

*Poland and Ukraine,
'Ireland's Sisters in the East' ?*

*Identification and convergence of struggles
in Ukrainian-Irish and Polish-Irish relations
(1845-1939)*

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*Constance Markievicz dressed as a Ukrainian Peasant
Zhyvotivka, 1903*

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Table of content

- Introduction.....	7
- General historical notions.....	10
– I. Global history and its movements: helpful historical methods and concept.....	10
– II. Ukraine and Poland between 1845 and 1939: Historical background. What led them to be seen as oppressed ?.....	14
<i>Ireland, a terrible record</i>	14
" <i>Za naszą i waszą wolność</i> " ! : <i>Poland, the century of Insurrections</i>	17
<i>L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre</i>	20
- Historiographical Overview.....	24
– I. Ireland, Ukraine and Poland in transnational history and history of nationalism.....	26
1. History of Nationalism.....	26
2. The Concept of Small Nations during World War I.....	27
3. Post-Colonial Societies or Not?.....	29
– II. Comparative historiography of Ireland, Ukraine and Poland. How could historical works with a national dimension – and its evolution - help in a transnational and comparative analysis ?.....	30
Ireland.....	31
Poland.....	36
Ukraine.....	38
– III. Polish Irish connection.....	43
– IV. Ukrainian Irish connection.....	46
1. Ukrainian historians's involvement in making a general comparison.....	47
2. Famines as the Darkest Hours.....	48
3. The importance of women in famine historiography.....	50
– V. On The Gore-Booth, Markievicz, and Zhyvotivka: biographies, gender perspectives, local perspectives.....	54
– VI. Connecting the histories of minorities in Ireland, Poland and Ukraine?.....	63
– VII. Ireland's connection with Eastern Europe.....	66
-Research perspectives and Plan announce.....	69
– I. Poles, Irish and Ukrainians during the century of nationalism (1845-1913).....	71
A. Three Tragic Nations: Jews, Irish and Poles (George Bernard Shaw).....	73
B. Irish-Ukrainian Relations.....	82
C. How could this comparison allow us to understand the issues raised by the national question in Europe between mid-XIXth century and first world war?.....	88
– II. The Neverending First World War (1914-1923).....	93
A. Poles, Irish, Ukrainians during the First World War.....	95

B. The Internationalisation of the National Question.....	105
C. Anti-Imperialist alternatives to Nationalism.....	113
– III. Constance (and Kazimierz) Markievicz: the point of intersection.....	119
A. Constance and Kazimierz Markievicz, Con and Casi: National and Transnational Destinies.....	121
B. Lissadell and Zhyvotivka, a local history of Irish, Polish, and Ukrainian people.....	131
C. Sisters in Misfortune: Markievicz's political feminist reflection applied to Eastern Europe.....	139
– IV. Different paths (1923-1939).....	147
A. How changing the regimes changed the relation of Ireland with Poland and Ukraine?..	150
B. A Diachronic Comparison: Holodomor and Gorta Mor.....	159
C. 1939: The Epilogue?.....	168
– V. The hereafter: a convergence of an estrangement of memories?.....	171
A. The Importance of Memory in those countries' crossed history (1939-1995).....	173
B. Constance Markievicz's legacy: a real bridge?.....	182
C. Ireland, Poland and Ukraine after 1995.....	186
 -Conclusion.....	 198
 - Sources and Bibliography.....	 203
Sources.....	203
Bibliography.....	213
 Résumé en français.....	 227

Introduction

In 1863, the Poles rebelled against the Russian Empire in one of the most (un)famous insurrections of their history: The January Uprising (22/01/1863-18/06/1864). In an Ireland totally integrated in the United Kingdom for decades, the Dubliner Patrick McCabe Faye decided to help them, because for him: " *It was the only right that the Poland of the West come to aid of her Sister in the East* ". Just like Ireland, Poland was struggling against a violent occupation, since an event known as *Poland's partitions* that began in 1772, and resulted in the country's integration into three empires, in 1795. Therefore, some Irish, like McCabe Faye, identified with Poles in their struggle against a foreign oppression, and showed their solidarity in collects, like he did.

So if we personify them, it seems possible to say that the two countries were *Sisters*. It was with this example that Róisín Healy chose to begin *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, 1772-1922 Anti-Colonialism within Europe*¹. Both are indeed " small nations ", subjugated during the XIXth century by overwhelming imperial powers. After being frequently invaded by the English for centuries, Ireland lost every sovereignty following the Act of Union in 1801, while Poland was progressively partitioned between Prussia (then Germany after 1871), Austria-Hungary and Russia. In 1863, she had lost all her sovereignty as well. Therefore, all along the XIXth century and until an independence that both of them have won following the First World War, Irish and Poles were either put in contact by their own sense of parallel fates, either compared in political discussions or works. For example, Lenin himself stated that : " *Ireland is something of a British Poland* "², but

1 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, p. 1

2 LENIN Vladimir, " Class War in Dulin", *Severnaya Pravda* No. 23, August 29, 1913; *Nash Put* No. 5, August 30, 1913. Signed: *V.*. Published according to the *Severnaya Pravda* text.

Source: *Lenin Collected Works*, Progress Publishers 1977, Moscow, Volume 19, pages 332-336 Marxist Internet Archives

See also: FOX Ralph, *Marx, Engels, Lenin on the Irish Revolution*, Cork, The Cork Workers Club, 1932, 36 p.

here two of the concepts that brought them together most frequently are analysed as structural problem that concerns them both. He added that : “*National oppression and Catholic reaction have turned the proletarians of this unhappy country into paupers, the peasants into toilworn, [...] and the bourgeoisie into a phalanx, masked by nationalist phrases, of capitalists, of despots over the workers*”³.

However, still according to him, this situation is “*closer to Galicia than the Poland represented by Warsaw, Łodz and Dombrovski [sic]*”.⁴ This recalls the 1846 uprising of Galician peasants against the nationalist Polish nobles. These peasants were mostly Ruthenians, hence Ukrainians. Another Eastern European nation that is less often compared to Ireland. However, strong arguments can make her another Ireland's sister in the East.

While Alexei Bayer⁵ acknowledges that “*The Irish have traditionally identified with the Poles and their struggle for freedom and for their own national state. There are obvious parallels between two Catholic nations being oppressed by – and constantly rebelling against – an overwhelming colonial power of a different confession*”, he quickly adds : “*But actually, the Ireland-Ukraine pairing may be closer. As Ukrainians fight security forces on the barricades in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities, this history — and its parallels with Ireland — should be kept in mind*”. Alexei Bayer wrote several articles about the Ukraine-Ireland connection and the parallels between these nations. The previous quote is an excerpt from one of them, “Ukraine and Ireland: Overcoming mighty neighbors”, published in *The Globalist* during the Euromaidan riots, hence the reference to barricades in Kiev⁶. After the revolt led to the end of the Yanukovich regime, the Crimean annexation and the ongoing war in Donbass, he declared in the Kyiv Post that “Ukraine is the Ireland of the Russian Empire”⁷. Ukraine shares for example some common points with both Ireland and Poland, such as national oppression and none of them were independent during the XIXth century. Moreover, a very specific historical episode connects all of those countries.

In 2007, an eminent member of the Irish Polish Society⁸, Patrick Quigley, wrote an article about the Markievicz couple⁹, where he declared: “*in the XXIst century the name of Constance Markievicz and her husband will connect Ireland, Ukraine and Poland in new and unexpected*

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Alexei Bayer's page < <https://www.theglobalist.com/contributors/alexei-bayer/> >

6 BAYER Alexei, " Ukraine and Ireland: Overcoming mighty neighbors". *The Globalist* 8/02/2014
Euromaidan was a serie of pro-european protests in Ukraine, between 21/11/2013 and 23/02/2014

7 BAYER Alexei, " Ukraine is the Ireland of the Russian Empire", *Kyiv Post*, 23/12/2018

8 Founded in 1979, at the occasion of the polish pope Jan Pawel II coming to Ireland, it is still active nowadays.

See their website < <http://irishpolishsociety.ie/> >

9 QUIGLEY Patrick, A Irishman's diary", *Irish Times*, 3/12/2007

ways. *I think she would be pleased*". How? Constance Markievicz (1868-1927) was an Irish revolutionary and a Sinn Féin member - she joined this nationalist organisation in 1908, only 3 years after it was founded. Its name means "*Ourselves*" in Irish. She was therefore in the same time a nationalist, socialist, and feminist icon, who married a Polish artist, Casimir Markievicz, in Polish Kazimierz (1874-1932). She fought for Irish Independence during a key part of its history, but of Eastern European history as well. The Dunin-Markievicz family came from the Ukrainian village of Zhyvotivka (in Polish *Żywotówka*), somewhere between Vinnytsia and Kyiv. Therefore, Constance as a leader of the 1916 Easter Rising and heroine of Irish Independence belongs to Irish history, the Markievicz clan belongs to Polish history and Zhyvotivka belongs to Ukrainian history, and the couple to the three.

However, Ukraine and Ireland were never as powerful as Poland at the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, from 1569 to 1795. Moreover, the key events that could connect their history is that they were hit by both of the worst famines in European history. Each claimed millions of lives. The first happened between 1845 and 1851, the second in 1932-1933. This is one of the points Alexei Bayer raised in his articles : "*Both countries suffered massive famines, which killed millions. (They are even known by similar names: an Gorta Mór in Irish Gaelic and Holdomor in Ukrainian)*". In the Ukrainian history, 1845 is just before the Galician uprising, and during the years of the great poet Taras Shevchenko's literary activit, Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) being considered considered as the greatest Ukrainian poet. To quote Seton Watson : "*The formation of an accepted literary language owes more to him than to him than to any other individual. The use of this language was the decisive stage in the formation of a Ukrainian National consciousness*"¹⁰. We could establish that 1845 was around the years of a birthact for Ukrainian literary language. In 1939, Poland was a Republic (the Second one), Ireland had been a Republic for two years, and both of the Markievicz were dead. This is the eve of the Second world War that would change Poland and Ukraine, irremediably, killing millions of their citizens, wiping out their Jewish communities. Therefore, the events that occurred between these two dates and their consequences on Polish, Irish and Ukrainian national memories, are crucial to understand the relations between these people.

If there are maybe more parallels between Ukraine and Ireland, there is also a larger documentation on Irish-Polish connection and more testimonies of them. As Alexei Bayer said, the Irish identified traditionally with Poles. To understand the reason for this process of identification a little contradictory, we should quickly understand the Irish historical parallels with Ukraine and the Irish historical parallels with Poland, as well as differences between them, by overlooking their

10 SETON-WATSON, *Nations and States*, WestView Press, 1977, p. 187

history between 1845 and 1939. The sources and bibliography we used will then be useful to make a historiographical overview. Then, at the end, we would be able to build new perspectives of research, understand the issues we should resolve and the questions we shall answer, and think about the new sources we can explore.

General historical notions

Before exploring the diversity of connections existing between Poland, Ireland and Ukraine, we should at first focus on some historical methods linked to global, transnational and comparative history. Then secondly, on the History of those three nations during this period. This will enable us to highlight some common points, then the links resulting to these historical parallels.

How could studying Polish, Irish and Ukrainian history using an intra-national frame could help us to highlight different ties between this country?

I) Global history and its movements: useful historical methods and concepts

In 1996, Heinz Gerhard Haupt and Jurgen Kocka made a listing of the numerous way to make history out of the nationalist perspective, as “*Comparative history, transfer history, histoire croisée, global history, international history, regional history, local history, and finally transnational history*”, they “*each have distinctive methods and claims, but all have the potential to challenge the privileged position of the nation-state as the subject and agent of historical change*”.¹¹

Global history and the multiple movements linked to it arose during what is called the *global turn*. As this research would try to forge different types of connection between three nations

11 ZAHRA Tara, "Imagined non-communities : National indifferences as a Category of analysis", in *Slavic Review*, Cambridge University Press, Vol.69, No.1 (Spring 2010), pp. 93-119

that do not share borders, global history could be relevant to classify it. This may begin with using comparative methods, the older in this movement of *Global History*.

Comparison as a historical method is in fact almost as ancient as history itself, since it was very intuitive, as summarized in “*Manuel d'histoire globale*”: “*Dès l'antiquité grecque, la méthode comparative a été utilisée par des historiens grecs de manière intuitive, sans être théorisée...*”¹². On the other hand, comparative studies are much more recent, as it really developed at the beginning of the XXth century under the impulse of historians like Marc Bloch¹³. They are however still older than the so-called global turn. Global history or World history was born during the second half of the XXth century in the United States, especially in the 1980's. Comparative history is linked to it, as well as transnational history. However, transnational approach sometimes rejects the comparative approach, but it was the connected history which was meant as a reaction to the comparative one. The latter has the ambition to reconnect histories that weren't previously connected¹⁴. It seems far from the idea of *parallels* evoked in the introduction, as parallel straight lines never meet each other. Still, the article “*Ukraine and Ireland: overcoming mighty neighbors*”, centered on parallels comes from a blog called *The Globalist*. Their people were connected, and we need to know to what extent they were and to what extent it allowed their fate to meet each other. So, both transnational and comparative history's methodological devices are needed there. Here intervenes a historical movement and method called by Michel Werner the *histoire croisée*, that has the ambition to reunite them. Werner wrote on that matter: « *Elle [l'histoire croisée] offre en particulier des pistes nouvelles pour sortir de l'impasse des débats entre comparatistes et spécialistes des transferts sans pour autant minorer les apports de ces deux approches sur lesquelles elle s'appuie largement* »¹⁵. It's also Werner who linked *histoire croisée*, transnational history, connected history, shared history and history of cultural transfers “*to the family of “relational approaches”*”¹⁶. Therefore, even transnational history and connected history are not textually opposed to comparative history, while, as Helmut Kaelble explained:

“*Historians often see transnational history and comparative history as opposing concepts in contradiction to each other. The latter is regarded as viewing history exclusively through the*

12 *Since Greek Antiquity, the comparative method was used by greek historians in an intuitive way, without a theory.*
MAUREL Chloé, *Manuel d'histoire globale*, Armand Colin, 2014, 216 p.

13 See BLOCH Marc, *Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes*, " *Revue de synthèse historique* ", (1928), T. XLVI, ou. série t. XX

14 See DOUKI Caroline, MINARD Philippe, "Global Histories, Connected history ", *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Belin, 2007/5 (No 54-4bis), p. 7-21

15 “*In particular, it offers new perspectives for breaking the deadlock in debates between comparativists and transfer specialists without, however, diminishing the contributions of these two approaches on which it is largely based*”
WERNER Michel, " *Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité* " , *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2003/1 58e année, p. 7-36

16 About cultural transfers, see ESPAGNE Michel, " *La notion de transfert culturel* ", *Revue Sciences/Lettres*, 1/2013

eyes of national history and constructing differences between countries, while the first one is seen as an approach which strictly avoids and transcends history through national eyes. The aim of this article is to demonstrate that it does not make any sense to separate artificially historical comparison from the investigation of flows and transfers between countries ¹⁷.

These transnational relations between our countries are in addition illustrated with a concrete case, those of the Markievicz couple. A work focused on their history as a transnational couple of artists and political or politicized activists at a key point of European history would fall under yet another term, *global microhistory*. The historians Romain Bertrand and Guillaume Calafat wrote about it that “*Riche de promesses, elle [global microhistory] allie l’intérêt historiographique suscité par la microhistoire dans le courant des années 1980 au paradigme de l’histoire globale qui s’est imposé à compter des années 1990*”¹⁸. Their article is then illustrated by a concrete example: “*Une vie sur plusieurs continents, Microhistoire globale d’un agent arménien de la Compagnie des Indes orientales, 1666-1688*”¹⁹. If it is focused on the history of one person, it clearly uses the transnational approach so its analysis should mobilize knowledge of several places during the modern period and of the connections between them. Therefore, if the Markievicz are just a couple of people, they clearly fit into transnational history.

To conclude, we should therefore use devices of microhistory into our wider study of transnational and crossed bows between Ireland and Eastern Europe: such a complex topic necessitates to combine most of the historical approaches and methodologies linked to “relational approaches” to embrace the subtleties of these relations.

However, those historical approaches, if they have the ambition to move past the concept of nation-state as a frame, do not suppress, even more so with a problematic confronting three countries, the need to define a nation.

Among the methodological problems we could face, there are the questions linked to the concepts of Nation and Nationalism, as this question was more crucial than ever to these people during the XIXth century. Among Poland, Ireland and Ukraine, none of them were independent states up to 1922, they were people with national aspirations. Eric Hobsbawm simply wrote that:

17 KAEUBLE Hartmut, "Comparative and Transnational history", *Ricerche di storia politica* (ISSN 1120-9526) Fascicolo speciale, october 2017

18 “*Rich in promises, it (global microhistory) combines the historiographical interest aroused by microhistory during the 1980's with the paradigm of global history which prevailed in the 1990's*”
ROMAIN Bertrand, CALAFAT Guillaume, "La microhistoire globale: affaire(s) à suivre", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2018/1 (73e année), p. 1-18

19 ASLANIAN Sebouh David, *Une vie sur plusieurs continents, Micro histoire global d'un agent arménien de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, 1666,-1688*, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2003/1 58e année, p. 19-55

“Before 1884, the world nation simply meant the aggregative of people living in a province.”, basing himself on the Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy.²⁰

But how can we define the people we are studying ? One of the most important common denominators could be their identification as Irish, Ukrainians or Poles. As Alfred Jarry concluded in his *Ubu Roi*: “S’il n’y avait pas de Pologne, il n’y aurait pas de Polonais!”²¹ Beside the antiphrasis, clearly a figure of speech, there was indeed no more Poland, but there were still Poles. Since the Poles remained a Nation, even an “abolished” one, a recognized ethnicity, can we state that there was no Poland left to study?

In *L’imaginaire national*, Benedict Anderson presented as central the importance of identification in national construct.²² He defends the idea that national constructions are not natural, as traditional societies were not even able to conceive it. And the 1845-1939 period was fundamental in the development of national aspirations and a national cultures, as it directly followed the romantic period in which artists rediscovered their own history. Indeed, people began to identify with other people they would never meet, but who undoubtedly have things in common with them, such as their language, their culture, or their oppression. Moreover, Irish, Ukrainian and Polish territories were also quite easy to identify, the first being an island, the latter a former country, even Ukraine was already an identified region of the world, somewhere in the southwestern part of the Russian Empire²³. So, what are the noticeable common points between these three national histories? Are they important enough to allow an identification between them, considering how identification is important for imagined communities?

20 HOBBSAWN Eric, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780 : Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge University Press, Canto Publics, 2012, p. 14

21 “If there were no Poland, there would be no Poles!” JARRY Alfred, *Ubu Roi*, Flammarion, (1896), 186 p.

22 ANDERSON Benedict, *L’imaginaire national*, La Découverte, 2006 (1983), 224 p.

23 There was no country nor nation called Ukraine before, but the word existed, since Voltaire wrote that “L’Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre”, in *l’Histoire de Charles XII* in 1731.

II) Ireland, Ukraine and Poland between 1845 and 1939 : What led them to see themselves as equally oppressed?



Johnson John, *A terrible record.* in supplement to the "Weekly Freeman", 2/07/1881.

The record in question is the terrible loss of population that Ireland suffered between 1845 and 1881.

Ireland, a terrible record

We will begin our historical journey in 1845, when the Great Irish famine began. It is therefore a year full of meaning nowadays in Irish historiography and memory, but they did not have a clue. We are 45 years after the Act of Union between Ireland and the United Kingdom, in 1801, or Acts of Union 1800, when the United Kingdom of Great Britain became the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. This however came with fewer restriction for Roman Catholics in Ireland, since thanks to the 1829 Emancipation act, Irish Roman Catholics were admitted to British Parliament at the beginning of our period (which, in fact, benefited mostly to upper and middle classes, while the poor classes that represented the majority remained oppressed).

We are also just two years after the Campaign for the Repeal of the Union Act, led by Daniel O’Connell (who also set up the *Catholic association* in 1823) failed²⁴. Young Ireland was then created in 1842 to continue the fight. One of his members, John Mitchel, was the one who wrote *The Last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*. This Famine lasted seven years. There was a potato blight all over Europe, but when it struck Ireland, the situation became incomparably worse. Three millions Irish people, more than a third of the population, relied on the potato crops to survive in one of the poorest countries in Europe²⁵. The nationalists quickly linked this tragedy to the British colonial system that allegedly created these conditions of life, as well as the *laissez-faire* ideology that prevented to help and the clear anti-Irish sentiment of the period. The very engaged nationalist John Mitchel wrote in 1861 his pamphlet *The Last conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*, the first known text to clearly accuse the English government of deliberate starvation of the country. It is less about the famine than about the Irish nationalist movements of that time, but it is within its pages that we could find this famous sentence: “*The Almighty indeed send the potato blight, but the British created the famine*”, still haunting the enduring debates.²⁶ For instance, to summarize the *Irish Famine Tribunal* that took place in 2013 (!), the organizers used this very same quotation to ask: “*Was it the case, as John Mitchel famously (or infamously) asserted, that “the Almighty, indeed, sent the potato blight, but the English created the famine”?*” There is more or less a consensus that there was no such thing as “*a Famine Plot*” to clean Ireland from its population²⁷, but this reinforced popular distrust and hate towards the English. There is, in consequences, still debates on the English responsibility²⁸. The famine was contemporaneous with the Springtime of Nations, 1848 being just after the Black year, *Black 47*, and the Young Irelander rebellion outbroke in this context, but like the Repeal, it failed. Used to call the revolutionary wave of 1848, the most important in European history, people used the expressions *Springtime of Nations*, or *Springtime of Peoples*. It is also called the *Year of Revolution*, since it was this year during which diverse national or social movements (both of them frequently interlinked) of insurrections were rising all accross Europe. Eric Hobsbawm told that “*there has been none which spread more rapidly and widely, running like*

24 *The Young Ireland was founded in 1842 to continue the fight. One of his members, John Mitchel, was the one who wrote The Last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*,

MITCHEL John, *The last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*, University College Dublin press, 2005 (1860), 220 p.

25 KENNEDY Liam et al, *Mapping the Great Irish Famine: An Atlas of the Famine Years*, Four Courts Press, 2000, 240 p.

26 O’ SHEA James, “Top international to take part in Irish Famine tribunal to be held in New York”, *Irish Central*, 9/04/2013

27 From the name of one of the recent attempts to describe the Famine as an ethnic cleansing, which led to important debates in Ireland.

COOGAN Tim Pat, *The Famine Plot: Ireland's Role in Ireland's Greatest Tragedy*, St Martin's Griffin, 2013, 304 p.

28 For a bilingual source about historiographies and representations of the famine, see

BEVANT Yann et al, dir., *La Grande Famine en Irlande (1845-1850), Histoire et représentations d’un désastre humanitaire*, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, ‘Univers anglophones’, 2014, 257 p.

a bushfire across frontiers, countries and even oceans”²⁹. This is also this year that the Repeal association was dissolved, followed by the Young Ireland movement itself one year later. These facts should be recalled as all the consequences of the famine are visible in all this time period. There are also even more perceptible consequences. The population dropped from more than 8 millions before 1845 to less than 6 millions in two decades. One million died, at least, and even more have left. It was since the beginning a transnational story, and Irish immigration is more ancient than 1845. Then, after the end of the famine the Irish population continued to decrease during all this period, and 1939 was one of the lowest points: under 3 millions inhabitants (2,96). The reason of this crash was mainly a massive immigration that indeed did not stop after the exile of the Famine years³⁰, and Irish History really began to be written outside of Ireland, as Fenian raids were led in Québec in 1870. To quote Liam Kennedy's analysis : *“through its legacy and through the medium of the Irish diaspora, the famine reinforced, perpetuated and internationalised the problem of Anglo-Irish relations”* ³¹. Therefore, the actual Irish diaspora is one of the most important diaspora around the world and the notion of exile is a crucial part of their identity. Up to 80 millions of people around the world were claiming Irish ancestry in 2019 while the last census shows that the population of Irish Republic is 4,88 millions³² This was why the famine was more important to the diaspora than to Ireland itself: *«Ce sont ces communautés qui conservèrent la mémoire de la famine avec d'autant plus de force que cet acte était fondateur pour elles, alors que les Irlandais restés sur place l'enveloppèrent - quelles qu'en soient les raisons- d'un voile pudique»*³³. As another consequence, in 1851, the Irish language was deeply affected³⁴, as this year census showed that only 23,26 % of the population spoke Irish, are they bilingual or not. The proportion was still 50% in Connacht (West) at that time. Sixteen years later, still according to the census of Ireland, it was just one in three. The monolingual speakers were 320,000 after the famine, then their number dropped to 17,000 in 1911. The last monolingual Irish speaker died in 1998.³⁵ The main reason was that the most starved people were poor peasants from the West, who were still speaking Irish Gaelic. This allowed English to become the language of Irish nationalism, despite attempts to revive their Celtic cultural background, with the birth of the Gaelic Society in 1893.

