

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: Democracy p. 2

Letter to the Editor p. 7

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

Who was Roger Casement? *Pat Walsh* p. 16

Letter from Brian Murphy OSB re Bishop O’Dwyer p. 27

Documents

Hidden History: The Secret Origins of the First World War

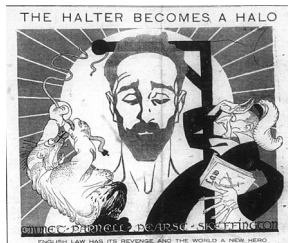
Overview of Gerry Docherty & Jim Macgregor’s Book

By Antony C. Black (Global Research, July 19, 2017) p. 19

Racism and eugenics during the inter-war period

By Michael Löwy & Eleni Varikas *Le Monde Diplomatique* April 2017 p. 22

In Year Zero, A Contribution to the History of the German Press,
by Hans Habe, with an Introduction p. 24



THE UNKNOWN ROGER CASEMENT (IV)

A Selection of his Writings from *The Continental Times* 1914-15 p. 28

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Editorial

Democracy

“The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 and the abortive ‘Arab Spring’ which began in 2010 were not, after all, decisive stages in March towards the inevitable triumph of Western-style liberal democracy, as was hoped at the time... Seen in the longer perspective... successful experiments in this form of government have been the exception rather than the rule and there is nothing to say that such a fragile and vulnerable system, for all its merits, shall prevail” —Editorial of the Autumn 2017 issue of *Studies*, which is devoted to the theme, *Democracy In Peril?*

Where democracy is an “*experiment*”, it must always be in peril. Most of the democracies in the United Nations are externally imposed experiments.

Democracy was an ideal imposed upon the world by the handful of states that dominated the world in 1945 and organised it into the United Nations. There were at the outset two forms of democracy corresponding to the ideals of the two conflicting Powers that divided the world between them. There was Socialist Democracy and there was Capitalist Democracy. Each understood Democracy in terms that were conducive to the development of its own system.

The Power that crushed Nazi Germany was Communist Russia. Its version of Democracy bore little resemblance to what was sponsored as Democracy by the rival Power, the United States of America.

The USA had entered the War late in the day, but early enough to be there, in Western Europe, in 1945 and have a say in how the world was to be remade. But, if Communist Russia had not held Nazi Germany at bay in 1941, and systematically destroyed its power during the next three and a half years, there would have been no United Nations in 1945. The UN therefore, in order to be functional, had to encompass these two ideals of Democracy, each of which was committed to destroying the other.

World War between these two forms of Democracy, in the aftermath of the Second World War, was prevented when Russia broke the American nuclear monopoly only three years after the American obliteration of the undefended cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The War between the two rival systems of Democracy had therefore to be scaled down—only secondary weapons could be used—and fought in what was then the Asian fringe of the world.

After two generations of a continuous trial of strength in the Third World, the Russian system collapsed. The USA had always denounced the communist form of Democracy as tyranny, and it now became the hegemonic Power in the United Nations and its conception of Democracy as a means of facilitating the functioning of capitalism became general.

Was there really an expectation, as *Studies* suggests, that the collapse of the Soviet system of state, over a quarter of a century ago, would take the form of liberal democracy? Or that the “Arab Spring”, encouraged by the EU and the USA a few years ago, would do so? If so, those who held that expectation must have made themselves very ignorant of well-known political facts of life in order to be able to expect such an improbable turn of events.

When Russia lay prostrate before it, the USA started plundering it. By means of a long and strenuous effort since

1945, it had made the world safe for Capitalism, and then it did the capitalist thing. Is there somebody somewhere who really expected it to do otherwise?

Functional democracy is a late growth in the lives of European states. Did Europe actually believe that, by bringing to dominance, in the “Arab Spring”, Islamist social forces that were effectively held in check by the secular regimes in Libya and other places, it was contributing to the establishment of liberal democracy in them?

In the State-oriented modern world—the world of the United Nations—all that can reasonably be expected from the breaking of states is anarchy and mayhem. Life is lived increasingly in the medium of the State, in accordance with its facilities and its prohibitions. The State is depended upon by the individual in order to live. Break the State and the individuals who were its civilised dependents cease to be civilised.

Ample evidence has been provided that this is a fact of the matter. It is, however, not a fact that is expressed in the ideology of the matter. The ideology of the matter suggests that Democracy sets the individual free.

The notion may be traceable to the democracy of small Greek city states of thousands of years ago, where it really was a case of “*government of the people by the people*”, conducted by general assembly, and with little in the way of an apparatus of state. The first article in *Studies* goes back to “*The Athenian Revolution*”.

The actual source of modern capitalist democracy is not ancient Athens. It is the 1688 Revolution in England and the justification of it by the philosopher, John Locke.

1688 did not establish democratic government. It established a regime which for two hundred years regarded democracy as an impossibility in a large state. And yet that anti-democratic regime is the actual source of the modern democratic state in its most durable form—which is the British State.

Locke declared that life in a “*state of nature*” was preferable to life in a tyrannical state. The tyranny against which he rebelled was the monarchy of James the Second. And when one looks into it one finds that what he meant by a state of nature was not the mass of the people thrown on their own resources to do as they pleased individually, but a network of gentry families that had been evolving into a potential ruling class since about 1640, but intensively from 1660.

In 1688 that gentry’s network overthrew the monarchy, which was attempting to maintain a system of state. It overthrew the state, confident that it could hold the mass of the people in check while doing so. It was confident that it could prevent a repeat of 1641 when the populace was spurred into wild action by the Parliamentary rebellion against Charles the First.

It freed itself from the State, and took over as a ruling class, the business of running the country, using a figurehead monarch as a device to divert the populace, and to ward off the divisiveness of having to find a President for a Republic every few years.

England in the 18th century has very little in the way of a general State to which the lowly subject could appeal if he felt outraged by the way he was being treated by his local aristocrat or gentleman.

Parliament was a ruling class institution through which members of the ruling class did each other favours in the matter of privatising the common land in the great era of “*Enclosures*”, and in which it was decided how best to go about the conquest of the world. (The major institution of state was the Navy, which was conducted by the ruling class itself with competence and severe discipline in all the arts of sailing and gunnery, with the lower decks being filled by the form of conscription known as Press Gang.)

The ruling class in its Parliament divided into the loose Party groupings of Whig and Tory: a division relating to the affairs of the 17th century. Those who thought about the matter assumed that the Party division was a form of obsolete factionalism which would soon be ironed out as the Constitutional settlement of 1688, as modified in 1714, settled down. But the party arrangement of the ruling class political life persisted until, towards the end of the 18th-century, it was declared to be a necessity of the system.

The growth of industrial capitalism generated a large middle-class, which in the early 19th century began to demand inclusion in the governing system. The demand was resisted. The capitalist reformers threatened to apply their economic muscle against the system to force their way in. Elements of the ruling class reckoned that the two-party structure of politics had become so ingrained in the national culture that the middle class could be absorbed into it, and broken in to its ways without undermining the system. And so it was done under the 1832 Reform Act—which might be described as the British bourgeois revolution.

This revolution was marked by a change of party names. The Whigs became *Liberals*, and the Tories *Conservatives*.

The greatest of the Liberals was Macaulay, who was both the supreme ideologue of Liberal Imperialism and the Government Minister who launched the Opium War on China which forced it into the capitalist world market.

The working class had lived politically under middle-class hegemony until the middle class settled down in the power-structure after 1832. It then began to assert itself as a separate interest. In the 1860s it began to be admitted bit by bit into the

Parliamentary franchise but it did not form an effective Party of its own until after the First World War.

It was the Conservative Party that acted for the working class in the first instance, bringing in the first Factory Acts to restrict the excesses of capitalism.

The Liberal Party was the party of *laissez-faire* capitalism until it split on the issue in the 1885 Election. A Birmingham capitalist, Joseph Chamberlain, who was a force in the Liberal Party, reasoned that the working class would not put up with its condition under free capitalism indefinitely. In the interest of Capitalism he proposed the establishment of what is now called the Welfare State. The Liberal Party refused to adopt it. Chamberlain therefore fought the 1885 Election independently of his party with his own “*Unauthorised Programme*”. He then made an alliance with the Conservative Party, and for the 1893 Election the Conservatives and Chamberlainites merged as the Unionist Party. And the Irish Administration of the Unionist Government of 1895-1905 enacted the greatest reform there has ever been in Ireland.

An Independent Labour Party was formed around this time but it remained a fringe party in Parliament.

The present Labour Party came into being because the Liberal Party wrecked itself in the course of the World War that it launched in August 1914. The Liberal administration was at the time a minority Government which took Office with the support of John Redmond’s Irish Home Rule Party. The Redmondites encouraged the Government in its reckless war-making but refused to join it in Government.

The Unionists had been on the verge of rebellion in 1914 on the Home Rule issue. There seemed to be no way of warding off civil war until the Liberal Imperialist Governing group and its Redmondite prop availed of the occasion of the European War to launch wars of destruction on Germany and on the Ottoman Empire.

The War was launched in a frenzied state of mind. The Liberal Imperialist governing group had to present the war in terms of a transcendental conflict of Good against Evil in order to gain the support of their own back-benches. The Redmondites had to do likewise in order to justify their departure from the traditional nationalist view of England and its wars. But they also felt that they had to refuse to participate in the War Government even though they had put it in Office and had encouraged it to make war. The Government’s position, therefore, was brittle both ideologically and organisationally.

The Unionist Party approached the matter in a calmer state of mind. It had laid the secret foundations for war on Germany on which the Liberal Imperialists built when they came into Office. Then of course they supported the War. But they did it matter-of-factly, without Millenarian Fantasy, as just another balance-of-power war fought for advantage.

In the Spring of 1915 they brought an end to the Liberal Government dependence on Irish Home Rulers and joined the Liberals in a Coalition. The Liberal Party, supported by the Redmondites, wanted to suspend Elections for the duration of the War. The Unionists agreed on the condition of a Coalition being formed. Then, in 1916, they made a deal with the radical Liberal, Lloyd George, under which he split the Liberal Party by ousting Asquith from the Prime Ministership and himself becoming Prime Minister in a Coalition dominated by the Unionist Party.

In the 1918 Election both the Asquith Liberals and the Lloyd George Liberals were routed and a hastily organised Parliamentary Labour Party found itself the Second Party in the state: His Majesty’s Loyal Opposition.

This drastic change in the party system was known to be a serious matter. A stable system of Parties was Central to

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political life. Public opinion was not formed independently of them and then registered at Elections. British elections were not mere opinion polls. The parties contesting them needed to be in substantial consensus for the system to be functional. Winston Churchill said plainly at the time that the Parliamentary System could not function with a Capitalist Party and a Socialist Party as its constituents.

Many influential Liberals, mainly Liberal Imperialists, joined the Labour Party with a view to making it a functional replacement for the Liberal Party. That is what it became. A dangerous point in the evolution of the representative system founded by the aristocratic ruling class in the 18th century had been got over without serious disturbance. (And the great social welfare reform enacted by the first secure Labour Government after 1945 was on the lines of the reform projected by the Unionist Liberal, Chamberlain, in 1885.)

British democracy is the most authentic form of modern democracy. It is a product of the aristocratic party system of the 18th century. This is the essential thing that makes what we call Democracy possible.

Forget about ancient Athens. Democracy is a system of representative government by parties which are elected to a Legislative Assembly by the adult population.

And forget about Rousseau, who said that government by representatives was not democratic government. He was right of course. But we like to call this representative system, which bridles and harnesses the *demos*, by the name of democracy.

There is actually a precursor of this kind of democracy in the literature of the romanticised Athenian democracy. In Plato's dialogue, *Menexenus*, Socrates explains the history of Athens as he learned it from the mistress of Pericles, Aspasia. She could not be the wife of Pericles because she was an immigrant. Close to the scene of the action, she observed it critically as an outsider. She was one of the few women that Socrates found tolerable and she passed her insight onto him:

“Government is the nurture of men, and the government of good men is good... our ancestors were trained under a good government... Then as now... our government was an aristocracy—a form of government which receives various names, according to the fancies of men, and it is sometimes called democracy, but is really an aristocracy, or government of the best which has the approval of the many...”

This is the kind of democracy that was made functional in England: democracy with a ruling class behind it. It is a system that can be functional in large states. Britain experimented with it on others when it became necessary to engage in a measure of de-Imperialisation. But it had not established it at home as an “*experiment*”, as an attempt to realise a vision. It was established gradually as it was found to be necessary. The ruling class introduced it gradually, under pressure from below, when it realised that it could be curbed by extension of the authoritative party system that had come about during the period of its own undisputed rule. And, until democratisation became necessary, it was regarded as a visionary project that could never be realised in practice, because actual democracy could only be a kind of anarchy, which would in turn lead to simple dictatorship.

It was the peculiarity of the party system that came about in 18th century England, without ever having been intended, that it enabled the cycle of aristocracy/democracy/dictatorship to be stopped, or at least slowed down.

English democracy was a product of history rather than of social science.

When it came about it was not “*government of the people, for the people, by the people*”. It was government with the consent of the governed, with consent being elicited every few years when the electorate was presented with a very narrow choice of parties and policies to select from.

There was a phrase in use before the 1832 Reform which said that the representative parties of the ruling class functioned as virtual representatives of the people, and, it was argued, that therefore reform was unnecessary.

Wolfe Tone, a hard-headed politician who committed himself to the lost cause of making an Irish nation out of the Williamite colony by incorporating the native population into its political functioning, was no wild democratic idealist. He understood the English system, and at one time considered taking part in it. What he aimed for as an Irish nationalist was the English Constitution of the time to be made functional in Ireland, with the addition of Catholic Emancipation under the restricted franchise. And he doubted whether formal democratisation would make much actual difference:

“In England we find a reform in Parliament is always popular, though it is but as a barrier against possible, not actual, grievance. The people suffer in theory by the unequal distribution of the elective franchise; but practically, it is, perhaps, visionary to expect a Government that shall more carefully or steadily follow their real interests. No man can there be a Minister on any other terms. But reform in Ireland is no speculative remedy for possible evils. The Minister and the Government here hold their offices by a tenure very different from that of pursuing the public good. The people here are despised or defied; their will does not weigh a feather in the balance, when English influence, or the interest of their rulers, is thrown into the opposite scale. We have all the reasons, all the justice, that English reformists can advance, and we have a thousand others, that in England never could exist.” (*Argument on Behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*, 1791).

At the heart of English Imperialism is the maxim of John Milton (Cromwellian poet and Secretary of State) that it is England's mission to teach the nations how to live. England was monarchist in its peculiar fashion at the time of the French Revolution and it made war on France because it was preaching democracy. After it devised its own particular form of democracy, it made war on Germany on the formal ground that, although it had a wider franchise, it did not have precisely the same kind of political structure as Britain and was therefore an “*autocracy*”.

English “*social science*” flourished along with democratization, and it ‘theorised’ Democracy abstractly rather than historically, and presented it as a universal ideal, whose secret England had discovered and had implemented at home and which others were under moral obligation to introduce under English tutelage, forcibly applied if necessary.

Martin Mansergh (a Fianna Fáil Government Minister and political advisor to a number of Fianna Fáil Taoisigh, and defender of Irish involvement in the Anglo-American invasion of the Iraq for the purpose of introducing democracy there) observes in his contribution to *Studies*:

“democracy has had its critics. At one time, and in some parts of the world to this day, democracy is regarded as equivalent to subversion.”

And in some parts of the world democratic intervention by democratic Powers from outside does have the purpose of subversion.

Propaganda directed by a functional democratic State against a functional State of some other kind, in which the preconditions of democratic authority do not exist, is

undoubtedly subversive in purpose. Support for Islamist dissent from the secular system of state in Libya, which was functional in the form of a charismatic dictatorship, did not have the purpose of strengthening the Libyan state. The purpose was subversion. And the predictable outcome of the support given to dissent by the Democratic Air Forces was the anarchy of religious fundamentalisms and tribalisms.

But the democracies do not engage in subversive democratic activity against all non-democratic states. Saudi Arabia, the major source of modern Islamic fundamentalism, is untouchable. It is sacred to the democratic world. It has, for about seventy years, been a cornerstone of the Free World.

And where the democratic process brings to power in a state a governing party that displaces a dictatorship that was serviceable to the Free World and brings to Office a party of which the Free World disapproves, the democratic credentials of that party do not save it from the fury of the Western Democracies. Such was the case in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood won an Election that was policed by the military dictatorship. But, when it set about governing in accordance with its electoral mandate, it was overthrown by the military with the support of the Western Democracies. The *Irish Times* called its overthrow, ‘*Hardly A Coup*’. The military then held a closely supervised election, and when the sponsored candidates of the Army were seen to be losing on Election Day, the election was kept open and it was made clear that it would remain open until the monitored voting showed a majority for the approved candidates. And the Western Democracies were happy to accept that coerced election as democratic enough.

The opening article in *Studies, Democracy In Crisis*, is by Thomas B. Mitchell, former professor of Latin in Trinity College and author of the book on Athens published by Yale University. It is largely about ancient Athens. About modern times he writes, accurately enough: “The basic elements of democracy had evolved in Britain in the first decades of the 20th century. There were similar evolutions in the major countries of the British Commonwealth”. (he might have used the more informative term “*Greater Britain*”, which was in general use in the critical period around the Great War, long before the camouflage term, Commonwealth, was dreamed up.)

He continues:

“After the First World War, most of the countries of eastern Europe, including the Baltic states, had secured democratic constitutions. However European democracies soon had to face the challenges posed by the rise of Nazism, centred in Germany, fascism, centred in Italy, and communism, centred in Russia, all totalitarian, ultra-nationalist, expansionist regimes, a formidable threat to the free world...”

The main expansionist Power in the world at the end of the Great War was democratic Britain—newly democratised Britain, whose Parliamentary franchise was tripled before the end of the war. It established its authority into the highly expectant and sensitive regions of the Middle East and set it the example of rigged democracy, while making war on the Irish democracy at home.

Of the forces challenging the European democracies after 1918, only the Russian was self-generated. In all the other places mentioned by Mitchell the problem was the Versailles system. Britain, while denying self-determination to the Irish, rushed various East European peoples into operating nation-states for which they had not prepared themselves by developing strong national movements before the War. These states were carved out of the Habsburg Empire, which Britain had in 1918 decided to destroy because it refused to change sides in the War. It also decided to establish nation states in the spaces left by the Tsarist

Empire, which had crumbled under the stresses of the War into which Britain had lured it with the offer of Constantinople.

All of those states were “*experiments*” in democracy—Democracy that was laid on according to principle rather than through internal national development.

The first noticeable effect of this experiment at democracy was a great increase in the rise of anti-Semitism. The Jews had their place in the Empires, where, if they had been restricted, they were also protected. They were close to being the Imperial middle class of the Habsburg state.

In the states devised by the Versailles Conference the various peoples began their national development rather than crowning it. They found Jews dominating the middle-class positions in a way that had little national connection with the populace. What arose spontaneously in that situation, long before there was any Hitler propaganda, was anti-Semitism. And, if the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* circulated in those places, they were not the cause of the anti-Semitism, but served as a plausible explanation of how the Jews came to be standing in the way of the native middle classes. And if superficial democratisation gave way to (or took the form of) fascist development in those mushroom states, it was because democracy had no historical foundations but was laid on by Britain to give apparent structure to the shambles it had made of Europe when it intervened in its local conflict of interests in 1914 and magnified it into a Millenarian World War of universal Good against universal Evil.

Democracy is not the simple, self-evident thing that tricky Super-Power democracies paint it when it suits their purpose.

Mitchell writes:

“*Threats to modern democracy.*”

“National pride and patriotic sentiment are natural and healthy phenomena when kept within bounds.

“Taken to extremes they are potentially catastrophic. The world’s first democracy was marred and eventually ruined by its willingness to listen to the jingoism of populist extremists...”

“There are two other features of modern democracy that pose dangers to its success. It lacks an adequate system of accountability for those to whom it entrusts power, and it has a chronic problem of public apathy and low participation...”

There was a phrase about “*the sacred egoism of Nations*” that was current around the time of the Great War. (I believe it had an Italian source.)

How can it be made altruistic? It can be preached at by those who have found a position for themselves above the fray. But how can they force the *demos* to deny itself?

Those who are active in the fray must study the mood of the beast and conciliate it. Winston Churchill, the most reflective of all the British politicians since Balfour, knew as a statesman that the populist cry of “*Hang The Kaiser!*” should not be conciliated. He knew that catastrophe lay in that direction, and that the prudent course of British statesmanship would be to consolidate Europe by making an alliance with defeated Germany as quickly as possible. But the populace had been fed Millenarian delusions by war propaganda in order to energise it for the war effort, the populace was the master of the rapidly democratised state, and it was intent on acting in peace-making in accordance with what its betters had told it during the War.

Churchill consulted his election agent, who assured him that, if he did not make a *Hang The Kaiser!* speech he would lose his seat.

It is arguable that the formal democratisation of Britain during the Great War was the originating cause of the situation that led to the Second World War.

Prudent statesmanship was swept aside by democratic passion in 1918-19. A degree of sobriety set in after that and elements of the old regime began to exert an influence. The result was neither one thing nor the other.

But how, in general, can democracy be prevented from doing what democracy tends to do? How can democracy, which is not a façade operated by an elite behind the scenes, have a master?

There was in the Northern Ireland Government in the 1980s a Ministry of Democratic Development. A Democracy under the control of a Government Department!

Well, not quite. Northern Ireland was never a democracy. It was a subordinate system under Whitehall, and Whitehall was at the time trying to rig out a subordinate system of local Six County personnel to operate its Northern Ireland annex for it.

