dwell by the Mississippi.

[Initialled and corrected by Casement in the NLI copy]

Letters to Poultney Bigelow

By Pat Walsh

On May 21st, 1916 *The New York Times* published an article by Poultney Bigelow, the notable American writer, containing the private letters sent to him by Roger Casement in 1914.

Poultney Bigelow is an interesting character. A New Yorker, schooled in Germany, he was a playmate of the Kaiser. His books up to 1898 are praising of the Kaiser but Germany's attempted infringement of the Monroe Doctrine in the Spanish War seems to have taken him in an anti-German direction. He still made a point of visiting the Kaiser annually up to the 1930s after he had survived the British hangman. Bigelow later became an admirer of Hitler and Mussolini. He was the author of a number of books on German history including *The Borderland* (1894), *History of the German Struggle for Liberty* (1896), *The German Emperor* (1889), and *Prussian Memories* (1915). He wrote in praise of British colonialism in *White Man's Africa* (1897) and in other publications.

At the time Bigelow penned his article for *The New York Times* Casement was awaiting trial for High Treason in Brixton Prison. Bigelow had known Casement for 20 years, meeting him first in Lourenço Marques, East Africa in 1896:

"Casement was then British Consul in Delagoa Bay, enthusiastically labouring to thwart the effects of England's

enemies who were secretly using this part of East Africa in order to supply the rebellious Boers with munitions of war.”

In 1881 the British, looking to fulfil the Cape to Cairo Imperial dream of Cecil Rhodes, had been unexpectedly defeated by the Boers at Majuba Hill. A Truce had then ensued but it was clear that the matter was not over for England. In December 1895 Dr. Jameson made his ill-fated raid/attempted coup in the Transvaal. After this humiliation it was only a matter of time for a final reckoning with the Boers to take place.

Casement's appointment to Delagoa Bay showed how trusted he was by the Foreign Office. With war on the Boers inevitable Lourenço Marques became a place of great significance, one of the few ports outside of British territory through which arms and ammunition could be supplied for the Boer defence. Casement's job was to keep an eye on what was moving from whom to whom and where to where for Britain. Casement remained there until July 1898 before being transferred to West Africa, and then the Congo, where he made his fame.

Bigelow was delivering a letter from the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, to Casement.

The American notes of Casement:

“his devotion to British interests was so strong that an official report was to him not complete until he had personally verified all possible details.”

Bigelow also says of Casement that he had a *“hatred of injustice and fearlessness in seeking redress.”*

Casement was not merely an Imperial functionary, he put his heart and soul into his work:

“For seventeen years Casement enjoyed the confidence of his country and served British interests, not merely to the extent of his salary, but with an energy and enthusiasm that would have killed an ordinary man.”

Bigelow, being a strong Anglophile, could not see the consistency in Casement's principled behaviour that in the end forced him to take Germany's side in the Britain's Great War. The American argues that the British made the mistake of not keeping his spirit occupied by Imperial work. Instead, by retiring him, the Foreign Office encouraged him into *“pacifism or Pro-Germanism.”* Bigelow says that

“Casement commenced his career of madness through a too strenuous study of Irish mythology masquerading under the name of history.”

The extent of Bigelow's Anglocentrism can be gauged in the following passage:

“Casement's latter-day dream was to... Hibernize the Emerald Isle as Prussia sought to Germanize her Polish provinces. Only a madman could go to Berlin for help in starting a republic and the fact that Casement trusted any Prussian promises in this matter is sufficient for an English court desirous of committing him to a Sanatorium rather than the scaffold.”

But the British Court that tried Casement could not convict him merely on the basis of madness. Casement had gone too far and his published writings, which had appeared across Europe and America, were obviously not those of a madman. His position was clearly reasoned and logical. Only the scaffold was appropriate for him, with the fouling of his name for good measure. The Irish supporters of the Imperial War could ponder his madness to their heart's content. For them, as now, opposition to the British view of the world is insanity.

The letters Casement sent to Bigelow demonstrate the Irishman's honesty and openness about what he was doing. They make it very clear why he was going to do what he was about to do. This was a man of the highest principle who concluded that it was *for him* not a case of *“my country right or wrong”* but *who* was right and who was wrong.