29 HOBSBAWN Eric *Age of Capital: 1848-1875* , Abacus, London, 2012, p. 22

30 Irish demography datas "[Number of Births, Deaths and Marriages](#)". *Central Statistics Office. Retrieved 15 June 2017*

31 KENNEDY Liam et all, *Mapping the Great Irish Famine: An Atlas of the Famine Years*, Four Courts Press, 2000, p.17

32 Irish demography < <http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/ireland-population/> >

33 *“It is these communities that conserved the memory of the famine especially since this act was foundational for them, while the Irish that stayed home enveloped it – whatever the reasons- with a bashful veil”*

BRILLET Philippe, *La Grande Famine en Irlande 1845-1851*, Ellipses, 2014, 190 p.

34 *Census, 1851, general report*

35 MacDonnacha Joe, *The death of a language*, Dublin review of books, 2018.

New organizations were born, like Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1858. After the separation between the Church of Ireland and the Church of England in 1869, the rather moderate project of *Home Rule* dominated the political debate, since the birth of the Home government association in 1870 to the eve of the first world war. However, this quite moderate approach was rejected by some Irish nationalists. In 1905, the political party Sinn Féin was created by Arthur Griffith and had more radical revendications. In addition to this revendications, the suffrage movement grew up in Ireland during this same period, as the Dublin women's suffrage association was created in 1874. Suffrage was a right that they finally got, along with the independence of the country. Most of the members of those movements were leftists, like James Connolly, Roger Casement, or Constance Markievicz. This led to the Easter Rising of 1916 (24-29/04), in Dublin, which failed dramatically on a military plan, but not on the ideological plan. Its repression was so brutal, as the execution of sixteen of the organisers, that it significantly contributed to attract sympathy for this cause, while before that, they received very few popular support and were often frankly disliked. After the end of the second world war, the Irish Independence was proclaimed, and so began the Irish War of Independence (21/01/1919-11/07/1921), or Anglo Irish war during which the first Irish Republican Army was born. This war led to the Independence of the country.

Still, the victory of the Irish nationalists was only relative. In 1922, Ireland was independent but as a "*Free state*", so still a British dominion, and six counties in the North remained in Great Britain. Divisions in Ireland about the outcome of the Anglo-Irish treaty and the opposition between pro and anti-treaty led to a Civil War in Ireland between June 1922 and May 1923. Unsuccessful attempts to unite Ireland in a Republic led to the birth of Fianna Fail (soldiers of destiny) in 1926. To conclude, a further step in Irish autonomy was put when, on 29 December of 1937, thanks to a new constitution, the country became a Republic known under the name of *Ireland*.

"Za naszą i waszą wolność" ! : Poland, the century of Insurrections³⁶

In 1845, Poland was already partitioned for 50 years between Prussia (German Empire after 1871), Austria-Hungary and Russia. The most important part of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth went to Russia, along with 62% of the territory and 45% of population, while Austria Hungary got 18% territory and 32% of the population and Prussia respectively 23 and 22% of each. The whole disappearance of their country, a unique case in European history that was experienced cruelly by the Poles, gave birth to the notion of "*Christ of Europe*" a doctrine created by the very nationalist Polish Romantic movement, seeing the partitioned country as crucified, but

³⁶ *For your liberty and ours!* is a slogan created during the Revolution of 1831 by Joachim Lewelel and is one of the unofficial motto of Poland.

destined to be reborn more powerful. This imagery shows the importance of Catholicism in the country's martyrology, even more important than in Ireland. In 1845, we were 14 years after the Insurrection against the Russian Empire, better known as the *November Uprising* because it began the 29/11/1830. The Poles resisted bravely for almost a year, but it was crushed by the forces of the Empire and it led Russians to be more repressive against Poles. Polish constitution and the institutions of the Kingdom of Poland were suppressed, and the Sejm (lower chamber of the Polish parliament) did not exist anymore, universities were closed in Warsaw and Vilnius, reinforcing the idea that an educated Polish population was a threat. Like Ukraine, it was a province of Russia. Their autonomy was reduced in the three partitioned powers, as shown by the end of the Krakow Republic. This forced a lot of Poles into exile, such as the famous composer Frederic Chopin or the national writer Adam Mickiewicz. Poles therefore had in common with the Irish a community outside of the motherland that was established before 1845. To recall statistics, at that time 15% of New York population was Irish³⁷ and at least 6,000 Poles fled to France after the November Uprising.³⁸ So, basically Poles had Paris, and the Irish New York. If the Irish nationalist movement was multi-faith with for instance, John Mitchel (the most committed advocate for an Irish revolution and the first theoretician of an Irish Genocide) coming from a presbyterian family, Poland was also more multicultural and multiconfessional than Ireland. In Poland, ethnic and religious diversity was important, as a legacy of the former Commonwealth which covered a large territory. Just before the partition, the Commonwealth had a population of 11 millions, 10% were Jewish, 15,17% were Ruthenians (Ukrainians), at least 8% were Jewish and the remaining 8% belonged to other minorities³⁹. Some of these minorities were coming from partitioning power, to colonize former Poland or because they were expelled, or were simply indigenous to the former Republic. Most were, like the Poles, victims of germanization or russification. Towards the end of the XIXth century the latter became the most violent, even more than in 1831, forcing teaching of Polish children in the Russian language, while germanization of former Polish schools rather happened mostly before our period, during the first half of the XIXth century. The violence of these policies clearly reinforced national feelings. Between 1845 and 1918, Poles tried to fight back, as it is shown by the Greater Poland uprising during the Spring of the Nations, from March to May 1848, against Prussia who finally crushed them, and even more by the January Uprising between 1863-1864, which was the most important of the partition era, mobilizing up to 200,000 insurgents. This uprising triggered foreign sympathies, but also an even harder repression of Poland. Indeed,

37 "Immigration from Ireland", *New York Herald*, 1844

38 KALEMBKA Sławomir "Greater Polish Emigration, 1831-1870", in CHASTAIN James, dir., *Encyclopedia of 1848 Revolutions* < <https://www.ohio.edu/chastain/> >

39 BIDELEUX Robert, JEFFRIES Ian, *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*, Routledge, 1998, p. 155

Russians executed and sent to Siberia tens of thousands of people (how many exactly, there is no consensus). After 1874 the very name of Poland was erased, administration preferring the term of *Vistula Land*.

The country regained its independence just after World War I, as a consequence of Germany's defeat and the Armistice of the 11th of November. Poland's national hero at that time was Marshal Józef Piłsudski, a socialist, as most Irish nationalists were. And the proclamation of Independence caused a series of uprisings in some Polish regions, for example in Silesia and Greater Poland against Germany in 1919. More precisely, the Greater Poland Uprising began, in December 1918, but contrary to 1848 against Prussia, this time, there was a Polish victory: the Treaty of Versailles (28/06/1919) gave almost all of Greater Poland to Poland itself. Moreover, as its frontier was not clearly defined after World War I, a war broke out between Poland and Soviet Russia between February 1919 and March 1921, remembered as Soviet-Polish war. After the partitions, in the first census of the Polish Republic in 1921, 69% of the population were "ethnic Poles", 17% were Ukrainians, 10% were Jewish, leading to new political tensions, the Poles becoming the dominant group in this new society. In 1939, after Marshal Piłsudski ruled over Poland until 1935 as a benevolent left-wing dictator, the Nationalist party in power in the country maintained community tensions and discriminated against minorities. In the meantime, Germany was making another pact of partition with Russia, henceforth known as Soviet Union, (Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the 23rd August) before their conjoint invasion of the country. This is superficially when Poland-Ireland historical parallels come to an end, at least in the popular memory. Indeed, contrary to Ireland, in 1939 the Poles did not experience yet the most important traumas of their history, the loss of 16-17% of their population after the 4th partition between Nazis and Soviets, while during World War 2 Ireland remained neutral and was not occupied. The place of World War 2 in historical memory is probably one of the most important differences between the histories and memories of these two countries.

One of their main common points on the other hand, to a lesser extent, is that Poles have a large diaspora and that it continued to develop itself throughout our period. They mostly went to the United States, United Kingdom and Canada like the Irish but also in France, known as "Polonia". It is actually one of the largest diasporas in the world with 20 million people⁴⁰. Marie Curie (1867-1934) is a well-known example of an exceptionally gifted scientist whose oppression in Poland could have prevented her talents to express themselves, because she was both a Pole and a woman : the latter point led her to the more accepting Flying University, and she illustrated her scientific

40 Ministry of foreign affairs's website, Republic of Poland
< https://www.msz.gov.pl/en/p/msz_en//foreign_policy/polish_diaspora/ >

skills in France. In 1939, the Polish diaspora was concentrated in the mining regions of Northern France, most of them coming from a former diaspora in Westphalia, and in North America. Like the Irish, the racism and xenophobia they suffered in diaspora became part of their history.

The Polish diaspora's memory gathers both of the most important aspects of exile in both Irish and Ukrainian memory. Even if transportations of Irish existed during this period, as 26,500 persons sailed to Australia from Ireland between 1787 and 1853 in the Convict Ships⁴¹, - between 1787 until the termination of the system in 1853, Australia received over 160,000 convicts, approximately 26,500 of whom sailed from Ireland - it was the mass emigration that represents the most important place in their exile's memory. In Ukrainian memory, the exile is rather the deportations to Siberia, even if Ukrainians have of course their own diaspora in the West. In the Polish memory, both mass migration (like the Big Emigration, *Wielka Emigracja* in Polish, in 1831) and deportations to Siberia are important. This also implies that a connection between these people could have been made through their diasporas.

"L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre..."⁴²

In 1846, the first Ukrainian nationalist organization was founded in Kyiv: Кирило-Методіївське братство (Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood)⁴³. And just like Benedict Anderson highlighted it, the organization was founded by a historian⁴⁴. Indeed, Nikolaï Kostomarov published "*The Book of the Genesis of Ukrainian people (in Ukrainian: Книги Буття Українського Народу)*" which gave a historiographical view of the Ukrainian past within Christian History. A notorious fact we should remember is that territories inhabited by Ukrainians belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. So, as Ireland shares similarities with both Ukraine and Poland, those latter countries also have a common history. Some places, some territories were considered as both Ukrainian and Polish, depending on times or political views, the most obvious example being Galicia in Western Ukraine. But during the XIXth century, neither Polish nor Ukrainians were in position to oppress or invade each other. None of them existed as a state. In the Baltic-Black Sea space, just one country existed: Russia.

1845-1917 is the period during which modern Ukrainian identity was built up. At first, writers developed a literary Ukrainian language, while Irish and Polish languages were much older. In 1845, the poet Taras Shevchenko had already published "Kobzar", named after the Ukrainian

41 See BATESON, Charles, *The Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, Sydney, Brown, Son & Ferguson, 1987, (1959), 421 p.

42 "Ukraine has always aspired to be free"

VOLTAIRE, *Histoire de Charles XII*, Michel de Maule, 2002 (1731), 318 p.

43 Only available in Ukrainian

KOSTOMAROV Nikolaï, *Books of genesis of the Ukrainian people*, Unknown binding, 1954 (1846)

44 ANDERSON Benedict, *L'imaginaire national*, La Découverte, 2006 (1983), p. 74

bards (1840). Every year in Kaniv, celebrations are given to honour him, in the city he loved and chose to be buried in⁴⁵. Other Ukrainian-speaking writers of the period are particularly praised in Ukraine as true national figures. It may be because at that time, Ukrainian language suffered several law bans and this part of the Empire was called *Little Russia*, a name that was progressively falling out of use. The most explicit examples are probably Lesya Ukraïнка (1871-1913) and Ivan Franko (1856-1916). Ivan Franko even gave his name to the former Polish city of Stanislawow in 1962, now Ivano-Frankivsk.

Like in Ireland, Ukrainian national movement was at that time a leftist movement. For example, Lesia Ukraïнка and Ivan Franko were convicted Marxists, both of them, before Franko turned against it and became centrist. Lesya Ukraïнка translated *The Communist Manifesto* in Ukrainian and was a member of Ukrainian marxist organizations. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Symon Petliura, the three presidents of the Ukrainian directory were socialists, though not from the same political parties : Hrushevsky was marxist then moved to the center, Vynnychenko was a member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labour Party just like Petliura. Those two were also members of the Revolutionary Ukrainian party. Their state was called Ukraine's People Republic. In addition, they fitted in the categories that previously created a Ukrainian identity. Hrushevsky was the first president of the UNR and an historian, as was the creator of the very first Ukrainian nationalist organisation then, and wrote the first synthesis ever about Ukrainian history, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, whose first volume was published in 1898 in L'viv.⁴⁶ Like Ivan Franko, he went from marxist to centrist. Vynnychenko was a writer in addition to his political career, and the most engaged of the three in leftist politics. He is at the same time an important figure of Ukrainian modernist literature, Ukrainian Marxism and Ukrainian patriotism, sharing this common point with his compatriot Lesia Ukraïнка. About their influence, the novelist and essayist Oksana Zabuzhko wrote about her "*that she was providing to Vynnychenko a good example of how to die when your culture does not feed you*"⁴⁷. Petliura was also a prolific writer, both as a precocious activist and as a literary analyst⁴⁸. President during the most sensitive periods of UNR history (1919-1920), he went out as the most unfamous of the three.

For Ukrainians, as for Irish and Poles, the war in Europe was an opportunity to create their own Republic. However, it was a failure. A failure that led to an enduring war. The whole 1917-

45 "Habituellement une délégation de 8 personnes de LKU se rend à Kaniv pour y célébrer Taras Chevtchenko pendant une semaine en Mai " Usually a delegation of eight persons from LKU to celebrate Taras Shevchenko during a week in May < <https://www.lambersart-kaniv-ukraine.org/> >

46 HRUSHEVSKY Mykhailo, *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, University of Alberta Press, 2016, 748 p.

47 ANDRIANOVA Anastassiya, *A Post-Colonial Reading of Lesia Ukraïнка 's Orhiia*, March 2015

48 See KOLISNYK Yuriy Viktorovych, "Phenomenon of Taras Shevchenko in Symon Petliura Publicistic Inheritance", вісник Черкаського університету, n°1, 2016, 6 p.

1921 period is actually known as the Ukrainian War of Independence, in the wider context of the Russian Civil War of 1917-1922, which killed up to 12 millions people⁴⁹. Four fates were possible for Ukraine. It could have stayed independent as a state, like Poland, or as a *Free Territory* without a government⁵⁰, as was called a famous attempt to make a stateless society in southeastern Ukraine, which was crushed by Soviets. This point shows that anarchy was more popular in Ukraine than in Poland or even in Ireland, as the Black Army, led by Nestor Makhno, had more than 25,000 members at its peak in 1919. Ukraine could also have remained a Russian region or become part of Soviet Russia. Eventually, in 1922, Ukraine SSR was born. Like most parts of the southern USSR, Ukrainians were at that time starving as a consequence of the Russian Civil War. This battlefield was in addition torn by a wave of pogroms led by belligerent armies, often in a near indifference from the Ukrainian government and that caused the death of between 50,000 and 100,000 people⁵¹. At first, after 1922, Ukrainian people enjoyed the politics of *Korenizatsiya* (indigenization), therefore a politic of Ukrainization, as children were learning Ukrainian language at school (like Irish children were learning Irish at school after 1920), contrasting with tsarist assimilation policies, but the experience knew a drastic reversal towards the end of the 1920's and in the beginning of the 1930's. Then, started what is probably the most tragic period of Ukrainian history along with World War II. Ten years after the birth of the Ukrainian SSR, while the whole USSR was struck by famines resulting from collectivization after 1928, Ukrainians experienced a series of repressions which led to (perhaps) the most lethal famine in Soviet history.

Just like the Irish Famine, this was a very traumatic event. The number of victims is very hard to estimate and is frequently amplified, but most likely between 3 and 7 millions people died, approximately 25% of Ukrainian population. In *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine*, a discourse pronounced in New York in 1953, Rafał Lemkin, the Polish jurist who conceptualized *Genocide* in 1943, called it “*a typical example of Soviet genocide*”. He counted in this Soviet genocide repressions against Ukrainian intelligentsia and churches:

The first blow is aimed at the intelligentsia, the national brain, so as to paralyse the rest of the body. In 1920, 1926 and again in 1930–1933, teachers, writers, artists, thinkers, political leaders, were liquidated, imprisoned or deported, [...] Going along with this attack on the intelligentsia was an offensive against the churches, priests and hierarchy, the ‘soul’ of Ukraine [...] The third prong of the Soviet plan was aimed at the farmers, the large mass of independent

49 MAKSDOV Serguei, "Losses Suffered by the Population of the USSR 1918–1958", in Roy Medvedev, *The Samizdat Register II*, d. Norton & Company, London–New York, 1981, 336 p.

50 LUBIENSKI Stanislaw, *Pirat Stepowy*, Czarne, 2012, 240 p.

ABBOTT Peter, PINAK Eugene, *Ukrainian armies, 1914-55*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012, p. 44

51 *Jewish Pogroms in Ukraine, 1918-1921*, Fond FR-3050 Kiev District Commission of the Jewish Public Committee for the Provision of Aid to Victims of Pogroms; Opis' 1-3, By Vladimir Danilenko, Director of the State Archive of the Kiev Oblast

peasants who are the repository of the tradition, folklore and music, the national language and literature, the national spirit, of Ukraine. The weapon used against this body is perhaps the most terrible of all — starvation. Between 1932 and 1933, 5,000,000 Ukrainians starved to death, an inhumanity which the 73rd Congress decided on 28 May 1934

Soviet Genocide in Ukraine

That did not prevent this qualification as genocide to be an important historiographical controversy, and not only because of Soviet censorship. Its Ukrainian specificity is still debated. We should recall that a less known famine hit the Kazakhstan in the same period, killing 38% of its population⁵², as well as the Kuban (however populated by 2/3 of Ukrainians in 1926, a proportion that dropped to 2% in 2002), and the Lower Volga. However, even Walter Duranty, famous for being awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1932 for a series of reports on Soviet Union denying the Famines, recognized: “*The Ukraine had been bled white...The population was exhausted.*”⁵³ Anyway, the proportion of Ukrainians in Ukraine dropped from 80% to 63.2% between 1920 and 1939. It is worth precise that ethnic Ukrainians weren't the only victims, but they represented the overwhelming majority of them, with 81,3%.⁵⁴ This demographic and spiritual hemorrhage was, like in Ireland, in a context of national struggle, and the national memory therefore remembers this tragedy as a crime against the nation. Before 1932, just like 1845 in Ireland, Ukraine had a “*soil fertile to a proverb*”, to quote Daniel O'Connell⁵⁵. The famine was eventually considered as a genocide by 20 states up to 2020⁵⁶. However, if the Irish and Ukrainian famine are strikingly important in their country's histories, they did not set up in the same chronology, but are part of our period. In Ireland, post-war Independence, the nationalist movements and hatred towards British bore the legacy of their famine. In Ukraine, it was the legacy of the national movement that led to their famine. That is one of the reasons why they could not be compared.

How did people, from complete strangers to the first people concerned, perceived these parallels ? How Poles and Ukrainians identified themselves to the Irish, and vice-versa ? How important could be this identification? One of the first way to answer these questions is to observe the way historians wrote about the 1845 – 1939 (therefore after 1939) and all the multiple way historiography could connect them.

52 PIANCIOLA Niccolo, “The Collective Famine in Kazakhstan 1931-1933”, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol.25, n° 3 - 4, Fall 2001, p. 237-251

53 In *Collectivization and Its Impact on the Ukrainian Population and on Soviet Agricultural Productivity: Hearing Before the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry, United States Senate, Ninety-eighth Congress, First Session, November 15, 1983*, U.S Government Printing Office, 1984, p.79

54 MAKHUDOV Serguei, "Losses Suffered by the Population of the USSR 1918–1958", in *The Samizdat Register II*, ed. R. Medvedev, London–New York, 1981

55 *The Life and Speeches of Daniel O'Connell*, James McCormick 16, Christ Church-Place, 1846, 144 p.

56 Details about the famine's international recognition, on the Holodomor museum website

< <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/en/recognition-of-holodomor-as-genocide-in-the-world/> >, consulted in August of 2019

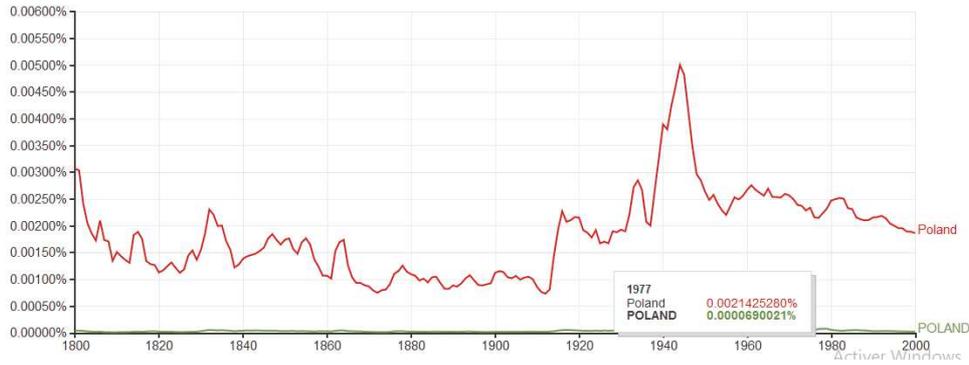
Historiographical Overview

As shown previously by the part historians have played in writing the history of their people, especially in the case of Ukraine, or by the development of historiographical concepts such as connected history, history as a discipline is an essential medium. History and historians are actors of internal connections. There are thus different kinds of work connecting those histories, and to different levels. The most obvious source coming to mind in order to explore the question would be historical works trying to connect Irish history with the Polish and / or Ukrainian one, such as comparative works about famines or small nations, or studies about pre-existent connections between them, for instance biographical works about Constance and Kazimierz Markievicz. However, if we will of course need these works of global history to learn about the connections, the study of Irish, Polish and Ukrainian historiographies and general history is important as well. Indeed, a work of history belongs to a historical framework. For example, in Ukrainian historiography we should take into account that archives were opened during the Soviet Union's downfall and that before it any evocation of the Holodomor was repressed. The word itself belongs as we will see to a particular context as its use is much more recent than the famine itself. Moreover, works about general notions such as nationalism do not just give us information but also useful concepts. That is why this historiographical overview will begin with history through a general and national perspective.

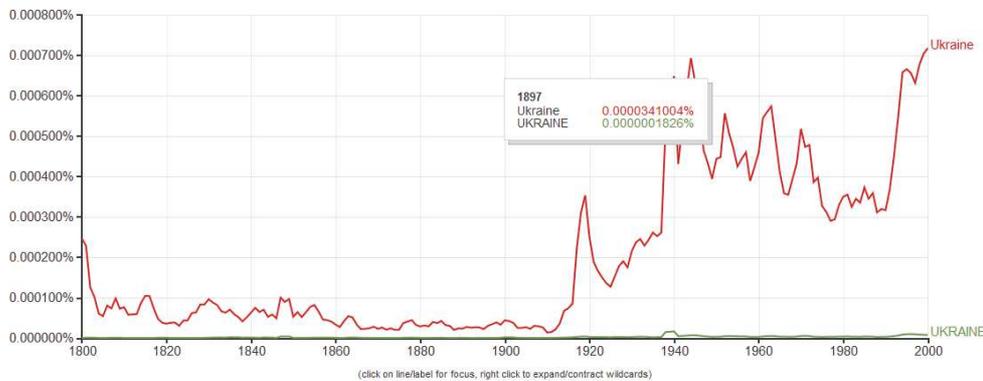
Therefore, how were the parallels between these countries and subsequent relations between them shown in national historiography? Did the global turn allowed a development of previous connection between them?

What does the *ngram viewers* tell us about all the subjects previously mentioned? *Ngram viewers* is an online search engine that allows to observe the frequency of a word in printed sources. We should verify the frequency of some key-words. For the moment we chose to focus on the corpus of sources that were written or translated into English, simply because of the preponderance of English in our world, and in historical research for many years.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See LIU Weishu, *The changing role of non-English papers in scholarly communication: Evidence from web of science's three journal citation indexes*, 20/12/2016



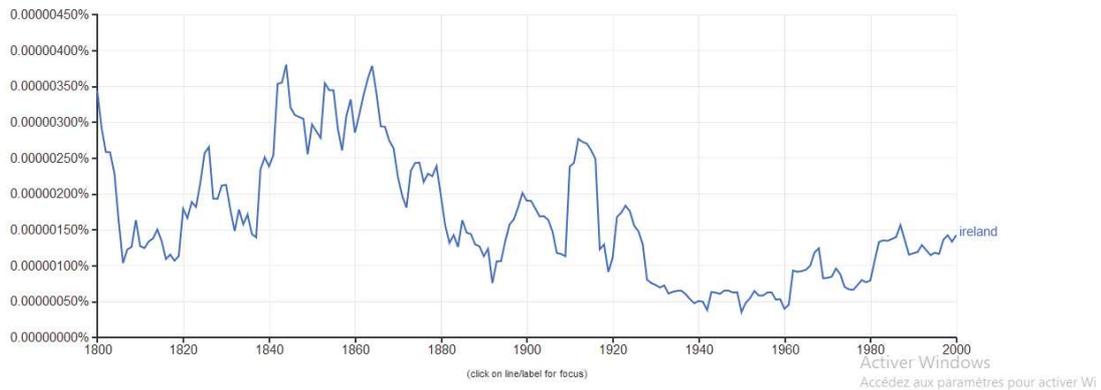
Frequency of the Key Word *Poland* in printed sources. (27/12/2019)
 The peak represents the Second World War which devastated the country. Polish Independence also triggered an interest for the country.