It is instructive that *Studies* has nothing to say about Northern Ireland—a region of the premier democratic State in Europe in which a 28 year internal war was fought.

It is now beginning to be acknowledged in academic whispers that Northern Ireland is not a state, and never was a state. That fact was plainly obvious outside academia all along. But Irish academia operates with a dense force of resistance, conferred on it by Oxbridge, against seeing what is plainly obvious if it is discreditable to Britain.

It is not yet acknowledged, even in the quietest whispers, that Northern Ireland is a region of the British state on which the British democracy imposed an undemocratic, and intensely aggravating, pseudo-democracy; that this pseudo-democracy, excluded from the democracy of the state, was the political medium that gave rise to the War; and that the cause of the war was the statesmanship of the British democracy. But the facts which are now being partially admitted in whispers must, if academia is not forced back into complete denial of the obvious, lead to this conclusion.

Northern Ireland was set up as an undemocratically governed region of the democratic British state. The democracy of the state arranged that the Six County region of the state should be governed undemocratically. There was no demand in the Six Counties for the Northern Ireland system that Westminster imposed on them in 1921. What the Unionist two-thirds of the population wanted was to remain within the democratic system of the British state when the 26 Counties set about building a separate state of their own. What the Nationalist third wanted was to be part of the new Irish state. What the nationalist third did not want was to be excluded from the Irish state and at the same time to be excluded from the democratic system of the British state, and to be placed under a devolved system within the British state which could only work out as communal government of Catholics by Protestants, without there being any possibility of a connecting medium of organic political life.

Close attention to Northern Ireland rubs the glamour off democracy. It was the premier democracy in Europe that made a shambles of the Six Counties—and did it deliberately for an ulterior purpose.

France proclaimed democracy as a principle but could not make it work. England established durable democratic government as a fact, as a system of representative government by parties.

The United States does not count—any more than Israel does in the Middle East. It did not remould an existing society of some other kind into a democratically governed society. It exterminated the other society and developed as a raw democracy in the cleared space, based on a cutting-and-pasting of the party system of the motherland. The genocide was a continuing process for more than a century after independence,

and social tensions could be relieved by migration into newly emptied spaces.

Social tension in England was also alleviated in some degree by genocide—by colonial migration to America, Australia, and New Zealand - and by emigration into Imperial administrations, mainly in India. But the base population in England grew steadily the whole time, and its mode of public existence was effectively remade into a structured democracy in the course of the 19th century.

The secret of it lay in the ruling class.

The term "*ruling class*" is often used as an abusive term against rich people. Fintan O'Toole sometimes rants against the non-existent Irish ruling class. He always rants in support of fashionable buzz-words. If there was an Irish ruling class, he would be a prominent part of it, nevertheless . . .

No doubt the rich have their networks. They socialise with each other, help each other or stab each other in the back, and have their hangers-on, but in Ireland they are not a ruling class.

(Perhaps the Anglo-Irish are closest to having the characteristics of a ruling class, but in their time they remained too distant from, and too contemptuous of, the population they should have joined and shaped into a nation, and now they are a detached fragment of a failed elite.)

The English ruling class of the Great War unleashed a furious propaganda on the theme of Prussian Junkers as a force of evil in the world. But the Junkers were only landowners with local authority. They were not a ruling class of the state. James Connolly rightly took no notice of them when characterising Germany and deciding to support it in the Great War.

Charles Haughey was berated as having elitist notions. I first heard of him in the early 1960s from some ex-IRA Trotskyists. They hated him because they saw in him the possibility of a rounded bourgeois-democratic national development. He was certainly a gifted politician to have done what he did under the circumstances in which he did it. But his achievement was accomplished through individual political virtuosity. It might be said that he did not meet with an electorate that was worthy of him. He never won an election. He made the state financially viable almost in defiance of the electorate. He was the converse of a Populist.

The great concern today of those who hated him is the Populism of Donald Trump who has endangered democracy by appealing directly (and therefore anarchically) to the populace!

Trump's political behaviour seems to have been generally characterised, by the upholders of the established democratic routines for handling the populace, as narcissist. This is puzzling. Narcissus saw his image reflected in a stream and fell in love with it. His life became the relationship between himself and his image. It is hard to see how Trump's behaviour fits this picture. It was his rival who lived within an elaborately constructed image-making machine. Trump reached out clumsily to something real that he saw in the world and it made him President—an uncouth President, without an image, and not trained in the skills of handling the democratic beast: the art so well described by Plato two and a half thousand years ago.

Now it might be said that this is bad, and that the populace must be mastered for democracy to be a functional form of state. It might be that functional democracy is an elite political practice. It used to be that direction of the mass by an elite was not regarded as a good thing—it savoured of Pareto and fascism. But it is noticeable that the word "elite" has begun to be used approvingly since Trump won by a 'populist' appeal to the populace.

In Britain the democratic process was wantonly set free from the 'representative' system and the demos was required to decide a fundamental affair of state by referendum—and there seems to be a consensus that even the well-trained British electors, when freed from the authoritarian party system, voted wrong.

If not even the well-trained British populace can be trusted to do the right thing when the functional political elite steps aside, what sense is there in the carping remark like this one?:

“Under a thin democratic veneer, the tradition of autocracy is alive and well in Russia today and, it must be said, in skilled hands” (*Studies*, p292, Mansergh).

Russia had a *laissez-faire* democracy without an effective state for ten years and Yeltsin, and the democratic West, plundered it to their hearts' content. And, when Parliament tried to assert some stabilising authority, Yeltsin sent in the tanks to deal with it—to widespread Western approval, including that of John Lloyd, then of the *Financial Times* and *Communist Party of Great Britain* and now of the *Irish Examiner*. What has changed is that somebody from the old regime has constructed an effective political party which provides a stable government in the new order and wins all elections in the new order because no party capable of being a Loyal Opposition has yet emerged. Just like Ireland in the 1930s!

In Iran the Revolution has stabilised into orderly elected government. *But*, we still hear it said, the clerical hierarchy of the Revolution still has the upper hand over the democratic process when it cares to exert it. Just like England for more than 200 years after its Glorious Revolution! The Lords' Veto lasted into the 20th century.

Studies must try to remember what it once knew about this matter. Judging by the current issue, it has lost itself in Wonderland.

Letter to the editor

25/8/2017

Dear Sir,

The substance of my views, available on the public record, on what Ireland's attitude to Brexit should be, coincide closely with those that have appeared over the past year in IFA, minus some of the polemics. I am totally opposed to the idea, so far put forward by only a few opinion-formers, that Ireland should follow the UK out of the EU. I also agree with the Government stance to date, with only minor and temporary diplomatic detours, that in pursuing its interests Ireland has to maintain a unified stance with its 26 other EU partners, the importance of sticking to which is emphasized in Dave Alvey's letter on behalf of the Irish Political Review Group to the *Irish Times* (24 August).

I did not expect to find in an editorial in the June edition an attempt to foist exactly the opposite opinion on me. The mis-attribution to me, however concocted, of the belief that 'in effect that British is the default position of Irish - that Irish is a regional variant of British', and that, if this, my alleged view, is right, Ireland will follow Britain out of the EU, is a preposterous distortion of my thinking, added to by the sinister, but highly implausible, claim that this was my position when I was advising Fianna Fáil Taoisigh.

If anyone wishes to know what I thought about Europe when I was advising Mr. Haughey, it is contained in a 1989 essay published in *Ireland and the Challenge of European Integration*, Hibernian University Press, edited by Dermot Keogh, entitled 'Ireland and Europe - A new balance'. In a key

paragraph, I stated that 'on most of the high profile issues of strategic importance such as the CAP, the Structural Funds, the EMS and the further development of the Community, Ireland and Britain have tended to be on opposite sides'. I then went on to say that 'on many issues, the EMS being the perfect example, we have tended to align ourselves where appropriate or at least reach an understanding with either or both members of the Franco-German partnership and indeed with the Commission'. I know Mr. Haughey agreed with this, because I discussed it with him. Soon after, he strongly backed German unity as President of the European Council, despite the vitriolic opposition of Mrs. Thatcher.

I note from this morning's *Irish Times* (25 August), reporting on newly released British papers, that I am described in 1988 by their Embassy in Dublin as 'the malign influence' on Mr. Haughey. The British Embassy then, and the IFA editorial now, seem to have arrived on the same page from different directions! 1988 was the year that at Mr. Haughey's request I began meeting Fr. Alec Reid.

Yours sincerely,
Martin Mansergh

Response

We must draw attention to the facts that Mr. Mansergh has in the past given the impression that he was uneasy with the description of Britain as a foreign country—which may of course have been diplomatic in source rather than personal—and that our editorial comment in the June issue did not say that he was now advocating Irexit. It commented generally that Brexit, if it goes through, will be the moment of truth for the many public figures in Irish public life who seem to have reservations about the stark statement that Britain is a foreign country. Those that did not see it as quite a foreign country would naturally have some reason to wish that Ireland would follow it out of the EU. British exit with Ireland remaining staunchly European would be a major act of Irish disassociation from the Anglosphere. We are glad to be informed that Mr. Mansergh is content with that.

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How *Irish Times* West British Intelligence understood Herr Hitler — Part Two

by Manus O’Riordan

It is time to take a detailed look at what the editor of the *Irish Times*, R. M. Smyllie, had to write about Germany, four years into Nazi rule. The first article in his fourteen part series, entitled “GERMANY UNDER HITLER”, was published on 2 November 1936. Each article in the series was spread over three columns and was “profusely illustrated”, as the advertisement on 14 December for the booklet edition of the series justifiably boasted. The first article began: “There is one thing for which I shall be everlastingly grateful to Herr Adolf Hitler; but for him I should never have seen Berchtesgaden.” Smyllie travelled there by train from Hamburg via Munich, pointing out that the third class corridors provided the best opportunities for engaging Germans in conversation. And so it was that on the train from Hamburg to Munich he had a full hour’s conversation with an enthusiastic Nazi Party member. On the following morning, it was on to Berchtesgaden, again by train. “Enter the Jew” was the subheading chosen by editor Smyllie himself for the account of what had transpired between them:

“Here I had my first experience of the other side of the Hitlerite picture ... having had the temerity to open the window beforehand. I was awakened rudely by a gentleman closing it rather brusquely without as much as by your leave, and found to my surprise that he was a Jew. He was a little fellow, obviously a *commis voyageur* (commercial traveller), and seemed quite eager to get into conversation. He told me, quite unnecessarily, that he was a non-Aryan. Having assured himself that I was neither a *Parteigenosse* (a Nazi Party comrade - MO’R) nor a member of the S.S. in disguise, he proceeded to unburden his soul; and for twenty minutes, casting furtive glances over his shoulder to make certain that nobody was listening in the corridor - we were alone in the carriage - I learned a great deal about Nazi methods - but I am running too far ahead. The journey to Berchtesgaden is delightful...”

“Berchtesgaden must be one of the loveliest spots in Western Europe”, began the second article on 3 November, which continued on as an enthusiastic travelogue, including an encounter with two Brownshirt (S.A.) officers who tried to persuade Smyllie to take greater care on a hazardous mountain walk. The third article, on 4 November, became only slightly more political in tone: “My respect for Herr Hitler has increased a hundredfold since I visited Obersalzberg. One may not be enamoured of his politics but there must be something at least unusual about a man who chooses to live and do his work in such heavenly surroundings... Up at the house there were a couple of black-uniformed S.S. men on duty at a large wooden gate on the roadside; but they were cheery individuals and chatted brightly with the little knot of pilgrims... When Herr Hitler is in residence he usually strolls down the avenue once or twice in the course of the day to shake hands with and exchange a few words with his admirers. Certainly, he seems to be very democratic in his attitude towards the general public and, of course, every visitor to Obersalzberg with whom he converses goes back to his town or village more firmly convinced than ever that Adolf Hitler is a demi-god.”

In the fourth article, on 5 November, Smyllie described how he joined the crowd gathering on a square in Berchtesgaden to hear the live transmission of a speech being made by Hitler in Hannover: “I must admit I was not greatly impressed.” Under the subheading of “The S.S. Man”, of far more interest to Smyllie on that day was his companion:

“I was fortunate in having as one of my companions a very nice young fellow who was rather a big noise in the S.S. - Hitler’s Praetorian Guard, a *corps d’élite*, who wear black instead of brown uniforms, and seem to be people who really matter in the Third Reich... At the age of eighteen ... he had gone to work as a builder’s labourer ... and had graduated in some way into a newspaper office. Most of his working companions had been Communists, but he had been attracted to the Nazi movement, thus earning the grave displeasure of his foreman. At a later stage, the same foreman had intervened on his behalf when he was being beaten up by a Communist gang. He explained to me rather naively that in those days - just before the Nazis came into power - one had to be either a Hitlerite or a Communist in Germany. Both were opposed to the Social Democrats for precisely opposite reasons, and although they hated each other heartily, they had a sort of sneaking regard for each other, based, presumably, on their common contempt for the unfortunate wretches who were trying to steer a middle course. My friend, naturally enough, was rather unpopular in his office until one day he was rung up on the telephone to be told that Herr Hitler had been invited by President Hindenburg to become Chancellor. One of his colleagues in the office asked ‘What does this mean?’ and the reply was: ‘It means that we are now on top.’ - and so they certainly were.”

The fifth article, on 6 November, carried the overall subheading of “SOME ATTRACTIVE FEATURES OF THE NEW REGIME”, as ‘Irish Times’ editor Smyllie wrote:

“Let me try to give the attractive side of the picture first. There is no doubt whatever that Adolf Hitler has done great things for the German people. One may as well be frank about that. I have been in Germany many times since the war. I saw the Germans during the war in their great victories and in their even greater defeat. I was with them through the revolution of 1918; I was with them again when the coloured troops were sent to the Rhineland; I experienced their humiliations during the inflation period, when you were a millionaire with a five pound in your pocket; I saw the results of the Stinnes regime, and, finally, I was in the country six months before the Nazis came into power... Then and Now: The difference is striking. Then the Germans were down and out. They had lost confidence in themselves. The megalomania engendered by the early successes of the war had given way to a kind of morbid fatalism - Germany was finished. Her people were pariahs and there seemed to be no hope of a revival of any kind. Now all that kind of thing has disappeared - at any rate on the surface. Herr Hitler’s policy of *l’audace, toujours l’audace* (audacity, always audacity) has made the German people realise that they occupy an extremely strong position in Europe. When he seized power in 1933 nobody in the concert

of Europe cared very much what the Germans had to say; now everybody is waiting anxiously to hear what they might have to say next. Then Germany was a second rate, or even a third rate, Power; now she is one of the strongest Powers in the world - and her armed forces are gaining strength every day. Not only has Germany ceased to be the whipping boy for the rest of the world; today she is playing a decisive part in European affairs... They have a big army, a strong navy, and a magnificent air force; so they are not only in a position to make themselves heard, but they are also prepared to defend themselves against any enemy who now, or at a future date, may choose to attack them. For this metamorphosis Hitler, and he alone, is to be thanked. Throughout the years after the war Chancellor after Chancellor tried to make the other Powers see sense. Under the Stresemann regime, which produced Locarno, Germany constantly made sacrifices in order to gain the goodwill of her former enemies. Afterwards, under such men as Brüning, who was more a monk than a statesman, the same kind of thing went on, but without result. Germany, unarmed, had nothing to say. She merely had to do as she was told by others; and that was that. Thus do the Germans argue. And what fair-minded man will deny the logic of their case? After fifteen years Hitler and his friends took control. They realised that the only arguments to which the rest of the world would listen were the arguments of force, so they proceeded to re-arm the country. The fact that they ignored the Treaty of Versailles, the Locarno Pact, disarmament conventions, and all the rest of it, does not interest the average German in the least. Necessity knows no law... Hitler, Goering and company set to work to build up a strong armed force in Germany, simply - their apologists would argue - to enable the German people to make their voices heard once more in world affairs; and their worst enemies must admit that they have made an excellent job of it."

The sixth article appeared on 7 November, under the banner subheadings - partly capitalised - "A Country of Intensive Building Schemes: THE 'KRAFT DURCH FREUDE' MOVEMENT - A FINE EXAMPLE", the latter translating as "Strength Through Joy". Smyllie began:

"It would be churlish to deny that there are many good points about Hitler's Germany... Part of the Nazi philosophy is to keep the people busy. The result is that everybody is working, and working like grim death. When the Nazis took power in 1933 there were some six million unemployed in the country. Now there are little more than one million, and ... the number is being reduced every week. It is true that the workers are not getting much money. They have to be content with wages at which the humblest Irish worker would turn up his nose; but Herr Hitler takes the view that it is better to have a large number of people drawing small money than to have a smaller number drawing big money... 'Hitler Is Building Up!' This slogan one sees everywhere, and there is no doubt that it is true... Every man works as if his life depended on his job, and, as it probably does, one has an explanation of the artisans' unusual zeal. Very large numbers of men are at work on the new motor roads, which are among Herr Hitler's most notable innovations... The Hitler Government realises that, in the last analysis, it can remain in power only if it can contrive to keep the workers quiet, and consequently it has been devoting a great deal of its attention to the development of the Socialist side of its National-Socialist policy. In pursuit of this aim it has produced one of the most brilliant and successful schemes of social reform in the history of human civilisation ... the KDF (strength through joy) movement... The basic idea is to promote proletarian efficiency and commitment by giving the working classes some of the privileges and opportunities that formerly were available only for the well to do; and it has been

worked out in a really magnificent way. It is the one thing in the new Germany which deserves unqualified praise... The KDF operates in two ways. One is by the provision of cheap holidays for the workers; the other is by paying close attention to their cultural development... Every worker, in order to take advantage of the KDF movement, must be a member of the German Workers' Front, which, in effect, is a gigantic trade union, lacking only the right to strike! ... Workingmen can get extremely cheap tickets for opera and the theatre ... and although in this country it may seem superfluous to admit dock labourers and navvies to such places, you would be surprised to see how many men of this type take advantage of their opportunities in Germany... Everything possible is done by Herr Hitler - whose sympathy with the workingman is possibly his finest quality - to break down the cultural barriers between the proletariat and the middle classes. 'We are no longer men of the second class', said a worker to me. And in that fact lies the secret of much of Hitler's popularity."

Smyllie also went on to have a second bite at the cherry in that same issue of 7 November. Beneath the heading of "The Rise of Hitler: Criticism that falls flat", a book by Frederick L. Schuman, entitled *Hitler and the Nazi Dictatorship*, was criticised by the *Irish Times*, as follows:

"Here is a large, laborious study of Hitler and Nazi Germany which is offered as an impartial work. We would like to read a book which the author would consider partial. In his 500 close pages he has no good at all to say for the men whom he depicts as degenerates, madmen, murderers. He describes Hitler's rise, the 'Blood Bath' of 1934, and the present regime. Certainly, the grim facts of the revolution in Germany deserve clear statement. He is a strangely insensitive mind who dares to applaud the Nazi creed and Nazi methods. Yet one need be no partisan to affirm that Germany has progressed in power and order under the new rule; that the vast material works like the new highways have called forth the highest genius in construction; and that mere criminal lunatics never could achieve all this. The book is so extreme in its condemnations that it never convinces. In fact, Herr Hitler may be helped by its circulation; for readers will think that only a good man and a sound cause could be abused so passionately. This is a pity. Cool, firm criticism of Nazism is needed by Germany, and would help the world."

The seventh article, on 9 November, dealt with the German concept of "Ordnung", or "order". Smyllie wrote:

"'Ordnung muss sein!' - there must be order. This has always been a German slogan, and anybody who knows anything of the country knows how deeply the love of order is rooted in the Teutonic mind... Germany's exaggerated 'Ordnung' went up in smoke after the war. The November (1918) revolution outraged all the people's idea of the fitness of things; the Spartacus affair of the following year created chaos, and the period of inflation put what appeared to be the finishing touches to the work of destruction... The Hitler Clean up: Then came Hitler. The first thing that he did was to put his S.A. men into uniform. It is truly wonderful what a difference a uniform makes to a man ... and the young Hitlerites, drawn from all sections of the community, set a splendid example of neatness and cleanliness to the rest of the population. 'Ordnung muss sein!' This was the first of Hitler's edicts, for which he must be given full marks. You will find no signs of slovenliness in Germany today... 'Hold-ups' are almost unknown in Berlin nowadays. The S.A. men have their ways of dealing with malefactors of this type, and the thug need expect no mercy, for he will get none. But even the most ardent haters of the Hitler regime - and there are many - will admit freely that the restoration of public order has been all to

the good, and they do not hesitate to give the Fuehrer full credit for it. The rule of law - so far as public safety is concerned - reigns once again in Germany. *Ordnung muss sein!*"

The series was half completed before, in the eighth article, on 10 November, Smyllie finally wrote:

"Hitherto I have confined myself to those aspects of Hitler's Germany which have struck me as admirable; now I propose to look at the other side of the picture - and it certainly is pretty gloomy. First of all, let me examine the problem of the Jews. This problem is of vital importance inasmuch as it has gained worldwide publicity, and has done the German cause tremendous harm throughout the world. The overall subheading for this article was "The Other Side of the Nazi Picture: HOW JEWS ARE BEING TREATED IN THE THIRD REICH". Smyllie continued: "When the Hitler Government came into power there were 600,000 Jews in Germany in the German Reich. Many of them, undoubtedly, had immigrated from Eastern Europe after the War, but the majority consisted of decent German citizens, who were just as patriotic in their outlook as most Aryans. I need not go into detail as to what happened in the first fury of the Hitlerite revolution. Jews in Germany, as in other lands, occupied places of high honour in the country... They held leading positions in all the professions ... and in public life generally; and there is no doubt that the number of outstanding Jews in Germany was altogether disproportionate to the size of the Jewish population. This condition of affairs exists in every country where the Jews have settled; and one would think that it was a tribute to their efficiency and intellectual ability. But the Nazis took a different view. They argued that 'the Jews are our misfortune', and determined to get rid of as many of them as possible. How that was done, and is being done, is a sad story, reflecting no credit on the National Socialist movement. The Jews have been, and are being, treated abominably, and if it is a fact that some of them are rather unpleasant people, it justifies in no way the brutal conduct of the German Government."