Bigelow justified his publishing of the letters as follows in a letter to the *New York Times*:

“Roger Casement has himself claimed distinction as a traitor to his country in her hour of need. He has helped the Hun to enter our gates; for every sane American knows that Prussian rule in Ireland would be followed by a Prussian raid across the Atlantic.

Only a madman could have conceived what Roger Casement attempted to carry out under German auspices. His letters to me prove him a paranoiac who should be confined to a safe place. When I kill a man I expect to be punished according to the law. Why should murderers be exempt whenever they claim to be murdering in the name of Ireland? Casement asks no favors, which shows that in this matter he is not a normal Irishman. And I have permitted these letters to be published because by this means the world may be convinced that his is the act of a deranged mind, and that the best thing for him and for the British Government would be to exile him to Berlin or Potsdam until pronounced cured of his Prussianism. It would not be a long exile.

Poultney Bigelow, Malden-on Hudson, May 24, 1916. (New York Times, 25/5/1916)

Letters to Poultney Bigelow (*New York Times*) 21 May 1916

58 Central Park West
New York City
10 August 1914

My Dear Bigelow,

I am afraid you will think me a will o' the wisp – but I can't get to you yet.

The awful Calamity in Europe has upset everything – all my plans & movements & hopes.

It is the Crime of all the Ages – and I blame not the Kaiser or Germany – but chiefly England who has plotted and planned it from the days of the first German battleship.

I am staying with John Quinn (the lawyer) an Irish friend, and seeing various Irishmen & others to interest them in the Irish Volunteers – but what can one say or do with this welter of blood & horror & crime in Europe. I pray day & night, “God save Germany”!

Yesterday I called on Col. Roosevelt [Theodore Roosevelt - Editor] at Oyster Bay and exchanged ideas.

I meet Mayor Mitchel [Mayor of New York and grandson of John Mitchel - Editor] to-morrow & do the same - & day by day I collect funds to arm my Irish boys at home – some day, who knows? – to fight a fight for Ireland.

This address finds me.

Yours

ROGER CASEMENT

58 Central Park West
New York City
15 August 1914

My dear Bigelow,

We don't agree. I don't accept as anything but an English lie the statement that Germany tried to ruin [the] U.S.A. in 1898. There is not nor ever has been proof of it – but there is proof in hills and mountains of English efforts in the past to smash this country. However, bygones are bygones - & if English hostility to America is forgotten & forgiven, why nurse anger against Germany when the very cause of the anger is doubtful?

England *has* ruined Ireland – morally, financially and physically. She has degraded and demoralised the people – destroyed their language, their culture, their music – every thing in fine that stands for the soul of a nation; she has robbed them thro' the centuries & most of all in the last century (as Lord MacDonnell put it “at least £320,000,000 sterling, an Empire's Ransom”); and she has driven them to flight across the oceans.

Her present campaign against Germany is hypocritical and mendacious – she aims at one thing only – to destroy German competition; to destroy German *peaceful rivalry*; to sweep from her path the only great commercial people in Europe whose integrity and capacity and efficiency she dreads.

In order to achieve this she entered, (7 years ago it began) into an unholy alliance with two armed assassins. Unable *herself*, alone, to strike the blow at her great and tranquil adversary she bribes two braves, two military mercenaries to do the need. To France she gave Morocco (which was not hers to give & violates her own Treaty – the Act of Algeciras) as hiring price in the anti-German prize ring.

To Russia she hands over Northern and Middle Persia which were not hers to give: She now mediates the crime of the centuries – to destroy the civilisation & industry of Central Europe & replace Germanic culture with Russian ignorance and tyranny.

Herself a non-European Power, only anxious for money & the trade of the world on her terms, she enters into a conspiracy to hand Europe over to Russian & French militarism in order that *she* may have all the trade dealings of the Sea outside of Europe.

It is a vile deal.

I am not lingering in New York to meet politicians – but to see my decent, good fellow- Irishmen & get their help to arm the Irish Volunteers I helped to found.

Ireland has no sins on her conscience against weaker peoples – and when Ireland is armed and drilled, please God we shall be masters in our own house and fight only one battle – that of self defense.

Too long we have helped to plunder & pillage other peoples on behalf of the power that has held us in its grip and for its sole profit.