Frequency of the Key Word *Ukraine* in printed sources. (27/12/2019)

Just like *Poland*, the peak in Ukrainian mentions in printed sources occurred during World War 2. It brings Ukraine closer to Poland, while Ireland was spared by the Second World War. The two Ukrainian independences, in the XXth century, are marking as well a peak in the Ukrainian presence in sources. However, the 1933 Famine didn't strike an interest on the country. It's quite the opposite. Anyway, we can see eventually that Ukraine was less often mentioned than Poland, and that being an RSS of the Soviet Union, called Ukraine, gave it more attention.

Frequency of the Key Word *Ireland* in printed sources (27/12/2019)



In Ireland, the famine of 1845 led to a crash of Ireland's mentions in sources. The specificity of the Irish case is that English, the language of the corpus Ngram viewer checked, is the language of the administration in Ireland. As if the famine was censored in the country. However, there was foreigners who tried to send help and wrote articles abroad. And just like in Ukraine and Poland, the independence, the fact that there's now a country called Ireland, or Ukraine or Poland, allows to set them in foreign consciousness.

I) Ireland, Ukraine and Poland in transnational history and history of nationalism

1. History of Nationalism)

Because of its need to mobilize an important corpus of concrete examples, history of nationalism was the first to connect the history of this three countries, and thus, the history of their regimes. It is indeed the question of nationalism and nations during the XIXth century that would bring them together, as a general notion. In 1983, Poland, Ukraine and Ireland were concerned by the questions addressed in the important work *Imagined Communities*, written by Benedict Anderson about creations of national identity during the XIXth century. About the question of the language's importance, he used Ukraine as an example of a nation whose language was built through literature, using the example of Taras Shevchenko's work. At page 87, he stated on the same topic that “*English supplanted the Gaelic language in Ireland*”. However, the word Poland curiously made only one occurrence on page 33⁵⁸. This may be because even if national feeling really emerged in Poland in the XIXth century, it was a pre-existing nation. Information on Poland, Ukraine and Ireland, let alone the impact of this work relies on the thesis he defends, that the national feeling is built. He also considers that patriotism does not necessarily mean racism, and

58 ANDERSON Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, 2006 (1983), p. 246

goes along with the link between Ireland, Ukraine and Poland we have previously highlighted, that their nationalisme was defensive. It was their own nationalism that put Ireland and Poland, Ireland and Ukraine in contact as well. Anderson also quoted one of the most ancient attempt in a historical work to compare Irish, Poles and Ukrainians through a particular point, found in a work by Oszkar Jaszi, an Hungarian historian, is anterior to 1939, so it naturally falls within our study's chronological frame. Anderson indeed relies on his monograph *The Dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy*, written in 1929. However, it was used by ulterior historians since it was quoted by Benedict Anderson in *Imagined Communities*, as a work he relied on several times in this book. About the XIXth century as a century of nationalism, it is worth mentioning the ongoing attempt by the Ohio university to construct an online encyclopedia of 1848 revolutions since 1999⁵⁹.

Another period that was essential in the construction of these nations before 1939, after the development of their national identity, was World War I and their independence following the Armistice. This period saw, along with mass scale violence, another concept that developed an historiography around it: “*small nations*”.

2. The concept of small nations during World War I)

A more precise historical question that could reunite them in the same work is that they were “small” stateless nations. Here “small nations” means subverted nations, and not microstate like Monaco or the Vatican as we could more naturally think of. Some historical works used this whole angle of analysis. For instance, one of them is the 2008 *Small nations: crisis and confrontation in the XXth Century*, which used this definition : “*In this book the term ‘nation’ is broadly interpreted to mean ‘nation state’ or ‘country’, a sovereign state [...] Of course, the term nation also refers to a group of people who share a common language, customs and a ‘sense of unity’ [...] A nation need not by definition coincide with a state*”, and began with a reference to the first world war : ‘*All these little countries have to be made to disappear.*’ *These were the words of a German officer in early August 1914 to the mayor of a newly-captured Belgian town.*⁶⁰ The concept is however more ancient and was already used in political texts at the beginning of the XXth century, by grups such as Irish nationalists who viewed themselves as such⁶¹, nations existing without a state, in the whole context of the First World War and restructuration of Europe. This is a geopolitical concept more than historiographical one. This is why, in 2016, *Small Nations and Colonial peripheries in World*

59 CHASTAIN James, dir., *Encyclopedia of 1848 Revolutions*

60 TAMES Ismee, De KAIZER Madelon, *Small nations: crisis and confrontation in the Xxth Century*, Waldburg pres, 2008, 207 p.

61 A17850: Sinn Féin. *The Small Nations*. Dublin: National Council of Sinn Féin, 1917

War I, directed by Gearoid Barry, Enrico Dal Lago and Róisín Healy evoked all three. The introduction defends an *Interconnected history of World War I, in Europe and beyond*, and gives us a historical overview on it, as this period represented the fall of Powers and Empires. We learn for example that the global turn in war studies “*was due to the transnational training of World War I historians*”. Like *Imagined communities*, this one is not only focused on Europe but uses a global scale. However, even if they are not directly compared in this work, at least not through a whole scientific article, it is remarkable that all of them, Poland, Ireland and Ukraine, were considered worthy of the publisher’s interest. But they are still not treated equally. Several articles about Ireland were published, making it the most importantly studied country in the book, importance likely linked to the presence of two Irish names among the editors. We find an article about Ukraine⁶², but not about Poland, even if it is mentioned alongside Ireland as two examples of “*Subject Nations in Europe*”. Like in *Imagined Communities*, it may be overshadowed by its more ancient national construction.

However, how do they decide in this work what a *Small nation* is and who is a small nation? Belgium was much smaller than Ukraine or Poland in terms of territory or population, then it existed during the 1845-1939 period as a Kingdom and a colonial power. In the description of this work, small nations appears like a geopolitical term, defining their weakness comparing to major actors like France, Germany or the United Kingdom: “*This edited volume examines World War I comparatively in both small nations and colonial peripheries The chapters address subject nations within Europe, such as Ireland and Poland; neutral states, such as Sweden and Spain; and overseas colonies like Tunisia, Algeria and German East Africa*”. This perspective of historical analysis continues to be explored. In August 2020, Lili Zach published a study in *Irish Historical studies*, called “*The first of the small nations: the significance of central European small states In Irish nationalist rhetoric political rhetoric 1918-22*”⁶³. By the first of small nations, she meant that they considered their will of independence more legitimate than “real” small nations in the bosom of the Austro-Hungarian empire. However, in more recent works, another word appears to call them. For instance in Anne Applebaum's recent work focused on the Ukrainian famine, *Red famine*, written in 2017 after the Donbass war began, she used another word to qualify Ukraine's situation: *colony*. She introduces this story with a chapter on the Ukrainian question, stating that: “*the territory we now call Ukraine was, like Ireland or Slovakia, a colony that formed part of other*

62 HAUSMAN Guido, " Ukrainian moment in World War I", in *Small Nations and Colonial Peripheries in World War I* in dir. Gearoid Barry, Enrico Dal Lago, Roisin Healy, Brill Academic Pub, 2016, p. 177-193

63 ZACH Lily, *The first of the small nations’: the significance of central European small states in Irish nationalist political rhetoric, 1918–22*, Cambridge University Press, 11/08/2020 (published online)

European land empires.” Is this concept of nations without states subverted by states is different from the concept of colony?

3. Post-colonial societies or not?

In “*Small nations and colonial peripheries*”, the authors explain their approach separating small nations from colonies: “*For the purpose of this work, we define “colonial peripheries” as those areas that were subjected to colonial rules by European Empire and were located far from the heartland of that Empires*”.⁶⁴ If all three were already studied and debated as post-colonial societies in scholar works, were it Ireland⁶⁵, Poland⁶⁶ and Ukraine⁶⁷, these populations remain European. However, the Irish historian Roisin Healy who contributed to this work wrote several works about anti colonialism in Ireland and Eastern Europe : *The Shadow of colonialism on Europe's modern past, Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe* (2017), which is very useful to study Polish-Irish relations, to only name a few of them. On the other side of the former Iron Curtain, the Ukrainian historian Stephen Velychenko published in 2012 in the scientific journal *Ab Imperio*, founded in 1999 and aiming to develop a “New Imperial History” of the post-soviet spaces: “Ukrainian anti-colonialist thought in comparative perspective. A preliminary view.” He applies a colonial and post-colonial view of Ukraine's situation, since : “*Anticolonialism normally refers to the socialist/Marxist nationalism that emerged in Africa and Asia. It is not a theory or methodology or coter-minous with postcolonialism. Since Ukrainians were ruled by Russia they have a tradition of anti colonialist thought, which those interested in people who experienced modernization through domination should know*”. Like Roislin Healy's work, this approach brings Irish, Poles and Ukrainians together. The word Ireland is mentioned 29 times in Velychenko's paper, the word Irish, 37. Poles are not nearly as often mentioned, but remarkably, when they are, it is on the side of the Irish, and not as occupiers of Ukraine. Still, because of their white European identity, they are not post-colonial society in an obvious third world sense. This denomination therefore remains an active debate. We could put them in a grey zone, hard to determinate, belonging to an unfinished debate. However, some more specific terms also exist. The term “Intra-European colonialism” and “Internal

64 BARRY Gearoid, DAL LAGO Enrico, HEALY Róisín dir., *Small Nations and Colonial Peripheries in World War I*, Brill Academic Pub, 2016, p. 9

65 BACHORZ Stephanie. “Postcolonial Theory and Ireland: Revising Postcolonialism.” *Critical Ireland: New Essays in Literature and Culture*. Ed. Alan A. Gillis, Aaron Kelly, and Edna Longley. Dublin: Four Courts, 2001. Web

66 MAYBLIN Lucy, PIEKUT Aneta, VALENTINE Gill, “Other” Posts in “Other” Places: Poland through a post-colonial Lens?, *Sociology*. 2016 Feb; 50(1): 60–76.

67 SAWKA Richard, *Ukraine and the Post-Colonial condition*, OpenDemocracy, 18/09/2015

colonialism” were coined, applying to Irish and Ukrainian situation, to find a specific term for this specific situation, while acknowledging that every situation was unique. Since the 1960, this has been largely used to call region largely disadvantaged economically, and culturally distinct from the host state. What then does the internal colonial situation consist of ? To quote Hechter definition, “*Internal Colonialism presented two separate but related arguments. The first, which is the focus of this paper, was couched at the level of regions. This argument holds that the lack of political sovereignty characteristic of internal colonies limited their economic welfare and threatened their cultural integrity. Whereas many internal colonies have been economically disadvantaged, there are exceptions such as Scotland and Catalonia, two territories that have been economically advanced*”.⁶⁸ He used this definition and for him, it fit Ireland well, and Scotland badly, in his essay “The Celtic Fringe”, and he underlined that Ireland’s status as an internal colony played a critical role in the Great Famine of 1845-50.⁶⁹ This is indeed with this harrowing event that opens this century of historical parallels, shared struggles and transnational exchanges.

II) Comparative historiography of Ireland, Ukraine and Poland. How could historical works with a national dimension – and its evolution - help in a transnational and comparative analysis ?

The concepts of national construction and reconstruction after a trauma are crucial in the three country’s historiography, and some episodes of their historiography will clearly deserve a comparative study. Therefore, historical debates existing in their national histories could concern other histories, or even refer to them. Moreover, studying separately these three different historiographies could underline differences and similarities between the way of making national histories in those countries, and therefore balance parallels made between them. More simply, the historiography of those periods is made in the contexts of their relations with respectively Russia and Britain.

68 HECHTER Michael, *Internal Colonialism, Alien Rule, and Famine in Ireland and Ukraine*, Vol. 8 No. 1 (2021): EAST/WEST: JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES (ISSN 2292-7956)

69 HECHTER Michael, *Internal Colonialism : the Celtic Fringe and British National Development*, Transaction Publishers, 1972, 390 p.

Ireland

The question of nationalism and famine did not hold exactly the same place in Irish historiography and were not necessarily interlinked. The first one was clearly more important until 1995, the date of the memorial fever (as the period of remembrance was later remembered) that happened during the last years of the Northern Irish conflict. It was also after 1995 that most books about the Irish famine were published.

A. Polish and Ukrainian contribution to historiography of Ireland.

There were contemporaneous contributions to the very period we study, meaning that their non-independence did not prevent foreigners to study them, so their work were saved and used by other historians to evoke these relations. This contribution to historiography of Ireland is therefore ancient. Volodymyr Antonovych in Ukraine gave some lectures about Irish history even before Ireland and Ukraine were independent and their national movements faced a lot of questions. In *Kiev, a portrait*, in 1996, for instance, Michael Hamm talked about this historian; and about his view on Ireland. This is an indication that works of that period therefore helped historians in the future.

Though the title of this section means Irish history from a foreign perspective, it does not suggest that this was made in order to compare Ukrainian and Irish history. Those countries were part of the Eastern block until the beginning of the 1990's and Poland integrated the European Union in 2004. Polish historic literature about Ireland prior to 1990 in Polish People's Republic existed since the 1950's. If *Dziela: Kult bohaterów i jego społeczne podłoże: Święty Patryk, bohater narodowy Irlandii*⁷⁰ (Stefan Czarniewcki, 1956) focused on a character of the Middle Age, the XIXth-XXth period falling into his analysis. During this period, the Irish war of Independence and the Easter Rising were more present in historiography than the famine, they are even mentioned in the *Kultura* magazine in exile in 1965. In 2002, Olena Goncharuk wrote a paper about Ukrainian historiography on Ireland, which provided us some references that are impossible to find in English, even if some of these authors wrote them in immigration and were more likely to translate them. A lot of them are falling into the period we're studying : she wrote about "*Національна революція в Ірландії*"⁷¹ by Fédir Krushynsky (1931) who was written in Paris, where Ukrainian immigrants were relatively numerous, and about the article "*The destiny of Ireland*" by Afanasyev (Odessa, 1888) - *short outline of the Irish history*. Goncharuk also shows that Irish history continued to be written during the post-WW2 Soviet era with "*Ірландія сьогодні і завтра*"⁷² by L. Goncharenko

70 Works: The cult of heroes and its social background: Saint Patrick, the national hero of Ireland

71 Крушинський Ф., *Національна революція в Ірландії*, Париж, б.р, 1931, 176 p.

72 Ireland today and tomorrow

ог “Англійське суспільство та ірландське повстання 1916” ⁷³, by S. Tolstov in 1983 (published by the Taras Shevchenko University in Kyiv). The historical value of Goncharuk's paper is double : it proves that the question was already tackled by a Ukrainian historian, and gives a lot of references on this topic.

B. Questioning the cult of persecution.

Considering it was their suffering and identity as subject nations that brought Ireland, Poland and Ukraine together, how are Irish historians seeing it ? We shall here focus on a dedicated work, *Unhappy the land : the most oppressed people ever, the Irish ?* and its reception. Published in 2015 by Liam Kennedy, its title perhaps comes from a quote by Berthold Brecht, “*Unhappy the land that is in need of heroes*”. Even if it aims to address Irish history and its myth of martyrology, some aspects of both Ukrainian and Polish histories were addressed there. He has the ambition to debunk some elements of Irish nationalist imagery, linked to both major tragedies of Irish history like the Famine, showing at the same time the importance of “martyrological streams” in historiography and the attempts to debunk them.

What is surprising in this work and extremely relevant for the analysis of the Irish-Polish-Ukrainian relation is that these two Slavic nations and their common history with Ireland are here addressed, implying that they share the same problematics regarding both their history and the way those nations address it. For instance, he links Poland to Irish issues with martyrology, as soon as the second page. According to him, Poland, or rather Polish nationalists as he nuanced, suffered from the same propension to place its victimhood at the centre of its identity. “*Polish ultra nationalists self styled patriots have long celebrated Poland as “martyr nations”, as Kennedy told it, while they avoided to evoke anti-semitic pogroms and discrimination of minorities during the second half of the 1930’s, like Jews or Ukrainians, by the regime of the Endecja. The book is divided into three parts: the longview, the famine in Ireland and the revolutionary decade. Poland is mentioned as the frame of the Holocaust, and elements of Ukrainian historiography are used to debunk some recent attempts to draw Irish famine as genocide: “The high politics of the famine years have been ignored or simplified by a number of writers bent of offering populist versions of responsibility for the famine. “The famine plot: England's Role in Ireland's Greatest Tragedy” is one and one of the most curious contributions to this subgenre*”. He even wonders whether there was a war of independence, for instance because the contemporary sources did not call them as such. He explained more about it in another paper, among other arguments : “*Contemporary protagonists created meaning out of their experiences by talking of the ‘struggle’, the ‘war for*

73 English society and the Irish Uprising of 1916

freedom, the *'Black and Tan war'*, the *'troubled times'*, the *'fight for freedom'*, the *'war with England'*, and the *'defence of the Republic'*. What the episode was not called, by friend or foe, was the *'Irish war of independence'*"

Like Poland, Ukraine was mentioned as a point of comparison with Irish history, here in a chapter dealing with the Famine, and it brings interesting information about the Ukrainian-Irish connection and the way Historians could build It. The parallel between them is well developed here, since he made a section on both Rafał Lemkin, the Polish lawyer who invented the term of *genocide*⁷⁴, and the concept of Holodomor (he did not create the name, but the intention to kill lies in the etymology of the term since морити голодом, *moryty holodom*, "to kill by starvation" moryty meaning "to kill" and holod meaning "starvation") itself. Indeed, in 1953, the 20th of September, there was a Ukrainian rally in New York, in which Lemkin would be one of the most important speakers. It was organized by the newspaper *Ukrainian weekly*, gathering 15,000 people, for the 20th anniversary of the Ukrainian famine⁷⁵. He however never addresses the Ukrainian national construction or martyrdom, while its historiography shows similar problems (as we will show in the dedicated section). If Kennedy used Lemkin's theorization of *Genocide* to underline that nothing could let us think that An Gorta Mor could be considered as a genocide, a thrilling element may balance it. In *Lemkin on Genocide*, published by Steven Leonard Jacobs, based on Lemkin's work we could find, without links or further precision, at the 17th place, in *Modern Times*, the mention of "Ireland". However, he seemed to refer to the whole English politics in Ireland, and not to the Famine.⁷⁶ Lemkin's view on genocide were written in the context of decolonization, and he took a wide interest on colonial genocides, so his definition implies that colonisation, or strong attempts to erase a culture in the context of an occupation...may fit in its definition of genocide.

Unhappy the land got attention from Irish media, like *Irish Times* or *Belfast Telegraph*, as well as from critics. Penelope Corfield reviewed it as " *Sombre in subject matter, lucid in approach, impressive in range, brilliant in insights, sturdy in documentation, judicious in tone, coolly courageous in its willingness to debunk stereotypes*"⁷⁷. The revisionist school, where Kennedy clearly belongs, was at the same time dismissed as a form of denialism and apology of the British Empire.

74 About Lemkin describing Holodomor as a typical case of genocide, see LEMKIN Rafał, *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine*, Kyiv, Mainsternia Knyhy, 2009 (1953), 208 p.

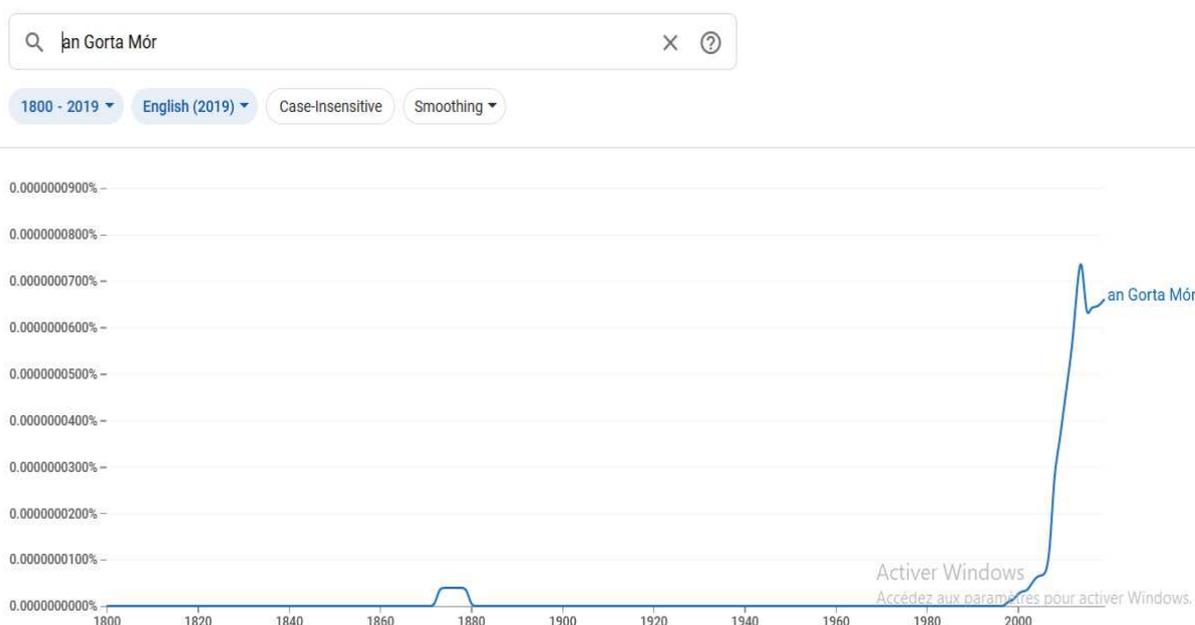
75 "Lemkin and the Holodomor", *Ukrainian Weekly*, 14/09/2018. An interesting fact is that the journal has existed since 1933, and it still exists nowadays.

76 JACOBS Steven Leonard, *Lemkin on Genocide*, Lexington Books, 2014, p. 18

77 CORFIELD Penelope, review of *Unhappy the Land: The Most Oppressed People Ever, the Irish?*, (review no. 2067)

As a conclusion, this book is a precious source for three aspects of our research : at first for Irish national historiography and memory, more precisely to understand national discussions about martyrdom, then for reactions among Irish society and finally for the links he makes with Polish and Ukrainian History. Before studying their historiography, we will make a quick return on the Irish Famine evolution in historiography.

C. The Historiography of the Irish Famine



This is a graph representing the occurrence of the name *An Gorta Mor* (great famine), the Irish Gaelic name used to qualify the great Irish famine. This expression is still more marginal than the term *Holodomor* used to qualify the Ukrainian one. The occurrence of its name is quite intriguing, since it shows an occurrence at the end of the 1870's, and a significant rise in the term's popularity. However, we should recall it is only an English corpus.

The development of a historiography of the famine is quite recent and dates back especially to 1995, the 150th anniversary of this famine and its first really important commemorations, contemporaneous with the end of the Troubles. There were of course important works before, for instance *The Great Hunger 1845-1849* by the victorianist Cecil Woodham-Smith, and more notably, the collective work “*The Great Famine: Studies in Irish History 1845-52*” published in Dublin for the Irish Committee of historical Sciences by Browne and Nolan in 1956, after a whole

decade of research and concertations, maybe motivated by the centenary. However, this year saw an important development of historical literature on that topic, and represented a pic in this historiography. Maybe as a given proof of the importance of these historiographical debates in the diaspora, the University of New Jersey included in 1996 the Irish famine in the Holocaust studies curriculum, and the Fordham University hosted in the Irish famine tribunal⁷⁸, in the city where lived half of the Irish in the world.

Cormac O'Grada, who is a prolific writer on the Famine subject, for instance began to write on the subject. According to him, the literature on the topic is now very important. The graph below underlines the importance of 1995 and its commemorations, but also the differences between Ireland and the diaspora regarding the number of publications. 1900, 1920 and 1945 represent a peak in this representation. The growing number around the 1900 may be explained by a very important wave of emigration, concerning people that did not live themselves the trauma the famine was, and who may have been encouraged to write by the surrounding community. 1920 coincides with the Independence of the home country and 1945, the centenary of the famine. During all this time, Ireland remained astonishingly silent.

