

SPIRITUAL GEOPOLITICS

Fr. Edmund Walsh and Jesuit
anti-communism

Gearóid Ó Tuathail (Gerard Toal)

Introduction

Considerations of the histories and traditions of geopolitics have rarely engaged the relationship of these traditions to the problematic of religion. The reasons for this neglect seem straightforward for geopolitics appears as a thoroughly modern and secular set of discursive practices. As a state-centric territorial imagination, it supposedly triumphed at the expense of a religious cosmography in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the adoption of the *cuius regio, eius religio* formula at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 and its consolidation after the Thirty Years War in the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. Westphalia has long been a watershed event for orthodox international relations, the founding moment of the modern state system. It is held to mark a decisive displacement of a medieval imaginative geography, which organized space as a vertical hierarchy in relationship to a Christian God, by a modern geopolitical imagination, which organized space as a horizontal set of competing territorial orders (Huxley 1944; Shapiro 1992: 109; Agnew and Corbridge 1995: 18). This political displacement was anticipated by intellectual and scientific shifts in the notion of space within Europe as Nicholas Copernicus, Giordano Bruno and others called the hierarchical conception into question and argued for a notion of space as infinite, homogeneous and measurable (A. Crosby 1997: 95–108). The modern geopolitical imagination, it seems, begins where the medieval geo-religious imagination falls away.

The notion of a decisive break between medieval religious space and modern geopolitical space at Westphalia, however, is questionable. Rather than a clear and clean rupture, the already existing relationship between the secular and spiritual, the territorial and the ecclesiastical was re-organized and re-conceptualized at Augsburg, Westphalia and numerous other historical moments since. Medieval religious notions were re-cycled into the emergent mythology of a diversity of European states, each

of which claimed variations on heavenly inspiration, providential blessing and/or divine leadership. Rather than geopolitical traditions and religious traditions being at odds, they are more often than not deeply interwoven and mutually constitutive. Normative and spiritual vertical hierarchies of sacred space justified imperialistic and worldly horizontal hierarchies of geopolitical space. The historical development of the modern state system in Europe and its violent imposition across the globe saw multiple and complex (con)fusions of geopolitical and religious discourses (Cosgrove 1999). The overseas expansionism of the European empires into the Americas, Asia and later Africa was in significant part driven by religious motivations and sanctioned by the Church. In numerous cases the pioneers of imperialist encounter and conquest were men belonging to religious orders such as the Jesuits. Puritan jeremiads and religious zeal helped establish the meaning of America (Campbell 1992). Notions of providential will and divine destiny were vital elements in the nineteenth-century conquest of the American West (Stephanson 1995).

The emergence of a self-conscious 'geopolitics' as a tradition of theorizing about geographical relationships, state territoriality and world power in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century is also characterized by a (con)fusion of geopolitical and religious discourses. One of the leading figures in the dissemination of 'geopolitics' as a domain of knowledge in the United States was the Jesuit priest Father Edmund Walsh (1885–1956), founder of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service in 1919. Today faculty from Georgetown University, a university founded by the Jesuits in 1789, are regularly appointed to leadership positions in the US foreign policy bureaucracy while the School of Foreign Service has for decades produced students who have staffed and run that bureaucracy. As the first Regent of the School, Father Walsh taught courses on geopolitics to future diplomats and military leaders, functioning also as an 'expert' on European geopolitics to government institutions and to the American public in his many public addresses and writings. Walsh's life was not only an eventful one that spanned the major upheavals of the first half of the twentieth century but his explicit interest in geopolitics, especially German *Geopolitik* and Soviet geopolitics, and his restless political advocacy make him a particularly interesting figure in the history of American geopolitics. This chapter provides an introduction to Walsh's geopolitical philosophy as found in his major books and speeches. A detailed consideration of Walsh's political activities, diplomatic endeavours and army service (which lead him to have a key role in the US army's interrogation of Karl Haushofer after the Second World War for example) is not attempted here.

Walsh's career can be divided into five different phases.

First, born into an Irish-American family in Boston, he was ordained a Jesuit priest in 1916 and appointed Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Georgetown University in 1918. The same year he was appointed as a member of the Special Commission of the War Department to administer the Student Army

Training Corps. The following year, after demobilization, he helped found the School of Foreign Service as a department of Georgetown University, becoming its first Regent.

Second, in 1922 Walsh was appointed by Pope Pius XI as Director-General of the Papal Relief Mission to Soviet Russia and Vatican representative concerning church interests in the Soviet Union. He served in Russia for a year and a half, developing a lifelong antipathy for Bolshevism. While in Russia, Walsh had mixed success defending certain Church officials from being persecuted by the Bolsheviks. In one instance, a Church prelate was murdered.

Third, from 1923 to 1945 Walsh was a leading anti-communist campaigner in the United States. In 1929 he published *The Fall of the Russian Empire*, a narrative history of the fall of the Romanov dynasty and the Bolshevik revolution woven together with his own experiences in Russia. He was a vigorous opponent of US recognition of the Bolshevik government. His gave public lectures on a regular basis in Constitution Hall in Washington DC and preached an anticommunist message to audiences of US military officers and FBI agents. When President Roosevelt decided to recognize the Soviet Union in 1933, he called Walsh to the Oval office to personally explain his decision and reassure him. Walsh, however, was not reassured and Catholic leaders organized public demonstrations, mass meetings and petition drives to protest FDR's action (Crosby 1978: 6). After war broke out between Russia and Finland in 1939 Walsh organized and directed the Finnish Relief Fund in Washington D.C.

Fourth, as a consequence of his studies and lectures on German *Geopolitik*, Walsh was asked to serve as a consultant to Justice Robert H. Jackson at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. Walsh helped interrogate Karl Haushofer in October 1945 and gave a morality and ethics test to Rudolph Hoess, the SS commander of Auschwitz, amongst others. In 1946 Walsh was appointed a member of the US President's Advisory Commission on Universal Military Training. Walsh travelled to Japan in 1947 to study educational and religious issues for the Jesuits where he toured Hiroshima and met with General Douglas MacArthur.

Finally, from 1948 Walsh resumed his anti-communist activities in Washington DC. Walsh reportedly influenced the thinking of the Jesuit-educated Senator Joseph McCarthy at an informal dinner in Georgetown, encouraging him to undertake a crusade against 'known communists' in the US government (Halberstam 1972: 146–7). This contention, however, is disputed (Crosby 1978: 47–50). Walsh published *Total Power: A Footnote to History* in 1948 on German geopolitics and the new threat from Soviet geopolitics. In 1951 Walsh published *Total Empire: The Roots and Progress of World Communism* which was devoted solely to examining Soviet geopolitics and its threat to Western civilization. In 1952 he celebrated his Golden Jubilee in the Society of Jesus, suffering a stroke soon afterwards. He died in 1956.