"I met several Jews while I was in Germany. Some I met casually, in the train, in hotels, or in cafés. Others were old friends of mine whom I had known immediately after the War. Nearly all the latter had fought with distinction in the German Army, some of them as volunteers, from the very beginning of the War... Now they are all in the same case, virtual pariahs. I have already mentioned a little Jew whom I met in a train. He was a commercial traveller of some kind... When he had convinced himself that I was not an agent provocateur, he began to talk, and unburdened his soul to me for about half an hour. All the time he gave me the impression of being a hunted man... 'It is not so bad for us' he told me, 'but just think of our children. We have our businesses; but the next generation of German Jews will have no prospects at home. And migration is impossible. We cannot take a penny out of the country, and where can any of us go without money? I am not even a German citizen now', he added bitterly, 'although I fought for three years in France.' The German people, he assured me, were not really antagonistic to the Jews. It was only the Government... When this little Jew was leaving the train at an intermediate station, he begged me not to tell anybody that he had been speaking to me, as the Nazis had their own method of identification; and, if it was known that he had spoken so freely to a visitor, he would find himself promptly in the nearest concentration camp. He told me some things about Dachau; but, as he had not been there - yet - and as he naturally was a prejudiced witness, I disregarded most of them..."

"The Nuremberg Laws: This brings me to one of the most pathetic, and in some respects, one of the most tragic aspects of the Jewish problem in Germany. The people who suffer most

are not the 'hundred per cent' Jews, although, in all conscience, their lot is bad enough, but those who are tainted with an element of Jewish blood. The Jew in Germany today is regarded almost in precisely the same way as a Negro is regarded in the Southern States of America. He is tolerated, insofar as he is regarded as an inevitable evil; but the latter is, at least, a full citizen, whereas the Jew in Germany is not. The Nuremberg laws against the Jews represent the most reactionary legislation in any country since the Middle Ages... A Jew has little or no hope in Germany today. His chances of earning a decent livelihood at home are severely restricted, and it is almost impossible that he should emigrate - quite impossible if he should desire to take any money with him. I met a charming Jewish girl who was crossing to the United States, where her fiancé was waiting for her. All the male members of her family had managed to get across, having been financed one by the other. Now only her mother remained in her native German city, and, although she was an old woman, they were hoping to get her to join them soon. These people, nota bene, were sacrificing the greater part of their fortune; but even Jews at times will prefer freedom to opulence."

The ninth article, on 11 November, sought to evaluate the leadership triumvirate:

"Is it not possible that ... these three possess all the qualities that go to make up the perfect German? Hitler has the virtues, Goering has the vices, and Goebbels has the brains... Hitler is genuinely popular - that is to say, if a deity can ever be popular." Yet: "There is fear in Germany... The Nazi system always has been, and must continue to be, a tyranny. Germany is a country of closed mouths today... If you are regarded as a potential critic of the Government or its servants, that is just too bad for you, and there seems to be no lack of accommodation in the concentration camps." The tenth article, on 12 November, asked, and then answered: "How has it been possible for the Nazi Administration to muzzle so completely the common people of a great nation? Fear explains part of the problem; but all human experience proves that no amount of terror can stifle criticism to the extent to which it has been stifled in Germany. There are also constructive reasons. First among these is Government control of the Press... The other great medium of Nazi propaganda is the radio... The third weapon which is wielded by Dr. Goebbels is his campaign of Nazi propaganda in the cinema... The effect of the whole complicated business is that the average German, who is no more intelligent than the average man in any country has been, and is being, as the Americans would have it, bull-dosed into the fixed belief that National Socialism, as practised by the Hitler Administration, is the only effective system of government in the world, and that, without it, the German nation would sink at once into anarchy and decay." And in the eleventh article, on 13 November, Smyllie began:

"The foundations upon which the continued popularity of Herr Hitler's Government is built might be summarised as follows: (1) The many undoubtedly fine achievements of the Administration at home and abroad, particularly the restoration of order and self-respect. (2) Herr Hitler's own personality. (3) The persuasive power of the S.S. and the S.A.. (4) The combined forces of the Press, the radio, and the cinema, all of which have been pressed into the Government's service. (5) The complete absence of any public criticism, either of the Government or of the Nazi system. (6) The fear of Bolshevism among the people."

"This last factor is extremely important. Germany had a quick dose of Bolshevism in 1919, when Noske came to the rescue, and things seemed to be moving that way again during the

street fighting between the Hitlerites and the Communists in 1932-1933. Naturally no intelligent German has any desire to have another experience of that kind. Knowing the innately conservative outlook of the average German, Dr. Goebbels has been playing on this dread of Bolshevism with conspicuous success... I listened to the broadcast of Herr Hitler's speech to the peasants on the Bueckeberg some five or six weeks ago ... and by far the most impressive part of it was the Fuehrer's diatribe against the Bolsheviks. Virtually every German is convinced that Stalin and his friends in the Kremlin sit up half the night plotting against the German nation ... to launch an unprovoked attack on the Fatherland, and that they will seize the first favourable opportunity to strike their blow. It is useless to argue that, whatever else the Bolsheviks may want, they hardly can want war in the west, because they already have more territory than they know what to do with, and, furthermore, would be attacked promptly by the Japanese in the Far East..."

"Dr. Goebbels has been harping on this Bolshevik string for so long and so loudly that he has managed to convince nearly everybody. The only alternative to National Socialism is Bolshevism. That is what everybody will tell you. If the Russians cannot attack Germany by force of arms ... they have other ways and means of getting their way. Bolshevism is an infectious disease. The germs are waiting to attack any moment, and the only effective serum against them is the Nazi system. Nobody any longer even thinks of the old Liberal parties, of the Catholic Centre, or even the Conservative Nationalists. There are two schools of political thought. One is National Socialism; the other is Bolshevism, and at the moment it does not exist in Germany. 'Adolf Hitler stands between Germany and Bolshevism.' That is what Dr. Goebbels has been hammering into the heads of the German people for the past three years. It would be unfair to dismiss the matter as a joke; it is nothing of the sort. The seeds of Communism are in the rank and file of the Nazi movement; and the self-same young men who wear brown shirts today and shout 'Heil Hitler!' on every conceivable opportunity, very easily might be wearing red cockades tomorrow, and shouting 'A la lanterne!' with the heroes whom they worship now. On the other hand ... the idea of an armed attack on Germany by the Russians is fantastic; but it is quite possible that one of these days the boot may be found to be on the other foot, as I shall try to show in due course..."

In the twelfth article, on 14 November, Smyllie suggested that there was a logic to the Nazi contention that Germany required more "living space" or *lebensraum*:

"As a result of territorial losses in Europe after the War, Germany's area at present is less than that of France. Her soil is not fertile. Outside Bavaria and other parts of the South, it is almost entirely composed of sand, and although every inch of it is cultivated in the most intensive way, its yield is inadequate to the enormous demands upon it. Germany's population is getting on for seventy millions, and it is increasing rapidly, whereas that of France is on the decline... Now the situation is becoming desperate, with her expanding population, her shrunken territory, her shortage of food and raw materials... A like problem was facing Japan a few years ago, and she promptly solved it, or almost solved it, by her conquest and colonisation of Manchuria. Germany has no Manchuria at her doorstep. She also has no Abyssinia; so what can she do? The ultimate answer is that there is one thing that she can do consummately well, and that is to make war. Let me make myself perfectly clear on this point; lest there should be any misunderstanding... Remember, the Germans had a pretty thin time during the last

war. Hitler himself not only fought in the front line; but he was blinded ... and, although Goebbels did not fight - he was prevented by his clubfoot - he lived through the horrors of the starvation period. One may assume, therefore, that none of these leaders wants another war... Yet I am convinced that in the long run war will be inevitable; not because the Germans want it, but merely because there is no other conceivable way out of their present difficulties. A nation must live..."

But Bertie Smyllie went on to reassure his West British readership that this should pose no threat to Britain's interests:

"The majority of Germans believe sincerely that, if war does come, it will not be Herr Hitler's fault... Strangely enough, whereas Britain was the arch-enemy during the last war, she is strangely popular now, and every effort is being made to be nice to British people... Russia is the arch-enemy. Britain is a friend. The German never forgets that he and the Anglo-Saxon are kinsmen. After all, he will remind you, we are of the same race. He is particularly proud of the German connections of the British Royal Family, which is almost as popular in Germany as it is in England. When a cinema in Munich some weeks ago ... was showing King Edward changing aeroplanes in Paris on his way home from holiday, the whole audience became wild with enthusiasm. You will find many similar indications of Germany's altered attitude towards the British. Subconsciously the German people feel that their fate in the next war will depend, as it depended twenty years ago, on Britain's attitude; for the same issues, greatly magnified in some respects, are, or will be, at stake, and the same factors will decide them."

The Protestant editor of the 'Irish Times', R. M. Smyllie, was no religious bigot. Quite the contrary. In his thirteenth, penultimate article, on 16 November, he wrote of Bavarian Catholics with the utmost respect, and he sympathised with their predicament when Hitler ended Church control of Bavaria's schools:

"It must be remembered that the people of Bavaria are very pious Catholics, and, as such, cannot be expected to be so enthusiastic in their support of the Government as the Evangelical North Germans. For the treatment of the Catholic Church by the Nazis has been pretty severe, and Cardinal Faulhaber, who has been the spokesman of Catholic Opposition, is the Archbishop of Munich... Herr Hitler's theory is that a nation cannot afford to have religious differences; the people ought either to have one common religion, or, apparently, none. Above all other things, no religion ought to be allowed to interfere in matters of education... While the Nazi Government hardly can be said to be persecuting the Catholic Church, it is certainly keeping it well under control ... (including the disappearance), to all intents and purposes, of the Catholic Press... Now, in Bavaria certainly, the people continue to practise their religion as they have practised it for centuries. Their piety really is touching... It would be untrue to say that the German Catholics are openly opposed to the Government. They are not. For one thing, they would not dare to be, and, for another, many of them sincerely believe the Nazi administration has done the country more good than harm. On the other hand, the Catholic religion is so firmly rooted in South German soil ... that no Government or political movement, except, perhaps, the maddest form of Bolshevism, ever could hope to destroy its influence. If, therefore, Herr Hitler and his colleagues continue to attack the Church, they, and not the Church, probably will be the ultimate losers. The same argument applies in less degree to the Evangelicals..."

"At present, whatever opposition there is to the Nazi regime - religious, social and political - is dissipated and difficult to

define. Many highly intelligent Germans, who really hate the whole idea of Hitlerism, are ready to admit that the Fuehrer has done remarkable things for his country, and, for that reason alone, are prepared to support his administration to the best of their ability. They are, roughly, in the position occupied at the moment by the former Unionists in our own country. They are patriotic Germans first and foremost, who are prepared to make almost any sacrifices in their country's cause. They still are smarting under a sense of real injustice, believing sincerely that Germany was treated scandalously by her conquerors after the World War, and welcoming any opportunity to secure a revision of the Versailles Diktat. In these circumstances, while they dislike the Hitler business, they take the view that it was and is inevitable..."

Smyllie's intelligence was thoroughly analytical. It was no less impressively in evidence in the fourteenth, and final, article which brought his "Germany Under Adolf Hitler" series to a close on 17 November 1936. Its subheading was "Preparing For Next Great War: WHY THE GERMAN ARMY IS NOT YET READY TO FIGHT". It would be churlish to use the benefit of hindsight in order to mock Smyllie as a soothsayer who got a number of things wrong in his predictions. He wrongly predicted that Czechoslovakia would resist a German invasion, but this was two years before the Czechs were confronted not only by Germany, but also by the combined weight of Britain, France and Italy in forcing them to yield to Hitler's demands. Moreover, he was correct in recognising that the alliance between Nazi Germany and Fascist Poland was at least of temporary significance, since Poland would also join in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. And he was correct in recognising that the conundrum in making predictions lay in divining how Poland might ultimately jump. The Polish "regime of the Colonels" would reject a defence pact with the USSR, which was the only realistic deterrent against Hitler, opting instead for the worthless Anglo-French "guarantee", which would prove to be Poland's undoing. But Smyllie was surely prescient in recognising that Hitler's 1941 invasion of the USSR, in pursuit of the Nazi objective of "*lebensraum*", would constitute the essence of the Second World War. So, let us look at what Smyllie wrote in 1936:

"I believe there will be another war. Not only Germany, but all Europe, is preparing for it... I certainly shall be very much surprised if we have more than another five years of peace ahead of us... The Germans are convinced that, whatever happens, Germany will attack nobody. If they are attacked, they will defend themselves, and will take good care that this time there will be no mistake. Who will attack them? Every German's answer is the same - the Bolsheviks. A glance at the accompanying map will show the military position vis-a-vis Russia. There is no common frontier between the two countries... There can be no direct fight between Germany and Russia, therefore, without the overrunning by one side or the other of one of these smaller states. Poland, for some time past, has been in an exceedingly awkward position. For many years after the war she had an entente, if not a definite alliance, with the French, believing, as most other people believed at that time, that Germany's star had set for a century, and that, in the meanwhile, friendship with France would be the safest bet. Then came Adolf Hitler. He had made it perfectly clear, both before and after his accession to power, that one of his aims would be to get rid of the Polish corridor - that is to say, to return to the German Reich that territory - or most of it - including the Free City of Danzig, which she had lost in the North-East as a result of her defeat in 1918. This prospect caused a remarkable change of front in Poland... The Poles

decided, possibly not unwisely, that they had been backing the wrong horse, and that the sooner they could get on good terms with Herr Hitler the better it would be for themselves. If war should come, of course, they could always come in towards the end on the winning side. So, they made a ten years' pact with the Germans - a pact which on both sides was regarded with complete cynicism; and thus Germany and Poland are nominal allies today..."

"Russia the Enemy: I believe that eventually there will be a war between Germany and Russia; and that Russia will not begin it. That is not to say that the Germans will make a totally unprovoked attack on the Soviets, but that a situation will arrive in which war will become inevitable. Germany's pot is approaching boiling point; when it begins to boil over there is going to be trouble. As I have tried to explain in a previous article, Germany has an increasing population, no colonies, and a vanishing export trade. She must expand in some direction. She will not challenge Anglo-French resistance in the West, having had enough of that in 1914... So her expansion must be towards the East. When the day arrives the Aufmarsch, instead of being through Belgium, will - because it must - be through Poland. The fate of the Poles will depend upon their ability to make up their minds in time which is likely to be the winning side..."

"Germany wants the Ukraine, not, possibly, as an actual colony, but as a field of economic exploitation. In his Nuremberg speech, or just before it, Hitler drew a tempting picture of the benefits that would accrue to the German people if they were in a position to develop the vast resources of this part of the world; and there is not the slightest doubt that he was right. The Russians are a feckless folk in comparison with the Germans, who would make three blades of grass grow in the Ukraine where only one - or possibly none - had grown before, and, in the long run, the people of the Ukraine would probably be better off than they are at present. The catch is that these people are not Germans but Russians. The Ukrainians may not have much love for Moscow; but they have far less for Berlin. They had one experience of Teuton arrogance in 1918, after the Treaty of Brest-Litowsk, and they do not want another. If, therefore, Germany wants the Ukraine, she must be prepared to go and fetch it... And the task will not be so very easy; for the Russians are tough fighters, as even Napoleon discovered to his cost."

"There will not be a war for some time, if the Germans can help it, because they are not ready. Their new army is magnificent, with its thirty-seven divisions of splendid young men; but it must be remembered that an efficient fighting force cannot be built up in a year or so... The force that has been created first by Seeckt, and afterwards by Blomberg, doubtless is the best of its kind in Europe; but it has certain important failings. First of all, it has few officers. The Higher Command is excellent, consisting of brilliant Staff officers, all of whom have had valuable experience in modern warfare. It has some first class divisional commanders - Kress von Kressenstein, who directed the Turkish operations against the Suez Canal twenty years ago, has just been appointed to a new division. But there is a noticeable lack of junior officers. It must be remembered that until quite recently the German Army was limited to a total of one hundred thousand men, recruited on a voluntary basis for a period of twelve years, and that only since Herr Hitler came into power was the number raised first to 300,000, and then to its present unnamed figure. Officers cannot be turned out like privates. When the Reichswehr became incorporated in the new Wehrmacht ... most of its members became senior

non-commissioned officers, and they are probably the best of their kind in the world; but, here again, there is a shortage. In the event of war the regular establishment is not so important as the reserve; for its members generally become casualties at an early stage, and from the word 'go' wastages must be made good. Until, therefore, Germany shall have time to build up to an adequate reserve of officers and non-coms, there can be no question of her going to war of her own accord. Competent authorities take the view that at least five or six years must elapse before the German Army will be as good as that of 1914 in respect of the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks of officers; and if the call to arms comes in the meanwhile, it will be because some other Power has been cleverer than the Germans... If they could contrive to localise the conflict between themselves and the Russians, all might be well; for they easily could finance a short campaign which would put them in possession of Kieff in a few weeks. But the problem is that modern wars are exceedingly difficult to localise. It is just conceivable that France and Great Britain might be persuaded to remain neutral - although I doubt it very much..."

A tour-de-force of intelligence gathering and reporting!

Mervyn O'Driscoll, of University College Cork's School of History, is the author of the 2004 book, *Ireland, Germany and the Nazis: Politics and Diplomacy, 1919-1939*. I was curious to see how O'Driscoll might have dealt with the role of the *Irish Times* during those fateful years, a question easily answered, since a new paperback edition of that book has been published this year. It is true that O'Driscoll did cite the 1988 version of the Cruise O'Brien essay on Yeats, as he noted, however briefly, that "many observers of the early years of the Nazi regime betray some degree of ambivalent admiration for the vitality of the new regime compared with the stagnation of the previous one. For example, the *Irish Times* greeted Hitler as 'Europe's standard-bearer against Muscovite terrorism'. (p 92). Moreover, for a book that, for whatever reason, seems to go particularly out of its way to target de Valera's *Irish Press*, that paper comes out better than the *Irish Times* in terms of its response to the Nazi "Night of the Long Knives" massacre which Hitler effected from 30 June to 2 July 1934. As O'Driscoll related:

"The *Irish Times* initially misinterpreted the massacre believing Nazism was a 'passing phase' (16 July). Hitler was portrayed as 'well meaning' (10 July) and courageous in subordinating 'his personal feelings' towards his friends 'to the national welfare and although the brutality of his methods has shocked the world, the sincerity of his purpose can hardly be questioned'. (3 July). Nevertheless, the *Irish Times* did criticise the brutal methods adopted by the Nazis ('Kid gloves do not seem to be included in the Nazi equipment.' - 2 July), adding, 'No people can be governed permanently by violence. Sooner or later revolt is inevitable.' (3 July)... The *Irish Press*, on the other hand, unreservedly condemned the whole event as a 'holocaust' from the beginning. It suspected the Third Reich's use of the terms 'shot while resisting arrest' and 'shot while attempting to escape', as 'the phrases well known in Ireland as pseudonyms for assassination'. Regarding the German authorities' use of the word 'suicides' in several cases, it concluded these were euphemisms for the result of a choice between execution and suicide. The *Press* stated 'these terrible events' were an act of 'paganism' whereby 'those who make a worship of the State turn back to the methods of Pagan Rome'. According to the *Press*, it was irrelevant whether some of men killed were of 'evil character'. State sanctioned repression and the nature of the Nazi state itself were the real issues." (6 July). (p 138).

O'Driscoll was more impressed by the line taken by the *Irish Times* in March 1935 regarding German rearmament:

"The whirlwind of events in early March was reported on 18 March in the *Irish Press*. An article summarised the new German military law and the accompanying proclamation that justified German conscription on the basis of Russian rearmament, the French introduction of two-year conscription and German objections to the treaty of Versailles. (18 March). An accompanying editorial was sympathetic to the German actions... The *Irish Times* adopted the opposite line... drawing attention to Hitler's covert rearmament... (8 March). The world needed to be 'made safe for democracy' against rearming dictators who repeatedly defied Geneva. (12 March). Germany's central position in Europe, her disruption of the Versailles peace with 'unlimited bilateral pacts', and 'Prussian militarism' gave Britain 'no reasonable alternative' but to consider improving her defence. (15 March). Hitler's 'sheer boldness' in unilaterally renouncing Versailles (by brazenly announcing rearmament) simply reiterated the need for improved British defence. (18 March)." (pp 156-7).