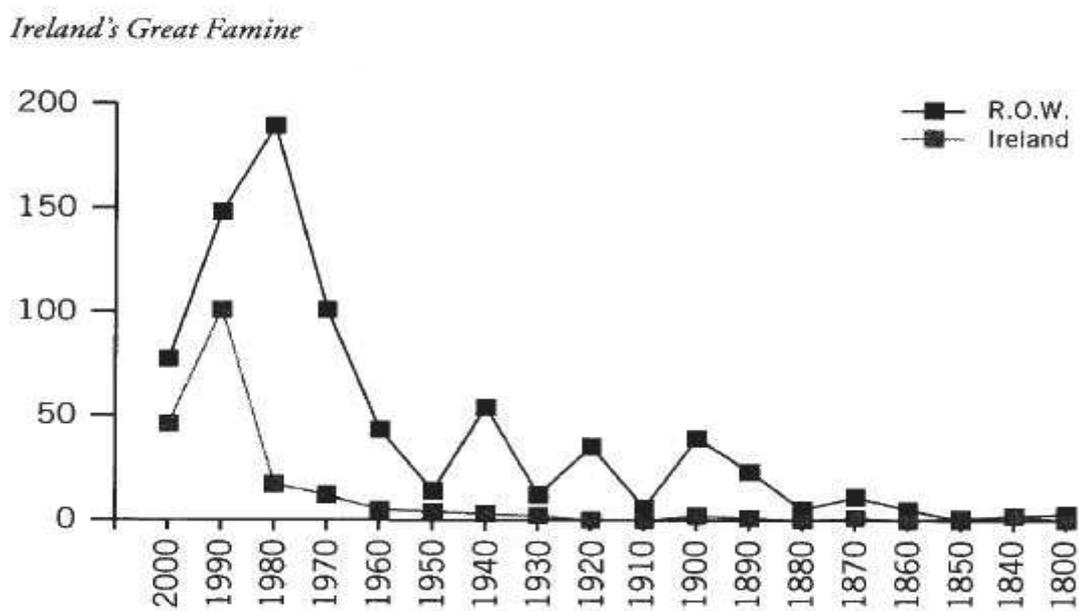


Figure 1 Books on famine in the Library of Congress catalogue, 1800–2005

**O'GRADA Cormac, *Ireland's Great Famine: Interdisciplinary perspectives*,
University College Dublin Press, 2006, p.2**

78 FITZPATRICK Maurice, "The Great Hunger", *Celtic Life*, February 2017.

Poland

History is a sensitive topic in Poland as well, but the XIXth century is still not its most sensitive part. The most sensitive topics concern World War 2 or the Communist era, like in Ukraine. However, the 1845-1933 is a crucial period for Polish national construction, built against Germany and Russia, while countries like Hungary are seen as friends. Liam Kennedy quoted in the first pages of *Unhappy the Land* an attempt to debunk nationalist stereotypes on Polish history: *Poland in the modern world: Beyond Martyrdom*; by Brian Porter-Szücs, an American scholar specialist of Poland, who had already written several works about Poles and their relation with constitutive topics such as religion and nationalism.⁷⁹ Liam Kennedy interestingly qualified it as “revisionism”. When linked to Poland, “historical revisionism” refers in the media to the historical revisionism⁸⁰ of the very kind of “*self-styled patriots*” that Kennedy denounced. But in the Irish context it is quite the opposite. In Ireland, revisionists criticize, approximately since the 1930's, an orthodox view of Irish History coming from the perspective of nationalists. Here Revisionism is clearly rewriting history despite proven facts for ideological purposes. This is, according to Kennedy, a Polish equivalent.

It was a very recent work when Kennedy quoted it, as it was published in January 2014. If Porter-Szücs worked on more controversial aspects of XIXth century Poland as soon as 2000⁸¹, we could suppose that this ambition to make a monograph on Polish History “beyond martyrdom” lies in the context of the recent Smolensk crash. His starting point is the period that runs from the third partition of Poland in 1795 until 2012. In the chapter, *Poles without Poland*, he begins stating that this absence of a state “*actually raises a whole series of problems that make it really hard to tell the story of the XIXth century northeastern Europe*”⁸². Indeed, while nationalist movements in Poland attracted some interest, that the statistics were really well conserved under the partitioning power, it implies some historiographical problems. When he wrote the chapters about the interwar period, he pointed out “*the ambivalence of democracy and authority*”, and dedicated a chapter about minorities “*Jews, Ukrainians and the Other Poles in the Interwar period*”. They were Polish citizens, but there was a process of “othering”. In her review of this work, Anita Prazmowska, from the London school of Economics, stated in her review of this books: “*The very suggestion that*

79 Brian Porter-Szücs'google scholar page < <https://scholar.google.com/citations?user=teN2gsMAAAAJ&hl=en> >

80 This kind of controversy were particularly vivid those last years, whether Poland was accused of revisionism (SHEEP Jonah, “Poland's Holocaust Law and the Right-Wing desire to rewrite history”, *New York Intelligencer*, 3/02/2018), or victims of attempts to rewrite history by other states (DAPKUS Liudas, “Poland, Lithuania lock arms to resist Russia's WW2 revisionism”, *Times of Israel*, 16/01/2020)

81 PORTER SZUCS Brian, *When Nationalism began to hate: Imagining Modern Politics in XIXth century Poland*, Oxford University Press, 2002 (2000), 320 p.

82 PORTER SZUCS Brian, *Poland in the modern world: Beyond Martyrdom*, Chichester, Willey Blackwell, 2014, unknown page.

martyrdom is something that a nation can and furthermore should transcend is not an idea with which many Poles, notably present day politicians, would like to advocate”⁸³.

Nevertheless, generally speaking, Polish history may appear to be better documented than the Ukrainian one. In her review, Prazwoska even wondered: “*why another book on Poland? In the end the author does not offer something new, as the writing is not informed by archival research*”. However, Prazmowska also wrote: “*Since Poles and the Polish media tend to have an exaggerated regard for foreigners who take an interest in Polish history, as witnessed by the esteem in which they hold Norman Davies, this modest book is very much to be welcomed. Here is a foreigner who writes well on Polish history [...] one who has not fallen into the trap of taking Polish pronouncements of victimhood at face value*”. Among the foreigners, Norman Davies is indeed one of the best known specialists of Poland, a *polonophile* English historian. His *God’s playground*, published in 1979, when Poland was still belonging to the pact of Warsaw, as a part of the Other Europe behind the Iron Curtain, contains references to Ireland. Davies succumbs to the instinctive need for comparison. However, this comparison with Ireland also relied on common stereotypes and life habits. “*Poland appears to be imbued with the unmistakable flavour of irishness [...] and not only because Poland and Ireland are the only two Catholic countries which thrive on a diet of potatoes and hard spirit [...] Poland vies with Ireland [...] for the title of the most catholic nations*”⁸⁴. He, quite naturally, chose to compare both countries and to address comparisons previously made. For instance, he stated that “*Together with Ireland, Sicily and parts of Germany, the Polish lands have produced a disproportionate share of European Immigrants*” (P.202), opening of the chapter “*The Polish Emigration*”, or, to accentuate the Polish plight: “*But if the Irish were faced with one imperial enemy, the Poles were faced with three.*” These references could be simply explained by Norman Davies's origins: he is an English of Welsh descent, therefore from a region culturally not so far from Ireland, and historically closely linked with it. This is the intuitive nature of comparison as made since the first years of History, explained by Chloé Maurel in *Manuel d'Histoire Globale*. This intuitive comparison by an English historian in an anthology about an Eastern European country can also be found in *Borderland: A Journey through the History of Ukraine* by Anna Reid, based on the same ambition as Norman Davies: making a journey through the history of a country, however shorter 320 pages against more than a thousand pages for *God's Playground*).

83 PRZAZMOWSKA Anita, *Review of Poland in the Modern World: Beyond Martyrdom*, (review no. 1691)

84 DAVIES Norman, *God’s playground*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981 (1979), p. 467

Ukraine

1. Ukrainian History by foreigners and comparison within Ukrainian historiography)

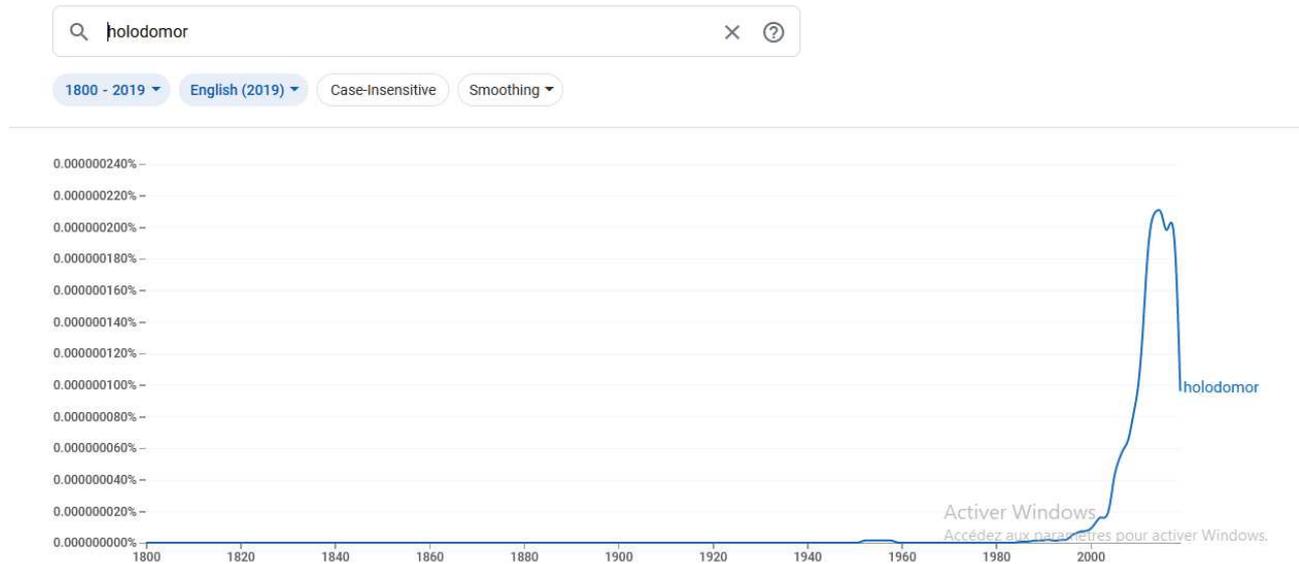
Just as for Irish and Polish history, the 1845-1939 period was paramount in Ukrainian history, but contains some of its most tragic and controversial episodes. This is for the parts addressing those times that Anna Reid made parallels with Ireland, a country culturally closer, in *Borderland, a Journey through the History of Ukraine*. She stated for instance: “Ukrainians, like the Irish, rebelled against their Polish landlords at every opportunity”⁸⁵. More explicitly: “Ukraine thus became to Russians what Ireland and Scotland were to the English”. She was talking about the XVIIIth century, implying that the parallels between the two countries are more ancient than the XIXth Century, while Healy stated the contrary for Polish-Irish possible analogies⁸⁶. “Ireland and Poland had little in common before the Polish state was dissolved, and Irish interest in Poland was minimal at this time”. Furthermore, Reid compared Poles with Englishmen, stating that “Poles, like the English, responded [to Ukrainian revolts] with a curious mixture of affection, scorn and feare.”

Our period contains two very different episodes of Ukrainian history, on which the most sensitive debates are focused on, the Civil War of the Ukrainian Independence, and the Soviet Famine. There is Ukraine as a part of the Soviet Union and Ukraine as a part of the Russian Empire. While in Ireland the Irish genocide theory is only popular among certain nationalist circles as we have seen, the debate about the *Ukrainian Genocide* term is more than serious, and tend to acknowledge it as such. About the Famine, Anna Reid made the comparison with Irish equivalent tragedy, and supported the idea of a genocide in Ukraine. In her own words: “Famine is the wrong word for what happened. Unlike the Irish potato famine of the 1840s, the deaths of 1932-3 were a deliberate, man made event”. Moreover, she doesn't only talk about parallels, but also about links and identifications, using the example of Volodymyr Antonovych who gave some lectures on Irish history and their concern regarding the Ukrainian language, some of them expecting that “It would die out completely”. If this journey through Ukrainian history is aimed at her English compatriots, this would indeed be something that would speak to them. In both cases, the historiography of the Famines, the interpretations of their true nature and the history of their aftermath is a central topic of the papers and books dealing with it. However, this also is also where we can find the major difference between them.

85 REID Anna, *Borderland, a journey through history of Ukraine*, W&N, 2015 (1997), 368 p.

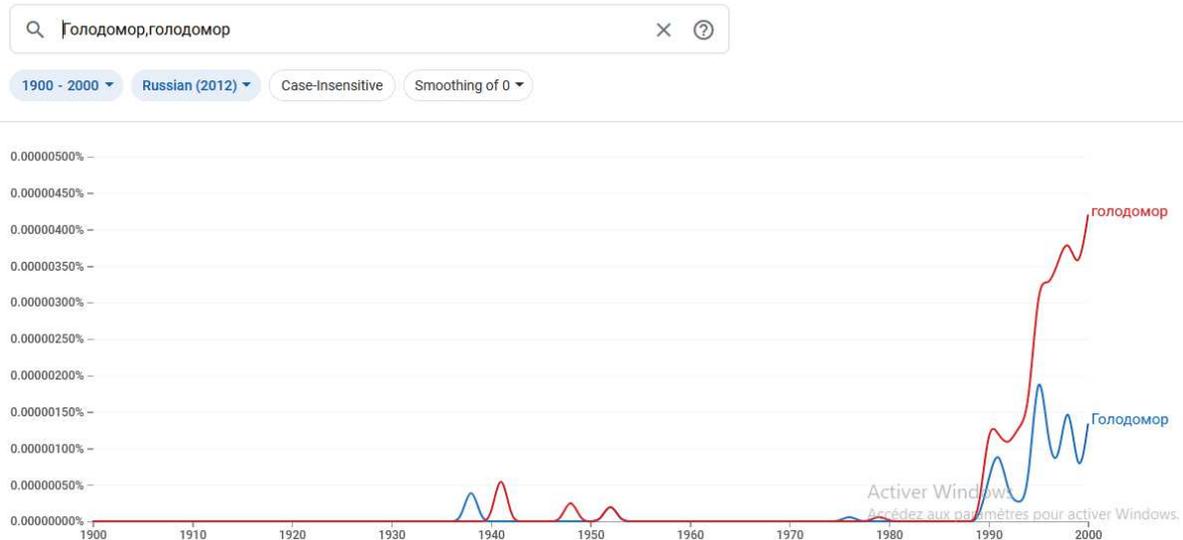
86 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, p. 9

2. The Historiography of the Ukrainian famine)



-Occurrence of the term “Holodomor” in written sources between 1800 and 2019 according to Ngram viewer (19/01/2021)

Here, it is a graphic representation of this word's occurrence according to written sources in English. The History of the term itself is very intriguing. If the important peak of mentions can be explained by both the recognition as a genocide by the Ukrainian parliament in 2006, and the mediatization caused by the Ukrainian crisis in 2014-2015, this graph contains a surprising data. While the term “Holodomor” is generally considered as born in the 1980s, it seems to have been present in a source at the end of the 1950's. The discourse *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine* in 1953 and the publication of the *Black Deeds in the Kremlin* in 1956 may have attracted attention and convince people to speak and create the name in the diaspora, but this is only a supposition.



Graphic representing the occurrence of the term “Голодомор” in written sources between 1800 and 2012 (19/01/2021)

According to this graph, if we use sources printed in Russian, the term is even older than the end of the 1950's. They are dating back to barely ten years after the famine itself. Supposedly, the occurrence in the 1940's can be explained by the importance of nationalists in Western Ukraine that may have instrumentalized it for propaganda purposes, and in the 1950's by post-war exiles of those same nationalists. The ngram information may differentiate Ukrainian and Russian since it doesn't match with researches made by Ukrainian scholars on that matter. In 2017, Yaroslav Hrytsak stated that the word did appear in 1968 in *Московство* (Muscovy) by Pavlo Shtepa, while in the first publication in Ukrainian of the *Yellow Prince* by Vasyl Barka in 1963, the word was present in the “By author” part. He mentions that researches date the word back to 1926. Still, the fact that the expression “to kill by hunger” in Ukrainian was forged so quickly after the event proves that it was resented so much as a crime, as quite a unique event, that a word had to be created.

Московський Госплан призначив м'яса річного людини 0 кгтр., а поліційному поєні - 146 кгтр. Пес належно одержить, бо ж допомагає ловити 'сепаратістоф', яких призначено на голодомор.
 На одну особу людини припадала 1955 року в Україні МЕНШЕ, ніж у Москві: м'яса, ковбаси на 69 % менше, риби, оселедців - на 72.3 % менше, м'ясних консервів - на 145 %, овочевих консервів - на 232%, товщи - на 81%, масла - на 87.7 %, солома - на 80 %, Ячмі -

Mention of the Holomor in *Московство*, 1968

It is acknowledged that Ukrainians could not write about the famine until the end of the Soviet Union, unless they lived in the diaspora. The American historian Viktoria Malko theorized

four phases of the Holodomor historiography, which began long before the fall of the Soviet Union and the opening of the archives. Until 1950's, it was non-academic and anecdotic, even coming from nazi sympathizers, an argument that was frequently used by opponents to the Genocide theory. This is where accounts by Gareth Jones, a Welsh journalist who in opposition to Walter Duranty accounts, made one of the few contemporary foreign reports of the famine. The second is longer, 1950-1980, and as Malko explained: “*the mass starvation is exposed by Western historians and it is first labelled a genocide, and the term “holodomor” is coined. This is also where Conquest’s Harvest of Sorrow is released, which is hugely influential in bringing Holodomor to the forefront of discussion. Conquest is ambivalent around calling it a genocide, but notes “It would hardly be denied that a crime has been committed against the Ukrainian nation”.* As we have previously mentioned, Lemkin theorized it as a genocide in 1953. The post-soviet historiography, benefiting from the opening of the archives, only represents a third step. Malko explained that this is the period when it began to be recognised as a genocide increasingly, including by the president Yushchenko in 2006. But even before that, James Mace theorized the concept of man made famine in an article written in 2004, *Soviet Man-Made Famine in Ukraine*, published in *Century of Genocide, Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, a concept that is very useful to analyze Irish questions regarding the famine and problematics we previously addressed. James Mace in addition qualified Ukraine as a post-genocidal society. Essays about the Kazakh famine written during this period were interestingly incorporated in “Ukrainian studies”, as “*The Collective Famine in Kazakhstan 1931-1933*” by Niccolo Pianciola, who is however a specialist of Central Asia. Timothy Snyder, the famous writer of bloodlands also belongs to this period. This is also during this period that Lemkin especially inspired ulterior works which tried to analyse the Famine(s) as a genocide regarding the law.

This work argued with historical proofs, like the analytical report *Famine and the Ukrainian question* prepared by the Italian Royal consul in Kharkiv, also used by the Italian historian Andrea Graziosi, specialist of the Holodomor. This historian, along with James Mace and Robert Conquest, the author of one of the first books in the West to analyze the topic, *Harvest of Sorrow*, appears as authoritative figures (p. 3). Lemkin's shadow hence seems to remain on Holodomor historiography. This led the Russian authorities, violently opposed to the recognition of the Holodomor as a Genocide to label 1953's Lemkin Essay *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine*, as an extremist material, or extremist literature. This was in the Summer of 2015, one year after the war began in Ukraine⁸⁷. Still according to Victoria Malko's chronological historiography of the different

87 WEISS-WENDT Anton, *A Rhetorical Crime : Genocide in the Geopolitical Discourse of the Cold War*, Ruthers University Press, 2018, 246 p.

phases of the Holodomor historiography, the fourth one happened after 2010, and was not necessarily linked to this context. Once the criminal nature of the Famine was proven by the archives, the approach of historians evolved and could go past the debate on its genocidal nature: the scholarship is increasingly working at interpreting the social dynamics of the Holodomor, informed in “*closer conversation with genocide studies. It is looking at trauma, memory and bringing in feminist and cultural perspectives on genocide*”⁸⁸. This is during this period that Liam Kennedy used, in 2015, Lemkin’s researches on the Holodomor to analyze the Irish famine, in his chapter “*Irish and the man who invented genocide*”. As there is still no consensus, in spite of Lemkin’s work, studies on this famine cannot avoid addressing the question of whether or not is a genocide and of the death toll, both of them being still unsolved. She herself falls into that category, and brought herself those feminist perspectives with her work *Women and the Holodomor Genocide: Victims, Survivors, Perpetrators*.

As consequences of the outbreak of the Donbass war in 2014, ulterior works about the Holodomor are echoes to actuality, such as *Red Famine, Stalin’s War on Ukraine*, written in 2017 by the Polish-American historian Anne Applebaum. Her book is granting a real importance to Ukraine as a nation and to history of nationalism, considering that the famine is just the logical continuation of a war against the country. This being of course not the single one event in Ukrainian history, this also had consequences on larger monographs. The recent war significantly impacted Ukrainian historiography of the last years, and it is shown by a particular aspect of historical literature: reissues.

3. The impact of revolutions on the diffusion of Ukrainian history)

As the first Ukrainian national movements were indeed still about national construction, a Ukrainian national history is still being built up even nowadays. Therefore, as writers built the Ukrainian language, historians built Ukrainian national history, as we have underlined with Hrushevsky's work. That is also why some books were published which debunked Ukrainian national construction and their reeditions. We will focus on two examples, one now belonging to history, the second written after the fall of the Soviet Union. In 1920, the erudite prince Wolkonski⁸⁹ tried to debunk Hrushevsky’s national construction of Ukraine, returning to the origin of the Rus’. His work, “*The Ukraine question: The historic truth versus the separatist propaganda*”, was written during the Ukrainian War of Independence (1917-1921) and it was actually a historical

88 MALKO Victoria, *The Holodomor as Genocide in Historiography and Memory*, Paper presented at the 51st Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies in San Francisco, California, 2019, 27 p.

89 WOLKONSKY Alexandre, *Ukraine: la vérité historique*, Syrtes édition, 2015 (1920), 288 p.

work on this period that should rather be studied as a primary source. It was reedited in France under the name *Ukraine: La vérité historique*, during the war between Russia and Ukraine, in 2015, supporting Russian pretension over Southeastern Ukraine (Donbass and Crimea). It was presented by the Medievalist Jean-Pierre Arrignon, member of a far-right affiliated organization called *La Renaissance Française*, in the Institute of Democracy and Cooperation. This is not the only work supporting those claims, though reissues does not only concern this kind of partisan artefact.

The book *Ukrainians: Unexpected nations* by Andrew Wilson first published in 2000, benefited of a 2nd edition in 2002, a third reedition in 2009, after the Orange Revolution which is the book cover, and a 4th one in 2015 after Euromaïdan : all of them are sold separately on Amazon. Nowadays, history is still a very sensitive topic in Ukraine and is even more politicized than in Poland and Ireland.

To conclude, we could say that even in historical work which had national centered ambition, the proximity between their own debates sometimes lead historians to evoke other historical debates.

III) Polish-Irish connection

The Polish-Irish connection seems to have received attention from scholars at least since the beginning of the 1990's. However, other significant works dedicated to the Polish-Irish comparison and the relations between these people were published before, especially between 1991 and 2011, and by the Irish. Those works are both comparative and transnational, and most of them are rather confidential. One of the oldest works about this connection written after 1939 is “*Ireland and Poland: Comparative perspectives*” by Patrick Clancy, in 1992. Clancy belongs to the UCD chair of Sociology, but this work is labeled as historical. A year later, a review by Eilis Ward in the *Irish Journal of Sociology* wondered⁹⁰: Why Poland and Ireland? The only answer she gave was that it resulted from an exchange with scholars from the University of Warsaw. Considering the time it was written, when Ireland was still struggling with the *Troubles* and Poland emerging from Communism, the term “perspectives” may be seen as a sign of time.

It may indicate that this was an innovative approach. Ireland and Poland were indeed also compared regarding the subject of migration, more deeply than Davies's allegations than Poland

90 WARD Eilis, “Book review: Ireland and Poland. Comparative perspectives”, *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 1/05/1993, p. 142

sent a lot of migrants “like Ireland.” Indeed, Klaus Tenfelde and John Belchem published in 2002 *Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Perspective*. Nine years later, Belchem took part in the writing of *Polish-Irish Encounters in the old and New Europe*, opening with *Patterns of Mobility: Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Historical Perspective*. It’s the main work directly comparing them through this aspect of their history. He proficiently used the comparative methodology in his career.⁹¹ In 2011, the anthology *Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe*, was published in the collection *Re-imagining Ireland*. According to Peter Lang's website, “The series publishes monographs, comparative studies, interdisciplinary projects, conference proceedings and edited books.” It was described as “A major intervention in Irish Studies. Irish Studies have come back to Ireland itself.” *The Reimagining Ireland series is at the cutting edge of what it means to be Ireland.*” by Professor Luke Gibbons⁹². This could underline the tendencies in Ireland to lean towards more transnational and comparative studies. However, it addresses less frontally our topic than Healy's book, as the chronological frame is wider. Moreover, numerous articles are focusing on the experience of Poles who immigrated to Ireland, and on contemporaneous questions. Some chapters are still useful to understand the 1845-1939 period. It is a collective work, in which Healy took part, writing the 2nd chapter: “*Religion and Rebellion: The Catholic Church in Ireland and Poland from 1848 to 1867.*” There are different movements of global history involved here, such as comparative history, history of cultural transfers and exchanges, history of migrations...