Walsh's life and career were not typical for an American Jesuit. First, Walsh's interest in geopolitics was somewhat unusual for a Catholic priest. Walter Giles, his personal secretary from 1944 to 1950, recalls that 'his professional lifestyle and his prominence as a political commentator made him an unconventional Jesuit for his period, when it was virtually unheard of for a member of the Catholic clergy to be a political activist in the public forum' (Giles in Watkins 1990: 6). One exception was Father Charles Coughlin whose populist radio broadcasts between the Great Depression and the Second World War were influential for a while (Kovel 1997). Unlike Coughlin, Walsh was neither a populist nor an isolationist but an internationalist who dined in elite Washington society circles. Giles remembers that some Jesuits criticized Walsh for having interests and concerns which were too worldly (a charge often levelled at Jesuits in the past). It was thought that 'he lacked the kind of spirituality, and commitment to strictly religious interests and activities, deemed appropriate at that time for a Catholic priest' (Watkins 1990: 6; interview 1999).

Second, Walsh largely eschewed the dominant social mission of American Jesuits in the first half of the twentieth century for an international geopolitical one. Walsh was almost certainly a product of that social mission which was stimulated in the late nineteenth century by Pope Leo XIII's directives about the perils of capitalism and the dangerous attractions of socialism to the urban poor and working class. Jesuit priests undertook social missions to the rough and tumble working class immigrant enclaves of the United States, in overcrowded neighbourhoods in Boston, Chicago and New York (McDonough 1992). Teeming with poor Irish, German and Italian Catholics, the Jesuits established high schools, social work programmes and universities, facilitating upward mobility while solidifying the faith, checking the growth of socialist sentiment and recruiting talented boys for the priesthood. This social mission, of course, was not entirely separate from the larger geopolitical one of the Catholic Church. But its later articulation in Pope Pius XI's *Quadragesimo Anno* (1931) was cautiously approached by Walsh who showed an awareness of the inappropriateness of its corporatist rhetoric – shaped by an admiration for Mussolini's Italy – in the American context (McDonough 1992: 65–75). Walsh's 'social mission' was to help educate the future cadre of American diplomats and to advise and inform America's governing elites, those that made up 'Georgetown society', about the threat posed by communism. In this, he could well claim to be following Ignatius de Loyola's charge to cultivate the favour of the powerful.

Third, the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University was perceived as a break from traditional Jesuit educational institutions and practices. It was a professional school organized as a national, non-sectarian institution of higher learning. Initially, it was located in the Law School building in downtown Washington and physically separate from the Georgetown University campus. It

was only in 1932 that the School moved onto the 'Georgetown Heights' campus (Tillman 1994: vii). According to Giles, some influential Jesuits on the Georgetown campus during Walsh's lifetime tolerated but never really accepted Walsh's 'foreign school' because of its worldly focus and non-religious character (Watkins 1990: 7). Walsh deliberately cultivated a professional and ecumenical image for the School to enhance its effectiveness and enrolments. Countering suspicion of the Jesuits and the Catholic religion more generally – a concern that led Scottish Rite Masons in 1928 to fund a rival 'non-sectarian' School of Government at George Washington University, subsequently to become the Elliott School of International Affairs – was also a concern (Tillman 1994: 17). Yet, the majority of the students were Catholic and they were obliged to take one religion course, which was perceived as congenial especially when discussions often concerned baseball (Giles interview, 1999)! Only male students were admitted until the 1940s, after which a few female students were admitted, 'rather grudgingly and in small numbers' (Tillman 1994: 5).

While Walsh's position and profile were somewhat unusual, his activities and writings fit squarely within the history and tradition of the Jesuit order. That history and tradition is a diverse and eclectic one. It is not a monolithic history of subterranean influence, confessorly intrigue and pernicious manipulations. This 'black legend' was largely an invention of the many enemies the Society of Jesus acquired from its establishment under the leadership of Ignatius de Loyola in 1540 (Lacouture 1995: 348–75). A universalist order pledging absolute obedience to the papacy, the Jesuits were made up of men from many different cultures and backgrounds. Its organization was hierarchical and militaristic, Loyola having been a soldier before his remarkable journey to the Church and Rome (Lacouture 1995; Mitchell 1980). He deliberately adopted military metaphors to describe the 'Society of Jesus' – the name itself was a bold statement – as an elite unit with a general for a head and members who were to think of themselves as soldiers for Jesus and the one true Roman Catholic faith. The geographical and institutional setting they worked within varied tremendously.

Yet, though heterogeneous and diverse, Jesuit history and tradition is given coherence by certain transcendent preoccupations and concerns. The Jesuits became the shock troops of the Counter-Reformation. They represented the Catholic Church militant and organized, a counter-offensive force against Protestantism and heresy. Their operational environment was one defined by a clear and present enemy that needs to be firstly discerned and then confronted and vanquished. Their goal was the defence and propagation of the true faith of Christianity, the spreading and consolidation of the Kingdom of Christ on earth. They were thus *propagandists* in an original sense of the word. To this end, they employed a wide variety of tactical methods of conversion, the most successful of which was their establishment of institutions of education and learning throughout the world and their staffing of these

institutions with well trained Jesuit educators. The Jesuits were innovators in methods of communication and strategies of pedagogy. They were encouraged by Loyola to become eminent in some field of endeavour. They stressed discipline, regular spiritual exercises, and thorough preparation. They sought to cultivate the powerful and convert foreign rulers, to impress them with their science and great learning. Their ultimate purpose was to illuminate the mind and move the will of their subjects in the spiritually correct direction.

It is within this tradition that we can locate the geopolitical writings of Father Edmund Walsh. To introduce Walsh's world-view, I have organized his writings and activities around four key themes which are central not only to Walsh's geopolitical philosophy but to Jesuit history and tradition. The analysis is necessarily succinct and does not do justice to the larger intellectual and political context of Walsh's work. Nevertheless it provides an introduction to Walsh's 'spiritual geopolitics' and hopefully demonstrates why the problematic of geopolitics and religion is an important one deserving further research.

The modern fall of man

The Catholic Church, like many other religions, has had a fraught and difficult relationship to modernity. The Jesuits, for McDonough (1992: xii), incorporate more accurately than any other group in Catholicism the tension between modernity and tradition. By the early twentieth century, the leadership of the Catholic Church was at war with the modern world. The tone was established by the papal declarations of Pius X condemning 'Americanism' in 1899 and repudiating the heresy of 'modernism' in 1907. Within the Jesuits, the anti-modernist creed was lead by Father Włodimir Ledochowski who governed the society as its Superior General from 1915 to his death in 1942. The son of Polish nobility serving the Habsburg court, Ledochowski embodied the reactionary sentiments of old regime Catholicism (McDonough 1992: 65–8). Writing after the collapse of the Habsburg empire in 1919 he argued that 'all is tottering in modern society . . . modern society resembles in its wretchedness the poor paralytic of Bethesda in that it has no strength within itself to rise from its sick bed' (Ledochowski in Schmidt 1945: 380). 'Freethinkers', those with a contempt for God and religion, 'promised that science would solve all the problems of life, becoming the provident and generous dispenser of happiness to the generations of mankind so thirsty for perfect happiness. However, science and the state have proved to be false gods. Now the souls of men are feeling ever more and more the terrible void created by the conspiracy of governments to tear away modern generations from Christ and His Church' (Ledochowski in Schmidt 1945: 382).