Both newspapers, however, shone for O'Driscoll six months later, in stark contrast with Charles Bewley, the pro-Nazi Irish Minister in Berlin:

"On 15 September 1935 the Nuremberg laws further institutionalised the 'biological-racist anti-Semitism' of the Nazis... The *Irish Press* and *Irish Times*, although reliant on agency copy, provided a far more accurate and objective assessment of the Nuremberg laws than did Charles Bewley." (pp 174-5). "Then, to the acute embarrassment of Dublin, in early 1937 Bewley publicly declared his Nazi sympathies. In April he told a Berlin newspaper, *12 Uhr Mittag* ... 'That your Reich and its leaders have many admirers among our youth is a well-known fact.' His comments prompted the *Irish Times* (6 April) to wonder how 'a democratic state ... which has made no secret of its abhorrence of dictatorship ... could approve the German system, which, for all its admirable elements, is based upon dictatorship and the negation of liberty'. The controversy generated by Bewley's remarks provoked an attack on de Valera in the Dáil, in which the Taoiseach was forced to deflect the question and avoid answering. Bewley's gaffe ensured his tenure in Berlin was now certainly in question, if it had not already been so." (p 195).

O'Driscoll also wrote of "the Goebbels-devised anti-Semitic pogrom of the night of 9-10 November 1938 (*Kristallnacht*)" and of its condemnation in Irish newspapers:

"The Nazi persecution of the Jews was perceived as immoral and inhumane. A sample of Irish national daily newspapers can be taken as an indicator. Both the *Irish Press* and the *Irish Times* held that the Nazis had excited the German people with their vitriolic anti-Semitism, and then sanctioned violence against Jews and their property on 9 and 10 November 1938. According to the *Times* (12 November) the Third Reich no longer ranked as a 'civilised country'. Later the *Press* (17 November) alleged that Aryanism was 'the laughing stock of the scientific world' and the 'racial purity' policies of totalitarian countries such as Germany and Italy were responsible for bringing 'more discredit' on their internal policies than anything else." (pp 238-9). "The *Irish Press* published an editorial (13 April 1939) dealing with a remark by the president of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation that the philosophy of youth movements in other countries was 'Snap the child from his mother's arms and give him a gun'. The editorial criticised the attempt to erode the influence of the family and religion on children in totalitarian societies, where neo-paganism and militarism were

cultivated instead through the use of state youth movements. It complained, too, about egotistical nationalism based 'on racial hatred and aggressive militarism' in such totalitarian states as Germany." (p 255).

O'Driscoll's narrative continued:

"US President Roosevelt's 'peace appeal' on 14 April 1939 asked Hitler to desist from invading 30 named countries, including Poland, the Soviet Union, France and Britain. Éire or Ireland was not recognised as an independent state in Roosevelt's list and was coupled with Britain. Compounding Irish government chagrin was that Éire, unlike some other states mentioned in Roosevelt's appeal, had not been consulted in advance by the US. Other dominions of the Commonwealth had been mentioned explicitly and consulted in advance, seemingly indicating they were regarded as separate sovereign entities. Combining Ireland with Britain suggested Éire did not have an independent foreign policy, and another self-declared neutral, the US, did not recognise Éire's right to pursue neutrality. Hitler in response to Roosevelt on 28 April said Germany had approached each of Roosevelt's named countries and discerned that they did not feel threatened... Hitler added: 'Now, I have just read a speech by de Valera, the Irish Taoiseach, in which, strangely enough, and contrary to Mr. Roosevelt's opinion, he does not charge Germany with oppressing Ireland, but he reproaches England with subjecting Ireland to continuous aggression.' ... The press section of the German Foreign Office was 'pleased with the reception' of Hitler's speech in Ireland and, according to Bewley, implied there had been 'a modification of the hostile attitude of the Irish Press' (Bewley was prone to fanciful claims - MO'R)... The German Foreign Office press officials, however, did not expect any such change on the part of the *Irish Times*, whose editor Robert Smyllie was anti-Nazi, anti-fascist and pro-British." (pp 264-5).

I don't know whether this summary of Smyllie's ideological position was the German Foreign Office's or O'Driscoll's own, but it was in the wrong order. The overriding determinant of Smyllie's editorial policy was his pro-British commitment. Moreover, for the whole of the 1930s, and not just in March 1933, his anti-Communism overrode any antipathy towards Nazism. For as long as it remained possible, Smyllie endeavoured to remain pro-German as well as pro-British. One would never guess from O'Driscoll's narrative that Smyllie's verdict on Versailles was the very opposite of his own. The reader should not always accept on face value O'Driscoll's suggested narrative, based on a stringing together of phrases from various cited sources, without checking out the original sources themselves. And the reader might then stumble on a surprise quite at variance with the book's narrative.

Let me give a particularly pertinent example. There was something seriously wrong with O'Driscoll's narrative, even when it appeared to rap the *Irish Times* on the knuckles, in stating that it "initially misinterpreted the 'Long Knives' massacre by believing that Nazism was just a 'passing phase'". For O'Driscoll withheld from his readers the information that this *Irish Times* editorial of 16 July 1934, entitled "The European Game", was doing nothing but re-echo the British Foreign Office policy of the day, which was to rebuild Germany as a Power in order to offset what it held to be the undue weight of France in Europe, coupled with a strategic propaganda blitz to redirect British public opinion in an anti-French direction. In this West British pro-German editorial, Smyllie had written:

"Twenty years ago the Powers of Europe were busily engaged in the preparation of ultimata, which, within a very few weeks, were to plunge the world into the most disastrous war in history... There is a marked similarity between the policy which is being advocated at the moment and that which led up to the fateful events of July and August, 1914. France is the Power that is making European policy. In M. Barthou, her Foreign Secretary, she has one of the 'old guard' of secret diplomacy, a man who is well versed in all the ingenious tricks of the trade - and there are many - and in pursuing a plan that has never varied much since France became a great nation - namely, her permanent establishment as mistress of continental Europe. To that end M. Barthou has come to terms with Soviet Russia. All France's objections to Bolshevism, apparently, have disappeared... Everybody will guarantee the frontiers of everybody else - in other words, the situation that was created by the Peace Treaties will be perpetuated; and France will have achieved the object for which she has been striving ever since Georges Clemenceau banged the table at President Wilson at the Quai d'Orsay. Germany finds herself, not for the first time, on the horns of a dilemma. When the original pact was concluded at Locarno, the French made a valiant effort to secure Germany's guarantee for Poland's western frontiers; but the late Gustav Stresemann, who was Germany's last great statesman, refused resolutely to acquiesce in the perpetuation of the Polish 'corridor'... (Now) the Germans ... must either adhere to the new pacts of mutual guarantees, thereby renouncing their claims to a revision of the Versailles Treaty in the East, or they must face the alternative of *Einkreisung*, or encirclement. In his remarkable speech on Friday evening, Herr Hitler significantly omitted any reference to foreign policy. Doubtless he was waiting to see how M. Barthou's proposals will be received in England... The German people dread encirclement. Before and during the War they blamed King Edward VII for the Triple Entente - Russia, France and Britain - which, they alleged, hemmed them in on every side. If M. Barthou's plans should succeed, with Britain and France as co-guarantors, Germany's encirclement would be far more serious than anything of which King Edward ever dreamt; and, for that reason, the attitude of London and Rome towards the proposed pacts is of the highest importance."

"It is most unfortunate that, just at the present moment, there should be so much anti-German feeling in Europe - and particularly in Great Britain. After the events of June 30th, of course, such feeling is inevitable; but there is just a chance that it may interfere with an objective view of the situation which has been created by M. Barthou's grand tour of the Continent. Hitlerism is only a passing phase of German policy... In all consideration of the present problem, therefore, the natural feelings of revulsion at the ruthlessness of Herr Hitler's actions must be forgotten. Europe is dealing, not with a Government, but with a great nation, which must continue to play a vital part in continental affairs. Britain's traditional policy has been to prevent, if possible, any one Power on the Continent from domination over the others... If M. Barthou has his way, France will exercise what amounts to hegemony in Europe. (The British Foreign Secretary) Sir John Simon's careful speech on Friday night indicates that His Majesty's Government is not blind to the dangers of this development, and that it is not particularly anxious to assist in the encirclement of the Germans. It is quite certain that such an encirclement, sooner or later, would produce another war..."

I have already noted that O'Driscoll quoted from issues of the *Irish Times* for each of the years 1933-39 inclusive, with one glaring exception, for he cited nothing whatsoever from the "gap" year of 1936. Why the omission? It is not as if O'Driscoll

ignored the year 1936 when it came to another publication - a soccer international football programme. This past May 9 the *Irish Times* gave O'Driscoll the following plug for the new paperback edition of his book:

"Ireland, Germany and the Nazis: Politics and Diplomacy, 1919-1939 by Mervyn O'Driscoll is published by Four Courts Press. Mervyn O'Driscoll is senior lecturer in history at University College Cork. He is a member of the advisory committee for the Dictionary of Irish biography and serves as chair of the Royal Irish Academy's standing committee for international affairs."

This constituted the by-line for an article by O'Driscoll, entitled "Ireland and the Nazis: A troubled history". It opened: "A phantom hangs over Ireland's relations with Hitler's Germany. Since Eamon de Valera's visit to the Third Reich's minister to Ireland on 2 May 1945, the spectre of pro-Nazism has dogged Ireland's reputation. De Valera's condolences on the suicide of the German head of state, Adolf Hitler, spawned immediate international condemnation. He gifted his critics all the ammunition that they desired to stigmatise Ireland." In case his readership was not getting the message, O'Driscoll and his *Irish Times* sub-editor ensured that the body of his article was illustrated by a facsimile of the original report of de Valera's visit to the German Minister, Eduard Hempel. But in order to visually hammer home the message even more pointedly, at the very top of the article was placed a colourful triptych - the programme cover for the October 1936 soccer international between Ireland and Germany, featuring the flags of both states, with the *Irish Times* sub-editor placing a photo of de Valera alongside the Irish Tricolour, and a photo of Hitler alongside the German Swastika. Yet no Irish football team ever "Heiled" Hitler. That was left to England. On September 2, 2003, BBC News Online related, under the heading of "Football, Fascism and England's Nazi salute":

"For a country which has shouldered a weight of footballing shame in its time, it ranks as one of England's darkest moments in the sport. The venue: Berlin's Olympic Stadium; the date: 14 May 1938. As the English players lined up alongside their German counterparts for pre-match ceremonies captain Eddie Hapgood and his men issued a Nazi salute to the crowd. The gesture provoked outrage in the British press, and was seen as all the more galling since Hitler was not even present at the time. But England's presence in Germany on that day was less about sport than politics. The policy of appeasement towards the Nazis pursued by Neville Chamberlain's government at the time had been intentionally transposed to the football pitch. It was a Foreign Office order that the England team, which included the legendary Stanley Matthews, perform the salute. The underlying message was calculated to be that Germany, which two months earlier had annexed Austria, was not a pariah state. The friendly game effectively helped clear the way for Chamberlain's "Peace in our Time" deal with Hitler, which, in turn, led to Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia."

At the close of his May 9th article, O'Driscoll did backtrack somewhat from his opening shots: "However, in the final analysis, de Valera drew the line in 1939. The Irish Government did not recognise the German annexation of the rump Czechoslovakia in March 1939. Hitler's employment of force, coupled with the absence of a German national claim on these regions, crossed the Rubicon. Until late 1938, the retention of Bewley (as Ireland's Minister to Germany) may have served de Valera's purposes, but the baring of Hitler's true intent and Bewley's unabashed apologia for the Hitlerite excesses

transformed him into a liability. Worse, in an irrevocable bout of insubordination, Bewley criticised de Valera's foreign policy as pro-British, anti-Irish and anti-German. He had to go. De Valera hastily prepared the ground for neutrality as the war clouds gathered over Europe."

But this article had also backtracked regarding the "paper of record" itself, as O'Driscoll swallowed his tongue: "Many respectable commentators thought Adolf Hitler was a necessary defence against the 'red threat' of Josef Stalin's Soviet Union." The *Irish Times* had been to the fore among such "respectable commentators" in 1933. Talk about "the love that dare not speak its name"!

On 16 November 1936, in the course of his series "Germany under Adolf Hitler", *Irish Times* editor R. M. Smyllie had expressed a certain admiration for the Reverend Martin Niemoeller: "Resentment has been expressed openly by the Vicar of Dahlem, one of Berlin's most fashionable suburbs. He is an ex-commander of a submarine, named Niemoeller, whose exploits gained him a worldwide reputation during the War, and he has been exceedingly outspoken in his criticisms of the Government. He has a very large following among the better class Protestants, who, in many cases have made common cause with the Catholics in defence of their common Christianity, but, here again, dissatisfaction with the Government is mainly below the surface. Few ordinary men have the courage of an Otto (sic) Niemoeller."

Martin Niemoeller was arrested by the Nazis in July 1937. He was transferred from Sachsenhausen concentration camp to Dachau concentration camp in July 1941, where he remained until the end of the War in May 1945. On 6 January 1946, Niemoeller gave an address to the representatives of the Confessing Church in Frankfurt, in the course of which he summed up the sequence of Nazi terror measures: "**In Germany, they came first for the Communists, And I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist; And then they came for the trade unionists, And I didn't speak up because I wasn't a trade unionist; And then they came for the Jews, And I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew; And then . . . they came for me . . . And by that time there was no one left to speak up.**"

The problem with a sanitised "history" of the *Irish Times*, and its relationship with Adolf Hitler, is that when "in Germany, they came first for the Communists", that paper's editorial had enthusiastically and unashamedly cheered on the Nazi terror:

"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... 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... 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."

For Mervyn O'Driscoll to have covered up that historical fact - in the course of being facilitated in plugging his book by that same *Irish Times* - was nothing short of unconscionable.

Who Was Roger Casement?

By Pat Walsh

Who was Roger Casement? He was undoubtedly unique out of all of the leading figures of 1916. He was someone who was special and who did something of a greater magnitude than any of his comrades against British world domination. He publicly disputed the Great War narrative of Britain with an insider's knowledge and then acted with ruthless consistency against it in alliance with Germany to bring about a multi-polar world. The British realised he was the most dangerous thing they had ever encountered from Ireland and he had to be hung.

In fact, he not only had to be hung but the thoughts that had inspired his action had to be obliterated. But how do you destroy something that has been placed in the public domain? Only character assassination will do.

These two articles of Casement [in the pamphlet, see below], originally published in *The Continental Times*, which have lain forgotten for nearly a century, tell us more than most of the material published in the last half century about Casement and who he was. They show that Casement was a consistent Liberal at the moment when English Liberalism failed its great test at the ultimate moment of truth and morally collapsed. They show he was a consistent Irish Nationalist when the Home Rulers all collapsed into Imperialism. Remaining true to his principles Casement attempted to forge an Irish-German alliance. It really was the only logical thing to do in the circumstances that he found himself. The ground shifted under his feet but he remained solid.

In his incisive article about Sir Edward Grey Casement attempts to answer the question: how did it all go so badly wrong from the Liberal viewpoint, resulting in collaboration with what all true Liberals wished to avoid - catastrophic world war. He saw the truce between the British parties - Unionists and Liberals - over Foreign Policy as being at the root of what happened in August 1914. He identified the Liberal Imperialist tendency in British Liberalism as being largely responsible for this. Through this deviation from the Gladstonian tradition, Liberalism made an accommodation with Imperialism that removed Foreign Affairs from the party conflict.

Casement saw Ireland as an integral part of this process, viewing the Liberal retreat from Home Rule after Gladstone's failure in 1886 (and 1893), as intimately connected with its subsequent collaboration in Imperialism and War. Up until the 1880s Foreign Policy had been at issue at British General Elections but from around the Home Rule defeat the Liberal Party began to acquiesce in Imperialism. The long wilderness years of Unionist government had a chastening effect on the Party and it began to avoid any questioning of the direction of Foreign Policy, confining itself to reform at home. This began with Lord Rosebery, the founder of the Liberal Imperialist tendency, but Sir Edward Grey was the Liberal Foreign Secretary who achieved the transition in substance.

Casement describes Sir Edward Grey as "*the shield behind which the permanent plotters*" against Germany developed their plans for a Great War "*unchecked and uncontrolled by the forces that were supposedly the masters of English public action.*"

That Britain was responsible for the Great War there was no doubt in Casement's mind. That was the reason he sided with the victim in the event against the perpetrator. He saw that

Britain began the process of the Great War a decade before it started and was clear that motive lay entirely with London rather than with Berlin. The question Casement addressed himself to was how much was the British Foreign Secretary, whom he was acquainted with and whom he had served in an official capacity, to blame, personally for the War? Casement's verdict on the charge against Sir Edward Grey that *he* had brought on the Great War on Germany is "Guilty, with diminished responsibility."

Casement's argument is that the Great War would have been organised without the particular participation of Sir Edward, as a distinct individual. He was "*a fly on the wheel of state*" using Grey's own phrase. The prime movers within the British State were determined on their Great War, with or without Grey, and, according to Casement, he was essentially a "*useful shield*" between their manoeuvrings and his party colleagues, who dominated Parliament from 1906 to 1910, but who had mistakenly put their trust in Grey as a well-meaning and peace-loving Liberal.

There is, of course, a wealth of evidence that has emerged since that Sir Edward Grey was much more personally responsible for what happened than Casement believed. He was much more than just the driver of an unstoppable train. He was a strong anti-German in his own right (unlike Rosebery); he helped write the *ABC etc.* articles in Leo Maxse's *National Review* in 1901 that set out the Revolution in British Foreign Policy, altering the object of Britain's Balance of Power; he acted in conjunction with political opponents in the Committee of Imperial Defence to plan the War; he brought the White Dominions into the War planning even before informing the Cabinet and his tricky behaviour in July and early August 1914 oiled the wheels of war in a way that no other could have achieved.

He drove the train toward destruction whilst assuring the worried crew that all was fine and they need not worry because he was in control.

Casement wrote that:

"The ten years of 'Liberalism' at the Foreign Office since 1905, under the nominal direction of a Liberal Minister, will go down in history as the most criminal, the most audacious and, I believe, in the end the most disastrous in all English history."

There can be little doubting the truth of that statement.

Casement saw Grey as unfitted by temperament to the role he had taken up through duty. He was from a famous political house and had been groomed as Lord Rosebery's successor, to keep any Radical out of the Foreign Office and preserve "*continuity*" in British policy in the world.

The 1906 Liberal Government was the Government that planned the Great War behind the backs of its own backbenchers and most of the Cabinet. The Liberal Imperialist cabal who headed this Government and occupied the important positions of State worked closely with the Unionist front bench opposition on this project of a War on Germany. They did so as they engaged in the routine of parliamentary conflict. The new Foreign Policy was said to represent continuity with the old but in its important aspects it represented a great discontinuity and was actually a *revolution*. It was a truly collaborative effort involving the Liberal Imperialists, senior Unionists, important

military and naval figures and individuals like Lord Esher and Maurice Hankey, who steered the ship of state toward the War on Germany they all felt was necessary to preserve British domination.

The 1906 Liberal Government kicked the Gladstonian Irish Home Rule policy into the long grass after winning a landslide victory. This is the territory I explored in *The Rise and Fall of Imperial Ireland* - how the sea-change in English Liberalism impacted on the Home Rule movement and produced what is called Redmondism. This is the subject matter of Casement's article on Sir Edward Grey, though I was not aware of it when writing *Imperial Ireland*. Casement had it all worked out, or most of it, a hundred years ago.

When the Home Rule struggle reappeared as a result of the British electoral stalemate of 1910 it had a lot to do with the silencing of a Liberal opposition to what Grey was doing. The attempts made by John Dillon and some Liberal backbenchers to draw attention to what Grey was working at in the background - bringing on a World War - ceased from around 1910 as Home Rulers and Gladstonian Radicals were drawn into the intense party conflict which then developed against the Unionists, over Constitutional issues. In August 1914 Redmond and his acolytes achieved the total subordination of Home Rule to Imperialism and the effective subduing of Liberal opposition to War. Even John Dillon, who had a position similar to Casement, fell into line.

Casement's argument that it was Britain's intention to make War on Germany has never been challenged on its own ground. That is hardly surprising. Any historical knowledge of what Britain was doing from 1905, as well as the course of actual events, along with documents and diaries of the important people revealed in later years, would make any contesting of his view impossible. What has been required is mystification and diversion.

Mystification has been achieved through the diversionary activity whose seed was planted by the Black Diaries. The obsession with Casement's private life that the Black Diaries introduced has proved a "useful shield" in preventing understanding of what Casement represented in his real substance.

Casement's writings on the international situation have been ignored and his sympathy for Germany, arising out of a principled opposition to what he knew was being done in high places in England, is put down to a simple intensification of Irish nationalist sentiment within him. He was, in other words, deluded, and went into alliance with something he did not really understand the true evil of. That is the caricature of Casement that the revisionists have achieved - the incomprehensible Casement.

The impression conveyed by those explaining Casement to audiences during the centenary events of 2016 was of a well-meaning but flawed fool. It couldn't quite be said in the celebratory atmosphere but that was the intent of the reluctant guests at the party.

I noticed that people who should have known better seemed incapable of challenging this incomprehensible Casement - presumably because they had neglected their own history and had not bothered to understand the world outside of Ireland. They lived within the British world and its narrative, whatever their credentials and the greenest of their attire. They simply did not understand the world in the way Casement had come to understand it so they were lost in understanding Casement himself. And without having knowledge of the actual basis of Casement's thought and consequent activity - his inside knowledge of what Britain intended to do to the world - the incomprehensible argument of the revisionists could pass muster. From this viewpoint it was easy to leave the impression

that Casement was a tragic figure - a misguided fool and the author of his own misfortune.

In reality, Casement was part of a great tradition with a substance that had the most massive effect on humanity. He had a very solid Liberal view of the world that helped him understand that a fundamental departure from principle was occurring. When Casement saw what Britain was intending to do with Germany, it produced a recoiling from the State he had served. Casement's understanding led him to predict a criminally irresponsible British made World War. And Britain proved him wholly right.