In the 2010's, two historians, a woman from Ireland and a man from Poland, dedicated most of their work to Poland and Ireland. The first, Roisin Healy, is authoritative in her domain. Her first work involving those two was “*The view from the margins, Ireland and Poland-Lithuania 1698-1798*” in “*Britain and Poland-Lithuania*” in 2008, then followed by numerous articles on the questions. There is among the most recent contributions to this question, Róisín Healy’s book “*Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*” written in 2017, deserves special attention, as it is a book focused on this relations around the period of the partitions Poland and Polish/Irish Independence. In addition, this scholar dedicated a significant part of her career to Irish and Polish history in the XIX-XXth century, and to transnational history. Most of her publications are about anti-imperialism, Ireland and Eastern Europe, and especially Poland. In 2014, she wrote “*The Shadow of Colonialism in Europe’s Modern Past*”, about European people from subverted nations and to what extent they could be considered as colonized⁹³. Ukraine and

91 Patrick Clancy's publications < https://scholar.google.com/citations?hl=en&user=axjQkIIAAAAJ&view_op=list_works&sortby=pubdate >

92 Peter Lang's website < <https://www.peterlang.com/view/serial/REIR> >

93 HEALY Róisín, *The Shadow of Colonialism in Europe's Modern Past*, Palgrave MacMillan, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series, 2014, 255 p.

Poland are therefore an important topic here, with chapters such as *Colonisation and Sovietisation in Poland* (the latter outdating World War II), but so is Ireland. She is also an active member of the Irish Association for Russian, Central and East European Studies. It is, in 2020, one of the most important references of this topic, because it is the only one to address the subject so directly. One year later, she published a comparative study on the Poznań Uprising of 1918-19 and Easter Rising in *1916 in the global context, an anti-imperial moment*, she wrote with the same trio of historians as *Small Nations*, in which its redaction she participated in 2016⁹⁴. Dal Lago, a native of Italy, is among others, a specialist of comparative history and anti-slavery, and Barry notably worked on the aftermath of WW1.

Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe remains, however, the reference book. It is a rich analysis of all the mechanisms in Irish identification with other peoples and how they sometimes lead to actions. Identification with Poles is indeed not the only one addressed here in the colonial context. She explains, for example, that the Irish often failed to identify with non-European people. One example of this paradox is that the Irish supported the Boers, “*while failing to challenge the Boers’s own antipathy towards the local black population*” (p.4). She’s therefore critical of this identification with the Poles, which is why the book is not merely an attempt to connect them. For her, most of the Irish were introduced to the Polish cause mostly because of the nationalists and the clergy. Healy indeed insisted : “*that the Catholic clergy cultivated the idea that Ireland and Poland were sisters in bondage.*” (p.276). The theory defended by the book is resumed as it follows: “*This study shows how this parallel proved politically significant, allowing Irish nationalists to challenge the legitimacy of British rule in Ireland by arguing that British governments were hypocritical to condemn in Poland what they themselves practised in Ireland.*” However, she also arrived at the conclusion that the Irish were less similar to Poles than Ukrainians, and that the Irish privileged historic nations like Poland and Hungary for their narratives over ones that were perhaps greater victims of colonialism, such as Bosnians and Ukrainians. The second, Adam Kucharski, passed his doctorate only in 2018. He added in 2020 a new issue in the Reimagining Ireland collection, about XIXth Century Polish-Irish relations: *Placing Poland at the heart of Irishness*. Healy evoked the Markievicz couple at the end of the book, stating that they “*did not address the parallel directly*”, therefore disagreeing with Patrick Quigley’s assertion that the Markievicz couple was a connection between Ireland and Poland. However, in *1916 in a global context: An anti-Imperial moment*, Constance Markievicz being an important organizer her Polish surname was considered important as a factor of sympathy

94 BARRY Gearóid, DAL LAGO Enrico, HEALY Róisín, *1916 in the global context, an anti-imperial moment*, Routledge, 2018, 232 p.

in Poland. Casimir Markiewicz was also presented in another work involving Irish-Polish connections, here more about cultural transfers than international relations : *Irish Drama in Poland, Staging and Reception, 1900-2000*⁹⁵, published in 2016. 2016 was the year when Ireland celebrated the anniversary of the Easter Rising that was commemorated in Ireland, and it was the occasion for some Irish scholars to organize seminars about the Polish question. In 2016 in Cork, some of them participated in the *Talk on 1916 Rising and a Polish Connection* the seminary including Gabriel Doherty and Adam Kucharski, who delivered for instance a conference on the Polish journalist Irena Pannenkowa.⁹⁶

Despite the variety of points on which Poland and Ireland could be compared, none of them confront them through events as precise as the ones that connected Ireland and Ukraine.

IV) Ukrainian-Irish connection

In 2018, there was a call for papers about comparison between Ireland and Ukraine from the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies in the Alberta University, led by Volodymyr Kravchenko⁹⁷. Papers had to be submitted before January 2019. A lot of historical attempts to connect those two histories come from North America, for at least two reasons. At first, both Ukrainians and Irish (and Poles!) came and their children swarmed there⁹⁸. More than one million Canadians are of Ukrainian descent, a little more than in the United States. The proportion of Polono-Canadians is quite the same, but they are 9,3 million in the United States. There are also 4,5 millions of Irish-Canadians. However, these attempts mostly come from Ukrainians because Irish history is better known in North America, as tens of millions of Irish live there. Here, the project chose to divide it in four conceptual parts: Nation between region and empire, Famine studies and memories, Resistance, Diaspora (The Canadian framework). The most controversial and politically-oriented part of this call for papers was that it confronted the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the IRA (Irish Republican Army). If both of them are very well-known in their home country - and controversial - for their history in terrorism⁹⁹, UPA was a far right organization, contrary to IRA

95 KEANE Barry, *Irish Drama in Poland: Staging and Reception, 1900-2000*, University of Chicago Press, 2016, 200 p.

96 *Talk on 1916 Rising and a Polish Connection*, The Corkman, 18/02/2016

97 Ukraine-Ireland, a comparative perspective

< <https://www.ualberta.ca/canadian-institute-of-ukrainian-studies/centres-and-programs/cusp/ukraine-in-the-world/ukraine-ireland-a-comparative-perspective> >

98 *Immigration and Ethnocultural diversity highlight tables*, Canada, 2016 Census

99 Actually, at least two works on IRA mentioned the UPA

- *Irish Republicans were actually relegated to the statue of Europe's " last mohicans " [...] the most resilient armed European rebels of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were defunct by the early 1960's*

which is left wing, as is the Sinn Féin. Moreover, if UPA was involved in the Holocaust of Jewish and Roma People¹⁰⁰ and slaughtered up to 100,000 Poles in Volhynia, the IRA is not subject to such accusations of mass violence. Along with being an example of the nationalist tendencies of the Ukrainian-Canadian community, the other interest of this call for papers was to recall the different points of comparison existing before.

1. Ukrainian historians's involvement in making a general comparison

After 1939, at least two scholars, from Ukraine or with Ukrainian background worked specifically on Ukrainian-Irish connections in general. The other notable example of an involved historian is Roman Smal-Stocki, born in Tchernihiv in 1893, ethnically Ukrainian in the Russian Empire, with a Galician father. He stated for instance to the Irish press in 1953 that “*Both Ukraine and Ireland were confronted with a similar agrarian problem. That, in part, forced the Irish to emigrate to America and the Ukrainians to Siberia. Britain systematically hampered the Irish economy just as the Russians did in Ukraine...*”¹⁰¹. The word “famine”, however, is not pronounced. Roman Smal-Stocki was rather qualified in political science than in history. He never wrote about Ireland, but he knew Ukraine. He lived there until Ukraine joined the Soviet Union, and was a former Ambassador for Ukraine in Germany for Symon Petliura's government, therefore active in politics contemporary to the Anglo-Irish war. “*In our Young Ukraine* (youth organisation founded in 1899 in Western Ukraine, where Smal-Stocki's family was from), he stated in the same article, “*we saw Young Ireland*”. But as a scholar, what he told in the press about the connection between those two is useful for studying Ukrainian-Irish relations. More recently, after the fall of communism, Hennadiy Kazakevych wrote several works connecting Ireland and Ukraine, covering different historical periods, in a trans-national perspective. He wrote about the Antiquity period, Middle Ages - “*The Irish monks in medieval Kiev*”. About 1845-1939, he wrote a paper about “*Ukrainian O'Connors: the family of Irish ancestry in cultural life of the 19th century Ukraine*”¹⁰², about Alexander O'Connor who married a Ukrainian woman, Oleksandra Stozhenko, during the Napoleonian era. In the article, Kazakevych looks at one of the descendants of the couple, Olha O'Connor, who was Mykola Lyssenko's wife and taught piano to Lesya Ukrainka. Like Smal-

REKAWEK Kacper, *Irish Republican Terrorism and Politics: A Comparative study of the Official and the Provisional IRA (Political Violence)*, Routledge, Political Violence, p.123

- The other one is more interesting as it develops a comparison with other antistalinist movements in Eastern Europe, like anti-comunist Poles, enemies of Ukrainian nationalists of this era, and Forest Brothers in Estonia, which remained hidden until 1978.

100 According to ROMANOVSKY Daniil, *Collaborators: Ukrainian nationalism and the Genocide of Jews in Western Ukraine*, lechaim.ru, March 2008, Roman Shukhevych issued an order against these three people precisely.

101 “Ireland and Ukraine, both fought for their liberty”, *Anglo Celt*, 19/09/1953

102 KAZAKEVYCH Gennadiy, “Ukrainian O'Connors: the family of Irish ancestry in cultural life of the 19th century Ukraine”, in *Bulletin of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. History in 2017*, 6 p.

Stocki several decades before him, he published some press articles about those connections like “Parallel Struggle” in the *Ukrainian Week* in 2012, where he tells Olha O'Connor's story.

2. Famines as the Darkest hours)

The majority of works focusing on a comparison between Ireland and Ukraine were about the Famines, considered as the greatest tragedies those people experienced. The comparison is not that confidential, even their own Wikipedia pages, the very first pages you could find on the internet, mentioned the comparison¹⁰³. And strikingly, the Holodomor was used as a periphrasis to qualify the famine on the Ukrainian page, that led to curious formulations with a double sense such as: “*Кормак О'Града не згоден, що голодомор був геноцидом*” (Cormac O'grada did not think that the Holodomor - here, the Irish famine - was a genocide). If “*there were not the same famine*”, as Anne Applebaum recalled, these two events share similar imageries (as dying of hunger in Ireland is not that different from dying of hunger in Ukraine), demographic consequences and maybe above all, similar places in their respective national memories. Even if involvement of the state was different and that comparison shows structural differences, it is the similarity between those events which was studied the most, when parallels and connections between Ukraine and Ireland only are evoked. The most probably important one was under Christian Noak's supervision : “*Holodomor and Gorta Mor, Histories, Memories and Representations of Famine in Ukraine and Ireland*. It presents itself as: “*the first attempt to draw these approaches together and to allow for a comparative study.*” It is a relatively recent work, published in 2012. It opens with a quote from the then very recent Kazakevych article “*Parallel Struggles*”. The book however compiles 13 articles, mostly either about the Irish famine or the Ukrainian one. Only the 4th chapter and the introduction directly compare both. Jan Janmaat's *History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks* was first published in *History of Education*, in May 2006, before being published here. The difference of context is important here, since it was written six months before the vote of the law recognizing the Holodomor as a crime of genocide, while it was re-published in a book edited six years later. This article's intention is still to compare aftermath and not origins, but he compares Ukrainian and Irish population by the fact that: “*they were by and large peasant populations tilling lands held predominantly by a landlord class that differed from the peasantry in religion or ethnic descent. Their native languages (Irish Gaelic and Ukrainian)were increasingly surpassed by the imperial languages English and Russian in the*

103 - Great Irish Famine, 10.3 Genocide question <

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Famine_\(Ireland\)#Genocide_question](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Famine_(Ireland)#Genocide_question) >

Holodomor in Modern Politics < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Holodomor#In_modern_politics > consulted in January of 2021.

nineteenth century. But there are also differences"¹⁰⁴. Janmaat is a historian of education and is used to comparative methodology. He extended the comparison with studies of the place of Russia in the textbooks of other Republics, as for instance Kazakhstan which also was hit harshly, even harder than Ukraine by the Soviet famine. The 12th other are separated in four parts: they are called "*Historiography and Politics*", "*Public Commemorations*", "*Trauma and Victimisation*", "*New sources and new approaches to the Irish and Ukrainian famines*".

As both of the famines were among the last major famines in European history, they were central in *Famines in European Economic History: The Last Great European Famines Reconsidered* which was published in 2015 and is a compilation of articles. It confronts them with a new example, the Finnish Famine, the *Suuret Nälkävuodet (Great Famine)* of 1866-1868, during which: "270 000 people died out of a population of fewer than two millions of which 150 000 were 'excess' deaths". Finland was not independent at that time as it was part of the Russian Empire. If the death toll is rather important, killing 20% in some regions, it is considered as the last "*natural famine*" in Europe, even if like every famine, a better governmental gestion could have prevented this 20%. This categorization excludes all the famines in the Soviet Union. Surprisingly, there is not a single chapter who confronts all three, but there is an introduction confronting them, proposing a "*bilateral and trilateral comparison*", mentioning the book edited by Christian Noack. They were here more frontally studied as famines than national tragedies, and the enduring narratives. Those famines enter in the wider frame of the contemporaneous period famine episodes, quite numerous, and their memory is not only studied as something cultural or political, but also biological: epigenetic memory, the way starvation affected genes was widely studied, in a discipline called epigenetics, crossing medicine and history.

This is however not in these angles that we will approach these historiographical similarities, since there is even a more precise point that was used to compare them.

3 – The importance of women in famine historiography)

One of the first studies of the Holodomor famine, still in the 1980's, comes from a monograph on Ukrainian women's movements. It is called *Feminists Despite themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* written in 1988 by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, and published by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies even before the fall of the Soviet Union. The word *Holodomor* in itself was not used, but the event is widely addressed in the last parts of the book. Her approach of Ukrainian history through its feminist organisations is relatively close to the

104 JANMAAT Jan, " History and National Identity Construction: The Great Famine in Irish and Ukrainian History Textbooks ", *History of Education, Journal of the History of Education Society* , Vol.35, 2006, p. 345-368.

history of nationalism in Ukraine and is written in a chronological perspective. In the *Russian Review*, in an analysis by Ann Hibner Kolnitz in 1990, she said about this approach that : “*Until recently, consideration on the role of the women has generally been conspicuous by his absence, and Slavacists with interests in women's studies have only begun to assert themselves*”¹⁰⁵. As this review also noted, Bohachevsky-Chomiak clearly makes a difference between Russian and Ukrainian feminism, between Ukrainian and Western feminism : *stress in the final analysis on subordination of women's goals to those of the nation* ” (p.XX-XXI). Why are they feminists despite themselves, so? They were engaged in “*community feminism*”. Maybe partially because the Ukrainian women in the time period that she's focused on lived as national minorities, her historical analysis has a clear transnational dimension. Relations with Polish women, as both oppressed counterparts and oppressors (especially after the Polish Independence but remarkably not only there), are central in her analysis, since they lived on the same territory. Important as well is the place of Ukrainian women in international feminism, since it is even the title of a whole part, the 5th, precisely called “*Ukrainian women and International feminism*”. However, Irish women are almost absent from this comparison. Except on a precise point : the famine. The Holodomor is still is a key point in Soviet Ukrainian history, and by way of consequences, in the history of Soviet Ukrainian women, since the construction of this study is making a difference between western Ukrainian women and eastern/central ones. The international dimension of feminism after the war did help Ukrainian women to raise awareness, through the International council of women. This is why I chose to put this in this category. Moreover, this underlines how the history of nationalism, global history, the history of the famine and women's history could be interlinked. Works published later on women and famine would only confirm it.

“*The feminization of the famine : Expressions of the inexpressible?*” by Margaret Kelleher¹⁰⁶ published in 1997 is a particularly interesting material, because of the large amount of problematics he evokes. It is not the first work dealing with the women and the famine, as Kelleher had previously written, in 1996, *Representations of Women in Famine Narratives* but it is rather a work of comparative Literature. *Expressions of the inexpressible* on the other hand is a major work it was considered as a “*major work on famine*” (David Lloyd, University of Berkeley), and moreover, it is a work of comparative history. The last chapter is indeed widening its subject with a similar approach to the Bengal famine. This famine happened in 1943, again in the frame of the

105 HIBNER KOBLOITZ Anne, “Reviewed Work: *Feminists despite Themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939* by Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak”, *The Russian Review*, Vol.49, n°2, April 1990, p. 205-207

106 KELLEHER Margaret, *The Feminization of the Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible ?*, Duke University Press, 1997, 272 p.

British Empire, and was compared to the Irish famine. But in her work, Kelleher compares essentially an imagery, not causes, even if both were consequences of British Imperialism. It allows her to emphasize a similar mythological pattern. The Irish and Bengal famine are also used as examples of Capitalist famines by critics of the Holodomor-genocide theory. All three were already compared several times in the frame of the conferences organised by the Holodomor Research and Education Consortium (HREC), which existed since 2013 and aimed to conduct and promote research and education on the Holodomor. Three years in a row, the HREC organised conferences putting the Ukrainian famine in a transnational perspective, beginning in 2015 with “*Starvation as a Political Tool from the XIXth to the XXth Century : The Irish famine, the Armenian Genocide, and genocide by attrition in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan*”¹⁰⁷, held at Toronto University. They continued to explore this perspective in a conference in Toronto in 2016, “*Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective: The Bengal, Irish, and Ukrainian Famines*”¹⁰⁸, followed a year later by “*Empire, Colonialism and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective – International Symposium*”¹⁰⁹ This consortium was created in Canada and depending on the University of Alberta, highlighting the very important role that Canada's Ukrainian community and scholarships are holding in the historiography of this comparison. Other conferences were held with a clear transnational aspect : this underlined the need for comparison in history dating back to Herodotus, therefore almost as old as the discipline itself. Seeing the Irish famine in another comparative perspective, through a gender approach is actually very useful, since the patterns of feminine representation Kelleher pointed out in both Indian and Irish cultures (another common point than just starvation in the hand of the British) appear to exist in Ukrainian culture. Because in Ukraine as well, there was a feminisation of the famine.

In her review of “*Famine 33*” by Oles Yanchuk (1991), we could notice that *Golod 33* was his first movie. As his cinema was exclusively about Ukrainian history during the XXth century and nationalism, it is interesting that it was the first thing he chose to evoke. All his other movies are about Ukrainian nationalist figures. This first movie is an adaptation of *The Yellow Prince* by

107 *Starvation as a Political Tool from the XIXth to the XXth Century : The Irish famine, the Armenian Genocide, and genocide by attrition in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan*, 22/10/2015, University of Toronto < <https://holodomor.ca/starvation-as-a-political-tool-from-the-nineteenth-to-the-twenty-first-century/> >

About Genocide by attrition specifically, differentiated from Genocide by starvation, see FEIN Helen, “Genocide by Attrition 1939-1993: The Warsaw Ghetto, Cambodia and Sudan: Links between Human Rights, Health and Mass Death”, *Health and Human Rights*, Vol 2, N°2, 1997, p. 10-45

108 HRYNEVYCH Liudmila, (28 Octobre 2016) *The Ukrainian Holodomor in the Context of Soviet Imperialism*, [Conference], Holodomor Research and Education Consortium (HREC) Conference Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective: The Bengal, Irish, and Ukrainian Famines, Toronto Canada, < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s8c3YQc4RN8> >

109 Empire, Colonialism and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective – International Symposium, 5-7/06/2017, Kyiv <<https://holodomor.ca/empire-colonialism-and-famine-in-comparative-historical-perspective-international-symposium/>>

Vassyl Barka¹¹⁰ Olga Papash describes the importance of feminine figures in an article.¹¹¹ Vassyl Barka's work has a very mystical approach to the famine from his first lines, an approach that can be found in much more recent work. In 2017, Anne-Marie and Philippe Naumiak, French siblings with a Ukrainian father, published a historical book compiling testimonies, with a *pieta* as an art cover and a focus on repressions towards Christianity, inscribing the historiography of the Holodomor in an almost martyrological register¹¹². Olga Papash's article was published as part of the comparative works “*Holodomor and Gorta Mor, Memories and Representation of Famine in Ukraine and Ireland*”, in which Margaret Kelleher was involved as well. Here, Papash focuses on a particular primary source. This religious tone in Oles Yanchuk and Vassyl Barka's work is interlinked with the concept of matriarchy. She began her analysis stating that the subject is “*so intensely distressing that any attempt to criticize its representation in the arts runs the risk of being mistaken as an attempted denial [...] of the famine itself*”. This introduction shows, therefore, a reality applying mostly to Ukraine. About the death toll and historiography of the famine, she made this interesting assumption that “*any significant reduction [of the number of death] would not alter the situation much as we would still be dealing with death of millions*”.

However, the book that can be compared in historiography with Kelleher's work is a work recently published by Victoria Malko in June 2019, from the Fresno University, called “*Women and the Holodomor-Genocide: Victims, survivors, perpetrators*”. Like Margaret Kelleher, Malko published numerous works about the famines. The historical approach appears to be similar, as well as their pioneer characteristic, while Marko wrote her book 22 years later.

How are they placed in the historiography of the famines? Margaret Kelleher's work is situated in a period during which the number of works related to the famine literally exploded, following the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the tragedy, in 1995. In the opening chapter, “*Gender Aspects in the Holodomor Studies*”, Malko qualified the women's experience as invisible in Holodomor historiography, while they have published almost three quarters of the available testimonies and are more present in recent documentaries, probably because they live longer than men. She explains that “*Of 2,918 eyewitness testimonies published in 22 documentary collections, nearly 2,129 (73 percent) were published by women*”¹¹³, a data she quoted from Oksana

110 BARKA Vassyl, *Le prince jaune*, Gallimard, 1981 (1963), 396 p.

111 PAPASH Olga, *Collective trauma in a feature film, Golod 33 as one-of-a-kind*, in Christian Noak dir. , *Holodomor and Gorta Mor, Histories Memories and representation of famine in Ireland and Ukraine*, London, Anthem Press, 2012, p.197-211

112 NAUMIAK Anne-Marie et Philippe, *Ukraine 1933 Holodomor : itinéraire d'une famille et témoignage de survivants*, Les éditions bleu et jaune, 2017, 279 p.

113 MALKO Victoria, *Women and the Holodomor-Genocide: Victims, survivors, perpetrators*, The Press at California State University, Fresno, 2019, p.1

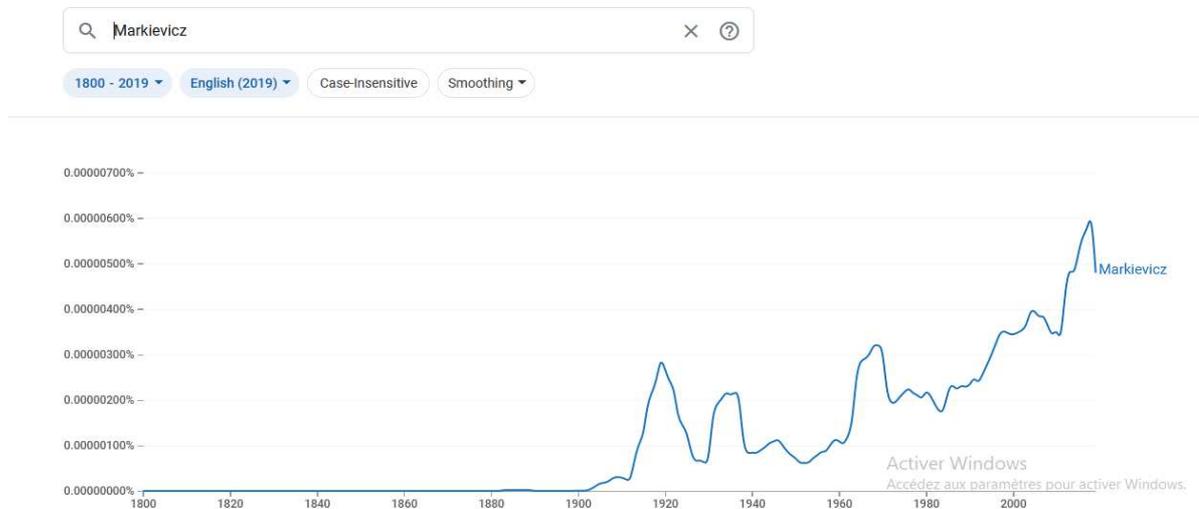
See O'KIS Oksana, *Holodomor of 1932-33 through the prism of Ukrainian women's experiences*, (in Ukrainian), in: *Narodoznavchi Zoshyty* 2010, No 5-6, p. 633-651

Kis, president of the Ukrainian Association for Research in Women's History, author of several articles on this very same topic, for instance in 2020 "*Women's experience of the Holodomor: Challenges and ambiguities of motherhood*". For instance, before her, Tetiana Orlova wrote "*Ukraińs'ka selianka za umov kolektyvizatsii ta holodomoru: istoriohrafichnyi analiz*" [*Ukrainian Peasant Women during Collectivization and the Holodomor: A Historiographic Analysis*, or *Zhinotstvo ukraińs'koho sela chasiv Holodomoru 1932–1933 rr.: sotsial'no-ekonomichnyi ta dukhovnyi aspekty*] [*Ukrainian Peasant Women during the Holodomor of 1932–1933: Socio-economic and Spiritual Aspects*]. It was in 2010. Orlova and Kis's works seem to predate this publication. Therefore, why compare this precise work with Margeret Kelleher's anthology?