I repeat I earnestly pray for Germany's triumph over British greed, French revenge, Russian dominance, Servian assassination and Japanese “chivalry.” England is in bed with fine bedfellows for the Land that claims its policy rests upon the Bible!

Cromwell's murders were also leaves out of that book – and I fancy it is the chief wadding for the British guns in every epoch – whether aimed at American Independence, Irish land, Hindu, Turk or Tartar – & now the Teuton.

German Protestantism is no shield when John Bull sees a market.

I hope he will get it in the neck & learn what it is to inflict war on others. He who not ever *suffered* war has been the one power to carry war abroad (as now) & to inflict its horrors on others.

When England has experience in her own sacked & ravaged & bombarded cities, ruined industries & starving millions what it is to *suffer* war, we shall have peace in the world. All who desire peace should hope to see the one power always at war, at length brought to realise the meaning & horror of war.

If the Almighty has a drop of Protestant blood in his veins he will be on the side of Germany in this war of the most peace-loving people of Europe fighting for the their national life, their industry, their commerce – their existence as a great race.

So now, my dear Bigelow, you know where I stand.

Yours ever

ROGER CASEMENT

*

This address finds me until I go north to Canada, thence to embark for North of Ireland –

30 Sept. 1914

5421 Springfield Avenue

Philadelphia

Pa.

My dear Bigelow,

Your kind card of 16 Sept. asking me again to go & see you reached me too late.

I've been away – & always am busy – altho' *not* with politicians as you so persistently maintain! Your insistence that because I am a *Nationalist* I must be a politician amuses me. I loathe politics & its devotees. I would not go into a Parliament, or Senate, or Congress for £10,000 a year. I have just denounced politics in the inclosed (sic) statement of my *principles* of nationality which went to Ireland 10 days ago, & please God, will be now scattered broadcast all over that land.

The only place I shall end in will be in jail! – a British jail for Irish “felony.” Of course, if I went out with murder in my heart against the Germans who have never wronged Ireland I'd be a splendid “patriot” but because I want my poor, brave,

credulous countrymen to stay at home & if they fight at all, to fight then for Ireland, I am a traitor. Such is the irony of British "democracy"! God deliver me from a democracy that feeds in peace itself & stirs up war and desolation wherever its greed, its lust, its appetite call for conflict. It fights always with other men's lives – in other men's lands – with ravaged & sacked cities of other countries. The day England herself suffers the horrors of invasion & feels war at home – we shall have peace abroad – but not till then. The task of civilization must be, surely will be – to destroy British immunity from invasion, so that the responsibility for her intrigues abroad & alliances with others to foment war elsewhere shall fall on the shoulders of the principal as well as of his "allies."

If London suffered what London has caused Brussels, Louvain, Liège to suffer, - there would be no war in Europe.

It is because London & all it shelters of Imperial greed and cupidity is immune and feels it can never suffer, that England has begotten this war of horror against Germany.

I have heard it plotted and planned for years. I saw it designed steadily in the F.O. & I have again & again warned them there of where they were driving. They meant to drive there. They knew it was a crime but – *Delenda est Carthago!* Germany's crime was German higher efficiency in the walks of international commerce & in sea affairs. The day she decided that she, too, had a future on the seas, that day her doom was decreed.

England fights for one thing only – her interest as the world Emporium. She has two ends in view – 1st to destroy Germany as a rival. 2nd to rope the U.S.A. into an alliance of world partnership in the Emporium line.

She will fail in No. 1 ultimately even if she wins to-day. Germany is too great and has too good blood in her veins. Even if England gets her down, with the aid of Russia, France, Japan & the "Silver Bullet" – Germany will rise again.

But England may succeed in No. 2. I see the signs of surrender here on all sides. The virus of British Imperialism is being inculcated steadily – already the press is thoroughly poisoned & most of the politicians & so-called "public men" (you have at the outside perhaps 2 men in America who could be called statesmen).

The attractions of a World Empire, to be called a "democracy" whereby wealth can be acquired by systematic pillage called "trade" of "finance" without the need of fighting – appeals greatly to the class of people who direct things here. German methods appal them. They wouldn't fight any more than the English. They want to dine in peace & have the fine things of life through exploitation – not through embattled strength. The English way getting what you want appeals to them – it is discreet, "respectable," and sanctimonious. I prefer the German – the "brutality" of men not afraid to die for their country or to pour out their blood in rivers for their faith in their fatherland.