The person of Sir Edward Grey facilitated the War and this was a problem for Casement. He was on friendly terms with his old boss and obviously thought highly of him still.

The famous Dean Inge of St. Paul's later wondered in his book *England* if the War, which he saw as the greatest catastrophe ever befalling the British Empire and Europe, could have been avoided. He concluded it couldn't have. But all the reasons he puts forward why it could not have been avoided are connected to Grey's activity. He said in a later book, *Talks in a Free Country*, that the Liberal Cabinet were intimidated into the War by the fact that Grey had made such arrangements with France that if England didn't fight Germany, it would lose France and Russia altogether and would have to fight a Franco-German-Russian alliance in the future. Liberal fears of a future bigger war were used by the Liberal Imperialists to face down principled Liberal opposition.

If the War plans had been openly made and declared by Grey there would have been no War to put them into practice. Germany would have been warned and the Kaiser would have backed off, as he always had done, when he saw he was offending Britain in a way that was unacceptable. So there needed to be the appearance of disinterest and an aloof altruistic morality to spring the trap on Germany. And Edward Grey was integral to the success of that.

Casement had the traditional Foreign Policy of an English Liberal, as John Dillon's correspondence to C.P. Scott shows *he* also had. However, Dillon went along with his Chairman, Redmond, as he saw the Liberal opposition collapse in the face of the outpouring of Redmondite War frenzy. Dillon got swept away by the herd and kept his head down, hoping for the best.

Home Rule was intimately connected with the way in which the Great War was facilitated. The Liberal Government were dependent on the Irish Party for their Parliamentary majority and the moral weight the Irish Home Rulers added to the War swept aside the anti-war morality of Liberalism. Dillon hoped for a quick *Entente* victory to clear the unwanted issue out of the way and for the Liberal/Home Rule alliance to be resumed in 1915. But it wasn't to be. The Liberals had bitten off more than they could chew taking on Germany and then the Ottomans, and they choked on it.

Redmond and his acolytes had shifted the ground under both Casement and Dillon's feet. Dillon hoped the ground would return after a momentary earthquake but Casement calculated that Germany was more substantial than Dillon thought and Britain may have greatly miscalculated, to the cost of its Empire.

Because Casement held England largely responsible for the War he followed the logic of his position by aligning himself with Germany.

Casement understood commerce to be England's life and no rival was to be going to be permitted to ever emerge. The Royal Navy was the controller of the world market and ensured a dominance that was not going to be surrendered even if the only alternative was to bring the world to catastrophe.

Casement saw England as an island Empire which had grown through 3 essential factors:

1. The subduing of Ireland and its reduction to a state of dependence.

2. The isolation of the Low Countries from Europe and their use as an instrument of British policy.

3. Playing the Balance of Power on the Continent to the advantage of England and the disadvantage of Europe.

Casement noted the truth of Bismarck's view that England had made Europe into an "armed camp". England compelled every continental nation to place itself on a permanent war-footing and build navies to defend their commerce as they entered the world market owned by England. They had to build navies because Britain refused to regard private property at sea as having the same rights as property on land. It was open to confiscation on the Royal Navy's whim. Britain's ruling of the waves meant that everyone's property on the seas was fair game when England decided war was needed to disrupt the development of Europe. What could Germany do?

Britain said to the world that no one was allowed to build a navy half the size of the Royal Navy. This was known as the *Two Power Standard* - which could become a three or four Power Standard if required. Because Germany seemed to be ignoring this rule it was said to be after world domination. So the British plan was to:

1. Destroy her navy
2. Ruin her factories
3. Capture her trade
4. Confiscate her merchant marine
5. Dismember her territory
5. Teach her to never compete again.

Casement saw the War as not only aimed at destroying Germany but also at ruining France and Russia in the process by engulfing those countries in the bulk of the fighting on land and the destruction that ensued. Britain could remain largely aloof from the catastrophe from the security of its island fastness and make hay in the aftermath. All that was needed was the traditional detachment from the destruction. In the first year of war a kind of semi-detachment was largely achieved with the Royal Navy plus an expanded Expeditionary Force, but then England had to commit herself more substantially to land war as her allies proved not up to the job of destroying Germany.

Casement's second article on the *Pacific Blockade* (meaning "peaceful" blockade) concerns Greece. It is about the British/Allied violation of Greek neutrality during a Great War that England was originally claiming to fight because of a violation of Belgian neutrality.

English Liberalism was opposed to military conscription. A conscript army was seen as an unnecessary luxury for an island state without frontiers to defend which only needed to dominate the seas to maintain world dominance. Liberalism saw entanglement in war as bad for commerce once Britain had control of the world market. There was a moral aspect to opposition to war as well, of course. But it had become a principle of Liberalism to oppose conscription to hinder entanglement in continental fighting and that made it necessary, once the Germans had not been defeated quickly, to get others to do the fighting for Britain - the fighting that the Liberal Party was reluctant to impose on its own citizens for fear of interfering with their freedoms. So began the process of intimidating and bribing other nations to fight to avoid Conscription at home.

While Liberal England hesitated to compel its own citizens to fight it trumpeted its crusade around the world looking for manpower to wage its moral War. The Liberal Government went to the neutral countries of Europe, carrying the message that this was a War of Good versus Evil and it would be morally inexcusable for them to abstain from it. But the contradiction

of the whole thing began to disable Liberalism. To uphold the voluntary principle moral propaganda had to be churned out to the maximum to get the volunteers and stave off Conscription. But this begged the question why the Government was not compelling its citizens to fight the thing that was supposed to be the most evil thing the world had ever produced?

Casement points out that the difference between Liberals and Unionists regarding the coaxing of Greece into the War was one of *form rather than substance*. The Liberals, with their moral sensibilities and conscious of how they had themselves been brought to support the War, talked of executing "*a form of pacific pressure to which Greece is peculiarly susceptible*" (*Daily News*, 22.11.15) and used "*euphemisms*" to minimise the aggression implied in such threats. British activity again was merely to "*assist the King of Greece to arrive at a decision*" - namely the right one. The Greeks needed to "see sense", which really meant co-operating with the British interest.

Casement predicted that British moral, political and military pressure to enlist the reluctant Greeks in their Great War would be absolutely disastrous for Greece if they succumbed to the pressure. And he was proved absolutely right.

Casement also noted how the Armenians were to be used as pawns in the British game of destroying the Ottoman Empire through the promotion of Insurrection. The Turks were to be encouraged into arranging an "Armenian Massacre" to provide moral cover for the British Imperialist land grab of Palestine and Mesopotamia. That would tug at the heartstrings of the English Liberals of the Gladstonian tradition and make them good warmongers. Arnold Toynbee and Lord Bryce were at the ready. The Armenians themselves were expendable, in all senses.

Casement was a consistent Liberal who was appalled at the great departure from principle that led to the catastrophe. He saw the moral hypocrisy, stood his ground and chose sides. He was not just an Irish Nationalist availing of England's difficulty, he was a principled Liberal standing up for the historic principles abandoned in the moral collapse of Liberalism in August 1914. And that is why he did what he did.

Pat Walsh, Belfast, 9/6/2017, launching his pamphlet "Roger Casement on the Great War: a commentary"

(continued from p. 27)

Limerick and Mgr Michael O'Riordain, rector of the Irish College, Rome.

Brian Murphy, OSB, *The Catholic Bulletin and Republican Ireland*, Athol Books, 2005. The book shows how the views of Mgr O'Riordain and Mgr Hagan of the Irish College featured regularly in the pages of the *Catholic Bulletin* and how the *Bulletin* faced the challenge of censorship after the Defence of the Realm Act of 1914. The *Catholic Bulletin* of December 1915 did publish Bishop O'Dwyer's letter of 10 November in full and then examined the response to it.

Thomas J. Morrissey, sj, *Bishop Edward Thomas O'Dwyer of Limerick, 1842-1917*, Four Courts Press, 2003. The book deals with Bishop O'Dwyer's letter of 10 November 1915, and the controversy generated by it, in the context of a masterly biography of the bishop.

Hidden History: The Secret Origins of the First World War
Overview of Gerry Docherty & Jim Macgregor's Book
By Antony C. Black (Global Research, July 19, 2017)

[While we are in general agreement with the position outlined in this review on Britain's primary role in the making of the First World War we have a different view on issues such the relationship between the catastrophic nature of the war and the planning for the war by the British establishment and the relationship of Irish Home Rule politics to the war. Editor]

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Of the many myths that befog the modern political mind, none is so corrupting of the understanding or so incongruent with historical fact as the notion that the wealthy and the powerful do not conspire.

They do.

They conspire continually, habitually, effectively; diabolically and on a scale that beggars the imagination. To deny this conspiracy fact is to deny both overwhelming empirical evidence and elementary reason.

Nevertheless, for the astute observer of the 'Great Game' of politics, it is an unending source of wonderment to stumble across ever more astounding examples of the monstrous machinations of which wealthy and powerful elites are capable.

Indeed, it is precisely here that authors Docherty and Macgregor enter the fray and threaten to take our breath away entirely.

Thus, the official, canonized history of the origins of the First World War, so they tell us, is one long, unmitigated lie from start to finish. Even more to the conspiratorial point is the authors' thesis that – and to paraphrase a later Churchill who figures prominently in this earlier story – never were so many murdered, so needlessly, for the ambitions and profit of so few.

In demolishing the many shibboleths surrounding the origins of the 'Great War' (including 'German responsibility', 'British peace efforts', 'Belgian neutrality' and the 'inevitability' of the war), Docherty and Macgregor point the finger at what they argue is the real source of the conflict: a more or less secret cabal of British imperialists whose entire political existence for a decade and a half was dedicated to the fashioning of a European war in aid of destroying the British Empire's newly emerging commercial, industrial and military competitor, Germany.

In short, far from "sleepwalking into a global tragedy, the unsuspecting world", Docherty and Macgregor contend, "was ambushed by a secret cabal of warmongers" originating not in Berlin, but "in London".

I must confess at this juncture to a certain bias in granting credence to such a striking thesis, this if only on general principle alone. After all, one straight look at present day political reality is to look square into the maw of Orwell's nightmare. Moreover, three decades of independent journalism have led me to conclude not only that virtually nothing of what is presented as 'news' is remotely true, but that the conventional writing and presentation of history itself is as phoney as a three dollar bill. Still, one does demand a credible argument or two. Let's look at a few of those contained in 'Hidden History'.

The Players

Before launching pell-mell into the argumentative labyrinth it is apropos that we first sketch the central cast of characters of this grim story.

In the beginning there was Cecil Rhodes, the prime minister of Cape Colony but who, the authors remind us, was "in reality a land-grabbing opportunist" whose fortune had been underwritten in equal parts "by brutal native suppression and the global mining interests of the House of Rothschild". Rhodes had, apparently, long talked of setting up a secret 'Jesuit-like society' in aid of furthering the global ambitions of the British Empire. In February of 1891 he did just that enlisting the services of his close associates, William Stead, a prominent journalist, and Lord Esher, a close advisor to the British Monarchy.

Two others were soon drawn into the inner circle of the clandestine group: Lord Nathaniel (Natty) Rothschild of the famous British and European banking dynasty, and Alfred Milner, a brilliant academic and colonial administrator who would quickly become the organizing genius and iron-willed master of ceremonies of the group.

These central four would later be joined by: Lord Northcliffe, the owner of 'The Times', who would complement Stead in propagandizing and softening up the British public for war with Germany; Arthur Balfour and Herbert Asquith, two future British Prime Ministers who would provide the needed parliamentary influence; Lords Salisbury and Rosebery who brought an additional wealth of political connections to the table; and Lord Edward Grey, he to whom, in the final analysis as British Foreign Secretary in 1914, it would fall to hammer the final nail in the coffin of European peace.

Of particular importance was the addition of Prince Edward (soon to be King Edward VII) who, despite his playboy image, was, in fact, an astute political operative whose frequent international social forays provided the perfect cover for helping to forge the, often secret, military and political alliances between Russia, France, Britain, and Belgium.

This core Praetorian Guard then extended its tentacles to all reaches of the British (and eventually, international) power hierarchy by vigorously recruiting its 'Association of Helpers', the myriad of lower down bureaucrats, bankers, military officers, academics, journalists, and senior civil servants, many, as it turns out, hailing from Balliol and All Souls Colleges, Oxford.

And, too, the legendary Churchill, liberally inflated with his own bombast and well lubricated with Rothschild money, would rise to take his anointed place amongst the war-hungry secret elect.

Early Adventures

The first foray of this elite cabal played out in South Africa with the deliberate fomentation of the (2nd) Boer War (1899 – 1902). Gold had been discovered in the Transvaal region in 1886 and British imperialists were determined to grab it. After a number of failed machinations by Rhodes himself to topple the Boers, the secret elite was dealt an ace when Alfred Milner was appointed high commissioner for South Africa. Seizing the moment, Milner, without passing Go, proceeded straight to war and, in his infamous scorched earth policies and adamant demands for unconditional surrender, demonstrated the general martial philosophy that would later be deployed against Germany.

Following the defeat of the Boers, Milner & Co. (Rhodes had died during the 'peace negotiations') quickly penetrated

the main organs of British imperial governance including the Foreign, Colonial, and War Offices. Arthur Balfour went one better by establishing, in 1902, the Committee for Imperial Defence (CID). The latter proved especially significant in helping to almost completely bypass the British Cabinet in the years, months and days leading up to August, 1914. Indeed, Balfour would prove to be one of only two permanent members of this all-important imperial institution; the other being Lord Fredrick Roberts, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and close friend of Milner. It was Roberts who would later appoint two tragically incompetent hangers-on, Sir John French and Douglas Haig, to their First World War posts overseeing the mass slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Allied soldiers.

The year 1902 also saw the establishment of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty. Britain had long feared for its Far East empire at the hands of Russia and sought to bolster Japan as a counterweight. The alliance bore fruit in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese conflict in which Russia was dealt a decisive defeat. Always with the long-term goal in mind, however, i.e. war with Germany, Milner et al adroitly switched bait and immediately began wooing Czar Nicholas II resulting in the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. In the same period (1904) Britain – with the crucial assistance of Edward VII – broke its near thousand-year enmity towards France and signed the Entente Cordial with its former rival.

During this same time frame (1905) a more or less secret agreement was made with King Leopold II allowing Belgium to annex the Congo Free State. This was, for all intents and purposes, an alliance between Britain and Belgium; one which was, over the next decade, to be continually deepened with numerous (mostly secret, meaning withheld from the British Parliament) bilateral military agreements and ‘memorandums of understanding’, and which unequivocally put paid to any notion of Belgium being some sort of ‘neutral’ party in the upcoming conflict with Germany.

The core alliance was now complete, i.e. Britain, Russia, France and Belgium, and all that was needed was to secure the fealty and obeisance of the British colonies. In aid of the latter Milner convoked The Imperial Press Conference of 1909 which brought together some 60 newspaper owners, journalists and writers from across the Empire who hobnobbed with another 600 or so British journalists, politicians and military figures in a grand orgy of war-mongering propaganda. The martial message was then duly delivered to the unwitting colonial multitudes. The success of the Conference could be seen most visibly in Canada where, despite the extreme divisiveness of the issue, the nation would eventually send more than 640,000 of its soldiers to the killing fields of Europe, this all on behalf of a tiny handful of British imperialists.

The Moroccan ‘Crisis’

Docherty and Macgregor duly remind us that renowned historian Barbara Tuchman, in her Pulitzer-Prize winning book, ‘The Guns of August’, “made it very clear that Britain was committed to war by 1911 at the latest.” Indeed, preparations for war had proceeded apace since at least 1906.

Still, 1911 marked a turning point when the secret elite first made bold in attempting to ignite war with Germany. The pretext was Morocco. Now, truth to tell, Britain had no direct colonial interests in Morocco, but France and Germany did. By this time the cabal in London – with Edward Grey as Foreign Minister – had inducted a key French minister, Theophile Declasse, into their confidences and were able to engineer what was essentially a false flag operation in Fez. France then followed this up with an army of occupation. Germany posted a minimalist response by sending a small gunboat to Agadir whence the entire British press – reflecting Britain’s ‘deep state’ interests – went into high hysteria condemning German ‘threats

to British sea-lanes’ etc. The fuse to war was only snuffed out in the final hour when France’s (recently elected) socialist Premier, Joseph Caillaux, initiated peace talks with the Kaiser. War with Germany would have to wait.

In the meantime, Britain, under the direction of its secret mandarins – i.e. almost entirely beyond Parliamentary review or approval – continued their preparations for war. To this end, for example, Churchill, who by 1911 had been appointed First Lord of the Admiralty, redeployed the British Atlantic fleet from Gibraltar to the North Sea and the Mediterranean fleet to Gibraltar. Simultaneously, the French fleet was moved from the Atlantic to cover Britain’s absence in the Mediterranean. These manoeuvres were all strategically aimed at Germany’s North Sea navy. The pieces on the global chessboard were being positioned.

In France the leftist peacenik Caillaux was, in 1913, replaced as Premier with one of the British elites very own ‘helpers’ in the person of Raymond Poincare, a right-wing, rabid Germanophobe. Poincare quickly acted to remove his anti-war ambassador to Russia, George Louis, and substitute him with the revanchist Declasse. Meanwhile in America the secret cabal, acting largely through the Pilgrims Society and through the Houses of Morgan and Rockefeller, machinated to have an unknown but pliable democrat, Woodrow Wilson, elected over the publicly-controlled central bank advocate, President Taft. It was from this lofty perch that the Anglo-American ‘deep state’ launched the US Federal Reserve System, a private central bank dedicated from the get-go to funding the war against Germany.

The Balkan Sting

The simple tale repeated ad nauseam regarding the circumstances surrounding the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914, so Docherty and Macgregor tell us, contains as little veracity as, say, the official version of the assassination of JFK two generations later. Indeed, the structural similarities between the two – from the virtual total stand-down of security through to the clear evidence of state complicity (in this case, starting in Serbia, but leading straight to London) – are remarkable. Suffice to say that there was a domino-like chain of events that then ensued – it’s just that the events weren’t driven by base human instincts and ineluctable forces beyond all human control as is commonly proffered, but rather by calculating minds and conspiratorial design.

Thus, immediately following the assassination, there was widespread international support for Austria-Hungary which was widely perceived as the aggrieved party. Nevertheless, the usual suspects, having helped stage the murder in the first place, were able to deftly turn the propaganda tables against both Austria and Germany by means of an ingenious ruse. Having secretly obtained the contents of the ‘Note’, which contained Austria’s (reasonable under the circumstances) demands for Serbian contrition, the secret cabal were able to gain direct input into the crafting of the ‘Serbian Reply’. The ‘reply’, of course, was designed to be unacceptable to Austria. Simultaneously, France’s President, Poincare, decamped to Moscow to assure the Czar and his generals that, should Germany act to uphold its alliance responsibilities towards Austria, France would back Russia in launching a full scale European war. France, naturally, knew that England – or rather its elite imperial clique – was similarly committed to war. It was during this opportune moment, in fact, when Grey and Churchill connived to purchase the Anglo-Persian Oil Company so securing the necessary oil supplies for the British navy.

All the while Kaiser Wilhelm and Chancellor Bethmann were conspicuous in being the only statesmen genuinely seeking peace. Their subsequent vilification by hordes of appropriately housebroken historians thus rings with the same Orwellian tone

as the present-day establishment demonization of nations and individuals resisting the American Imperium.

Grey Hits It Home

Having contrived to fan the flames of a local Balkan fire into a general European inferno, British Foreign Minister Grey and Prime Minister Asquith subsequently deployed every dirty trick in the diplomatic playbook to vitiate any possibility of peace and, instead, to guarantee war.

On July 9th, for instance, the German ambassador to London, Prince Lichnowsky, was repeatedly reassured by Grey that Britain had entered no secret negotiations that would play into war. This, of course, was an outright lie. On July 10, Grey then deceived Parliament into believing that Britain had not the slightest concern that events in Sarajevo might lead to a continental war. Meanwhile, the Austrian Prime Minister, Berchtold, was similarly deceived by all three Entente governments that their reaction to the 'Note' would not go beyond a diplomatic protest. However, by the 3rd week of July all of these self-same governments did an about-face and declared a complete rejection of Austria's response.

On July 20, as already noted, the French Prime Minister, Poincare, went to St. Petersburg to reaffirm their two nations' respective martial agreements. On July 25, Lichnowsky arrived unannounced at the British Foreign office with a desperate plea from the German government imploring Grey to use his influence to halt Russian mobilization. Incredibly, no one was available to receive him. Russia had, in any case, secretly begun mobilization of its armed forces on July 23, while, on July 26, Churchill quietly mobilized the British fleet at Spithead.

None of the foregoing, of course, was subject to democratic oversight. As Docherty and Macgregor put it, "As far as the [British] public was concerned, nothing untoward was happening. It was just another summer weekend."

On July 28th, Austria, despite not being in a position to invade for another fortnight, declared war on Serbia. Meanwhile, the British Foreign Office began to circulate rumours that German preparations for war were more advanced than those of France and Russia even though the exact opposite was, in fact, the case. Matters were quickly racing beyond Wilhelm's control.

On the 29th, Lichnowsky again begged Grey to prevent a Russian mobilization on Germany's borders. Grey's response was to write four dispatches to Berlin which post-war analysis proved were, in truth, never sent. The dispatches turned out to be merely part-and-parcel of the elaborate charade to make it look as if Britain (and, specifically, he, Grey) was doing all it could in the effort to avert war. Also on the evening of the 29th did Grey, Asquith, Churchill, and Richard Haldane meet to discuss what Asquith called the 'coming war'. Docherty & Macgregor once again here emphasize that these four men were virtually the only people in Britain privy to the impending calamity, i.e. not the other Cabinet members, not the members of Parliament, and certainly not the British citizenry. But then, they were its architects.