Among the first references she makes in her introduction, we could find Margaret Kelleher's *Feminization of the Famine*. She mentioned an element Kelleher had insisted on several times in her work: "*Physiological factors accounted for a lower mortality rate among women during the Holodomor, a tendency observed in other famines*". However, the human condition is universal, this did not prevent the fact that like men, a lot of women died of hunger, and the cases of women eating their own kids are, tragically, very well documented and acknowledged as one of the most haunting elements of Ukrainian history. In 2020, Emily Holt and Grace Mahoney, frontally compared Ukrainian *Rupture and Call: Famine Encounters from Contemporary Irish and Ukrainian Women in the Arts*, examining artistic engagement with famine memory by women examining more than 20 years after Margaret Kelleher confronted Indian and Irish representations, which focuses on traumas, to "*disrupt the higher incidence of male representation.*"

In addition, this demonstration of similarities between women's place in Irish and Ukrainian sociological framework falls into our comparison. But why such a long chapter dedicated to this very precise point in this overview? The similarities between women's situation in Ireland and Eastern Europe were already underlined by a contemporary activist, who benefitted herself from a bibliography. Markievicz had emphasized as soon as 1909 in "*Women, Ireland and the Nation*", that Polish, Russian, and Irish women's situation at the beginning of the century presented similarities, hence it is another way to connect these women's history, as minorities. Markievicz, in our introduction, was already framed out against Irish history as a bridge between Ukraine, Ireland, and Poland. This is another reason the look that feminists scholars took upon the Famines presented such an interest for this study. With the particular case of Constance Markievicz as a direct connection between Poland, Ukraine and Ireland, a focus on women's place in such important events of Irish or Ukrainian history seemed very appropriate. However, what did scholars who worked on her privilege to present her?

V) On The Gore-Booth, Markievicz, and Zhyvotivka: biographies, gender perspectives, local perspectives.



Frequency of the Key Word Markievicz in Printed sources (19/01/2021)

Markievicz's name occurrence in printed sources can easily be explained by historical context, and the graph data are corroborated by sources. There are two pics in the name occurrence in the English sources, according to Ngram viewer, the first one is 1932, when her letters were published, 1934 is when her first biography was published, and the second is the publication of the *Rebel Countess* by Anne Marecco. It was the second, as 33 years passed and nothing new came until 1967 when two were published at the same time, a year of revival of Irish nationalism, following the important commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising. It implies that those two biographies were drawn in multiple copies, more than her pamphlets. There are however few of these works, however, that truly have a transnational dimension, despite Constance making her life into a binational couple. Indeed, when Lauren Arrington published *Revolutionary Lives*, in 2016, an Irish Times article stated that she was the first to pay attention to Casimir. " *Apart from a study by Patrick Quigley, the Polish "count" has attracted less interest than his wife; but seeing them together enables the reconstruction of a fascinating segment of Dublin's artistic life before the revolution, and adds an interesting trans-national dimension to the politics of Irish nationalism* ".



Right: Painting of Constance Markievicz by her husband Casimir, 1899 (Photography took in the National Gallery of Dublin in January 2019)

Left: photograph of Constance Markievicz and her husband Casimir in cycling clothes, Lissadell Papers (LP) in Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (covert photograph of two biographies of the couple, Patrick Quigley's *Polish Irishman*¹¹⁴ and Lauren Arrington's *Revolutionary Lives*¹¹⁵)

To quickly summarize, Constance Markievicz was born in London on the 4th February of 1868 and Kazimierz Markievicz, alias Casimir, was born in Kiev in 1874, on the 15th of March, and both were from noble families. She was Anglo-Irish, he was Polish-Ukrainian. She grew up in Lissadell, county Sligo, western Ireland, the daughter of a rather benevolent landlord whose education as well as the way they handled the 1879 famine may have influenced her socialist sensibility, he grew up also in the West of his country, in Zhyvotivka, Vinnytsia, Ukraine. They met

114 QUIGLEY Patrick, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Times of Count Casimir Markievicz*, the Liffey Press, 262 p.

115 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, 294 p.

in Paris, where they were following art studies in the 1890's. In London, in 1900, the couple married, and their daughter Maeve was born in 1901, at Lissadell. What they shared in particular between 1900 and 1913 was arts, especially painting and theatre, and the couple's artistic life was rich in exchanges between Irish and Polish/Ukrainian culture and post. Both of them therefore were deeply involved in Dublin's artistic life as a crossed place of cultural transfers. In parallel, Constance became engaged in politics, in 1908 she had her epiphany. Casimir left Ireland in 1913 and never really came back (but still continued to maintain correspondence with his wife), while she was taking part in the Dublin lock-out. In 1916, she was among the main organizers of the Easter Rising. In jail, she became the first woman elected to the House of Commons, and while she was still in jail took part in the Anglo-Irish war in 1919-1921. In 1922 she was elected a minister of labour, and fought during the Irish Civil War against the outcome of the war that divided Ireland. In the meanwhile, Kazimierz was in Poland, and became more and more linked to the National Democracy (far right), while Constance supported the Bolshevik Revolution. Constance died in poverty in a Dublin hospital, with Kazimierz at her side, as well as the people of Dublin, since 300,000 people went to her funerals, at least according to Lissadell's house biography. In 1932, Kazimierz died on the 2nd of December, of influenza complications, also in the capital of his country, Warsaw.

Her first biography was published two years after her husband's death, in 1934, by the short story writer Seán O'Faoláin. It is remarkable that it was written by a man, but unfortunately, it had received bad reviews from Constance's friend for his patronising tone.¹¹⁶ He subtitled his biography with this rather acidic commentary "*or the average revolutionary*". Anne Haverty wrote that he may have been the man "*who perhaps did her the most damage*". According to Lauren Arrington, the book by Seán O'Faoláin wrote about Kazimierz Markiewicz's political writing during the February of 1917 and the very racist attitude he expressed after he left Dublin in 1913. In the foreword to the 1967 edition of "*Constance Markiewicz*", O'Faolain welcomed another recently published biography by stating: "*two points of view are better than one.*"¹¹⁷ This republication dropped the subtitle. This was published the same year as the two first biographies of Constance in 34 years, Anne Marreco wrote "*The Rebel Countess: The Life and Times of Constance Markiewicz*", an English socialist woman. The other one, "*Constance Markiewicz: in the cause of Ireland*" was also written by a woman, the American scholar Jacqueline Van Voris. The review of

116 NAUGHTON Lindie, *Markiewicz a most outrageous rebel*, Merrion Press, 2016, 350p.

117 MARKEY Alfred, *Revisionists and the Story of Ireland: From Sean O'Faolain to Roy Foster*, Journal of Irish Studies, University of León, Spain, 15/03/2005

this book by “*The American Historical review*”¹¹⁸ explained this sudden keen interest for our woman by the 50th anniversary of the Easter Rising “*recently spotlighting Ireland's long struggle for Independence, it was to be expected that many works would be published dealing with this topic*” and qualified it as “*an excellent history of the Republican movement.*” He was right, as numerous writers, mostly women, dedicated work to the countess Markievicz. Five years later, she published in the very young publisher “*Feminist Press*”, an other biography of the countess, “*Constance de Markievicz, her fight for the liberation of Ireland and women*”. The other woman she dedicated to a biography, being her better known work, was another suffragist, Carrie Chapman. On the Polish side, the biography of Casimir Markievicz as a painter was strikingly developed in two exhaustive biographical dictionaries: “*Polski Słownik Biograficzny*”¹¹⁹, in the 1977 issue, and “*Słownik Artystów Polskich*”¹²⁰ issue in 1993, even if due to the few space provided for a development, it is around one page length. In 1988, a new pair of biographies were published, Anne Haverty's “*Constance Markievicz: an independent life*” (1988), and Diana Norman's more confidential “*Terrible beauty: a life of Constance Markievicz.*” The first one is Irish, the second one British, and both are writers. 1997 marks the publication of her first biography published by a French woman, Anne Pons, “*Constance ou l'Irlande*”, and 2000, the publication of *Irlandzki syn* by a Pole, Marta Petrusiewicz. In 2006, the journalist Kevin Myers reopened an old historical controversy on whether Constance Markievicz shot in cold blood the policeman Michael Lahiff at St Stephen's Green during the Easter Rising¹²¹ The same year, the Irish unionist revisionist historian Ruth Dudley Edwards qualified her as a: “*snob, fraud, show-off, murderer*” “*bloodthirsty show-off who brainwashed children into believing they must die for Ireland*”¹²². In *Unhappy the Land*, following his revisionist line Liam Kennedy qualified her as a “*probable executioner, who styled herself as a countess and a revolutionary*”.

As for works written about Polish/Irish relations and the Easter Rising, 2016 was a significant year. This year saw the publication of three biographies that were all presented in the article “*What to make of Constance Markievicz? Three biographies reviewed*”, in the *Irish Times* in

118 HOGEBOOM Willard, “Constance de Markievicz in the Cause of Ireland By Jacqueline Van Voris ([Amherst:] University of Massachusetts Press. 1967. Pp. 384. \$7.50.) *The American Historical Review*, Volume 74, Issue 2, December 1968, P. 624

119 In English the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, This project has been ongoing since 1935, and has the ambition to relicense biographies of 25,000 notable poles, including Casimir. Their website :
< <http://www.psb.pan.krakow.pl/index.php/en/issues/published-entires> >

120 Dictionary of Polish Artists

121 See MARKEY Alfred, *Revisionisms and the Story of Ireland: From Sean O'Faolain to Roy Foster*, Journal of Irish Studies, University of León, Spain, 15/03/2005

122 TALLANT Nicola, “She was a snob, fraud, show-off, and murderer”, *The Irish Independent*, 29/10/2006

DUDLEY EDWARD Ruth, “Constance Markievicz was last night commemorated as the first woman elected to parliament... but how many gathered in the Commons knew she was almost certainly a cold-blooded killer?” *The Belfast Telegraph*, 19/06/2018

2016. Those books are: “*Sisters Against the Empire: Countess Constance Markievicz and Eva Gore-Booth 1916-17*” by Patrick Quigley; “*Markievicz: A Most Outrageous Rebel*”, by Lindie Naughton; and “*Constance Markievicz: Irish Revolutionary*”, by Anne Haverty, the latter being the revised edition of the 1988, re-published with illustrations for the occasion. This selection was made by one of her biographers, who notoriously wrote the biography of the couple *Revolutionary lives*, Lauren Arrington. Anne Haverty is according to her “*a classic in Irish biography*”, and the other rather appears as a notive appropriation of sources. She doesn't, however, justify her choice by the quality of this work. About Lindie Naughton's “*Markievicz: A most outrageous rebele*”, she criticized Naughton's book as: “*a poorly digested version of this scholarship, with neither the historian's commitment to detail nor the novelist's sense of plot and character. She makes recourse to stereotypes that do a disservice to a popular readership that keeps pace with the latest in Irish history writing, and deplored that it “begins with the outrageous claim that “Countess Constance de Markievicz has received remarkably little attention from biographers'. Eight biographies of her are then listed.”* Among these biographies she listed, there was none other than Lauren Arrington's “*Revolutionary Lives*”.¹²³ along with a previous work by Patrick Quigley, *pathbreaking* according to Arrington, written in 2011 and called “*The Polish Irishman: The Life and Times of Count Casimir Markievicz*”.

They deserved a special section in Markievicz's historiography, as a study of the transnational dimension of this couple. We will focus on three of them in particular, which are presented along with their ambition and their content interest for Irish-Eastern European relations.

2. Transnational works on the Markievicz)

The first one, chronologically speaking, was written in 1998 by Marta Petrusiewicz: “*Un sogno irlandese. La storia di Constance Markiewicz comandante dell'I.R.A. (1868-1927)*”¹²⁴ then translated into Polish as “*Irlandzki syn (An Irish dream)*”. She is an Italian-Polish scholar, and this biography was about Constance, not about “Constance and Casimir (or Kazimierz)”, as the title mentions just Constance herself. However, she paid attention to the transnational dimension of “*Women, Ideal and the Nations*”, whose extract about Polish and Russian women's condition is entirely quoted. Indeed, the fact that she wrote in Polish and being Polish herself permitted her to pay attention to this. Moreover, Petrusiewicz made after “*Irlandzki syn*” other works on the Polish-Irish connection(s), studied as European peripheries¹²⁵. Considering that their intellectual activities

123 NAUGHTON Lindie, *Markievicz a most outrageous rebel*, Merrion Press, 2016, p. 9

124 “An Irish dream, the story of Constance Markievicz commander of the IRA (1868-1927)”

125 PETRUSEWICZ Marta, *The Modernization of the European peripheries: Ireland, Poland and the two sicilies, 1820-1870, Parallel and connected, distinct and comparable*, in Deborah Cohen/Maura O'Connor dir., New York, Comparison and History, Europe in CrossNational perspective, 2004, p. 145-164

were important to her analysis, the choice of Constance Markievicz as a subject for one of her works seems natural. It was not translated into English, it is therefore rather confidential.

The second one, written in 2011, is probably the most relevant according to the transnational dimension of this binational couple, even addressed as trinational. In 2007, Patrick Quigley had already written: “*in the XXIst century the name of Constance Markievicz and her husband will connect Ireland, Ukraine and Poland in new and unexpected ways*”. Patrick Quigley is an eminent member of the Polish-Irish society, created at the occasion of the visit of Jean Paul II in the country. It is interesting that one of the only biographies of her written by a man was also the most centered on Casimir, as announced by his title “*The Polish Irishman : the life and time of count Casimir Markievicz*”, Patrick Quigley continued to write about her in “*Sisters against the Empire*”¹²⁶. Just like “*The Polish Irishman*”, this book is focused on Constance through her relationship with a relative, in this case it is her sister, Eva Gore-Booth. Quigley actually went to Zhyvotivka in Ukraine and took a lot of photos there to illustrate this book rich in photographs, in order to emphasize that there is also a Ukrainian dimension in her story. The author appeared to be enthusiastic to connect Ireland and Poland around this subject and is close to his characters as he often calls them by the surnames *Con* and *Casi*. It is the work of a writer, not of a historian. He also privileged in his work the approach of cultural transfers between Ireland and Poland, as shown by the diversity in illustrations in the book and a special attention to Casimir’s work about Ireland and his identification with Ireland as a Polish man. Nevertheless, like Marta Petrusiewicz, parallels drawn by Constance in “*Women ideals and the nation*” caught his attention. In Quigley's references, we should note the presence of Norman Davies's work “*Europe East and West*”, almost as an echo to its own identification with Poland.

Lauren Arrington’s work evoked Quigley in her selected biography, at the end of her “*Revolutionary Lives*”, and used it as a source, like Lindie Naughton made in her “*Notes on sources*” in “*A most outrageous rebel*”. The main difference with Quigley, besides she is a scholar and he is a writer, is that she appeared to have less sympathy than him to Kazimierz Markievicz, and that Constance clearly dominates in this work. Arrington is in addition a historian and a feminist. It is for her an important point that Kazimierz was far less leftist and open-minded than her. She therefore cited articles where he expressed view closed to the radical ethno-nationalism of Roman Dmowski. Quigley on the other hand seemed to avoid this topic.¹²⁷ She did mention, contrary to Quigley, that he was racist and antisemitic, for instance calling the Jews “*a foreign*

126 QUIGLEY Patrick, *Sisters against the Empire: Countess Constance Markievicz and Eva Gore-Booth, 1916-17*, Liffey Press, 280 p.

127 Ibid, p. 237

corrupting influence in Ireland". According to her, this view prevented him from understanding Ireland and her links with Poland. At the end of her works, Arrington also makes a historical overview on Constance Markievicz's biographies, which appeared to be the most detailed among the corpus used in this overview. In addition, there is still a perceptible attention on the transnational dimension of Constance's life, art and engagement, she underlined in their interview. Her work is indeed illustrated with her works inspired by Ukraine, like *the Conscript*, and a picture of her wearing a Ukrainian dress. This chapter describing the time she spent with her step-parents in Ukraine is therefore precious for our study and even more complete than Quigley's.

If in her own historiographical overview, Lindie Naughton called the two previous works "groundbreaking", it was not only for their transnational dimension but for the life they gave to Constance and Casimir. This ambition was indeed very perceptible in Quigley's work through the surname "Con and Casi" he gave to them.

3. The famine as a link with local history)

Since Zhyvotivka and Lissadell were peasant villages, they were affected by the famines. The evocation of sources about their situation during the famine are inscribing themselves in regional perspectives. About Zhyvotivka in history specifically, it is worth mentioning that one of the few documentaries produced about the famine in France, Arrington and Quigley's works do not provide more informations about the Holodomor, but through sources we can find more. The French documentary "*Holodomor le génocide oublié*"¹²⁸, released in 2013 by Bénédicte Banet and awarded several projections in the Ukrainian community in France and a special prize on Holodomor memory, is centered in the Vinnytsia Oblast. If it is the Sobolivka village that is the main frame for Bénédicte Banet's movie, as the family that she follows experienced the famine there (the Naumiak siblings, author of the previously mentioned "*Ukraine 1933 Holodomor*"), few sequences are set in the oblast archives, where documents about Kazimierz Markievicz's hometown and region during the famine are held. Patrick Quigley also came to this village for the redaction of "*The Polish Irishman*". On Lissadell's website, there is also an entire section addressing the history of the Famine in the region. The fact that the house can be visited and has a website is proving the longevity of this story. In addition, the benevolent character of the Gore-Booth family during the diverse shortages that affected their land is mentioned in most biographies of the countess.

128 BANET Bénédicte, *Holodomor, le génocide oublié*, Insitut Productions, 90 minutes.

4. Constance Markievicz's political visions in historiography)

Studies about the countess's historiography should not be limited to her biographies, since she also belongs to the historiography of Ireland and of Republicanism. Constance Markievicz's intersection between Poland, Ukraine and Ireland is not the only intersection, not even maybe the most important. If her feminist and political engagement are of course important in her bibliographies previously described, it crosses this boundaries.

In “*The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movement*”, Constance Markievicz's clear opinion about the relation between women's struggle, notably for the rights of vote, and Irish struggle for Independence, and dignity, was made clear. It was in 1909, 60 years before the Troubles began but her political influence was still there important to state that: “*Markievicz made clear the relationship between women’s position in Irish society and the national question when in 1909 she wrote that the ‘first step on the road to freedom is to realise ourselves as Irishwomen – not as Irish or merely as women, but as Irishwomen doubly enslaved and with a double battle to fight.’*”¹²⁹ Constance Markievicz is not only situated at the intersection between Ireland, Ukraine, and Poland, but also, and more notably, at the intersection between Gender, National and Social issues. As Lauren Arrington declared to *Al Jazeera* in 2018, she offers liberal feminists today a lesson in intersectionality.

5) Historiography of feminism : how is Constance integrated in this long history?

This is thanks to her important implication in leftist politics, conscience of her gender and Irish origins that some of Constance's views can be linked to the very actual approach of intersectionality. This is in fact a very early to demarginalizing the questions of gender and ethnicities. If initially this concept was theorized by a black woman for black women, as it began to be theorized in the United States in 1989, proposed by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in “*Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Policies.*” , this word was expanded to other groups of women experiencing different kinds of discrimination, “*any kinds of discrimination, whether it’s based on gender, race, age, class, socioeconomic status, physical or mental ability, gender or sexual identity, religion or ethnicity...*” ¹³⁰. *Doubly enslaved* (or more than doubly), to quote Markievicz's own words. Therefore, some scholars's articles used this world in the context of

129 O'KEEFE Theresa, “Mother Ireland, get off our backs: feminism and social movement organising during conflict.” , in BOSI Lorenzo, DE FAZIO Gianluca *The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements*. Amsterdam University: Amsterdam University Press, 2017, p.165-184

130 “What does intersectional feminism actually means”, IWDA, *International Women's Development Agency*
< <https://iwda.org.au/what-does-intersectional-feminism-actually-mean/> >

the struggles led by Irish women, such as *“Intersectional solidarity? The Armagh women, the British left and women’s liberation”*, published in 2017 by Brodie Nugent and Even Smith. We also should recall that in addition, Constance also understood her privilege (another notion very used in third wave feminism) as a member of the upper-class and was engaged in struggles that did not directly benefit her. She gained due to this socialist conviction the name of *Red Countess*, with at least three other women, the Austrian Herminia Zur Mühlen, the Hungarian Katinka Andrassy and the German Marion Dönhoff. She's a woman, and a socialist with an upper-class background. However, traditionally, feminism is divided into at least three waves: *“The first wave, occurring in the 19th and early 20th century, was mainly concerned with women’s right to vote. The second wave, at its height in the 1960s and 1970s, refers to the women’s liberation movement for equal legal and social rights. The third wave, beginning in the 1990s, refers to a continuation of, and a reaction to, second-wave feminism”*, as explains the feminist Betty Friedan¹³¹. Constance belongs chronologically to the first wave, mainly focused on women's right to vote, one of her life engagements (that she fulfilled), while the themes of intersectionality are rather considered to be really developed during the third wave of feminism, demonstrating how race, ethnicity, class, religion, gender, and nationality are all significant factors when discussing feminism. Markievicz's very clear understanding, and explanation of intersectionality in 1909 may challenge this division of feminism in waves.

Other militants, like her sister Eva Gore-Booth did embrace it, as underlined in *“No wild utopian theory: The Anti-war writings of Eva Gore-Booth”*, published in 2018. This historical tool may also be linked to our historical process of intersection. As this study shows, the Irish, Poles, and Ukrainians share problematics of oppression in the 1845-1939 period, and the convergence of their struggles, this intersectional approach between gender and nationalism concerning this was explored in the literature, Markievicz was quoted in works analysing the relation between women and nationalism to a wider extent, such as *“Women, state and nationalism: at home in the nation?”*, written by Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and if the book provide a strong analysis of bond between nation and gender, its evocation of Markievicz is only anecdotic, hence the term “quoted.”

While she is of course important in works dealing about women in the Irish nation – as well as the period of the Independence, maybe because contemporary with the suffragettes¹³² this approach of her history is more rarely explicitly named in academic work. Still, in works such as

131 DRUCKER Sally Ann, “Betty Friedan: the three waves of feminism”, *Ohio Humanities*, 27/04/2018

Betty Friedan's political engagement began against the other major oppression she felt. Born in 1921 from a Jewish Eastern European family, her *passion against injustice...originated from my feelings of the injustice of anti-Semitism*
 HOROWITZ Daniel, *Betty Friedan and the Making of The Feminine Mystique: The American Left, the Cold War and Modern Feminism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000, 384 p.

132 See PASETA Senia, *Irish Nationalist Women (1900-1918)*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 306 p.

“Rebellious Spirits: Anglo-Irish Women's Religious and Political Transformations in the Heart of Irish Nationalism”, by Amy Health-Carpentier, an entire chapter evoked the *“Theoretical Perspectives and Methodological Approaches: Transdisciplinary, Intersectional Feminist”*¹³³. If the book is not fully dedicated to the Countess, we can state that she fits perfectly in the description provided by the title. Given that the title did not indicate a special focus on Constance nor even on feminist issues, this recalls how they could be important in the history of Irish nationalist struggles.

However, they were not the only minorities to be connected in transnational historical works. As ethnic groups, Irish Poles and Ukrainians were living on their own territory and represented the majority of the population. How were the history of these other minorities connected by historiography ?

VI. Connecting the histories of minorities in Ireland, Poland and Ukraine?

1. Nationalism in Ireland, Ukraine and Poland as a factor of discrimination)

The history of minorities as excluded from nationalist doxa appears to have already been a comparison point in global historiography. In *“Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe”*, the 39th volume of the *Re-imagining Ireland* series, in the chapter dedicated to *“Religion and rebellion: the Catholic church in Ireland and Poland in the turbulent 1860s”* written by Roisin Healy, she mentions that *“Renowned Irish historian Roy Foster [a revisionist] has also highlighted links between Irish and Polish nationalism, specifically the importance of the themes of crucifixion and resurrection, the links between Catholicism and political violence, the presence of anti-Semitism, as well as the mixed ethnic and religious family backgrounds of many nationalists”*. In *“La grande famine en Irlande 1845-1851”*, Philippe Brillet tried to balance the memory of the famine by reminding that, if the Irish suffered tremendously centuries of famines, wars and colonisation, they now represent the majority of the population in an homogeneous territory. Rather than talking about immigration, Brillet hence evocated in his last chapter the discrimination against the little community of Irish Travellers¹³⁴. He added in his argumentation that it was ironic that the sedentary population still reject them since they descended from expropriated people, which is only

133 HEALTH-CARPENTIER Amy, *Rebellious Spirits: Anglo-Irish Women's Religious and Political Transformations in the Heart of Irish Nationalism*, California Institute of Integral Studies, 2019

134 Rieder, Maria (2018). "Irish Travellers' view on Cant: what folk criteria of languageness tell us about the community". *Language Awareness*

They are not genetically linked with Roma people who live in Poland and Ukraine, genetic studies found out that they come from Ireland.

an hypothesis that he raised to prove his point, since there is actually no consensus on their origins. In Poland and Ukraine, however, conflicts with national minorities (indeed including Roma people) are far more important, as is the question in historiography of martyrdom in memory, which often fails to incorporate crimes committed by their citizens or institutions, a debate still extremely vivid in historiography. This joins the previously mentioned glorification of the UPA, and the myth of martyr Poland. The evocation of the less-mediatized problem of national minorities in Ireland (and not about migration) in a book consacred to the Famine, moreover in a rather general work, is therefore appealing.