Father Edmund Walsh's anti-modernist sentiments permeate his writings and practices. Like many of the famous geopoliticians of the first half of the twentieth

century – Halford Mackinder, Karl Haushofer and later George Kennan (Stephanson 1989) – Walsh was an organic conservative whose meta-narrative was that of the 'fall' of Man (the language is, as might be expected, unreflectively patriarchal) in the modern world from a previous state of organic harmony and unity (an idealized and élitist conception of the past that ignores the exploitation, structural violence and class repression that underpinned so-called 'harmonious' communities). Alienated from many aspects of twentieth-century modernity, these figures interpreted the political events of their times as a decline from a previous golden age, usually an idealized medievalism and/or antiquity. Unlike the others, Walsh gave this story of the fall of Man a distinctively religious cast. The first fall of Man was in the Garden of Eden. The second *modern* fall of Man was from the sixteenth century onwards (Walsh 1947: 27). The meta-narrative of the modern fall, expressed particularly in revolts and revolutions, is the story of Man unified, balanced and whole during the medieval age of Christendom stumbling into a condition of disunity, imbalance and division as he negotiated the trials and temptations of modern times. Christianity was not solely a religion for Walsh but a universal civilization with a normative code of moral conduct that has its origins in Greek and Roman antiquity (Walsh 1948: 190–5).

Walsh's reasoning was grounded in a distinctive Catholic ontology. The condition of Man is one of struggle between nature and civilization, between man's animal nature and his better nature as represented by Christianity. In Catholic dogma Man is endowed with God's grace but nevertheless has free will and must struggle to construct a moral life and find his way towards God. 'Men', Walsh argues:

are born helpless infants dependent on adult authority; they progress to maturity and to the grave under the unpredictable preferences of free will, and they act responsive to the inequalities of intelligence, talents, the pressure of diverse interests, group outlook, secret prejudice, and moral imperatives, all of which require regulation if society is not to become a planned chaos.

(Walsh 1948: 78)

The regulation and guidance provided by the Church is fundamental to Man realizing himself.

Man is a composite of matter, spirit and will, a body of flesh with instincts and a mind with an intellect that requires proper discipline and training. 'The material elements of our nature are so integrated with the spiritual, their functioning so interdependent, that a laboratory separation is unreal psychology and dangerous empiricism' (Walsh 1948: 177). Recognizing the indissoluble interdependence of matter and spirit, body and mind is the starting point of any truly humanist pedagogy. Fixation on one of these elements to the neglect of the whole produces an unbalanced Man. Reason, Walsh (1948: 178) argues, certainly 'should steer in

human voyaging and intellect set the course for all navigators; but intuition, interest, love, hatred, spiritual perception, toleration, faith, and tradition enter into the table of wind and tide to an extent that may irritate the perfectionist but will not surprise the realist or your true humanist.' The observation reveals an inherited tradition of Catholic ontology and a developed Jesuit philosophy of pedagogy. Not surprisingly, Walsh believed that a Jesuit education is a truly humanist education. It recognizes and caters to the innate dualism of Man, providing him with not only a solid intellectual training but also a clear moral compass.

There are at least four different stages or 'scenes' in the modern fall of Man for Walsh. The first is associated with the Reformation and the splintering of Christendom. The Protestant revolt instigated by Luther, he claimed, 'must rank as the most unfortunate domestic tragedy in the family of Christian nations' (Walsh 1948: 148). The break-up of Christendom was the beginning of the break-up of Man. 'As the unity of Christendom was shattered in its ecclesiastical organization by the religious schisms of the sixteenth century, so the intrinsic unity of man himself was breached by the mis-called rationalism of succeeding generations' (Walsh 1948: 177). As a Jesuit, Walsh's antipathy for Luther is, as one would expect, quite strong. Yet, this antipathy leads Walsh to make a remarkable series of connections and claims. Luther is seen as an apologist for temporal rulers and the state. From the sixteenth century Walsh leaps to the twentieth century and connects Luther to Hitler. 'The effects of the Lutheran doctrine of supreme secular power,' he claims 'were not only to persist and colour the entire fabric of government in northern Germany, but may be detected in the special psychology of Germanic dictatorships from the princely butchers of the Peasants' War through Frederick the Great to Hitler and Himmler. The line runs straight' (Walsh 1948: 196). In other words, Luther was a figure who undermined the spiritual and strengthened the secular. He made a pact with the secular state which in Germany proved to be a pact with the devil, the anti-Christ.

The second identifiable 'scene' is the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and the nineteenth-century materialism and naturalism it spawned. 'The secularization of Western culture and the de-spiritualizing of its societal forms,' he suggests, 'can be traced with precision through the fabric of speculative and political thought that prevailed so widely since Machiavelli and Descartes' (Walsh 1948: 176). Machiavelli was viewed as the precursor of the growth of 'power politics in the nineteenth century while Descartes, though remaining a Christian, unleashed a dangerous scepticism and positivism that called inherited certitudes and beliefs into question. As Christianity began to be called into question, Western civilization began to go awry. Walsh viewed the French Revolution as an example of unbalanced enlightenment. Its historical unfolding illustrated the corruptibility of humanity, the hubris of enlightenment rationality and the dangers of social disorder and mob rule (Walsh 1948: 175–6).

The third 'scene' in the modern fall of Man is the industrial revolution. In considering American history, Walsh acknowledges the great advantages and

contributions to material progress and productivity made possible by machines and modern physics, mechanics and chemistry. Yet, 'the body of mankind has benefited more than his spirit' (Walsh 1948: 289). The industrial revolution has led directly to the horror of total warfare in the twentieth century. Technology and material progress became false gods.

False values were created in the universal worship of mechanical achievements, and a softening of the moral fibre accompanied the modernizing of the roadbed over which humanity was proceeding. The Industrial Revolution ushered in mastery of production but it ushered out the production of masterpieces. It developed the proportion of all our senses but killed the sense of proportion.

(Walsh 1948: 289)

Serial production displaced individual craftsmanship. Lost is an appreciation for the individual genius of medieval masters like Dante, Milton, Michelangelo and Shakespeare who composed not with the aid of an electric light but by the light of tallow candles. The Industrial Revolution has 'cultivated the spirit of things and discounted unduly the things of the spirit'. Its unsteady and directionless materialist imagination produced 'the absolutism of Hegel, the intellectual brutality of Nietzsche and the venom of Karl Marx' at the expense of 'the inspired humanity of Saint Francis of Assisi and the divine economy of the Sermon on the Mount' (Walsh 1948: 290). It produced Goering's aeroplanes which set the pattern for the total warfare that destroyed the craftsmanship of the Gothic Cathedrals of Europe.