On the 30th, the Kaiser wired Czar Nicholas a heartfelt appeal to negotiate the prevention of hostilities. Indeed, Nicholas was so moved by Wilhelm's plea that he decided to send his personal emissary, General Tatishchev, to Berlin to broker a peace. Unfortunately, Tatishchev never made it to Berlin, having been arrested and detained that very night by the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, who, as 'Hidden History' cogently evinces, had long been an asset of the secret cabal in London. Under sustained pressure from senior members of his military Nicholas finally relented and on the afternoon of the 30th ordered general mobilization.

The official announcement of Russian mobilization effectively closed all doors to peace. The Germans, realizing

that they had been set up, and also realizing that they were about to be attacked on two fronts – from the west by France, and from the east by Russia – finally, on Aug. 1, ordered their own mobilization; tellingly, the last of the continental powers to do so. Here, however, Germany made a crucial tactical error: it elected to follow up its mobilization with a formal, honour-bound declaration of war on France. By doing so it fell deeper into the trap laid by Grey & Co. who had, all along, machinated to do everything possible to guarantee war without, however, being seen to have officially caused the war.

Still, Grey had one last card to play in order to convince both a war-leery Cabinet and House of Commons to abandon their common sense and plunge headlong into a full-scale pan-European war. For just as the myth of 'weapons of mass destruction' would, in a later era, serve to advance American imperial aggression, so here did the myth of poor, benighted little 'neutral Belgium' carry the banner for British imperialism.

The Speech That Sealed the Fate of Millions

On the 2nd of August, 1914 Prime Minister Asquith convened a special Cabinet meeting to discuss the (manufactured) crisis. Though the Cabinet was in no mood to countenance British involvement in a continental war, they soon found themselves pressured and hedged about by revelations of a 'web of [military and political] obligations, which they had been assured were not obligations, [and] had been spun around them as they slept'. Moreover, Grey crucially kept from them the fact that the German ambassador, Lichnowsky, had, only the day before (Aug. 1), specifically offered to guarantee Belgian neutrality. Indeed, Grey's deception might never have come to light but for the fact that Chancellor Bethmann exposed the offer in the Reichstag on Aug. 4th.

With the Cabinet sufficiently brow-beaten, confounded – and deceived, i.e. Asquith, without Cabinet approval or knowledge, had already issued orders for the mobilization of the Army and Navy – it now only remained to hoodwink Parliament. And so, on Aug. 3rd, Sir Edward Grey took to the pulpit and began what was to be an epic panegyric to the follies of peace and the virtues of war. Here too the audience was not particularly receptive, but the sermon soon gathered force.

Having first set the tone by announcing that peace in Europe 'cannot be preserved', Grey then moved on to a stunning series of lies and misrepresentations concerning the intricate and long-formulated military agreements between England, France, Russia and Belgium. According to Grey, they didn't exist. But what of the dense skein of diplomatic agreements? There were no such agreements, there were no such entanglements. Parliament was 'free' to vote its conscience, to exercise its democratic mandate. Just as long, of course, as it didn't vote for peace.

All of the foregoing was, in any case, mere preamble to the centrepiece ploy of Grey's speech: Belgian neutrality. That the latter was an out-and-out sham was only surpassed in duplicity by Grey's concealment, not only from Cabinet but now from Parliament, of Germany's offer to guarantee exactly the point under contention, i.e. Belgian neutrality. Instead, Grey produced, for dramatic effect, an emotional telegram from the King of Belgium to King George pleading for assistance. The timing couldn't have been more perfect if it had it been deliberately designed for the occasion. Which, of course it was. Also pre-planned were the post-sermon affirmations in favour of war by the various opposition party leaders. They had all been vetted and brought onside by Churchill prior to the day's session. Only Ramsay MacDonald, head of the Labour Party, swam against the well-orchestrated tide of 'inevitability' that was the constant and unerring motif of Grey's martial peroration.

The day's session ended without debate; Asquith had not allowed any to occur, though he had been pressured by the

Speaker of the House to reconvene later that evening. In between Grey sealed the deal, i.e. war, by firing off an ultimatum to Germany demanding that it not invade Belgium even though he, Grey, knew that such an invasion had already begun. As Docherty and MacGregor phrase it, this was a “masterstroke”. War could not now be avoided. And though the night session witnessed a vigorous and substantive debate which largely demolished Grey’s stance, it was all for nought. At the appointed moment Arthur Balfour, “former Conservative Prime Minister and a member of the Secret Elite’s inner circle, rose menacingly. He had had enough.” Using the full weight of his magisterial authority he condemned, ridiculed and dismissed the naysayers’ anti-war arguments as, the ‘very dregs and lees of the debate’. With the Commons thus emotionally bullied into silence, so ended the last chance for peace in Europe.

Plus Ca Change

What strikes one again and again whilst reading ‘Hidden History’ is the ring of truth that resonates from every page, from every revelation. That such a tiny, elite group of individuals, completely beyond democratic control, could determine the fate – and deaths – of millions should shock us. It should, but it doesn’t really. It doesn’t because we see the same phenomenon occurring now, repeatedly, before our very eyes. Indeed, the current state of ‘permanent war’ is, more or less, the unconscious condition of modernity itself.

Docherty & Macgregor have made a fine contribution here. They have gone beyond what David Irving so aptly labelled as the ‘court historians’, i.e. those historians essentially prostituted to elite / establishment consensus, and given us a glimpse of what it really means to write history. And if there is any lesson – or rather counter lesson – we can take from it, it is that we are doomed to repeat history only so long as we listen to those dedicated to obscuring and inverting it. In short, to those who lie to us.

<http://www.globalresearch.ca/hidden-history-the-secret-origins-of-the-first-world-war/5600090>

Racism and eugenics during the inter-war period

Precursors and allies of Nazism in the United

States

**By Michael Löwy & Eleni Varikas
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Published a year ago, Philip Roth’s novel “The Conspiracy Against America” imagined the arrival of Charles Lindbergh as President of the United States in 1940. If the victory of the famous aviator, a notorious anti-Semite and sympathizer of the Nazi regime, on Franklin Delano Roosevelt is fiction, the influence of Nazism on the other side of the Atlantic was real. The evidence is in the writings of Henry Ford. And American supporters of eugenics and racism inspired Adolf Hitler.

Some, like Daniel Goldhagen, tried to explain Nazism by an exclusively German anti-Semitic perversity. Others, like Ernst Nolte, in a visibly apologetic spirit, speak of “Asian” behavior or imitation of the Bolsheviks. But what if instead, as Hannah Arendt so soon perceived, Nazi racism and anti-Semitism had Western sources, and even North American affiliations? Indeed, among the favorite readings of the founders of the Third Reich is the book of a highly representative American character: Henry Ford. Moreover, the scientific doctrines and the racist political and legal practices of the United States have had a significant impact on the equivalent practices in Germany.

This American connection first goes back to the long tradition of the legal construction of race - a tradition which exerted a great fascination on the Nazi movement from its

origins. Indeed, for historical reasons, linked *inter alia* to the uninterrupted practice of centuries-long black slavery, the United States offers the perhaps unique case of a metropolis that has exercised, and on its own territory, an official racist classification as the basis for citizenship.

Whether it is the definitions of “whiteness” and “darkness” which, notwithstanding their instability, have succeeded each other for three and a half centuries as legal categories, or the immigration policies envied by Adolf Hitler in the 1920s or forced sterilization practices in some states several decades before the rise of Nazism in Germany, the American connection offers a privileged, although not unique, ground for rethinking the very modern sources of Nazism, and the unavowed continuities between certain political practices of western societies (including democratic ones) and nazism.

Institutional forced sterilization

Denouncing anti-Semitism and Judaeocide is one of the important components of the dominant political culture of the United States today. So much the better. On the other hand, there is an embarrassed silence about the ties, the affinities, the connections between important figures of the economic and scientific elite of the country and Nazi Germany. It is only in the last few years that books have appeared which address these embarrassing questions head on. Two of these works seem to deserve special attention: *The Nazi Connection* (2), by Stefan Kühl, and *The American Axis* (3), by Max Wallace. Kühl is a German academic who has done research in the United States, and Wallace is an American journalist long settled in Canada.

“There is today a country where we can see the beginnings of a better conception of citizenship,” wrote Hitler in 1924. He was referring to the United States’ effort to maintain the “preponderance of the Nordic races for their policy on immigration and naturalization. The “racial hygiene” plan developed in *Mein Kampf* took as its model the Immigration Restriction Act (1924), which prohibited the entry of the United States to individuals suffering from hereditary diseases as well as to migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe. When, in 1933, the Nazis set up their program for the “improvement” of the population by forced sterilization and the regulation of marriages, they were openly inspired by the United States, where several states had already applied for decades the sterilization of the “deficient”, a practice approved by the Supreme Court in 1927.

Kühl’s remarkable study traces this sinister filiation by studying the close ties between American and German eugenicists between the wars, and the exchange of scientific ideas and legal and medical practices. The author’s main thesis, which is well documented and rigorously defended, is that the continued and systematic support of American eugenicists to their German colleagues up until the entry of the United States into the Second World War, and their support for most of the Nazi racial policy measures were an important source of scientific legitimization for Hitler’s racist state.

Against a considerable part of the dominant historiography, Kühl shows that the American eugenicists who were seduced by the Nazi rhetoric of racial hygiene were not just a handful of extremists or marginals, but a considerable group of scientists whose enthusiasm did not diminish when this rhetoric became reality. The study of the changing relations between the two scientific communities enables the German sociologist and historian to shed light on the multiple aspects of the influence exerted on racial hygienists by the “progress” of American eugenics including the effectiveness of an immigration policy that “combined ethnic and eugenic selection” - and the success of the American eugenic movement in passing laws in favor of forced sterilization.

While in the Weimar Republic social workers and public health officials were thinking about ways of reducing the cost of social protection, racial hygiene specialists turned their attention to enforced sterilization measures in several North American states to reduce the cost of the “deficient”. The reference to the United States, the first country to institutionalize forced sterilization, abounds in all medical writings of the time. One of the explanations often put forward to explain the vanguard status enjoyed by American eugenics was the presence of Blacks, which would have “forced the white population very early to resort to a systematic program to improve the race.” This same explanation would be advanced later by the American apologists of the Nazi regime such as the geneticist T. U. H. Ellinger, who compared the persecution of the Jews to the brutal treatment of Blacks in the United States.

With the rise of Nazism, American eugenicists, like Joseph DeJarnette, a member of a movement to promote sterilization in Virginia, discovered with surprise and fascination that “the Germans beat us at our own game ...”. However, at least until the United States entered the war in December 1941, this did not prevent their active support for the racist policies of the Nazis, and the silence of the great majority of eugenicists in the face of the persecution of Jews and Gypsies, those Blacks of the Third Reich. Clearly the eugenic community was not homogeneous, as the virulent denunciations of scientists like the socialist eugenicist Herman Muller and Walter Landauer show; or those of the progressive geneticist L. C. Dunn and the famous anthropologist Franz Boas. But unlike the last two, who were critical of eugenics, Muller and Landauer led a “scientific” critique of Nazism, which, while denying the hierarchy of races, recognized the need to improve the human species through the promotion of the reproduction of “capable” individuals and the prohibition of that of “inferior” individuals.

A biological, medical and hygienist vocabulary

Chapter 6 of Kühl’s book, “Science and Racism. The Influence of Different Concepts of Race on Attitudes Towards Nazi Racist Politics”, gives the lie to the canonical thesis according to which the “pseudo-scientific” tendencies of American eugenics – responsible for the racist 1924 Immigration Act – had given way, by the 1930s, to a more “scientific” progressive eugenics that had nothing in common with racial hygiene.

The complex typology constructed by the author demonstrates that the differentiations within the American eugenic movement had nothing to do with its becoming more “scientific”. He stressed that the disputes within the international scientific community regarding Nazi racial politics was above all a struggle between divergent scientific positions to do with the improvement of the race and the scientific, economic and political means to achieve it.

This is why the author proposes two notions – “ethnic racism” and “genetic racism” – which he considers necessary for the understanding of the phenomenon studied. The first was openly condemned by the Nuremberg tribunal in 1946; for the second, it was more difficult. On the one hand, most racial hygienists responsible for the forced sterilization of 400,000 people have not been brought to trial. On the other hand, recent research has shown that part of the accusation has tried to present the mass killings and the experiences in the camps as separate practices from “authentic eugenics”.

In 1939 Ellinger wrote in the *Journal of Heredity* that the persecution of the Jews was not a religious persecution, but “a large-scale breeding project aimed at eliminating the hereditary attributes of the Semitic race from the nation.” He added: “But when it comes to knowing how breeding can be achieved with the greatest efficiency, once politicians have decided its desirability, science itself can assist the Nazis.” A few years later Karl Brandt, head of the program for the elimination of

persons with disabilities, told his judges that the programme had been based on American experiments, some of them dating back to 1907. He cited Alexis Carrel in his defense. One of our universities still bore his name until recently. (4)

Wallace’s work analyzes the relationship with Nazism of two American icons of the twentieth century: the car manufacturer Ford and the aviator Charles Lindbergh. The latter, who became the hero of aviation after crossing the Atlantic for the first time (1927), was to play a significant political role in the 1930s, as an American sympathizer of the Third Reich and, from 1939, as one of the organizers (with Ford) of the campaign against Roosevelt, accused of wanting to intervene in Europe against the Axis powers. Less known, the case of Ford is more important. As Wallace shows – and this is one of the highlights of his book – Ford’s *The International Jew* (1920-1922) (read “Henry Ford, Adolf Hitler’s inspiration”), inspired by the most brutal anti-Semitism, had a considerable impact in Germany. Translated in 1921 into German, it was one of the main sources of national-socialist anti-Semitism and of Hitler’s ideas. As early as December 1922, a *New York Times* journalist visiting Germany said that “the wall behind Hitler’s table in his private office is decorated with a large portrait of Henry Ford.” In the antechamber, a table was covered with copies of *Der International Jude*. Another article in the same American newspaper in February 1923 published statements by Erhard Auer, vice president of the Bavarian Diet, accusing Ford of financing Hitler, because he was in favor of his program for the “extermination of Jews in Germany”. Wallace observes that this article is one of the first known references to the exterminating plans of the Nazi leader. Finally, on March 8, 1923, in an interview with the *Chicago Tribune*, Hitler declared: “We consider Heinrich Ford as the leader of the growing fascist movement in America. (...) We particularly admire his anti-Jewish policy, which is that of the platform of the Bavarian fascist (5). In *Mein Kampf*, which appeared two years later, the author pays tribute to Ford, the only individual who resisted the Jews in America, but his debt to the industrialist is much more important. The ideas of *The International Jew* are omnipresent in the book, and some passages are extracted almost literally from it, particularly with regard to the role of the Jewish conspirators in the revolutions in Germany and Russia. A few years later, in 1933, once the Nazi party was in power, Edmund Heine, manager of Ford’s German subsidiary, wrote to the secretary of the American industrialist, Ernest Liebold, telling him that *The International Jew* was used by the new government to educate the German nation in the understanding of the “Jewish question” (6). In compiling this documentation, Wallace unquestionably established that the American car manufacturer had been among the most significant sources of anti-Semitism in National Socialism.

As Wallace reminds us, in 1938 Hitler, through the German consul in the United States, awarded Ford the Grand Cross of the German Eagle, a distinction created in 1937 to honor great foreign personalities. Previously, the medal, a cross of Malta surrounded by swastikas, had been attributed to Benito Mussolini. However, Wallace does not explain why, considering the abundance of European antisemitic works, especially German, the author of *Mein Kampf* was so deeply fascinated by the American book. Why did he decorate his office with a portrait of Ford, and not of Paul Lagarde, Moeller Van der Bruck, or of so many other illustrious German anti-Semitic ideologues? In addition to the prestige associated with the name of the industrialist, it seems that three reasons may explain this interest in *The International Jew*: the modernity of the argument, its “biological”, “medical” and “hygienist” vocabulary; its systematic character, articulating in a grandiose, coherent and

global discourse, all the anti-Semitic diatribes of the post-war period; finally, its international, world wide perspective.

“I read it and I became an anti-Semite.”

Wallace shows, with supporting evidence, that Hitler was not the only Nazi leader to come under the influence of the book produced in Dearborn. Baldur von Schirach, the leader of the Hitlerjugend and later the Gauleiter of Vienna, declared at the Nuremberg trial: “The decisive anti-Semitic book I read at that time, and the book that influenced my comrades, is that of Henry Ford, *The International Jew*. I read it and became an anti-Semite.” Joseph Goebbels and Alfred Rosenberg are also among the leaders who mentioned this work as an important reference for the ideology of the German National Socialist Party (NSDAP). (7)

In July 1927, threatened with a defamation trial and worried by the fall in sales of his cars, Ford had engaged in a formal retraction. In a press release, he baldly stated that he had “not been informed” of the content of the antisemitic articles published in *The Dearborn Independent*, and he asked the Jews “forgiveness for the harm unintentionally inflicted” by the pamphlet *The International Jew*. [8] Considered by a good part of the American press as lacking in sincerity, this statement nevertheless allowed Ford to clear his criminal responsibility. It did not prevent him from continuing to support, underhand, a series of anti-Semitic activities and publications. (9)

“Ford, Forerunner of Nazism” has been largely ignored in the United States for the benefit of the great modern industrial promoter of the famous car, mass produced and sold cheaply. It is this man whom the English writer Aldous Huxley ironically presented in *Brave New World* (1932) as a modern deity, prayers being addressed to Our Ford, replacing the old one directed at Our Lord.

This long embarrassed silence is understandable. The “case” Ford raises sensitive questions about the place of racism in North

American culture and the relationship between our “Western civilization” and the Third Reich, between modernity and the least restrained anti-Semitism, between economic progress and human regression. The term “regression” is not apposite here: a book like *The International Jew* could not have been written before the twentieth century, and Nazi anti-Semitism is also a radically new phenomenon. The Ford file sheds a crude light on the antinomies of what Norbert Elias called the “process of civilization.”

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(1). See the demonstration made by Hannah Arendt regarding European colonialism, imperialism and anti-Semitism in volumes 1 and 2 of *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. For an up to date and deeper version of this thesis, see *La Violence Nazie* by Enzo Traverso, Paris, La Fabrique 2002.

(2) Stefan Kühl, *The Nazi Connection. Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1994.

(3) Max Wallace, *The American Axis. Henry Ford, Charles Lindbergh, and the Rise of the Third Reich*, St. Martin’s Press, New York, 2004.

(4) La faculté de médecine Lyon-I, jusqu’en 1996.

(5) Max Wallace, *The American Axis*, p. 45-46.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 130.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 42, 57.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 31-33.

(9) On the anti-Semitic and pro-nazi connections of Ford in the thirties, and his alliance with Lindbergh, see p. 124-145, and 239-266.

In Year Zero A Contribution to the History of the German Press By Hans Habe 1966

(Orig.: Hans Habe: *Im Jahre Null. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der deutschen Presse.*
Verlag Kurt Desch, München 1966)

[This remarkable memoir is one of the few books by Hans Habe which has not been translated into English. *Irish Foreign Affairs* published the first instalment in the September issue. In 1944 Hans Habe was sent to Europe to ‘mould German public opinion’ by radio broadcasts and newspapers. He said: ‘We (the US) are planning to re-establish the destroyed water pipes, I believe, and newspapers are just as important as water.’ The *Mitteilungen* was the newspaper he edited from Luxemburg.]

Translated for IFA by Angela Stone.

Apart from the fact that it was just two pages thick, the *Mitteilungen* was otherwise a complete newspaper, produced in standard newspaper format. The reporting couldn’t have been more primitive. Two of my staff members went each day to visit the narrow strips across the Belgian-German and Luxembourg-German borders which had been conquered by

the English and Americans. They collected the news from the conquered towns and sent it back to us by field telephone or by jeeps travelling back to Luxembourg. They also brought us back the announcements, commands and orders which the military governors in occupied areas wanted us to pass on to the general German public. The *Mitteilungen* was printed in Luxembourg and brought over the border by Jeep. The place of publication given in the *Mitteilungen* was usually no more than two kilometres from the front line. The news was often collected, and the newspaper was distributed, under enemy artillery fire.

Even today, twenty years later, it seems to me that our modest press deserves a worthy place in political history as well as in the history of the press itself. Small towns like Monschau and Kornelimuenster were microcosms of the German macrocosm. When I went on a tour of “my” area for the first time I encountered all the specimens and types I was

to later encounter throughout conquered Germany: cowardly opportunists who just a day previously had been preaching fighting on to the twelfth hour and now zealously retrieved their English skills; brave members of the actual resistance who now tried to win our favour; obstinate Nazis who sought to put off the inevitable by small acts of sabotage; nationalists indifferent to the destruction of their country which had bled to death; patriots who longed for peace. Most importantly, wherever the *Mitteilungen* was distributed – free, of course – pollsters in uniform followed on foot to determine its impact on a population starved of the truth for eleven years. The results of their observations would prove to be invaluable when founding the new German press. This mobile work, between Aachen and Trier, was the most important test site for that.

A musical general

One of the most amusing of my experiences took place during these months.