2. Nationalism and gender intelinked)

Scholarship on nationalism and gender, or “gendered nationalism” is relatively recent but quite rich. The Israelis scholars Tamar Mayer and Nira Yuval-Davis are references in this domain. Before the previously mentioned “*Women, state and nationalism: At home in the nation?*”, Yuval-Davis had already published in 1989 one of the first analyses of this concept, “*Woman-nation-state*”. In the introduction, she explains that issues of ethnicity or nationality tends to be ignored comparing to social questions, while there were a growing questioning of ethnocentrism in Western feminist practice. She denounced the danger of “*reifying the nation or the ethnic or racial group by treating them as totally independent [...] and not considering how they intersect with other modes of differentiation such as class or gender.*” Then, several articles are focusing on different examples of analysis angles of women studies in a national frame. And the first article, Fransesca Klug's “*Oh to be in England: A British case study*” provides an application of this lecture on the history of Ireland, with an emphasis on nationality, in a British frame though. Beside Italy, Ireland is the only European country analysed here. Tamar Mayer, as for her, underlined *the Gender ironies of nationalism*, in 1999. In 2004, *the transnationalization of women's history* analyzed the tradition of judging the nation as inadequate for thinking about gender experience¹³⁵. Ten years later, “*Women in Transnational History: Connecting the local and the Global*” was written, including a focus on Polish nationalist women during the partition of Poland, “The woman question and the national question in the Russian Empire: Interconnections between central and borderland women’s suffrage organizations during the First Russian Revolution, 1905–1907” by Olga Shnyrova. However, she did not deepen the analysis concerning Ukrainian women, while “*Feminists despite themselves*” underlined precisely how Ukrainian feminists linked the local and the global.

Regarding the existing corpus of books about nationalism and women, studies about Ireland are remarkably more numerous, while concerning Ukrainian and Polish women, monographs are

135 SMITH Bonnie, *Women's History in Global Perspective, Volume 1*, University of Illinois Press, 2004, 344 p.

older but more rare. In 1992, Anna Reading published a monograph on the latter, aiming to analyze “*Polish women's oppression before, on the cusp and after the collapse of communism*” and “*the relationship between Solidarity, state capitalism, nationalism and feminism by drawing on a wide variety of source material*”.¹³⁶ It does not mean that books about women are necessarily rarer in Ukrainian or Polish, simply that links with nationalism are a less important part of gender studies.

The history of nationalism sexual minorities in Europe is closely interlinked with the history of women. The first works on the subject are not much more recent than one of the first studies on “*Nationalism and sexuality*” by Andrew Parker was published in 1992 (reissued in 2018). This look upon history gives information about historical national figures. In “*Queer Stories of Europe*”, published in 2016, Solomiia Pavlychko's move to reinterpret the important figure of Lesia Ukraïnka as a feminist is a part of a chapter about the difficult birth of “*Ukrainian Queer Culture*”.¹³⁷ Lesia Ukraïnka was an engaged leftist, anti-colonial artist and a Ukrainian icon. Vērđiņš and Ozoliņš pays attention here to reappropriate a major icon of the Ukrainian nationalist canon, which left her a truncated legacy. We mentioned previously that her marxist views were often forgotten in a post-Soviet society, it is also the case for the strong influence that her feminist and even gynocentric views gave to a literary career that was so important for the Ukrainian culture. Pavlychko's work and analysis were one of the biggest novelties in the Ukraine of the 1990's, right in the middle of the third wave feminism, who drew attention to the role politics of gender in major Ukrainian authors who had major influence in the Ukrainian language and identity. The main reason this reevaluation deserved mention in this chapter is that she had a relation with another woman, Olha Kobyljanska, another author who made her way on the national canon, as proven by their correspondence, involving her, therefore in a different manner than Constance, deeply in women's emancipation. If this is precious information about the relation between feminism and nationalism in Ukraine, the transnational aspect is on the opposite very secondary, and the study conscripted in Eastern Europe.

However, the most developed link between minority communities within Poland, Ukraine, and Ireland remains the transnational history of the Irish-Jewish encounter. If Poland and Ukraine are rarely mentioned, they were part of the Tsarist Russian Empire's exclusion zone in the West of the Empire for Jewish communities, called *the Pale of Settlement*. There was a Jewish community

136 READING Anna, *Polish women, solidarity and feminism*, Springer, 1992, 246 p.

137 Vērđiņš, Kārlis, Ozoliņš Jānis, *Queer Stories of Europe*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016, p. 211

in Ireland in the XIXth century, from where many of them had fled since the pogromic wave that began in 1880. There were developed work on this question, "Irish-Jewish Constructs of Tsarist Eastern Europe",¹³⁸ that explored the perceptions of Irish Jews of Tsarist Russia, with a rich amount of sources. As they were often dissociated from the national movement of their home country (different culture, language, political aspiration) this transnational link belongs to a wider transnational link, those between Ireland and Eastern Europe. How are Polish-Irish and Ukrainian-Irish relation situated within the historiography of these relations?

VII. Ireland's connection with Eastern Europe.

Poland and Ukraine are not the only Eastern European nations that were connected with Ireland. As Ireland went further in connected history, historians tended to explore the country's connection with more Central and East-European nations, as a lot of them had a past of occupation and violence. To what extent Eastern Europe is connected with Ireland in historiography? How are Poland and Ukraine fitting in scholarly works addressing Ireland-Eastern Europe connections?

After "*Irish-Polish Encounters*", which Peter Lang published in 2013 it is again this another part of the vast Eastern European territory which is of interest for this transnational study. The 52nd volume of the series "*Re-imagining Ireland*", has however a wider view as it is called "*Ireland West to East: Irish cultural connections with Central and Eastern Europe*"¹³⁹. It is based on a conference held in Zagreb in 2011, "*Ireland East and West*", and the place of this encounter announces the thematics. Croatia and ex-Yugoslavia are the most important points of comparison and subjects of transnational relations here, in chapters such as "*Hubert Butler in Europe's Debatable Lands*", as the Irish essayist spent a long time in the region. While we underlined in the introduction the postulate of various parallels and links between Ireland and Ukraine, this is practically not addressed in these works: in fact, the country only has one mention in the index. However, this is not the case for Poland or the USSR. Still, as the Balkans are regarded as Eastern territories, as *The Others*, as a post-colonial and post-conflict territory, the problem remains similar. We have chapters about Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia...

138 WYNN Nathalie, "Irish-Jewish Constructs of Tsarist Eastern Europe", in O'MALLEY Aidan, PATTEN Eve (dir.), *Ireland East to West: Irish Cultural Connection with Central and Eastern Europe*, Re-Imagining Ireland (Book 52), 2013, pp. 79-84

139 O'MALLEY Aidan, Patten Eve (dir.), *Ireland East to West: Irish Cultural Connection with Central and Eastern Europe*, Re-Imagining Ireland (Book 52), 2013, 297 p.

Among them, another article was published that deserves very special attention in this historiographical overview, as his ambition wasn't only to connect Poland and Ukraine with Ireland but with Eastern Europe as a whole. This article had the ambition to connect Ireland's history with several nations in Eastern Europe.¹⁴⁰ He mentioned that Ukrainian historians have seen analogies between Ireland and Ukraine, and he confirmed Healy's analysis that Irish nationalists identified with Poland and Hungary because they were historic nations. However, the interesting fact is that the most important comparison there involving Ireland is not confronting Poland or Ukraine, but again, the Balkans. This is however simply justified that this article by Guido Franzinetti came from "Irish and Eastern European questions", in *"Beyond the Balkans : Towards an Inclusive History of Southeastern Europe"*. A connection with the region was surprisingly already addressed 20 years ago in an article that had it in its title : *"The Irish Balkans connection"*¹⁴¹. In *Unhappy the land*, just after denouncing Polish tendency to write history entirely focused on martyrdom, Liam Kennedy completed with an example from the same region, stating that *"one has only to recall the self pitying rhetoric of Serbian nationalists [...] In any case, these master narratives, in Irish and in other national histories, should at least be open to challenge."*

In this analysis, we meet here again the concept of small nations, for example in the chapter *"Ireland, Czechoslovakia and the Questions of Small Nations"*, written by Lilia Zach. This book covers a much larger period, but during the 1845-1939 period, and even after, Eastern Europe was a region where various subjected nations lived, who were torn by conflicts...like Ireland was. This may be the reason that the Balkans attracted attention from, as it was very recently, torn by war, like the conflict in Ukraine was the occasion for press to pay attention to the country, and its connections with the west, and with Ireland.

To conclude, this historiographical overview allows us to see how comparisons between Ireland and Eastern Europe were various, and how activists and scholars already linked an important number of Eastern Nations with Ireland, completing usefully our narrower frame. This shows how important the instinctive tool of comparison still remains in history. This also allowed us to find out some authoritative figures on this topic such as Roisin Healy, Lauren Arrington or Liam Kennedy. As this historiographical overview evolved throughout 2020, we should underline that the number of works linked to these themes is quite impressive: at list six of them were written

140 FRANZINETTI Guido, "Irish and Eastern European questions", *Beyond the Balkans : Towards an Inclusive History of southeastern Europe*, dir. Sabine Rutar, LIT Verlag, Studies on South East Europe, 2014, p. 67-96

141 "Ireland's Balkan connection", *The Irish Times*, 25/11/1998

this year. The conclusion we can take from this overview is that comparative links between Poland and Ireland were absolutely not marginal, and even that there were among the most systematic parallels in European history, even if it may have been more developed. The comparison with Ukraine is less addressed, but is more supported. This could even show that the situation of Ireland is relatively unique in Western Europe, due to features that in the East are almost the norm.

We could indeed learn a lot on these precise topics from this overview, which can even help us to draw research perspectives.

Sources and Methods of Research

The subject study being divided between three countries, and because of the Covid-19 present pandemic conditions traveling abroad was very hard, I had to compose to find new sources. The corpus is therefore based consequently on a bibliography, and most of the sources are published, as the consultation of pertinent archives was virtually impossible for most of the formation. The choice of primary sources was deeply influenced by the context. If the Vinnytsia archives were for a long time envisaged as a serious place to explore new archives about Zhyvotivka, apparently being studied nowhere as a site where the Holodomor took place, they were very hard to reach due to the context. The village's history during the XXth century is mostly kept in the state archives of Vinnytsia, the archives which were for instance shown in the French documentary about the Ukrainian famine, "*Holodomor le Génocide oublié*", made by Bénédicte Banet¹⁴². Indeed, this French documentary, released in 2013 was based on the history of the Sobolivka village during the famine, as the family who participated in it came from there. However, the history of the Markievicz couple was not there anymore in 2021, while the statistics regarding the Holodomor are conscientiously kept. The Irish equivalent could be found in Lissadell, where Constance's birthplace is open to the public, but was quickly closed due to COVID 19 restrictions. If I did not have time during the months I spent for my exchange in Dublin to go there, this isn't to say they were all infructuous. The National Library of Ireland gathered Republican leaflets that analysed in a comparative perspective under the name "*What of Ireland?*"¹⁴³ In addition, they were fortunately not compulsory considering my approach, as it is centered around the history of ideas

142 BANET Bénédicte, *Holodomor, le génocide oublié*, Insitut Productions, 90 minutes.

143 Department of Ephemera, EPH A839, National Library of Ireland

and representations, expressed in sources such as political writings, and the declarations and deeds of historical figures and anonyms, reported by published sources.

The online tools therefore were a huge help to provide sources. For instance, the Ngram viewer ¹⁴⁴ tool allowed an overview that was used in the historiographical overview. Another constitutive part of this corpus would be the online Irish archives, publishing almost every printed newspaper in Ireland for the 300 years online¹⁴⁵. I began consulting these documents with this online tool as early as November 2018, when I discovered *"Ireland and the Ukraine, both fought for their liberty"*, or *"Other Nations took example of freedom from us"*. The press is indeed a very important source to use in order to reflect the different states of minds of the relations between those countries, either for the 1845-1939 period or its continuity. These sources are not only available online, as for instance the journalist Irena Pannenkowa's work is kept in the Silesian Library of Katowice. Some archives in France did not provide the expected results, as it was the case for the consultation of the Diplomatic Archives in Paris, which could have provided informations about the Peace Conference held in Paris between January 1919 and January 1920, and which was a place of encounter for delegations, was finally unsuccessful.

This is why the chapters will be structured around some case studies. The parts revolving especially around Constance's Markievicz, which are the most documented, are the richest in documents analysis, with for instance her prison letters were published, as well as her various political pamphlets, not without mentioning the Irish press archives that were rich in articles about her.

Research questions.

This historiographical overview showed that the Poland-Ireland parallel was something already established and that Ukraine-Ireland comparisons were pretty instinctive too. However, there is still not a direct confrontation of them all, not any triple analogies. While these relations appear to be already acknowledged, they need to be challenged. To what extent could their oppressions and struggles be compared? To what extent could the parallels drawn by historical actors of the 1845-1939 period really describe comparable phenomenas?

In this historical tripoint, a name stands out against all, reuniting the three: Constance Markievicz. She already illustrated herself in history, by her own story and her political analysis, receiving attention from various biographers and political activists. She proved herself being not

144 Ngram viewer < <https://books.google.com/ngrams> >

145 Irish newspapers archives < <https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/> >

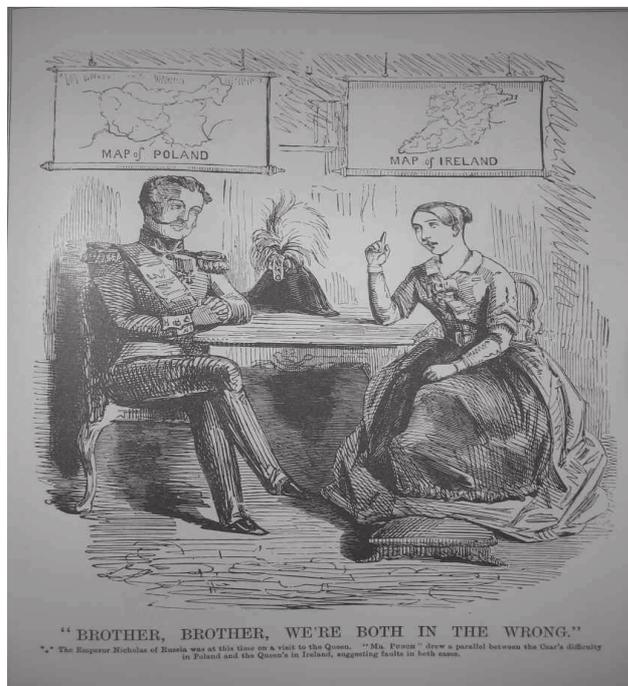
only at the intersection between Ireland, Poland, and Ukraine as subjected nations with a common past, but at the intersection between feminism and independentism, while we could find similarities in the way those struggles converged in Ireland and in Eastern Europe.

How could the political ideas of Markiewicz, as the intersections she underlined between nation and gender, offer a new lecture of Polish-Irish and Ukrainian-Irish connections and parallels? What can we learn from this similarity and from the identifications it lead to?

Construction of the reflection: Research perspectives for the plan.

To answer these questions, we will articulate a chronological reflection divided into five parts. The first period is 1845-1913, from the beginning of the Irish famine to the eve of World War I, where none of them were independents and all were subjects of the Empire, constituting the first division of this history. Then, the First World War and the resulting civil wars that changed these three national destinies will represent a second period of time, from the outbreak of World War I to the end of the Irish Civil War, in 1923. Since this is during this period that Markiewicz really rose as “*The Irish Joan of Arc*” as she was called by the *Boston Telegraph* in 1922, (while her quick political epiphany and involvement in public life is a little older), the third part will be about her and her husband Kazimierz, or Casimir. Within this construction, she will be the central part, the turning point. After 1923 and the upheavals of the war, and until September 1st 1939, we will analyse Ukraine-Ireland-Poland relations at the time of Soviet Union and of Polish and Irish independence, with a large importance given to a diachronic analysis of the Ukrainian and Irish famine, the main parallel existing between Ukraine and Ireland. Finally, the aftermath of this period, the traumas that these events left and the survival of this transnational solidarity, as well as of Markiewicz ideas, deserves a whole part as a denouement. This, is maybe, how parallels were written.

1) Poles, Irish and Ukrainians during the Century of Nationalism (1845 - 1913)



“Brother Brother, We're both in the wrong”, *Mr Punch*, June 1844

The Emperor Nicholas of Russia was at this time on a visit to the Queen. "MR. PUNCH" drew a parallel between the Czar's difficulty in Poland and the Queen's in Ireland, suggesting faults in both

During the XIXth century, Ireland was subverted by only one country, the British Empire, Ukrainians lived between the Austrian and the Russian Empire, while Poland was infamously divided between the two latter and Prussia, then Germany after 1871. Ireland and Poland stood out against the frame of all the small stateless nations and often identified between themselves, as their struggles were very known in Europe, especially for the Poles. However, another national feeling is merging on the other side of Europe: Ukrainian identity. Even before the infamous Holodomor famine, Ukrainians and the Irish faced similar socio-political problems, and class struggles due to their condition of peasant nations on the hand of a foreign aristocracy.

A) Three tragic nations: Jews, Irish and Poles (Georges Bernard Shaw)¹⁴⁶

In 1867, in the “*Popular History of Ireland*” by the Irish-Canadian politician Thomas D'Arcy McGee, this is what the readers should understand of Irish History: “*A Nation with such a strange history must have some great work yet to do in the world. Except the Jews, no people has so suffer without dying.*” It is therefore paradoxical that the comparison is here precisely used to support the idea of an *Irish Exceptionalism*¹⁴⁷, a way to see the Irish (by themselves) as people who suffered like almost nobody else. Ironically, it is their suffering that would make them quite unique. So they began to compare themselves with another nation convinced of the exceptionalism of its suffering: the so-called Christ of Europe, Poland.

The parallels between Poland and Ireland were indeed frequently used in politics, as England and Russia in the XIXth century represented similar political problems: absolutism, imperialism, with concrete victims represented by Poles and Irish. We could classify the use of these parallels in three parts: those used by Irish, those used by Poles, and those used by external viewers who saw political similarities. However, the parallels present their political limits. Ireland was occupied by just Great Britain, while Poland was partitioned and suffered different administrative abuses. Nevertheless, this was because this partition was a very unique case that

146 KAUFMAN Michael, " Television: Poland, from independence to communism ", *New York Times*, 10/07/1988

147 KENNEDY Liam, *Unhappy the land: the most oppressed people ever, the Irish?*, Merrion Press, 2015, 304 p.

Poland's place in European political discussions was so important. How can comparison with another nation's struggle be conjugated with exceptionalism?

1. Irish identification with Poles during the partition era from the 1840's to 1914

While the idea of a parallel between Ireland and Poland clearly served particular political interests in the XIXth century this is not to say that the parallel itself was invalid.

Roisin Healy¹⁴⁸

According to the Irish press archives, the first written mention of Poland in an Irish newspaper dates back to 1784, in the *Volunteer Journal or Irish Herald*s, (their oldest registered article is dating back to 1738)¹⁴⁹. Therefore, this first mention is contemporary with the Partitions of Poland, which began in 1772, and to the political situation of Poland in the XIXth century, which would bring back together those two nations. The press, by relaying news and political opinions, developed during the following decades. The Irish, especially nationalists, were more likely to draw comparisons between them and Ireland as Poland's case was more present in political discussions than theirs. It was even said that: *"Every Schoolboy knew how it was partitioned in the eighteenth century amongst Russia, Prussia and Austria, the first-named taking the lion share."*¹⁵⁰ Russia was indeed the most emphasized oppressor of Poland in the Irish Press. In 1845, as Ireland was in the middle of the Young Ireland period, we should recall that the repressive laws following the repression of the November Uprising were already established. Poland was then present in the minds of Irish people when writing about their own oppressions. In John Mitchel's nationalist pamphlet, *"The Last conquest of Ireland (perhaps)"*¹⁵¹, presenting the Irish famine as an attack against the Irish and written in 1861, he draws a parallel with Poland quoting an unspecified French journalist, saying that they were not *"that much unlike"*. The Polish insurrection of January 1863, as

148 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

149 Irish Newspaper archives's website, consulted in May 2021, the 3rd < <https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/about-us> >

150 "Irish Interest in Poland", *Irish Examiner*, 8/12/1937

151 MITCHEL John, *The last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*, University College Dublin press, 2005 (1860), p.49-50

we saw in the introduction quote that inspired the title of this work, was a special occasion for the Irish to show solidarity towards Poland, and the examples are quite numerous coming from different parts of the society. In 1864, the Archbishop Cullen issued a call for solidarity in the *“Irish ecclesiastic record”* to Irish Catholics to come to the aid of their fellow Catholics in Russian Poland: *“Having suffered in the same way, the Irish, he then asserted should be particularly sympathetic to the plight of the Poles”*¹⁵². *Freeman's Journal* was even more explicit in 1872, when he declared in response to the *Kulturkampf*. The *Kulturkampf* was the conflict that took place from 1872 to 1887 between the government of Prussia led by Otto von Bismarck and the Roman Catholic Church led by Pope Pius IX. The main issues were clerical control of education and ecclesiastical appointments. Among other, it aimed to reduce Polish national particularism. In march 1863, the *Kerry Star* reported two articles from *“The Irishman”* that deserve our special attention, the first called Poland and Ireland, was followed as a chiasma by another one called Ireland and Poland. They were written by the Reverend Goldwin Smith. In the city of Skibbereen, a demonstration was held to support the Poles, organized by Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, symbolically born in 1831, who would later become a renown Irish Fenian leader and a member of the Irish Republican Brotherhood.¹⁵³ The first article underlined that in England as well, public meetings have been held to support Polish struggles, and the situation was even brought as high as the House of Commons. This is analysed as *“very plain”* by the newspaper, rejoining the idea of hypocritical support from a colonial Empire. The article, especially the latter, considerably emphasizes how they are close in their suffering. They are even described as *“twin sisters.”* However, in *“Poland and Ireland”*, the reverend nuances this interpretation. He wrote that: *“The cause of Poland is Ireland's cause – with this exception that the wrongs of Ireland are a thousand fold more terrible than any which Poland endures.”* He justified it by the fact that according to him, Poland did not *“fight against and murder, but for the restoration of a Polish nation.”*, while the Irish, still according to him, were fighting *“to save from utter extinction the remnant of the Irish people.”* This is when comparison also meant competition. And this competition of martyrology in the Poland/Ireland comparison coming from Irish Nationalists was not rare, sometimes dismissing Polish people's own struggles. Briefly, the Irish suffered more than Poles, and were more worthy of sympathy. In any case, historians themselves aren't to provide answers to this type of question, and an increasing renewal of interest towards the Irish Gaelic language and culture. This rivalry was especially important between 1850 and 1875, with a devotional revolution in Ireland. However, they could point out the

152 EGGEN Sabine, *Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe (Re-imagining Ireland, book 39)*, Peter Lang, 2011, p. XIII

153 DOHERTY Gabriel, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa: Irish nationalist and champion of the cause of Poland*, Polish House, Dublin, 31/07/2015

limits in this argumentation, as the Irish had to point out anachronistic events to match with their parallel theory. The church contributed to engrain this idea of “sisters in bondage” through their discourse in the population in Ireland, but also in the diaspora where the church was very important as a cement of the community. In the following example, in a newspaper from Buffalo in Western New York, religious leaders took note of this similarity. As the official newspaper for the Catholic Diocese of Buffalo, the Catholic Union and Times published the following editorial in its edition of the 13th February of 1896, “*Like Ireland, Poland has long been under the mailed heel of the oppressor. She has been robbed of her possessions. Mourning she hath wept and the tears of the night are upon her cheek. Her children are scattered; but in exile they do not forget their motherland.*”¹⁵⁴ Similarly, in an editorial published on Feb. 18, 1904, the Catholic Union and Times compared Ireland in its struggles against England with Poland in its efforts to overcome Russian domination.

At the turn of the XXth Century, political situations, as well as critical theory, evolved. At the eve of the First World War, the different were seeing the opportunities offered by the weakening of empires.