The final culmination of the modern fall of Man is the era of total warfare, total power and total empire (Walsh surprisingly draws little on the concept of totalitarianism as developed by Kennan and others in the late 1940s though his ideas are quite similar; Pietz 1988; Stephanson 1989: 57, 63–4). According to Walsh's history, the era of total warfare was first conceptualized by General Ludendorff in his work *Total War* and was adopted by Hitler just as he also supposedly adopted Haushofer's global geographic strategy (Walsh 1947: 22). Warfare now embraced the whole population of states; it was no longer possible to make distinctions between combatants and non-combatants. All of the resources and technology of the state were mobilized to armaments and war. With air-power, the battle front

has moved into every city, town and village. . . . That is one of the most calamitous consequences of the degeneration in the sense of values which began with the Industrial Revolution and culminated in the crass materialism of Communism and the cynical secularism of the Nazi philosophy of the State.

(Walsh 1951: 246)

Total power is the form of the state realized first by the Soviet Union and subsequently by Hitler and the Nazis. It comprises a totalitarian state, modern technology and a secular ideology which is akin to a religion. The accumulation of total power by a state inevitably lead to geopolitical expansionism and world revolution.

Total power and world revolution

The culmination of Walsh's modern fall of Man meta-narrative is the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. For Walsh, this was an event of world historical significance. It provoked Walsh to write his first book in which he described it as

not merely a revolution in the accepted sense as historically understood, – that is, a re-allocation of sovereignty, – but revolution in the domain of economics, religion, art, literature, science, education, and all other human activities. It sought to create a new type of humanity. . . . It was philosophic materialism in arms, the most radical school of thought that had ever come upon the stage of human affairs.

(Walsh 1929: 6)

Walsh pushed its significance to even greater heights by claiming it was the most significant event in over a thousand years, an event of greater significance than even the Reformation. It was, he declared again and again, 'the most important event since the fall of the Roman Empire', a prelude to a new era of secular state religions.

The international ramifications of the new ideology, the organised challenge, and the social upheavals consequent on the November coup d'état all unite to equate the rise of the Communist state with the fall of the Roman Empire in the catalogue of significant world events.

(Walsh 1948: 258)

The Bolshevik Revolution was a consequence of certain unfortunate and accidental historical circumstances in Russia but it was also a symptom of the much deeper crisis in Western civilization and culture. Bolshevism was a procedural development in 'a deeper cultural crisis which has been tormenting Western society since the industrial revolution. Bolshevism is not the original sin in the modern fall of man' (Walsh 1948: 256). It was the consequence of the unbalanced development of Man and the emergence of a 'despiritualized humanism' that was the legacy of Enlightenment scepticism and materialism (Walsh 1948: 259). Communism was radical in that it de-legitimated Christianity and challenged its conception of Man. It was thus always much more than a geopolitical threat for Walsh. It was an ontological threat.

Ironically, the way in which Walsh and the Jesuits made sense of atheistic Communism was to conceptualize it as a new religion. It was a new creed bidding for men's hearts and minds. In *The Fall of the Russian Empire* Walsh made the analogy clear:

Lenin made Communism a religion. Karl Marx was its divinity; *Das Kapital* and *The Communist Manifesto* its inspired writings – its Bible; and he, Nicholas Lenin, was its master missionary. . . . Out of this human trilogy a faith was founded and propagated which, in its psychological reactions, supplied an earth-born substitute for that natural instinct and need which humanity feels for a divine revelation. Beginning with one pivotal dogma, – false, as most men believe, – the apostles of Communism have elaborated a set of doctrines which furnish them with weapons of daily propaganda.

(Walsh 1929: 221)

For the Society of Jesus, the analogy between the struggle against Reformation Protestantism and the struggle against Communism was obvious. In a letter 'On Combating Communism' the Superior General of the Jesuits Włodimir Ledochowski connects the two. The Society of Jesus came into existence in a time crucial for the Church. Its providential mission was to stem the tide of revolt against the Church. 'Does it not look', he asks rhetorically

as if the present emergency entailed a fresh call to our zeal and generosity as soldiers of Christ and His Church, a call to take up arms against the great heresy of our time, more dangerous perhaps than any heresy of the past? For Communism is not merely a system of philosophy, an abstract theory fostered by scattered groups of men; it is a world force powerfully organised, and even now actively at work in various countries with incalculable harm to souls and to religion.

(Ledochowski in Schmidt 1945: 907–8)

Ledochowski's letter directs each Jesuit province to appoint a director and a committee to organize anti-communist activities in that district. Information and documentation on Communism and Communists may be obtained, Ledochowski goes on to note, 'from Father Walsh of Georgetown University, who is in possession of a valuable collection of documents, books, and other material concerning Communism in theory and practice'. The anti-communist directors were also to consult Walsh on the practical steps to be taken to secure uniformity of strategy. Ledochowski's missive was written in 1934, one year after the Nazis (not the Communists) had taken over Germany.

The Catholic Church's relationship to Nazism is the subject of considerable historical controversy. Pope Pius XII was outspoken in his praise for Franco (who welcomed and gave privileges to the Jesuits after his civil war triumph) and silent on Nazism and the Holocaust. It has been suggested that with Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels all brought up in the faith, the National Socialist government was the most Catholic that Germany ever had (Mitchell 1982: 265). Himmler studied the organization of the Jesuits at length and considered the SS as a religious elite, the Nazi equivalent of the Society of Jesus. Hitler apparently made fun of Himmler's religious mania, describing him as 'our Ignatius Loyola'. It has also been alleged that Ledochowski was ready to organize some collaboration between the SS and the Jesuits against communism (Mitchell 1982: 264).

Some Jesuits, on the other hand, died at the hands of the Nazis. What can be said is that Walsh never acknowledged the ambivalences in the Catholic Church's relationship to fascism and the Nazis. For him, Nazism was the victory of a godless naturalism, an expression of a Teutonic mentality which worshipped the state. German mysticism and tribalism ('which was never wholly Christianized') triumphed over the German Christian tradition (Walsh 1948: 73). Hitler's drive for total power

became a logical corollary in shining armour of the claims for total power advocated by a long line of pompous German philosophers in academic costume and by a flock of romanticists seeking to recapture the heroic fictions of Valhalla. At bottom, the issue was Wotan versus Christ.

(Walsh 1948: 73)

Walsh makes the leaders of the German Catholic Church heroes. 'No group in Europe has been more fearless in denouncing the grave menace of racism than the German Catholic Hierarchy and', he adds in a revealingly awkward way, 'the more courageous leaders of Protestant belief in Germany' (Walsh 1947: 33). While individual Catholic leaders did speak out against the Nazis such a judgement, which completely ignores the role played by communists in challenging the Nazis, is more heroic than historical.