One of the conditions of my mission was that I not ignore my radio broadcasting activities while doing my press work. Although the broadcasting work was intended as a pure propaganda operation, it had a certain touchingly humanitarian side to it. One of our most “successful” programmes was called “Letters from Home – Letters at Home.” Unopened sacks of post, which often fell into the hands of our troops when the Wehrmacht had had to withdraw from places in a hurry, were promptly transported back to Luxembourg, opened and read, oblivious as to their confidentiality. Among other things, this gave us a great insight into the mental state of our opponents. A lot of these letters were read out over the radio, which meant that some German soldiers finally received long-awaited news from their families courtesy of the “enemy broadcaster.” One of my people, Sergeant Josef W. Eaton, also visited prisoner of war camps and collected messages from the prisoners. These signs of life from captured squaddies were then transmitted by Radio Luxembourg to the German home front.

Also very effective was when I occasionally travelled through the occupied areas in an army truck specially fitted with modern tape recording equipment. My reporter interviewed German citizens, especially mayors and public officials appointed by the Military Government to familiarise Germans with self-rule. We broadcast these interviews on Radio Luxembourg into Germany to calm the population and discredit the scare stories being spread by Dr Goebbels about atrocities by the occupying army.

One day my reporter, Sergeant Eaton (today Professor of Sociology at Pittsburgh University) did not turn up as expected in our “model town” of Kornelimünster after one such mission.

Sergeant Eaton was an unusual man. He was born in Nuremberg but had lived in America since childhood. Blond and blue-eyed, small statured and of delicate build, he was also highly intelligent and perhaps for that reason averse to military discipline, and as my “pupil” from Camp Sharpe he possessed an amazing tendency to getting himself into difficult situations. So when he didn’t report back to Luxembourg at the expected time that night, I assumed that he had gone a step too far this time and had ended up being turned over to the Germans. But eventually, at about half past one, the field telephone rang in the Rue Brasseur and I heard Eaton’s high-pitched voice, close to tears:

“Captain Eaton here.”

“Are you crazy, Sergeant?”

“No. But I am in difficulties, Captain”

“What kind of difficulties?”

“Difficulties with a major general”

For heaven’s sake, I thought, up to now the highest rank Eaton had had to contend with had been a colonel.

“Who is the major general?” I asked.

“A German major general”, he replied. And then finally, close to tears: “I took him prisoner. He would like to speak to you immediately.”

Against all regulations - the very existence of the house in Rue Brasseur was, as mentioned, “confidential” – I instructed Eaton to bring the major general to our Luxembourg house without delay.

The morning dawned as the radio car entered our courtyard. First Eaton got out of the car on his own, tumbling into the room where Major Dolan and I were waiting for him. I hadn’t misheard: Sergeant Eaton had transformed into a captain. He had removed his corporal’s stripes from his sleeve and attached two captain’s stripes to his steel helmet with Leukoplast.

Stuttering, he told his story. In Kornelimünster the Military Governor, a young lieutenant, had told him that a German general was in hiding in the woods nearby. This general had supposedly communicated his desire to surrender via a middleman but wanted to be brought to a ‘German speaking officer.’ The Nuremberg-born Eaton spoke German splendidly but he had to acquire the title of officer first.

“The General is a really nice old gent”, said Eaton. “We’ve become friends. The disappointment if he discovered that he had been taken prisoner by a simple sergeant would kill him.”

This was a very human point of view, so we told the newly promoted “Captain” Eaton to call the general in.

General von Poten, a grey-haired man of handsome appearance, was a very cultivated officer of the old school, who immediately explained why he had asked for “Captain” Eaton, the commander of Radio Luxembourg. “The war is lost”, he said, “the continuation of a war that was criminal in any case has become a crime against the German people.” He had, he continued, regularly listened to the programmes on Radio Luxembourg and now wanted to speak on radio on behalf of the Wehrmacht, who were fighting for a cause already lost, and for the German people, who had been misled.

A German general who wanted to ask the German nation to lay down its arms – this was an opportunity that we simply couldn’t pass up. Anyway, I wanted to find out what had led the general to such an unusual decision. This was only the first of a night full of surprises.

“I have musical reasons”, explained the Major General. The Austrian-born regular officer had been commander of the occupied French fortress city of Metz. There he had overseen a mild regime in the tradition of Austrian Emperor Franz Josef. As a passionate music lover and husband of a well-known harp player, he had organised concerts every Sunday. One Sunday when holding such a concert in his old Austrian “Father of his Country” way, Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel, nicknamed Hitler’s ‘Lakeitel’ (Lakai = ‘lackey’), turned up with some other senior field officers for a surprise inspection of Metz. Unluckily for our prisoner, the programme for the concert had fallen into Keitel’s hands, and he, or one of his art-loving officers, noted that on this particular Sunday the works of two Jews, Meyerbeer and Halévy, were on the programme. General von Poten was forced to retire his position, and he moved with his country cabin near to the Belgian border to await the Allies, “because a country that forbids Meyerbeer”, he said, “is fighting for the wrong thing.”

We accommodated the general comfortably in our house “Annie” on the Rue Brasseur. He slept in a room which he shared with Eaton, who changed into a captain every

evening after returning from the broadcasting station. During the daytime the general played chess with one of our agents, who was a member of America's Amateur Chess Masters in civilian life. In the evening the agent had to excuse himself as he had to leave urgently on a spying mission. You have to admit, the Ship of Fools sailed at a speed of at least thirty knots.

But even this wasn't the end of it. After the General had been addressing the German nation for two weeks, I was awoken with a message from my immediate superior, Colonel Powell, that the whole lot of us would soon be landing in military prison. Eaton had "arrested" General von Poten in the camp area that "belonged" to the 3rd Army of the none-too-humorous tank general George Patton Jr., who because of his Prussian character was known as "General von Patton." A non-commissioned officer of the Twelfth Army Group had no right to be in his area in the first place, and certainly had no right to be bringing down generals on Patton's hunting ground. Besides, we had no right to take a German general as our personal prisoner.

"Rather than have Patton find us out", said Powell, "we'll have to smuggle the general back to Patton's area."

"How should I manage that?"

"That's your problem."

In best military tradition of quickly delegating responsibility downwards, I instructed Eaton to get rid of the prisoner. This was when the unusual became grotesque.

Eaton conned our beloved housemate into an ambulance and brought him to a forest on the border. He had proposed a "relaxing stroll", an idea welcomed by the air-deprived prisoner. When they had gone deep enough into the forest, the armed Eaton turned and ran as fast as his little legs could carry him, back to the waiting ambulance. The next day the 3rd Army, the only "authorized persons" in this instance, "officially" arrested General von Poten. I would like to describe this episode – one of the many on the way to the final decisive hour- as "historical". It is surely unprecedented for a guard to run away from his prisoner, especially a major general.

A few days after this adventure, I received an order to promptly make my way to Paris. I was to report to General Robert A. McClure, commander of psychological warfare, at his headquarters in a street close to the Champs Elysées. If the term "brain trust" were ever justified, then it was here in these three-storey offices near the Champs Elysées. The American state itself could not have afforded to pay for the capacities of those gathered here – voluntarily and without pay – to prepare the task of moulding public opinion in Germany. The names of the three men representing the brigadier will suffice to illustrate this: William S. Paley, from the end of the war to today president of CBS radio; C.D. Jackson, president of the newspaper empire *Life and Time* and publisher of *Fortune*; and last but not least, university professor Richard H. R. Crossman, later Labour MP for Coventry and today British Minister for Housing to her Majesty.

My closest friend at the headquarters, Major Martin Hertz (now US-chargé d'affaires in Tehran) immediately introduced me to C.D. Jackson.

"Habe", he said, "it's happening. You have twenty-four hours before you must present your plan to the General on how you will rebuild the German press. You also have to say who you want to take with you to Bad Neuheim, your new headquarters. We will arrive at our quarters in Ritters Park-Hotel, Bad Homburg, as soon as possible."

"C.D.", I said – we called him by the initials of his first name - "they seem to be working on a new Baedeker in the Pentagon."

But while the hotel guide was correct, the military staff were mistaken. We were not ready yet.

Adventure in Luxembourg

The tumultuous conference with General McClure twenty-four hours later was of some importance to the future shape of the German press. The western world probably doesn't want to know how deeply rooted the Morgenthau thinking was in America at that time, half a year before the end of the war in Europe. But when I described plans for rebuilding the German press to General McClure, a small, red-cheeked, energetic officer who ended up at the top of the information system by pure luck, he threw up his hands in despair. This was not because of the proposed content, or policies, or the approach to so-called "re-education", but simply because of the form I proposed for this future press. I had planned various types of newspaper, as I believed that what was needed were real newspapers, no matter what. These would include editorial, reportage and feature articles, with a business and even a sports section, and space for letters to the editor. Above all, what the Germans needed re-opened was a window to the world.

"We should publish announcements and guidelines, nothing else", explained the General. "The Germans aren't to be forming their own opinions – the Germans have to be told."

"General, sir," I objected, "the Germans are a people of culture, despite everything."

"The Germans have stopped being a people of culture."

"The press", I continued, "has nothing to do with show business. We're responsible for better newspapers, not only for the amusement of the Germans, but also for how we can punish them by withholding information from them. We are planning to re-establish the destroyed water pipes, I believe, and newspapers are just as important as water."

I would never have able to prevail over the upstanding but closed-minded man if I hadn't had as allies the politician Crossman, the broadcasting expert Paley, and the publisher Jackson.

In-educability and re-educability

This is where I first came across a phenomenon of occupation policy that I would come to encounter often. Today, as the falsification of history advances apace, it is claimed that the men running occupation policy were divided between "pro-Germans" and "anti-Germans". Those who advocated re-education in those days are today described as having been "anti-German". But in reality no one was "pro-German", least of all the generals. Arguably there were two groups – those who believed in the "re-educability" of the German people, and those who were convinced of their "ineducability". So if we are to use the word "pro-German" at all, it would only apply to the "re-educators".

The question of collective guilt – which came up around then – was, half a year before the German capitulation, not a theoretical question but an exclusively practical problem. The expert faced the military officer. Whether or not experts like Crossman, Paley and Jackson were convinced of "collective guilt", and they differed on many things, didn't play a crucial role. All experts were agreed that Germany, once occupied, had to be rebuilt. The idea of "winning the peace" was unfamiliar to the military. They didn't have their own opinions and were happy to carry out orders from Washington without question. But for the Pentagon, who had no intention of surrendering control of events to the State Department, Germany was the moon, an airless and uninhabitable, cratered landscape. While some quite clever men in Foreign Affairs had conceived a "Plan for Germany" – or rather a lot of them – this flight was not

directed from the ground. The astronauts did what they thought right. Until the outbreak of the Cold War, a man like Lucius Clay could proudly boast that he had never learnt a word of German. Only men who had readily accepted the simplicities of collective guilt could later admit to the simplicities of collective guilt with a light heart.

The conference in Paris ended, albeit with a hollow nil, nil score, a sporting draw. It was decided that as soon as a German town was occupied I was to establish the first newspaper there to the best of my knowledge and abilities. The "military staff" would then reassemble to assess the success or failure of the experiment.

But I had just returned to Luxembourg when the Wehrmacht thwarted all of our schemes.

On the morning of 16th December Sergeant Peter Wyden (today chief editor of Curtis Publishing Company, New York) woke me with the news that the Germans had advanced to within twenty kilometres of Luxembourg, and were just half a kilometre away from the broadcasting towers at Junglinster.

"They have captured forty kilometres deep of land in one night", he reported. "We have suffered severe losses. The offensive is led by Field Marshal Rundstedt and facing us are the tanks of SS General Sepp Dietrich. All that separates us from the Germans are a few cooks and military policemen who have been hurriedly rushed to the front."

Half an hour later I was ordered into the building of the Luxembourg Postal Savings Bank, where the commander of the Twelfth Army Group, General Omar N. Bradley, was stationed. There were about forty officers in the briefing room, where the strategic map took up almost a whole wall. The atmosphere was depressed. The December fog was so thick that you could not see the Pont Adolphe through the window. Any hope that the Allied air force might rise into view to stop the German advance seemed to have disappeared.

Just as General Bradley had begun to explain the situation resulting from the German surprise offensive in the Ardennes, General Eisenhower appeared. He was wearing a short, fur-lined windbreaker jacket, his face reddened, but he showed no sign of panic. He limited himself to nodding in agreement to his army group commander's situation report.

General Bradley explained that the Germans' "desperate offensive" was developing rapidly towards Liège with some units also advancing in the Verdun direction. "They will spare the city of Luxembourg," said Bradley, with the composure of a theorising university professor and the boldness of a fortune-teller. "The German tanks are rolling on their last drops of fuel. Their target is our oil and fuel depot in Liège. The German military can only continue the war with our fuel. They don't have any interest in strategically meaningless Luxembourg."

This was all the more convincing when Bradley decided to stay with his staff in Luxembourg. But my doubts returned when I heard that almost the entire military personnel was to be evacuated in the next few hours.

Immediately after the talk, I got in touch with my superiors, Colonel Powell and Lieutenant Colonel Rosenbaum and then I contacted Bradley.

While I waited for Bradley in the room of his adjutant, Major Mason, one of those grotesque situations occurred without which any war would be unbearable. I initially thought I had misheard when the name Marlene Dietrich kept being mentioned for several minutes. It then became clear what had happened.

Marlene had sung for the soldiers of the Luxembourg garrison the previous night. While new German night attacks at Trier were being reported, the bold former Berliner climbed

back into her jeep to be driven to an advanced unit. But the front line was in such a state of chaos that many feared she'd get caught up in the German tank offensive and maybe even fall into the hands of the Waffen-SS. For several hours, until they succeeded in finding Marlene, the war stood still. Among the people in the Luxembourg Postal Savings Bank building, the main concern was the fate of the star.

The General finally received me in his office. I had a teenage-like adoration for this soft, highly educated, professorial man, one of the few great mathematicians of the war. As Bradley carefully examined me through his unframed glasses, I tentatively put forward my request.

The Luxembourg broadcasting station is filled to the brim with confidential material, I told him. If we have to pack it up, drive it away and organise it all over again, front line propaganda work would not be able to resume for weeks, perhaps even months. What is more, the Luxemburgers would start to panic if they discovered that we had cleared out Radio Luxembourg. Bradley never hesitated, and this case was no exception.

"How many people do you need?" he asked.

"At least ten."

"If you can find ten volunteers, you can stay."

(To be continued)

A letter from Brian Murphy OSB, 11/9/07 BISHOP O'DWYER'S LETTER TO JOHN REDMOND

Apropos Roger Casement's article "Ireland and the War" (Continental Times, 26/11/1915) published in Irish Foreign Affairs, September 2017.

The background to the writing by Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick of his letter to John Redmond, on 10 November 1915, is revealing. His defence of Irish people who were trying to emigrate from Liverpool in order to escape conscription was made in response to the description of the men by John Redmond as 'very cowardly.' This was the immediate cause of O'Dwyer's letter. He was also deeply upset that Redmond had not responded to Pope Benedict XV's many calls for peace since the outbreak of War. In particular he was concerned that the Pope's recent appeal for peace in July 1915, 'To the Peoples Now at War and to their Rulers,' had not changed Redmond's policy of giving his full support to the British war effort.

Bishop O'Dwyer was also probably aware at this time, through his personal contact with Mgr O'Riordain, head of the Irish College in Rome, of the terms of the secret London Treaty of 26 April 1915. By the term of the treaty, Italy was promised territorial gains at the expense of Austria and joined the Entente powers in the war against Germany. The treaty also stipulated that there would be no response to the Pope's appeals for peace and that the Pope would be excluded from any peace conference at the end of the war. The terms of the treaty have important implications for any understanding of the war aims of England and the Entente Powers and they certainly would have inspired Bishop O'Dwyer to write such a powerful letter in defence of the Irish men emigrating from Liverpool. Indeed, Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary of Dublin Castle at the time, told the Royal Commission on the Rising that O'Dwyer's letter was 'one of the most formidable anti-recruiting pamphlets ever written.'

Background sources on Bishop O'Dwyer's letter:

Jerome aan de Wiel, *The Catholic Church in Ireland 1914-1918*, Irish Academic Press, 2003. The book provides valuable information on the relationship between Bishop O'Dwyer of

(continued p. 18)

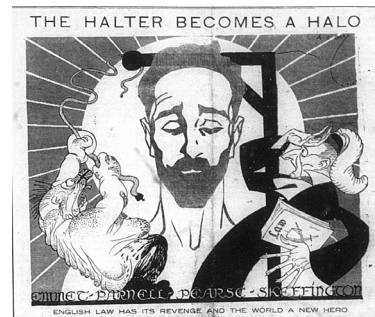
The Unknown Roger Casement (IV)

Ireland and the War, *the Continental Times*, (CT) 16/12/1914

England dropping her mask, (CT) 9/4/1915

War Diary Extract, (CT) 9/6/1915

The truth from Ireland – at last, (CT) 3/4/1916



No. 1062 Vol. XX, No. 70

The Continental Times

December 16, 1914

Special War Edition

Ireland and the War.

When England declared war on Germany on 4th August 1914, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, declared that **“Ireland was the one bright spot”** in the otherwise gloomy picture.

By this announcement, cabled all over the world, the British Government sought to impress foreign opinion by representing Ireland as absolutely loyal to English rule, and burning with a desire to fight for England in the wanton attack on Germany engineered by British commercial jealousy.

But what has been the action of the British Government in Ireland itself since this public profession of faith in Irish loyalty to England was made?

Failing to entrap the young men of Ireland into the British Army to do the dirty work of England against a people who had never wronged Ireland, the British authorities took steps to force Irishmen into the army by reviving the disused Militia Ballot Act which can be applied only to Ireland and not to Great Britain.

Thousands of young men from the West of Ireland, rather than be compelled against their sense of patriotism and against their conscience to fight for England in a war solely of English manufacture, sold their holdings and emigrated to America. The *“Mayo News”* of 24th October, in denouncing the action of the Government and deploring the drain of Ireland’s manhood wrote thus:

“Just for the moment the cause of Ireland has been pushed back, but it is not dead. On the contrary we believe the future is full of hope. Irish hypocrites and traitors, who have now thrown off the mantle of Ireland to enwrap themselves in the scarlet of the Empire, will in the end be a happy riddance. The cause of Irish nationality will be much better without them.”

In consequence of Mr. Redmond’s action in becoming a recruiting sergeant for the British Army, he and his 25 nominees were expelled from the Provisional Committee of the Irish National Volunteers and the Government of the Volunteers restored to the sole control of their original founders, Professor Eoin MacNeill, Sir Roger Casement, Mr. O’Rahilly and the men who organised the movement for an armed and independent Ireland.

In America, Mr. Redmond has been denounced as a traitor to his country, the United Irish League of America dissolved and the official organ of the Parliamentary Party, the

Irish World, has repudiated Mr. Redmond and publicly affirmed its faith in the Irish-German Alliance designed to secure the complete freedom of Ireland.

Mr. Redmond has had to abandon his announced visit to America, and is now employed in Ireland as the Chief recruiting agent for the British army, endeavouring to get the remnant of the Irish race that famine, eviction, and emigration has spared, to lay down their lives in the trenches of France and Flanders, in order that Britain may destroy German commercial and industrial rivalry.

Meanwhile the British Government, aware that its “treaty” with Mr. Redmond is a fraud and that the spirit of Irish nationality has not been killed by the promise to sell Ireland *“after the war”* a small debating society on the banks of the Liffey to discuss the parish affairs of a limited part of Ireland, while Ulster shall be irrevocably cut away from Ireland altogether, has not been idle. British confidence in Irish loyalty is so deep that the British Government now deals with this “one bright spot” as if it were inhabited not by white men but by negro slaves. Martial law rules Ireland –not an Irish parliament. The coast of Ireland has been ringed round with mines. Every port is closed. No export or import trade of any kind exists save what England permits in her own interest and for her own purposes.

No foreigner is allowed to land in Ireland – and even Irish men from America are held up and refused admittance to their birth place unless they have a certificate of “good character” from an English official. Every Irish newspaper that presumes to tell its readers truth is rigorously suppressed – its machinery seized, its issues confiscated, its editor threatened with court martial.

No arms or ammunition of any kind is allowed to be imported into, or sold in Ireland. While Irishmen are to be forced to bear arms for England in a foreign war, they are to be sent to jail or tried by court martial if they try to bear arms in Ireland for their own country. Factories and workshops are being shut down so that with no work to do and starvation staring them in the face, these poor men shall be compelled to enlist.

Every letter going into or coming out of Ireland is opened by the Post Office so that the Government may know just what Irishmen think in their hearts and so learn who is “dangerous” and who must be watched and arrested for daring to love his country.

While England poses as fighting for “freedom” and the “small nationalities” she has locked Ireland up in jail and tells Irishmen that they shall get out on one condition – viz. that they shoulder an English rifle and go to get shot at or to shoot young Germans who have never injured Ireland by thought, word or deed.

So much for “the one bright spot”.

But that is not all.

With an unholy inquisition established in Ireland, England, Protestant England, now turns to the Holy See, to Catholic Rome to aid her in her assault on Irish liberties. The plot against Ireland today is a deeper and a darker one than even in the days of Parnell.

Him, whom they could not overthrow in open fight they also brought to assail in secret and by appeals to Rome. The Coercion Ministry of 1880 appointed secretly Sir George Errington as temporary envoy to the Vatican. The object was to induce the Holy Father to denounce the Irish leader and the Irish land agitation as "contrary to faith and morals."

In this base attempt the English Government of thirty years ago failed. The Pope did not intervene as they hoped against the Irish people or their fearless champion.