All that I ever did was unselfish or chivalrous in public life - and I have striven to be both in all my public service - has been done with the image of Ireland before me. I worked for Ireland always – for Ireland & the ideals of my own people when I went to find Leopold on the Congo and Julio Arana on the Putumayo.

And please God before I die I'll do something still for Ireland!

And so my dear old far-off friend of other days - of Laurenço Marques! ah! so far-off now - all this means that I can't go and bathe up the Hudson or meander thro' its woods with you & drink your good coffee. I am, please God, going back to Ireland very soon now - to stand behind the Volunteers in keeping my country's conscience clean if that can be, in this

orgie (sic) of greed and plunder masquerading under the garb of a "holy war." If I, and those who stand with me in Ireland, can ensure it John Bull shall do his own fighting to "dismantle the German Navy" and "sweep German commerce from the Seas." Let Lord Curzon, instead of killing the Kaiser with his mouth (the contemptible cad!) go to the front & face the Kaiser's sons. Let Lord Crewe instead of "venturing the opinion that now that Home Rule is on the Statute Book, Irishmen will rush to enlist," go & enlist himself, as every German prince & peer has done. Let Lloyd George, instead of forging Silver Bullets & lies of base metal go out as Volunteer to guard the fields of Belgium & the vineyards of France.

No- these *preux chevaliers*, instead of bearing the brunt of that war they have plotted & planned for years are calling for "more expensive food & drink" in the smart London restaurants "to celebrate the German defeats" - by the French! (See *New York Times* London cable of Sept. 15.)

I knew Lord Curzon - once - & I've met Lloyd George & all the rest of them. I'd walk out of any room they were in today & prefer the company of the waiters.

Unless this country makes up its mind to fight, if need be, for its neutrality, Great Britain will destroy its neutrality & compel it to take sides against the "enemy of civilisation." I see the game being steadily played here – by the Kiplings, Conan Doyles, H. G. Wells, Winston Churchills & all the rest of the Westminster troupe of artists. They are only beginning to-day. Just breaking ground - but the trenches are being dug for an assault on American neutrality all along the line - to open fire with a universal howl whenever John Bull gets a serious reverse at sea. Let the German score, by chance, any decided naval victory and we shall find a concerted yell for help sent up throughout all the "American press." "Common ideals," "our Anglo-Saxon heritage of culture," "the cause of human freedom" &c &c - all these will be at stake - and a deliberate effort will be made to stampede this people into the camp of the Allies.

I am as certain of it as I was three years ago that this war against Germany would be brought off. The plans are already drawn up & everything prepared & laid.

Two elements alone in this population - perhaps three - will prevent it being carried out - or will try to prevent it. They may succeed.

In any case the thing will be much harder to accomplish than the British Government hoped - and if it succeeds it will end this republic. It will turn this country into a vassal State to that one holding the Empire of the Seas.

Until there is freedom at sea: equality of sea rights for all; equal opportunity; & *Navalism* recognised as a greater foe to Humanity than Militarism there can be no peace to mankind; no security against war - but an eternal pledge that War to break that unjust monopoly must surely come, and come again, until the mastery of the Seas is dissolved in the neutrality of the Ocean.

Yours ever

ROGER CASEMENT

P.S

You might send me back the "Manifesto." * I have only a few copies left here. I sent a lot to Ireland for publication there – but the Censor (or "Smeller-Out" to use the Zulu phrase) who opens all letters may think this too immoral to be contributed to the Irish people. So I shall continue to send it by devious ways. I wrote it, in a heat of passion, jumping from bed with

rage, when I read Lord Curzon's appeal to Irish men to enlist & John Redmond's cowardly & blackguard endorsement of it. *He* - Redmond- is unmasked at last - & never again will any Irishmen who believe in the cause of Ireland do anything but spit upon his name.