What is significant about Walsh's interpretation of Nazism is the equivalences he draws between it and Communism. Both were philosophies of total power and world revolution. 'These two concepts, Communism and Nazism', Walsh (1947: 36) wrote, 'included an identical objective – World Revolution. . . Both, in their own way, accepted the belief of Hitler formulated in *Mein Kampf* (Chapter Five, page 440): "political parties are inclined to compromise; world-concepts never. Political parties count on adversaries; world-concepts proclaim their infallibility"'. Interestingly, Walsh never uses the concept of 'Red

Fascism', the analytical device used in early Cold War America to map the evils of fascism onto the Soviet Union. Stalin, according to this notion, was another Hitler. One logical reason for its absence in Walsh's writings is that the Soviet Union was always the primary and overriding threat for Walsh. Rather than the Soviet Union being a version of Nazi Germany, Nazi Germany was a version of the Soviet Union for Walsh. Hitler was another Stalin, Germany a 'Brown Communism' (i.e. fascism was really a form of communism; my phrase not Walsh's). This reasoning is supported by passages in Walsh's work where he suggests that Nazism was a passing threat to democracy but that the real long-term threat remains from the Soviet Union. In a 1947 address to graduates of the FBI academy in Washington D.C. he notes that

Hitler snatched the sceptre of World Revolution from the Kremlin and robbed himself in the filched trappings of a totalitarian satrap. He strutted his little hour and passed; he was, as it were, a parenthesis in the text of History. His empire crumbled and the sceptre has now returned to Moscow.

(Walsh 1947 in Watkins 1990: 64).

By the late forties and early fifties Walsh was emphasizing just how much the Soviet empire was expanding. In one of his last public addresses in 1952 he figuratively pointed to the map and, in the manner common to uncritical geopolitics, concealed his interpretative politics by evoking the supposedly transparent and manifest quality of 'the facts on the map' (Ó Tuathail 1996):

Let us look, then, to the facts. Seven years of study and planned conquest by the Soviets since 1945 have resulted in a new Communist Empire, the largest in recorded history. Some 800 million human beings are now, directly or indirectly, subjected to the control of the Kremlin; that means approximately one-third of the human race, and the end is not yet in sight. I saw some of this panorama unfolding under my own eyes in 1945 in Germany and later on in the Far East; it has evolved with foresight, forethought and geopolitical wisdom.

(Walsh 1952 in Watkins 1990: 134)

Walsh knew a total empire when he saw it. The reason, he remarked, why he often insisted upon this last feature, that the empire was a conscious and planned creation, was 'because I have worked in the field of geopolitics for a good many years' (ibid.: 134). Geopolitics was Walsh's chosen field of eminence. Deciphering the geopolitical strategy of the enemy was his passion and countering their world revolutionary plans his vocation.

Propaganda, education and discernment

A fundamental founding mission of the Society of Jesus was 'the propagation of the faith by the ministry of the Word, by spiritual exercises, and by works of charity'. Special emphasis was placed on 'teaching Christianity to children and the uneducated' (Elton 1963: 200–1). From the outset, then, the Jesuits combined both a propaganda and an education mission. Both were intimately related, each involving the conquest of blank territory – pagan lands and uneducated minds – for the one true faith. In creating an extensive network of schools and universities across the globe, the Jesuits created a system of educational institutions facilitating social advancement and mobility that was unrivalled until the nineteenth century. Young minds were captivating by learning and captured for the Lord. Science and spirituality, literature and liturgy were seamlessly elements in a unified and 'balanced' curriculum. Education trained both the mind and the soul, the intellect and the spirit. A Jesuit education, it was claimed, produced men of both intellectual capability and moral character.

Father Edmund Walsh's career was part of the unfolding of this double Jesuit mission in the first half of the twentieth century. As a consequence of America's involvement in the First World War, there was a widely perceived need in the United States for education on international relations and questions of world affairs. The idea of establishing a School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University seems to have originated with Father John Creedan S.J., then President of Georgetown University. Creedan delegated responsibility for the project to Walsh who organized the curriculum of studies and opened the School in 1919 to sixty-two new students. In his opening address, attended by the Assistant Secretary of State at the time, Walsh stressed that the educational experience would provide a technical training that would rest upon a broad and liberal education, combining the best elements of age-long cultural traditions with the bracing atmosphere of individuality, characteristic of our educational institutions in the United States'. Traditional Jesuit notions of mission, responsibility and service were given a nominally secular expression. The 'high mission' of the School is to make men realize the responsibilities which they assume in a life of foreign service (Walsh, 1919 in Gallagher 1962: 202). Yet the ostensibly secular purpose of the School, the training of future diplomats and international trade officials, was enfolded by certain moral requirements from students. Compliance 'with the principles of moral law is expected and required of every student', and 'failure in this regard is ground for refusal of a certificate or degree, or suspension, or even expulsion. Efficiency in studies without moral character and conduct will not entitle the student to a certificate or a degree' (Walsh 1919 in Gallagher 1962: 202).

Like Mackinder who wanted to encourage English students to think imperially

and Haushofer who wanted to encourage German students to 'think in continents', Walsh had his own educational agenda which was intimately related to his political and, distinctly in his case, religious agenda (Ó Tuathail, Dalby and Routledge 1998). The Jesuit practice of discernment was fundamental to his pedagogy. One learned by confronting the teaching of one's enemies and discerning their philosophy and methods. Then one developed a counter-strategy to undo the effects of their creed. Just as the early Jesuits had confronted Martin Luther and Protestantism by first studying his arguments and then constructing rigorous theological refutations of these arguments, so foreign service students needed to confront the threatening ideologies and creeds of their time, study their expression, discern their operation, and then proselytize against them. This method led Walsh to search for what he considered to be foundational documents and practical philosophical expressions of threatening creeds. He sought to identify the 'theological fathers' of these creeds and their 'biblical' ur-texts. He was particularly drawn to documents of prophetic value concerning grand strategy. Walsh then sought to discern the underlying purpose of the creed and the methods it used to advance its cause. Finally, Walsh attempted to inoculate audiences against the operation of this creed and organize campaigns of counter-propaganda.

As one might expect, Walsh's overriding preoccupation was Bolshevism and the philosophy of Marxist-Leninism. In the 'foreword' to *The Fall of the Russian Empire* Walsh describes his goal as 'supplying the perspective and understanding which becomes indispensable if one hopes to avoid the common errors fostered by propagandists, paid or unpaid, and correct the fallacies of loose thinking and still looser talking indulged in by the pamphleteers' (Walsh 1929: vii). Lenin and his lieutenants were subjected to Jesuit-style psychological discernment in this book. Lenin was a man with a 'central reservoir of hate' whose mind became a sealed book, except for three thoughts: Russia, Revolution, the World on Fire (Walsh 1929: 219–20). Walsh's second work analysed the Soviet Five Year Plan of the late 1920s somewhat hopefully (from his perspective) as a 'last stand' (Walsh 1931). In his Georgetown lectures, public speeches and later published works he discussed the philosophy of dialectical materialism and Marxism. *Total Empire* (1951) contained an appendix of quotations and Communist teachings which Walsh referred to as the 'Communist scriptures' (Walsh 1951: 268). The operation of Machiavellian and materialist philosophies in the practices of the Soviet Union and Communist parties was discussed at length. Walsh went to considerable lengths to warn his readers about the infiltration and propaganda techniques used by Communists and the varied foreign policy tactics pursued by the Soviet Union to reach their ends (Walsh 1948: 247–79; 1951: 85–165).