So Parnell had to be got rid of by other means and when the forged letters of Pigott and *The Times* failed to secure his downfall, the Government that had appealed to religion and failed and had then sought forgery and failed next employed the Divorce Court – and won. Parnell was "thrown to the English wolves" – because he loved Ireland – *not* because he loved a woman. His sin with the woman was a personal sin, between himself and God – but his love for Ireland lay between him and the British Government, and so this brave and chivalrous Government, having failed with the Holy Father and with the *Times* conspiracy won with the suborned and dastardly O'Shea – and struck down in his prime and sent to his grave the one great Irishman of the nineteenth century who made England tremble to her cowardly heart.

And now the same attempt is to be again repeated. Since Ireland remains at heart Ireland still, and will not be bullied or cajoled into the British army but remains true to her part and places her hopes in the young manhood of Ireland getting arms to fight for Ireland in Ireland – the British Government, the chief enemy of the Papacy and the most anti-Catholic Government in the world goes again on its knees to Rome. This time an envoy is openly accredited to the Vatican. They first tried to get the Holy See to accept "a temporary envoy" (like Sir George Errington to assassinate Parnell) during the period of the war; but on this offer being rejected, the British Government has swallowed the bitter pill and has announced the establishment of a permanent legation at the Vatican. The first envoy is the aged Sir Henry Howard – an antique specimen of British diplomacy well known in Vienna in by-gone ages, who has been taken out of the cupboard, dusted, carefully repaired and is now being despatched "with care" to Rome via Dublin and Armagh.

The object of the attempt is transparent. It is what is known in conjuring circles as "the Box Trick." You lock a man in a box. Everyone sees him go in; but when the box is opened the man is nowhere to be found. England in her difficulties with the "one bright spot" sends Sir Henry Howard, in a special case, to Rome, but when the war is over, the difficulties gone, and the one bright spot quite dark, the nonconformist conscience will insist on the box being opened. England, with Germany done for and Ireland settled once and for all, England will quickly settle the question of a permanent representative at Rome. When the box is opened "after the war" (like Home Rule) there will be found no British envoy inside but only a little bundle of 'property', clothes and a parcel of make-up paint.

The box trick will fail this time as it did in Parnell's time.

Sir H. Howard's mission to Rome will not last – but Irish nationality will live for ever. There is nothing England would not stick at in her effort to destroy Irish nationality and German rivalry. For the moment the gravest concern of England is to kill two birds with one stone – to settle the "Irish Question" once and for all, by killing off the youth of Ireland in a successful

assault on Germany. The throats of two enemies are to be cut with one stroke of the same knife.

The "German menace" will be destroyed and chiefly by the strong hand of the "Irish danger."

German competition will be ended. German trade, shipping, colonies and navy will have become English property while the arm that strikes the blow will be that of the dreaded Irishman.

The German enemy will have been got down chiefly through the blood and valour of Irishmen, who when they have died by the thousand in the shambles of France and Flanders will have left their own country bleached white and powerless at the mercy of England.

A corpse on the dissecting table will be handed over to Mr. Redmond to pronounce the funeral oration, before British statesmen finally cut it up in any fashion they choose, before burying the carcass for ever.

Such is the amiable intention British diplomacy nourishes in the latest efforts to "ameliorate the unhappy condition of Ireland" by the establishment of diplomatic intercourse with the Vatican.

But just as the trick failed in the case of Sir George Errington and Parnell, so it will fail in the case of Sir Henry Howard and the Ireland of today. Rome has many Persicos (Cardinal Persico did not agree with the Papal Rescript, condemning the Plan of Campaign, Editor) – and the truth about Ireland will overcome the latest effort of British diplomacy.

No. 1108, Vol. XXI, No. 41

The Continental Times

April 9, 1915

England dropping her mask

The editorial of the "Times" of March 8th has made such a profound sensation all over the world that we wish to draw the attention of our readers to its main arguments:-

Why we have gone to war

There still appear to be English men and women ignorant of the causes which compelled Great Britain to draw her sword: You are aware that Germany's flagrant breach of the Belgian neutrality has filled the cup of our wrath to overflowing, but you do not consider, that our honor and interest would have obliged us to come to the assistance of France and Russia, even if Germany would have conscientiously respected the rights of her smaller neighbour, and forced her way into France through the Eastern chain of French fortresses. The German Chancellor has drawn attention to this fact more than once in the belief thereby to make a strong point against us, while doing so he has but shown his utter ignorance of our position and our character. Quite true, the crime of the Belgian invasion has stirred us deeply and we were in honor bound to redeem our pledged word, but in so doing sober self-interest went hand in hand with honor, justice and pity. Why had we guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium? For the obvious reason of guarding our East coast against danger, for the same reason that prompted us to defend the Netherlands against Spain and against France. We have kept our pledged word, but we had not pledged our word without solid and practical reasons and we do not propose to play the part of an international Don Quixote.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg is quite right, even if Germany had respected the Belgian neutrality, our interest and our honor would have brought us to the side of France. It is true we had

up to the last moment declined to give her or Russia binding written agreements, but had given them to understand, that they could count upon our help if attacked. This understanding had been a powerful factor in the preservation of the European peace and England's shield of honor would have been besmirched by her withdrawal in the hour of need. This was the proposition made us by Herr von Bethmann Hollweg. He knew that if we stood aside under the pretext, that we had not given our friends a definitely binding promise, we would never have another friend in the world. To see us in such an infamous position has long been the dream of Germany and the annihilation or even the humiliation of England would have furthered her ambitious plans greatly. But here again, as in the case of Belgium, her plans miscarried and we joined the triple entente, because we found out, even though late in the day, that our days of "splendid isolation" were over. We fell back upon our historical policy of "balance of power," the soundness of which had been tested by our ancestors, who were never swayed by sentiment, but by practical, selfish, and even egotistical reasons. Certainly their principal reason was the preservation of the European peace, but insofar only as it was the only way of keeping our own peace. In case of war we have seen England's line of soldiers on the side of her continental allies. When we supported practically all of Europe in "the great war" we did not squander our gold for the love of Germany or the freedom of Austria or for pure humanity's sake. No, we spent it for our own safety and our own advantage and all told our investments have yielded fair returns.

England is fighting now for the same reasons she fought Philip II, Louis XIV and Napoleon. It is true, she is fighting for the small states, Belgium and Servia and is glad to do so. She is helping her powerful allies defending their house and home against the invader and proud to shed her blood in such a holy cause.

But in the first place England is not fighting for Belgium or Servia, for France or Russia. These countries all fill a space in her heart, but they come in second place. First place belongs by rights to herself. For England and her power her sons have fought and bled in the trenches and on the fields of Picardy and Artois, for England her fleet is keeping restless watch in the North sea and the booming of her guns has been heard from the Pacific ocean to the Dardanelles.

Our troops and our sailors are defending their home on French soil or in Turkish waters just the same as it they were fighting the Germans in Norfolk or Harwich.

Our enemies are not quite so near, but if they beat our allies, as they hope to, our fate would not long be in doubt. Germany claims the mission of conquering the world in order to force her own ideals on humanity, and our Empire and our ideals are the main obstacles in her path. This knowledge is the key of her policy, for which she has commenced the war. To this end she has intrigued for years in Egypt, in India and South Africa, has tried to sow discord between us and our allies and thereby undermine the foundations of the triple entente. Her ulterior aim is to destroy the freedom of Great Britain in order to erect out of the ruins a German world empire of militarism and bureaucracy. Germany pronounces her intense hatred of Great Britain, because she is envious of us and because our loyalty and uprightness have torn the net of her perfidious diplomacy. To save ourselves from the consequences if her hatred we are in arms to-day and to protect our homes against murder and pillage, organised plundering and arson – that is the aim for which we have sent our armies to the battlefields of France and for which England is determined to risk her last shilling and her last man.

So far the Times – in view of the almost cynical candor, with which the paper is taking the mask off its face, the hypocritical pose of the virtuous defender of Belgian neutrality will not deceive any thinking person hereafter.

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As the above was a paraphrased version of the editorial we reprint the actual Times editorial below:

"Why we are at war"

There are still, it seems, some Englishmen and Englishwomen who greatly err as to the reasons that have forced England to draw the sword. They know that it was Germany's flagrant violation of Belgian neutrality which filled the cup of her indignation and made her people insist upon war. They do reflect that our honour and our interest must have compelled us to join France and Russia, even if Germany had scrupulously respected the rights of her small neighbours, and had sought to hack her way into France through the Eastern fortresses. The German Chancellor has insisted more than once upon this truth. He has fancied, apparently, that he was making an argumentative point against us by establishing it. That, like so much more, only shows his complete misunderstanding of our attitude and our character. The invasion of Belgium, and the still more the abominable system of crime which followed it, have indeed very deeply moved us. Like Germany, we had given our word to uphold Belgian neutrality. Unlike Germany, we felt bound in honour to keep the word we had given. But we know very well that, in keeping it, self-interest had gone hand-in-hand with honour, with justice and with pity. Why did we guarantee the neutrality of Belgium? For an imperious reason of self-interest, for the reason which has always made us resist the establishment of any Great Power over against our East Coast, for the reason which made us defend the Netherlands against Spain and against the France of the Bourbons and of Napoleon. We keep our word when we have given it, but we do not give it without solid practical reasons, and we do not set up to be international Don Quixotes, ready at all times to redress wrongs which do us no hurt.

Herr von Bethmann Hollweg is quite right. Even if Germany had not invaded Belgium, honour and interest would have united us with France. We had refused, it is true, to give her or Russia any binding pledge up to the last moment. We had, however, for many years past, led both to understudy that, if they were unjustly attacked, they might rely upon our aid. This understanding had been the pivot of European policy followed by the three Powers. It had been, as Germany herself acknowledged, a powerful factor in the preservation of European peace. England had drawn advantage from it as well as her partners. She would have stained her honour forever if, after she had acted with them in fair weather, and had countenanced the confident belief which they both held that she would support them in a just quarrel she had slunk away from them in the hour of danger. This is what Herr von Bethmann Hollweg pressed us to do. He saw that if we yielded to his seductions and committed this act of baseness, on the pretext that we had not given a technical promise of help to our friends, we should never have friends again. To pillory us in such a position of infamous isolation has long been a darling dream of the Wilhelmstrasse. It would materially advance Germany's schemes of world-empire, to which, as she clearly sees, the destruction, or the humiliation, of England is an indispensable preliminary. But here again, as in the case of Belgium, "honour is the best policy." We joined the Triple Entente because we realised, however late in the day, that the time of "splendid

isolation” was no more. We reverted to our historical policy of the balance of power, and we reverted to it for the reasons for which our forefathers adopted it. They were not, either for them or us, reasons of sentiment. They were self-regarding, and even selfish, reasons. Chief amongst them, certainly, was a desire to preserve the peace of Europe, but it was the chief only because to preserve that peace was the one certain way to preserve our own. In the event of war we saw, as our fathers had seen, England’s first line of attack and defence in her Continental Alliances. When we subsidised every State in Germany, and practically all Europe, in the Great War, (Napoleonic War, Editor) we did not lavish our gold from love of German or Austrian liberty, or out of sheer altruism. No; we invested it for our own safety and our own advantage, and, on the whole, our commitments were rewarded by an adequate return.

In this war, as we have again and again insisted in The Times, England is fighting for exactly the same kind of reasons for which she fought Philip II, Louis XIV, and Napoleon. She is fighting the battles of the oppressed, it is true, in Belgium and in Serbia, and she rejoices that she is standing with them against their tyrants. She is helping her great Allies to fight in defence of their soil and their homes against the aggressor, and she is proud to pour out her blood and her treasure in so sacred a cause. But she is not fighting primarily for Belgium or for Serbia, for France or for Russia. They fill a great place in her mind and heart. But they come second. The first place belongs, and rightly belongs, to herself. It is for her and for her Empire that her sons have been struggling and dying in the trenches of and on the fields of Picardy and Artois, that her Fleet holds its ceaseless vigil in the North Sea, and that its guns have been heard from the Pacific to the Dardanelles. Our soldiers and our sailors are defending their homes and the homes of their countrymen on French soil and in Turkish waters, just as truly as though they were facing German troops in Norfolk or German ships off Harwich. Our enemies are more remote, but did they crush our Allies, as they presumptuously expected to do, an attack on us would not be long deferred. Germany boasts that it is her appointed mission to conquer a great world-empire, through which she may impose her ideals upon mankind. Our Empire and our ideals is the chief obstacle in her path. That consideration is the key to all her world-policy. That is why she has grasped at the trident. That is why she has been intriguing for years in Egypt, in India, and in South Africa. That is why she has watched our domestic controversies and the supposed symptom of our decadence with malignant vigilance. That is why she has sought, again and again, to sow mistrust between us and our partners and why at the last she tried to bribe us into treachery. Her object in this war is to shatter the Tripe Entente, but to shatter the Entente in order to destroy the free Empire of England, and to rear upon its ruins a German world-empire of militarism and bureaucracy. She hates us, she proclaims, with hatred more vindictive than she bears towards the Belgians or the French. She hates us because she envies us, and because our honour and our plain sense have broken through the flimsy toils of her diplomacy. It is to save ourselves from the deadly consequences of her considered malignancy that we stand in arms. To shield our homes from the murder and the rape; from the organised loot and the systematic arson we have seen across the seas; to protect the Empire our race has reared at so dear a cost; to secure for our children and mankind the spiritual heritage of which it is the embodiment and the guardian; – these are the ends for which we are launching upon the battle-fields of France the greatest and the most powerful armies our history has ever known; the ends for which England has pledged her last shilling and her last man.”

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[As Casement was a regular reader of, and commentator on *The Times* he is most likely to be responsible for this contribution to the *Continental Times*. The editorial itself was written by John Woulfe Flanagan (1852–1929) who was chief writer of *Times*’ leaders during WWI. He came from an Anglo-Irish Catholic landlord family in Roscommon. He ‘*cut his teeth*’ in journalism as a very active protagonist in the newspaper’s campaign against Charles Stewart Parnell. He produced a 36 volume account of the Parnell Commission, called “*Parnellism and Crime.*” The Commission was an all-out attempt by the *Times* and the Government acting together to destroy Parnell and the Irish Party by trying to associate him and them with the Phoenix Park killings through the Piggott forgeries published by the *Times*.

The *Times* later reported on the “*profound sensation*” caused by this editorial in Germany:-

“*The following news, officially circulated through German wireless stations, has been received by the Marconi Company: - The Times declares that England does not fight for Belgium and the Allies, but primarily for English interests. England would have begun the war even if Germany had respected Belgium’s neutrality.*” (12/3/1915)

The report went on to reiterate the main points of the editorial. Apparently this was newsworthy - even sensational – for Germans as such a plain statement of fact about England’s reason for going to war against them came as a revelation. No wonder they lost the war! Jack Lane]

No. 1260. Vol. XXII. No. 118 The *Continental Times*
April 3, 1916

THE TRUTH FROM IRELAND – AT LAST!

Truth being proverbially resident at the bottom of a well takes time to emerge from her hiding place. But she climbs the dripping walls at last.

After some eighteen months of a very slimy hold and toilsome effort since this war began, she has now reached the surface and her clear brows show above the level of the Pit in which the British press and the hired gang of “Irish” parliamentarians had hoped to keep her buried until Germany, too, was safely in the receptacle.

As Mr. Redmond points out on the *Morning Post* of February 19, 1916, the task of the “Irish” Parliamentary Party was to range Ireland in line with “*every other portion of the Empire*” on the side of England so that henceforth “*Ireland would be a strength instead of a weakness.*”

Mr. Redmond did his best, even descending to the boots of the Prince of Wales – but alas! for Mr. Redmond’s admiration for the Prince’s putted legs, those slender extremities of the imperial corpse he calls Irishmen to fall down and worship, there is a Divinity doth shape our ends rough hose them as we will.

Redmond’s Opinions

Mr. Redmond in the *Morning Post* of February 19, says:

“*I further pointed out*” (when the war began) “*that this was a just war, provoked by the intolerable military despotism of Germany; that it was a war in defence of the rights and liberties of small nationalities; and that Ireland would be false to her history and to every consideration of honour, good faith and self-interest if she did not respond to my appeal.*”

And the answer of Ireland has been – that the British Government confesses in parliament that the “National Services

Bill” cannot be applied to Ireland since; to attempt to enforce it would mean the exercise of a “very considerable amount of force” and the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland.

The Irish regiments that were constituted in the first days of the war have had to be largely filled, the *Times* confesses, with Englishmen.

Sir Morgan O’Connell, Baronet, and Deputy Lieutenant for the Great County of Kerry, writes to the same paper on March 7, to protest that in that entire County “recruiting is dead” and that every village is “rotten” with an active pro-German propaganda.

Role of Sinn Fein

The Sinn Feiners,* “the poisonous” handful who claim that Ireland is not England and that Irishmen must work out their salvation, by blood and iron and by the self-same methods that gave national life to Greece, to Serbia, to Holland and to the United States, are now admitted to be in control of the popular mind throughout a large part of the South and West of Ireland. Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Wexford, to name but four of the counties, are filled with a spirit that calls for “active measures on the part of the authorities.” The *Morning Post* of March 16th asserts:

“Throughout the South and West a vigorous and organised campaign against recruiting is being supported by the dissemination of seditious and pro-German pamphlets and literature of various kinds.....within the last few months several persons have been indicted and tried in Dublin for offences under the Defence of the Realm Act but in every case they have been acquitted by the verdict of the jury and the result received with tumultuous applause within the Court itself.”

“A still more sinister event has just occurred in Cork. A Committee was recently appointed in the City composed of delegates from the different religions and political parties, with the view of organising a demonstration upon St. Patrick’s Day.”

“The military authorities offered to send in furtherance of the demonstration a large contingent of troops from the Irish regiments, but the Committee, largely composed of delegates from the Sinn Fein Volunteers and other disloyal associations, rejected this offer by an overwhelming majority, upon the ground, as one of the delegates expressed it:

‘that the British Army was in hostile occupation of Ireland and that it would be not as absurd for the Belgians to invite a contingent from the German Army to take part in a Belgian national demonstration as for Irishmen to accept the presence of British soldiers’

“These Delegates further announced the intention of the Sinn Fein Volunteers to contribute to the demonstration an armed force of 200 men, carrying loaded rifles; but it seems hardly credible that the Executive will permit at such a time so fragrant a challenge on the part of open and avowed enemies of our country.” *Morning Post, March 16th, 1916.*

The Irish Convention

And now, on top of these manifestations of an active national movement in Ireland itself, we have the news of the Great Irish Race Convention held in New York City on the 4th and 5th of March. The reports of this convention’s deliberations has taken some time to reach Europe.

The *Times* of March 7th announced in a tiny paragraph, buried in an obscure part of the paper, that the Irish Convention had been a failure and that neither “from the pro-German standpoint” nor from that that of Irish Nationalists could it be regarded as successful.

Today, March 20th, we get news from New York, that it was one of the most remarkable demonstrations of the Irish American population ever held in the New World.

Both in character, in quality and in the tenor of the resolutions passed, it stands out as a complete assertion of the enduring claim of Ireland to a place among those “small nationalities” for whom we are so strangely told England and her Allies began this war.

Irish Hopes

These Irishmen born in America, headed by distinguished clergymen, judges and other representative citizens of the United States, representative of all that is deepest and most widespread in American culture, declared in a great public assembly that Ireland claimed her place in the world of free peoples, and that she looked to this war and to the efforts of her patriotic sons to achieve independence and national freedom.

More than one speaker identified this battle of Irishmen with the cause of Germany resistance to the claim of England to rule the seas of all the world.

They declared that the key of ocean freedom, of equality of maritime rights lay in the freedom of Ireland from British control and its restoration to Europe.

They claimed that that if mankind desired, in truth, a free sea way and open ocean, they could best gain it by restoring Ireland - “a European and not a British island” as the Convention declared - to the community of European life and interests from which England had so relentlessly withdrawn it.

The question of Ireland’s place in this war of the worlds has just been as definitely answered from the New World as from the Old.

In Ireland itself British rule is paralysed. The claim that Ireland is one with Great Britain, or that Mr. Redmond and his party of subsidised talkers at Westminster, speak the mind of Ireland has been answered at Westminster itself by the British Government when that Government declined to apply the conscription law to Ireland on the ground of fear, although Mr. Redmond claimed that all Ireland was behind him. In Ireland it has been met by the resolute refusal of public bodies, of County Councils, of bishops of the Irish Church, of the whole people to recognise that English rule in Ireland does not differ materially from that established, say, by German arms in Belgium.

A foreign army, in each case, holds the land, and Irishmen decline to enter the ranks of the army of occupation in Ireland just as in Belgium. Belgians do not enter the German army that equally garrisons their country. The war for small nationalities takes on a broader scope each month it endures.

Ireland seeks to take her place beside Belgium, Greece, Serbia – to name but a few of those for whom England and her Allies have taken up arms and involved the world in bloodshed.

And with this difference – the freedom of Greece, of Belgium, of Serbia, etc. is a matter solely of limited continental concern, a matter of rearranging frontiers and re-colouring a map where changing frontiers and changing colours have prevailed throughout the centuries without affecting any vital interest of the peoples affected; whereas the freedom of Ireland concerns the whole future of mankind and on it hangs the freedom of the world. For on it hangs the issue of whether Europe and the world are to remain the bond slaves of one people, bound impotent and writhing to the Earth, or whether they are to be free to walk the waters and use man’s great heritage, the Sea, for the advancement for an equal civilisation and the common culture of mankind.

* “Sinn Fein,” the two words signifying “Ourselves Alone.” The name assumed by the historic Irish Nationalists who repudiate Redmond as much as England.