*** The document below is likely to be the "Manifesto" referred to by Casement that he sent to Bigelow:**

New York City, 18 September 1914

As an Irishman and one who has been identified with the Irish Volunteer movement since it began, I feel it my duty to protest against the claim now being put forward by the British Government, that, because that Government has agreed with its political opponents "to place the Home Rule Bill on the Statute book", and to defer its operation until after the war and until an "Amending Bill" to profoundly modify its provisions has been passed, Irishmen in turn should enlist in the British Army and aid the allied Asiatic and European powers in a war against a people who have never wronged Ireland. The British Liberal Party has been pledged for twenty-eight years to give self-government to Ireland. It has not yet fulfilled that pledge. Instead, it now offers to sell, at a very high price, a wholly hypothetical and indefinite form of partial internal control of certain specified services if, in return for this promissory note (payable after death) the Irish people will contribute their blood, their honour and their manhood in a war that in no wise concerns them. Ireland has no quarrel with the German people or just cause of offence against them.

I will not pronounce an opinion upon the British standpoint in this war, beyond saying that the public profession under which it was begun, namely, to defend the violated neutrality of Belgium, is being daily controverted by the official spokesmen of Great Britain. The London "*Times*" in its issue of the 14th instant, declared that Great Britain would not consent on any terms that did not involve "the dismantling of the German Navy" and the permanent impairment of Germany's place in the commerce of the world as a great sea-faring nation. That may or may not be a worthy end for British Statesmanship to set before it and the warrant for the use of British arms against Germany, but it is no warrant for Irish honour or common sense to be involved in this conflict. There is no gain, moral or material, Irishmen can draw from assailing Germany. The destruction of the German Navy or the sweeping of German commerce from the seas will bring no profit to a people whose own commerce was long since swept from land and sea.

Ireland has no blood to give to any land, to any cause but that of Ireland. Our duty as a Christian people is to abstain from bloodshed; and our duty as Irishmen is to give our lives for Ireland. Ireland needs all her sons. In the space of sixty-eight years her population has fallen by far over four million souls, and in every particular of national life she shows a steady decline of vitality. Were the Home Rule Bill all that is claimed for it and were it freely given today, to come into operation tomorrow, instead of being offered for sale in terms of exchange that only a fool would accept, it would be the duty of Irishmen to save their strength and manhood for the trying tasks before

them, to build up from depleted population the fabric of a ruined national life.

Ireland has suffered at the hands of British administrators a more prolonged series of evils, deliberately inflicted than any other community of civilised men. To-day, when no margin of vital strength remains for vital tasks at home, when its fertile fields are reduced by set design to producing animals, not men, and the remnant of our people, after being urged to lay down their lives on foreign fields, in order that great and inordinately wealthy communities may grow greater and richer by the destruction of a rival's trade and industry. Had this war the highest moral aim in view, as its originators claim for it, it would still be the duty of Irishman to stay out of it.

If Irish blood is to be "the seal that will bring all Ireland together on one nation and in liberties equal and common to all", then let that blood be shed in Ireland where alone it can be righteously shed to secure those liberties. It was not Germany destroyed the national liberties of the Irish people, and we cannot recover the national life struck down in our own land by carrying fire and sword into another land.

The cause of Ireland is greater than the cause of any party; higher than the worth of any man; richer in its poverty than all the riches of Empire. If we sell it now we are unworthy of the name of Irishman. If today we bargain that cause in a sordid bargain, we shall prove ourselves a people unworthy of freedom - a dwindling race of cravens from whose veins the blood of manhood has been drained. If to now fight is our duty, then let us fight on that soil where so many generations of slain Irishmen lie in honour and fame. Let our graves be in that patriot grass whence alone the corpse of Irish nationality can spring to life. Ireland will be "false to her history, to very consideration of honour, good faith and self-interest" if she now willingly responds to the call of the British Government to send her brave sons and faithful hearts to fight in a cause that has no glint of chivalry or gleam of generosity in all its line of battle. If this be a war for the "small nationalities," as its planners term it, then let it begin, for one small nationality, at home.

Speaking as one of those who helped found the Irish Volunteers, I say, in their name, that no Irishman fit to bear arms in the cause of his country's freedom can join the allied millions now attacking in a war that, at the best, concerns Ireland not at all and can only add fresh burdens and establish a new drain, in the interest of another community, upon a people that has already been bled to the verge of Death.

Roger Casement
(National Library of Ireland, MS 17,590/1/5)

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