In the late 1930s Walsh also began keeping track of the writings of Karl Haushofer and the German School of *Geopolitik*, influenced by a Portuguese

geographer Dr. Coutino whom Walsh had hired to teach at the School of Foreign Service. Coutino was a friend of Haushofer and it was he and not Walsh that first taught classes in 'political geography' and 'geopolitics' at Georgetown. Walsh, however, became interested in the new subject of 'geopolitics' and developed a number of lectures on German *Geopolitik* in 1941 (Giles interview 1999). In *Total Power* (1948: 9) Walsh describes himself as having devoted twenty years of 'attentive study' to Haushofer's activities. Like many others before and during the Second World War, Walsh believed that Haushofer's ideas represented those of Hitler and Nazi foreign policy. Haushofer was taken to be the 'brain trust' of Hitler (Ó Tuathail 1996: 111–40; Walsh 1947: 21–6 and 'Takeuchi in this volume'). Even in 1948 after he had interviewed Haushofer and the US army had determined that he was not particularly important to the Nazi state or close to Hitler, Walsh was wont to exaggerate Haushofer's influence and his own prescience about him. The connection between Haushofer's 'apparently academic pronouncements with the concrete Nazi program for achieving total power in Europe was not apparent to the world at large' until after the outbreak of the Second World War but Walsh had discerned this connection a decade earlier. After 1939, 'the interrelation of cause and effect could no longer be disguised, as one invasion after another followed the broad pattern so long and so openly expounded in the writings and teachings of the master geopolitician' (Walsh 1948: 10).

The problem, however, is that there was no strong connection and no broad pattern. Haushofer's influence in what has been described as the 'weak dictatorship' of Hitler was marginal before the war and virtually nil during the war. Walsh demurs from the judgement not to prosecute Haushofer because it 'did not take sufficient account of the direct and influential role that Haushofer had personally played for many years in the inner counsels of the Party', nor did it 'visualize his powerful stimulus and specific activities in justifying Hitler's political and military aggressions' (Walsh 1948: 12). Yet these descriptions themselves are pale versions, as Walsh himself acknowledges, of the arguments originally made by himself and a colleague before going to Germany to interrogate Haushofer and investigate his influence. And, furthermore, even these charges exaggerate the significance and role of Haushofer.

What is interesting about this is what it reveals about the nature and accuracy of Walsh's method of discernment. Walsh was predisposed to finding prophetic leaders and conspiracies in history, visionary prophets with a plan for world revolution and radical movements with an elaborate strategy to realize the plan. Nazism and Communism were of a kind, each with their own prophets, creed and revolutionary blueprints. All were opposed by Christianity. Walsh had difficulty acknowledging the contingency and indeterminacy of history. For him, history was always deeply meaningful, the unfolding of struggles between abstract

opposites. Throughout history Christianity has done battle with godlessness, spirituality with soulless materialism, democracy with totalitarianism, and freedom with empire (Walsh 1948: 102).

These were certainly the terms to be used to describe the United States's geopolitical conflict with the Soviet Union. Like many American Cold War geopoliticians, Walsh saw the Soviet Union as the inheritor of a transcendent Russian impulse towards expansionism (Walsh 1948: 268). A document purported to be the last will and testament of Peter the Great from 1757 was identified as an ur-text of Russian and Soviet geopolitics by Walsh. In *Total Power* Walsh claims that 'whatever doubts may attach to the authenticity of this remarkable document . . . no doubt can exist as to its prophetic quality. The Russian Government (*sic*) since 1939, as fact of record, has followed the Petrine pattern with obstinate fidelity' (Walsh 1948: 270). Truth for Walsh is forced to be clearer than truth. A few years later in *Total Empire* Walsh renews his obsession with this document, reproducing it as an appendix to his book while conceding that it may be inauthentic but that nevertheless it 'possesses great intrinsic interest, as embodying principles of action which have been notoriously followed out by Russia during the last hundred years, with such modifications as time and circumstances, and the variations of the European equilibrium, have rendered necessary' (Walsh 1951: 261).

Walsh's arguments echoed the Truman Doctrine and George Kennan's articulation of the policy of containment. 'The lines are drawn for a deeper conflict between absolutism and freedom of the spirit, between two antagonistic philosophies of life that can no longer be disguised. . . . As evangelist of world Communism [Russia] cannot remain static' (Walsh 1948: 318). Her efforts to ferment revolution must be resisted 'by appropriate counter-policy at every point where the conspiracy becomes evident' (Walsh 1948, 329). Separating the geopolitical from the religious reasoning is impossible in Walsh for the Cold War, as he pointed out in his final speech at the Georgetown Club on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his induction into the Society of Jesus, 'is a struggle between two great moral opposites' (Walsh, 1952 in Gallagher 1962: 142). The US-Soviet struggle is not only a West versus East struggle but a struggle between Christ and Karl Marx, the New Testament and the Communist Manifesto. Geopolitics is not geographical power politics; it is a omnipresent spiritual struggle.

Loyola's soldier

Characterizing the gender regime organized and represented by the Jesuits is a task beyond this chapter. Yet in any characterization of this problematic, the figure of the heroic soldier of God needs to be examined and deconstructed. As has

already been noted, the Society of Jesus was founded by an ex-soldier who transposed his militaristic training into religious life. The Jesuits were organized as a religious elite who pledged absolute obedience to their Superior General and the Pope. For young Catholic boys down the ages dealing with their inchoate sexuality amidst Jesuits and a culture that repressed adolescent sexuality, the Order no doubt offered a clear and heroically celibate path through life. Like soldiers, the Jesuits realized their self-image far from the world of women, fighting in the classroom, in the public arena and on faraway frontiers for the patriarchal order of the Church. The Jesuits codified a particular masculinity that managed to be heroic at the same time as it was safe, to have a strong masculinist self-image while simultaneously managing to avoiding the embarrassments of having to negotiate the world of women. Women were potentially dangerous, so much so that Ledochowski wrote two letters of instruction for the society on the issue 'On the avoidance of long conversations with women' (1918) and 'On reserve in dealing with women' (1920) (Schmidt 1945).

While the militaristic culture of the Society of Jesus can be exaggerated, there has been a long-standing historical affinity between the Jesuits and state military organizations. The Jesuits were religious militarists and this often lead them into active support of state militarists and militarism as a means of advancing their own purposes. This fusion of spiritual and state militarism can be seen in the career of Father Walsh. What is also evident, though this question needs further research, is the operation of a particular Jesuit-style militarist masculinity that produces an aversion to diplomatic compromise in Walsh and also a dangerous attraction to the more apocalyptic forms of Cold War militarism.

Throughout his life Father Walsh had numerous social and institutional ties to the US military. Soon after obtaining an M.A. at Woodstock College, Maryland, Walsh became a member of a special commission of the War Department to administer the Student Army Training Corps (SATC). This began a long association for Walsh with the US army and its training programmes. As an 'expert' on geopolitics, he regularly lectured various branches of the US military in Washington DC and Fort Levinworth Kansas on security dangers, spiritual and geopolitical. As a prominent figure of the Washington social scene, he had good relationships with the Pentagon leadership, especially, it seems, with General Douglas MacArthur. In 1945 Walsh swapped his priestly attire for a US army officer's uniform to serve in Nuremberg, a position he apparently lobbied hard to obtain (Giles interview 1999). Addressing the Industrial Armed College of the Armed Forces in August 1952, he recalled lecturing to the same body decades before, especially to a young captain by the name of Eisenhower (Watkins 1990: 130). Indeed after Walsh's death, Eisenhower recalled 'the rare privilege' he once had listening to 'a magnificent lecture' by Walsh 'on the growing menace of Communism' (Eisenhower cited in Gallagher 1962: 247).

At his golden jubilee dinner in 1952, attended by amongst others General J. Lawton Collins, chief of staff of the US army, Walsh offers some rare insight into how his Jesuit training and background conditioned his approach to life:

I thank the disciplined but patient formation of my Order, founded as it was by a soldier over four hundred years ago, which taught me to put first things first, particularly to regard no man as fit for command who has not first learned how to obey. She [sic] enjoins on all her members the obligation to weigh every challenge of life and every risk of death on the scales of eternity, make prudent election between alternatives and then fight the issue out in rank and file under unified leadership.

(Walsh 1952 in Gallagher 1962: 243)

A Jesuit life for Walsh is a life of spiritual warfare. Such a determined militaristic approach to life would seem quite at odds with Walsh's position as the Regent of a School Of Foreign Service, an institution training a society of diplomats not soldiers. Diplomacy certainly required discipline and obedience but it also required a capacity for dialogue and an openness to otherness. In Walsh's world, however, the weight of eternal judgement crushed diplomacy as dialogue. The Soviet Union was an implacable moral enemy of the United States and Walsh was consequently in a permanent state of war against it. Diplomacy for Walsh was the conduct of war by other means, an attitude that probably accounts for his own lack of success as a papal diplomat in the Soviet Union in 1922–23. The Bolsheviks apparently found him 'most objectionable, proud and inclined to make a terrible scandal out of every little issue' (Fischer 1930: 522). Walsh's undisguised enmity for the Bolsheviks seems to have brought him into conflict not only with the Soviet state but also with the Vatican which was striving not to antagonise the Bolsheviks at the time (Fischer 1930: 522–3). In the end, Walsh was removed from his post and the American relief effort shut down. (Walsh rebutted Fischer's descriptions, terming him a pro-Russian 'propagandist'; see Walsh 1931.) That the Regent of a School of Foreign Service might have been a poor diplomat and a philosophical opponent of diplomacy is somewhat ironic. But Walsh's refusal to grant the Soviet Union diplomatic status and recognition was not unusual at the time. Only in 1933 did FDR finally recognize the Soviet Union, a move bitterly opposed by Walsh that triggered, as already noted, considerable protests by American Catholics and others.

Walsh never abandoned his religious war against Communism and the Soviet Union. In his later life, his crusading zeal lead him into association with some controversial figures. The charge that Walsh directly encouraged Joseph McCarthy's crusade against Communism in the United States is contentious and the product of a newspaper article by Drew Pearson, a political gossip columnist. They certainly dined together with others on 7 January 1950 in Washington

before McCarthy began making his charges, a meeting at the centre of Pearson's accusation. Crosby (1978: 51) in his exoneration of Walsh from any direct connection with McCarthyism claims that while Walsh 'shows a surprising concern (one might almost say an "obsession") with the menace of external communism', 'he almost never talked about the question of subversion'. Yet Crosby, himself a Jesuit, never notes Ledochowski's 1934 directive 'On Combating Communism' which conceived the idea of a co-ordinated campaign against the subversive influence of 'the great heresy' of Communism. More strikingly, he ignores large sections of Walsh's works where he asks conspiratorially driven inquisitional questions such as: 'what makes a Communist or a sympathiser out of an American comfortably placed, sometimes a millionaire, often a successful author, a playwright, a Hollywood figure, a schoolteacher, a government employee, a well-paid labor leader, a lawyer, or a city councillor?' (Walsh 1951: 101). Also ignored are statements such as: 'Today, if Mr J. Edgar Hoover is correct, there are 500,000 John Reeds [after John Reed, "the brilliant but erratic Harvard graduate who cast his lot with Lenin's cause"] walking the streets of America' (Walsh 1951: 103). Clearly, Walsh was inclined with powerful others to see Communist conspirators and conspiracies throughout the land. Yet the idea that Walsh was the 'intellectual father' of McCarthyism is overblown, a product no doubt in part of a long-standing inclination to see the malign influence of the Jesuits in politics. Walsh was not happy at being associated with McCarthy for it threatened to damage the image he cultivated for the School of Foreign Service. He refused to respond publicly to Pearson's charge but let it be known that he considered Pearson a 'liar' (Tillman 1994: 32). His secretary Walter Giles recalled that he subsequently refused telephone contact with Senator McCarthy and that later, hospitalized after his stroke, Walsh expressed concern about McCarthyism after hearing of its effect on State Department morale from former students (Giles interview 1999).

Finally, Walsh's religious antipathy for the Soviet Union lead him to take certain positions which were surprising coming from a Catholic priest. Walsh was an enthusiastic supporter of Cold War militarism, praising in particular the building of the US navy's first nuclear powered submarines and giant aircraft carrier (Walsh, 1952 in Watkins 1990: 139). As the strongest citadel of Christian civilization, America needed to be vigilant and well armed. Addressing graduates of the FBI academy in 1947 he declared that never before was there 'greater need for clear heads, steady hands and great hearts at the controls of human destiny, for men who walk humbly in the sight of God but keep their powder dry' (Watkins 1990: 68–9).

Walsh's most stridently militarist position was his justification of a pre-emptory nuclear first strike by the United States against the Soviet Union. Writing immediately after the outbreak of war on the Korean peninsula which he interpreted as the

'final confrontation' between 'two great centers of world power whose basic and irreconcilable character' was known to Soviets decades ago, Walsh argued that all states were obligated to protect their populations from attack (Walsh 1950 in Watkins 1990: 145). Pre-emptive attacks were morally just. The United States, for example, would have been justified in intercepting and destroying the Japanese aircraft attacking Pearl Harbor. With a 'Soviet feint in some remote area of Asia or the Middle East', the US defence system had better keep its eyes fixed on the Northwest and Arctic sector for a sneak surprise attack (Watkins 1990: 149). If the US government had 'sound reason to believe (that is, had moral certitude)' that a surprise attack was being planned then President Truman was justified in 'taking measures proportionate to the danger' including use of atomic bombs (1990: 149–50). While the results would be tragic and horrific, there was no immorality in the United States government choosing the lesser of two evils. Walsh justified military force in the abstract by pointing out that '[e]ven Christ himself did not disdain to seize the lash and drive the hypocrites out of the Temple' (Watkins 1990: 150). Writing on this same issue of the atom bomb and the Christian conscience in *Total Empire* he ends the book with the rather ominous sentence: 'The debate is not whether we can afford to do the necessary things for the defense of Christian civilization – but can we afford not to do them?' (Walsh 1951: 259).

Conclusion: religion and geopolitics

This chapter has been no more than an introduction to Father Edmund Walsh and Jesuit anticommunism. I have concentrated on providing a portrait of Walsh's geopolitical thinking and the larger context within which he worked. Further research on all the relationships and issues explored in the chapter is needed. What is hopefully apparent, though, is that the relationship of religion to geopolitics is a significant problematic in critical geopolitical studies. In any consideration of traditions of geopolitics, the complex interrelationships between geopolitics and religion need to be acknowledged and investigated. Geopolitics is far from being the secular science and practice it is sometimes represented as being.

Today, geopolitics and religion remain interpenetrated in ways that are sometimes recognized and acknowledged but at other times not. Many contemporary global conflicts are represented in predominantly religious categories such as those in Bosnia, Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine. Western security discourse regularly identifies threats in religious terms, most especially in terms of Islamic fundamentalism (Esposito 1992; Huntington 1996). The papacy of John Paul II has been credited with helping precipitate the downfall of Communism in Eastern Europe and many hope it will have a similar effect in Cuba (Bernstein and Politi 1996). Sometimes, the religious faith of particular Western leaders like Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan is acknowledged as an important element of their

geopolitical philosophy and approach to global crises and problems. Yet, though a hegemonic 'Judeo-Christian tradition' has conditioned Western foreign policy practices for some time, the influence of religion on how the United States and its Western allies approach and conceptualize the world is rarely acknowledged and problematized. Indeed, amongst some there is a perception that the West's approach to the world has ignored religion altogether and become much too secular. The West needs to begin to re-acknowledge religion as the 'mission dimension of statecraft'.

In a book with this very title, *Religion: The Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, edited by figures with associations to the Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, Edward Luttwak (1994) argues that the Enlightenment-era prejudice against religion has contributed to a 'secularizing reductivism' in US foreign policy and a failure to appreciate the limits of materialistic determinism. US foreign policy professionals and the media tend to reduce conflicts and crises to secular terms, like 'Right' and 'Left', which ignore the complexity and importance of religious motivations in political conflicts. Also, these same actors tend to slight spiritual motivations in analysing crises and situations. The results are serious foreign policy intelligence failures and geopolitical setbacks, such as the fall of the Shah in Iran. Ostensibly motivated by the need for better diplomatic training and foreign policy analysis – Luttwak (1994: 16) proposes, for example, that 'religious attachés' could be assigned to diplomatic missions – Luttwak's arguments have an implicit message; the Western foreign policy community needs to become more sceptical of its own secular reasoning – especially neoliberalism – and to begin to recover a sense of the power of religious consciousness.

Much more explicit is the message of the coalition seeking to enact the Freedom From Religious Persecution Act in Congress which if passed would trigger US sanctions against states judged by a White House Office for Religious Persecution Monitoring to be tormenting their citizens on the basis of their religion. The coalition, made up of Protestant evangelicals, Jewish activists and others with broad support from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, also considers religion the 'missing dimension of statecraft' and through the legislation seeks to mandate that the foreign policy bureaucracy of the United States rediscover their own religious vision and power. Their efforts have already yielded some results. Former US Secretary of State Warren Christopher established an Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad to study the question. Current US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, a former faculty member at Georgetown University, has mandated U.S. diplomats to provide frequent and thorough reports on the status of religious freedom in the countries to which they are accredited. She has also spotlighted the issue in the State Department's annual report on human rights though she opposes the proposed Congressional legislation because of the foreign policy complications it undoubtedly would create.

The United States is perhaps the most enduringly religious state in the post-modern world. In order to understand its political culture and geopolitical practices one needs to appreciate how religion provides certain narratological resources and discursive strategies for its leaders to represent and interpret the world. Heroic religious stories of transcendent struggles against evil, heresy and godlessness have long been mapped onto the world political map by religious leaders, politicians and strategists deeply socialized by these narratives. In many instances, these scripts are exceedingly dangerous for they refuse the complexity of international affairs and falsely reduce it to predetermined moral categories. Part of the task of developing critical geopolitics, therefore, involves a struggle to deconstruct the orders of power/knowledge found in (con)fusions of geopolitical and religious traditions. This task has only begun.

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to the staff of the Georgetown University Special Collections library, Robert Gallucci, Dean of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and especially to Walter Giles for an interview on 6 February 1999.

Bibliography

- Agnew, J. and Corbridge, S. (1995) *Mastering Space*, London: Routledge.
- Berstein, C. and Politi, M. (1996) *His Holiness: John Paul II and the Hidden History of Our Time*, New York: Doubleday.
- Campbell, D. (1992) *Writing Security: United States Foreign Policy and the Politics of Identity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Cosgrove, D. (1999) 'Baroque Geography and Enlightenment', 33–66 in D. N. Livingstone and C. W. J. Withers (eds) *Geography and Enlightenment*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crosby, A. (1997) *The Measure of Reality*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Crosby, D. (1978) *God, Church and Flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church 1950–1957*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Elton, G. R. (1963) *Reformation Europe, 1517–1559*, Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.
- Esposito, J. (1992) *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, L. (1930) *The Soviets in World Affairs: A History of Relations Between the Soviet Union and the Rest of the World*, vol. II, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Gallagher, L. (1962) *Edmund Walsh, S.J.: A Biography*, New York: Benziger Brothers.
- Halberstam, D. (1972) *The Best and the Brightest*, New York: Penguin.
- Huxley, A. (1941) *The Grey Eminence: A Study in Religion and Politics*, New York: Harper.
- Kovel, J. (1997) *Red Hunting in the Promised Land: Anticommunism and the Making of America*, London: Cassell.
- Lacouture, J. (1995) *Jesuits: A Multibiography*, Washington D.C.: Counterpoint.
- Luttwak, E. (1994) 'The Missing Dimension', 8–19 in D. Johnston and C. Sampson (eds) *Religion, the Missing Dimension of Statecraft*, New York: Oxford University Press.