To conclude, in the XIXth and early XXth Century, this feeling of identification to Poland from the Irish was extremely vivid. However, this comparison shows her political limits. Róisín Healy stated ever since the first pages of *Ireland in the Polish National imagery* that it was more convenient to Ireland to identify with Poles. She indeed stated that “*Poland, Hungary were historic nations which had one time enjoyed their own state and thus appeared more credible aspirants than, to say, the Slovaks or Ukrainians*”¹⁵⁵. The historical reality was that Ireland and Poland had little in common before the three partitions and Irish interest in Poland was minimal at that time. Anyway, Ireland links Poland with Hungary, recalling the popular myth of “*Polak, Węgier, dwa bratanki*”¹⁵⁶.

But did Poles identify themselves with the Irish ?

2. Polish relations with Ireland.

The reciprocity of this identification is less documented, but does it mean that there is not any example of it. However, parallels between them are chronological and influenced identification on both sides. Róisín Healy points as a reason of Poland’s popularity in Ireland to the fact that there is

154 *Catholic Union and Times*, 13/02/1896

155 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, 1772-1922*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

156 *Pole, Hungarian, two brothers*

a "strikingly similar chronology in the political emasculation of Ireland and Poland"¹⁵⁷, and the advent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was well known. It was indeed just after the third partition that the 1798 revolt failed and that the Act of Union destroyed all Irish autonomy. They had similarities as these revolts found their inspiration in the increasing risk of being annexed. As Irish help came during the major Insurrections and their repression, Polish help came to Ireland devastated by the famine. During this period, a Polish count and patriot, Paul de Strzelecki (Paweł Strzelecki), who was a renowned scientist and explorer, travelled to counties Mayo and Sligo, which were among the most affected regions in Ireland, and stricken by terrible meteorological conditions. But if he is Polish, this was not from Poland that he had organized this help. As a British citizen since 1845, who had left Poland after the November Uprising, he was a member of the British relief association, along which he organized humanitarian help, becoming eventually a central agent in Dublin. He wrote to the committee in London that: "*No pen can describe the distress by which I am surrounded. It has actually reached such a degree of lamentable extreme that it becomes above the power of exaggeration and misapprehension. You may now believe anything which you hear and read, because what I actually see surpasses what ever read of past and present calamities.*"¹⁵⁸ 200, 000 children approximately depended on his help to survive and were fed through school, where free food was given to locals. In addition, in March 1847, he arranged for a cargo of clothing to be sent to Belmullet, a remote western place in county Mayo, where he was shocked by life conditions. Along with help, he provided informations and reports to the Irish press, where he was always referred to as "*a Polish Count*". However, as his attempts of humanitarian help were covered by the press at that time, it was unfortunately reported by an article of the Irish Examiner that Strzelecki did not provide any more help, in 1848.¹⁵⁹ This was during this period that he was made a companion of the order of Bath.¹⁶⁰ His initiatives allegedly really allowed to save lives, in a period when about one eighth of the population was depending on this help to survive. In addition, he returned to Ireland again in 1849, where he presented a report to the subscribers of the funds raised, stating that the situations of the district had worsened since 1846-7, describing the eviction of 90,000 holders in the region, therefore providing informations about the British exactions, but he underlining at the same time that help provided was successful (to a certain extent, he however added), with "*operations that embraced 770,000 in outdoor relief.*"¹⁶¹ He

157 Ibid, p.6

158 KINEALY Christine, "A Polish Count in County Mayo Paul de Strzelecki and the Great Famine" (pp. 415-430), in Mayo: History and Society, edited by Gerard Moran and Nollaig O' Muraile, Dublin: Geography Publications 2014, pp. 944

159 "Relief of the poor (Ireland)", *Irish Examiner*, 21/07/1848

160 "Gazette Announcements", *Kerry Evening Post*, 25/11/1848.

161 STRZELECKI Pawel, "Expenditure in the relief of Irish distress", *Nation*, 27/10/1849

brought with him £6,400, an amount of money that was unfortunately not sufficient to save the population. This is less known than the relief brought by the Choctaws, a Native American nation colonized by America and who suffered tremendous losses during the infamous Trails of Tears, gathered money for Ireland in 1849 (and notoriously, were thanked 160 years later when Ireland sent help to this community violently affected by the Covid 19 pandemic)¹⁶². Both are examples of solidarity from a subjected nation towards another. However, if the literature concerning Ireland appears to be more reduced in Poland than the reciprocal, a whole book about this comparison, with a notable length of 278 pages, called “*Irlandia I Polska*” in 1876, would deserve a whole analysis.

*Case study: Irlandia i Polska (D.Domagalski) – 1876*¹⁶³

Ignacy Domagalski, the author of this text, born in 1828 and deceased in 1900, was a Polish priest who was ordered as a canon of Warsaw in 1862, and was arrested in 1866. He had written this work during his exile in Russia and he has dedicated it to the memory of Daniel O'Connell. Daniel O'Connell was indeed a reference among Polish nationalists. And the reciprocity was true, as he himself actively supported, even attending a banquet in honour of the Polish Uprising of 1831, called during his mandate at the parliament (1837-1841) to make an intervention against Russia, and adding Tadeusz Kosciuszko to the Pantheon of Poland's “Great Liberators”¹⁶⁴. In his introduction, he calls Ireland and Poland “*dwoch bolesnych braci troska*”, two sorrowful and concerned siblings, designed under the chiasma: “*Irlandia Katolicka I Katolicka Polska*”¹⁶⁵. As Domagalski's profession could predict, catholicism in both countries is the important point for a comparison (it was something that he put in emphasis in Daniel O'Connell). For him, still a light of hope subsisted for Ireland, while his presentation of Irish history and Catholic suffering goes far deeper than the XIXth century, as Irish History includes famous events such as the Cromwell conquest in the mid-XVIIth century. In the XIXth century, what is bringing the country together is the failure of insurrections, the Hungarians who were historical allies of Poland, as its failure had strong influences on Poland's situation, but also the Russians in 1825, a reference to the Decembrist revolt. Curiously, even if this work was published in editions from Lwow, Ukraine is barely mentioned in this work, and when it was, it was about the Ukrainian szlachta. The absence of

162 O'LEARY Naomi, “Coronavirus: Irish donate to hard-hit Native Americans to repay famine aid”, *The Irish Times*, 5/05/2020

163 DOMAGALSKI Ignacy, *Irlandia I Polska*, Lwow, Drukiem W. Korneckiego, 1876, 278 p.

164 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

165 “*Ireland Catholic and Catholic Poland*”.

Strzelecki is noticeable as well. The work had very few echoes in Ireland, while his arrest was reported in an article by the *Wexford People*, which is a demonstration of both the Irish concern for the situation of minorities in Russia, and of his importance as a canon of Warsaw.¹⁶⁶

However, it is not just a question of comparison. In this work, he also expresses his own opinion about Polish politics. He notably condemned the January Insurrection, despite the fact that even the Irish clergy, who was usually depicted as less inclined towards rebellion than the Polish one, supported it. He accused its leaders of having provoked the consequences of the current persecution of the Catholic religion by Russia, which is finally a mechanism of reaction very similar to the problems the church had with the revolts in England. He wrote that: “*Wy uczyć się macie, zdobywać zasady i przekonania święte, niewzruszone i społeczeństwu ludzkiemu potrzebne*”¹⁶⁷

In the 1890's and the 1900's, there was an emergence of interest in Poland for the cultural activity of the “Irish Ireland”.¹⁶⁸ Walter Wallace, Yeats and Synge were among the most read Irish authors in Poland, and this was mostly because of the strong feeling of affinity between the Irish and the Poles. In 1904, Kasprowicz translated “*Countess Cathlyn*”, staged for the first time in Dublin for the Irish Literary Theatre, depicting the symbolic sacrifice of Countess Cathlyn for the starving and sinful people of Ireland, which was echoed in a Poland seen as the Christ of the Nations. However, this also implied misreadings of their works of art¹⁶⁹. The response that Adolf Nowaczynski (1876 – 1944), Polish writer, playwright and satirist provided to Synge is telling to this extent about the way Poles tended to essentialize what was provided by foreign cultures, and that it was difficult for Young Poland not to be self-referential in its perception of Irish-Ireland.¹⁷⁰ He was however one of Young Poland's most important self critics. Nowaczyński explained in his article ‘Teatr irlandzki’ (The Irish Theatre), published in 1911, “*Ireland is making such powerful forward progress in its spiritual development that it is a double of our nation, these 'Poles of the Western World.*”¹⁷¹ The cultural transfers therefore played an important part in those relations, and translations (and translators!) are important actors. Among the cultural sectors that were active in Poland, it was maybe the theater that was the most active in those cultural transfers¹⁷². Ireland has indeed an active theater scene at the beginning of the century, and their plays were widely staged in

166 “Russia and Turkey”, *Wexford People*, 30/12/1876

167 *You must learn, gain rules and sacred convictions, unshakable and necessary for human society*

168 MERCHANT John A., *The impact of Irish-Ireland on Young Poland*, *New Hibernia review*, Vol.5, n°3, Autumn 2001, pp. 42-65.

169 MERCHANT John A., *Universal Identities and Local Realities : Young Poland (Mis) Readings of Synge*, Loyolo E-Commons, 2011

170 Ibid.

171 NOWACZYNSKI Adolf, *Teatr Irlandzki*, *KrytykaT*. XXXI, 1911, p. 61

172 KEANE Barry, *Irish Drama in Poland: Staging and Reception, 1900-2000*, University of Chicago Press, 2016, 200 p.

the country. In the diaspora, throughout the period, the diaspora was already a space for encounter, as it grew up in number. An interesting phenomenon was reported in an article written by the *Buffalo Sunday Morning News* in 1912, on the occasion of the St Patrick, on the 17th of March, “*The use of St. Patrick’s Day favors and cards is spreading among all nationalities in the United States, and, as for wearing a bit of green, the Poles . . . seem to go in for it just as much as the Irish.*”¹⁷³ Buffalo was a city that we evocated early, and those speeches were therefore efficient to create a feeling of community. The town has a historical Polonia district, and according to their own website, in 1873, the area became the second largest Polish-American colony in the world outside of Poland.¹⁷⁴

Yet, very few Poles traveled to Ireland, and vice-versa, and when they did, they not necessarily participated directly in these transfers, or even stayed. While their identification itself shows a similarity, based on their feelings towards their own oppression and their strong national identity, and both cultural and religious (Catholic), it is reasonable to say that “*Passion rather than precision was the dominant mode of Irish commentary on Poland.*”¹⁷⁵

However, what is appealing is that there were people external to Poland, with no reason, a priori to connect those two countries necessarily, who compared those two countries, presented them as similar in their analysis, often bringing up the similarities between the British and the Russian Empire.

The last point that tends to give credits to a historical parallel between XIXth century Poland and Ireland, as a historical parallel, is that we could observe its frequency in foreign political analyst's views as well those similarities between, and, pointing out British hypocrisies.

3) Poland and Ireland in political thoughts : the external point of view)

" *L'Angleterre qui reproche à la Russie sa Pologne ne voit pas l'Irlande qu'elle a dans l'œil*"¹⁷⁶ as the French writer Victor Hugo once wrote¹⁷⁷. Remarks from foreigners bringing together Poland and Ireland were, indeed, not unusual during the XIXth century, due to the relatively mainstream mediatic exposure of their political situation. Left-wing thinkers and activists supported

173 *Buffalo Sunday Morning News*, 17/03/1912

174 Buffalo's historic Polonia district < <http://www.forgottenbuffalo.com/historicpoloniadistrict.html> >

175 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

176 *England who blames Russia for its Poland does not see the Ireland it has in its eye*

177 Note: If the quote can be found in several sources (for instance: DUHAMEL Jérôme, *Le Grand Méchant Dictionnaire de la Politique et des Politiciens*, FeniXX, 1985 , 384 p.) it is hard to find the original context or text of this declaration. However, even if it may be apocryphal, this quote still connect this two foreign countries together.

the Irish and the Poles, as both people were considered oppressed social groups. Like the Irish and the Poles did themselves, Marx paralleled both their plights, and they held the same place in his researches on the relationship between class struggles and national struggles¹⁷⁸. He for instance addressed the question of the Corn Laws in his speech “Communism, Revolution, and a Free Poland.” : “*And what is it all about in England? Did the political parties there, in all questions, from the Reform Bill [June 7, 1830] to the abolition of the Corn Laws [June, 1846], fight for anything other than changes of property, questions of property, social questions?*”¹⁷⁹ And he gave his support to the independence of both countries. According to Marx, both the Poles and Irish were victims of bourgeois regimes’ pursuit of profit. Engels in particular was very interested in Ireland. Furthermore, Engels also made this comparison, writing in 1882 that: “*Ireland and Poland remained [...] I therefore hold the view that two nations in Europe have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic: the Irish and the Poles*”¹⁸⁰ He sent this analysis to Karl Kautsky, a Czech-Austrian Marxist theoricians who would stand out as of the most authoritative promulgators of Orthodox Marxism after the death of Frierdric Engels. In 1870 he told him that *Ireland and Poland ‘hadnot only the right but even the duty to become nationalist before they could becomeinternationalist’*. and he insisted that West Brittons than Poles were West Russians.¹⁸¹ Marx was a very important and influential philosoph during the XIXth century, as was the ideology he originated, and so were his speeches. Poles and Irish were very easy to identificate as victims of these bourgeois regimes. The Great Irish Famine, which Marx qualified as “*the crime of starving the Irish*”, embodied an extreme manifestation of the *laissez-faire ideology*, as well as their colonial policies, the British colonial administrator in charge, Trevelyan, advocated fervently. When the famine began to strike people in the Irish countryside, he answered stating that: “*The real evil with which we have to contend is not the physical evil of the Famine, but the moral evil of the selfish, perverse and turbulent character of the people*” The Russian Empire haven't abolished the serfdom when Communist Manifesto was published. He of course wrote on their relations with the labour movements as oppressed people, providing a more precise focal of analysis than religion or nation. This is a historical proof that Poles and Irish causes as similar popular struggles have passed the borders of those two countries to immiscate in political theory and labour circles.

178 See ANDERSON Kevin, *Marx at the margins: on Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non Western Societies*, University of Chicago press, 2016 (2009), 342 p.

179 MARX Karl, *Communism, Revolution and a Free Poland*, Speech delivered in French commemorating 2nd anniversary of Krakow Uprising, Brussels, February 22, 1848

180 ENGELS Friedrich, *Engels's letter to Karl Kautsky, 7/02/1882, Marx & Engels on the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971, p.332 translated by Einde O'Callaghan

181 ANDERSON Kevin, *Marx at the margins: on Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non Western Societies*, University of Chicago press, 2016 (2009), p. 139

However, beyond the Irish comparison with Poland some gray areas remain, despite the confirmations of shared historical events and historical parallels. If lectures of texts from ideologies as diverse as Marxism and political catholicism are giving weight to these interpretations of Irish-Polish relations, it presents its limits. The structures of Irish and Polish societies are different, because their histories are different. If we are comparing how these societies were during the XIXth century, indeed their experience of this century could be considered as similar, but the centuries that Poland and Ireland had already behind them are telling different stories. The anglicization of the Island is as old as the XIIth century, and Ireland did not have a state near as strong as Polish, therefore the Irish were far more vulnerable to invaders, and they began to experience discriminations long before 1801. The Irish by comparing themselves with the Poles, a nation historically more ancient and powerful is maybe an attempt to cover a lack of legitimacy. Indeed, their elements of comparison with Poland are only coming from recent history. In a period when comparisons between people were made according to the development of nationalisms, another Slavic ethnicity seems to match with as much, a nation who was paradoxically under the domination of Polish elites: Ukraine.

B) Irish-Ukrainian Relations

Even before the Holodomor, comparisons were being drawn between the Irish and Ukrainian plight. During the 19th century, an era where nationalist struggles became globalized, Poles, Irish and Ukrainians all belonged to the same category of subverted - or small - nation. However, while the Irish identified with the Polish plight because of this country's media exposure, an identification which was fairly one-sided, in Ukraine, the Poles were still seen as an oppressive force and Ukrainians viewed the Irish as their counterparts.

1. “Wirlandiya”¹⁸²: Ireland in Ukrainian minds 1845 – 1914)

Denied the chance to develop, literary Ukrainian could not keep pace with the terminology demands of fast changing scholarly and scientific fields, and some Ukrainian intellectuals feared the language would die out. Antonovych [who gave some lectures in Irish History] took consolation in the fact that the Irish had not lost their intense national feelings despite linguistic Anglification.¹⁸³

This is how the Ukrainian historian Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908), who was an important actor of the Ukrainian national revival, viewed the parallels between Ireland and Ukraine, and it gave him hope during a time when most activists were thinking the Ukrainian language would die out and took consolation in the fact that the fight for the Irish nation was going on even in English¹⁸⁴. The question of linguistic erasure was one of the most important bonds between Irish and Ukrainians at that time; though the Polish language suffered from Russification policies, this wasn't to the same extent as the linguicide of Irish Gaelic and Ukrainian. According to the census made after the famine, the proportion of Irish-speaking people was only of 23,26% , with only 4,88% of the population spoke this language exclusively. In 1871, the proportion of Irish native speakers dropped to 15%.¹⁸⁵ The Irish-speaking people were the poorest peasants, who died in the greatest numbers during the Great famine or were driven to emigrate. In Ukraine, the language, who was also a chiefly spoken by the peasantry, was not threatened by demographical decline but by the progressive instauration of repressive laws in the Russian Empire, as the interdiction by Alexandre III of Ukrainian in the institution Ukrainian given names, and the total interdiction of education in this language, in 1888. This may have inspired another historian, the Odessa-based Afanasiev, to write an article called “*The Destiny of Ireland*”, as the country became deprived of its ancestral language. Taras Shevchenko, a core element of the Ukrainian revival, was for instance arrested three years after the publication of his poetry collection “Kobzar”. Polish language was repressed as well and suffered various interdictions because of Russification ; but the question was not as important as in Ireland or Ukraine.

These similar experience of linguicides led to identification and therefore cultural transfers with strong meaning, still involving languages. Writers and historians played an important part in these transfers, who were often made by the same figures that took part in the edification of a

182 Contraction between the two words “Irlandiya” - Ireland in Ukrainian – and Wira – faith in Ukrainian – this words was used by Ukrainian peasants to expression the inspiration Ireland provided them regarding faith on liberty.

See “Influence of Irish Spirit on Ukraine”, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 8/08/1953

183 HAMM Michael, *Kiev: A Portrait, 1800-1917*, Princeton University Press, 1996, p.101

184 REID Anna, *Borderland, a journey through history of Ukraine*, W&N, 2015 (1997), 368 p.

185 Census, 1851, general report

modern Ukrainian identity through literature, linguistic and history that would give to Ukraine a unique identity. They were historians, writers, translators. For example, famous poet Lesya Ukrainka translated papers dealing with Irish history: “*The Irish language movement*” by Francis A. Feby, that she translated. It was published in Ukrainian in 1906 (it was initially published in 1901)¹⁸⁶. She had a personal connection with Ireland, herself. Olha O'Connor, who taught piano to Ukrainka, was a descendant of Luke O'Connor, an Irish soldier who settled in Ukraine after the Crimean War and whose family brought contribution to the Ukrainian culture.¹⁸⁷ Oleksander Kolessa, a linguist and member of the Historical Society of Lviv, found analogies between the “*Irish Melodies*” by Thomas Moore, written in 1806-1807 and Taras Shevchenko’s work¹⁸⁸. Volodymyr Antonovych gave several lectures in history where he confirmed his introductory statement : he saw similarities between Ukraine and Ireland, as nations which had to struggle to keep their culture alive. Indeed, “*Antonovych took consolation on the fact that the Irish had not lost their intense national feelings despite linguistic Anglification*”¹⁸⁹. Moreover, he was of Polish descent, being born in a noble family as well as the Ukrainian Metropolitan Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church Andriy Sheptytsky, a major figure of Ukrainian nationalism. Antonovych, again, was coming from a polonized family, but he quickly embraced the Ukrainian identity, with Poland being seen as rather oppressive, and this point of view pronounced in his political texts. He agreed to follow an anti-Polish political line in the frame of the Ukrainian movement, and found no place for them in Ukraine: “*Polish nobles who live in the South Russian region have only two choices before their conscience: either [...] return to the nationality once deserted by their ancestors, to compensate by constant work and charity [...] for all the evil that they have caused the people; [...]*”¹⁹⁰ A comparison between Polish-Irish and Ukrainian-Irish identification underlines this vision of Poles as both the oppressors and the oppressed. Concerning the Russians living in Ukraine, unlike European colonists in Latin or North America, monolingual Russians in the Ukrainian provinces did not evolve a “creole/mestizo” separatist nationalism. They overwhelmingly identified with the imperial metropole politically and culturally, much as did loyalists in Ireland.¹⁹¹ The identification between Irish and Ukrainians, on the other hand, will be more developed with the nationalist movements of the first world war.

186 < <https://www.l-ukrainka.name/uk/Transl/IrishLang.html> >

187 KAZAKEVYCH Hennadiy, “Parallel Struggle”, *The Ukrainian Week*, 17/04/2012

188 COLLECTIVE, *Europe's Freedom Fighter: Taras Shevchenko, 1814-1861: A Documentary Biography of Ukraine's Poet Laureate and National Hero*, U.S Government Printing Office, 1960, p.23

189 HAMM Michael, *Kiev: A portrait 1800-1917*, Princeton University Press, 2014 (1993) 328 p.

190 ANTONOVYCH Volodymyr, Moia ispoved': Otvet g. Padalitse”, *Osnova*, No. 1, 94, 1861

191 VELYCHENKO Stephen, “Ukrainian anti-colonialist thought in comparative perspective. A preliminary view.”, *Ab Imperio*, n°4, 2012, p. 339–71

Was this identification to Ireland by Ukrainians reciprocal, despite the weak visibility of the Ukrainian plight abroad? There are evidences of a reciprocal identification by the Irish, even if unsurprisingly, less important. Regarding the question of a reciprocal identification, we have enough sources to show that it predated the first Ukrainian state established after the First World War. For example, Roger Casement stated that “*If a Ukrainian read an episode of Irish history, he could not help but compare some of his own experiences with those of the Irish*”¹⁹². This conclusion is the result of an encounter with an Ukrainian comrade in 1914 named Roman Smal-Stocky, a Ukrainian historian and ambassador in Germany. Casement had met him in a train while he was traveling with a handful of pamphlets, some of them about the Irish fight for liberty, and the two men quickly exchanged on that subject. He presented himself as a man from the “*Ireland of Russia*”, and he gave to Casement a copy in Ukrainian of “*How the Irish are fighting for their liberty.*”¹⁹³ This, and the fact that both men were socialists, as he joined the “*Union for Liberation of Ukraine*”, which was organised by Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries from Eastern Ukraine.

Casement’s encounter with Smal-Stocky may have inspired him to link both struggles. But Ireland was more important to Ukraine than Ukraine was for Ireland’s nationalist imagery. We can hence clearly see a hierarchy between Poland, Ireland and Ukraine in their media presence, their presence in the minds of other nations, and even more so in the minds of nations that could relate to their struggles.

2) Ukraine in Irish minds

The oldest mention of “Ukraine” to be found in the “*Irish Newspaper Archives*” dates back to 1855, 70 years after the first mention of “Poland.” Published in “*The Kerry Evening Post*”, the article recorded an “*Insurrection in the Ukraine*”¹⁹⁴, that the History remembered as “*Kyivska kozachchyna*” or Kyiv Cossacks, which began when the tsar Nicholas I issued a manifesto calling for the population to enlist in the context of the Crimean War. The fact that the first mention of Ukraine in the Irish press occurred in the context of an uprising is not trivial, as at the time Ireland was emerging from a period of unsuccessful resistance to power.

Unlike with the Poles, with whom the Irish shared an unequivocal sense of kinship due to their confessional affinities, Irish sympathy towards Ukrainians differed depending on the religion of the Ukrainians in question. The Irish sympathy was more directed towards Greek Catholic Ruthenians than towards orthodox Ukrainians, since Greek Catholics were loyal to the pope as the

192 " Other Nations took example of freedom from us ", *Mayo News*, 26/06/1954

193 Ibid.

194 “The Insurrection in the Ukraine”, *Kerry Evening Post*, 9/06/1855.

highest spiritual authority. As Healy summarized the situation : “one might look at Polish attitudes towards the kresy and its Ukrainian population, whether the advantage taken of Ruthenians by Polish leaders in Galicia or the contempt for Ukrainian aspirations to statehood”.¹⁹⁵ In the press as well, the term “Ruthenians” appeared before the term “Ukrainians”, and often continued to be its synonym at least until the Russian Revolution. The term “*Ruthenian provinces*” was also often used to qualify Western Ukraine, for instance in a short article reporting the introduction of the martial law by the Russians, when two regiments walked into Warsaw.¹⁹⁶ In 1876, they emphasized the Roman Catholic characters of the Ukrainian victims of a “*gross outrage against them*” in Podlachia¹⁹⁷. Usually, when informations about Ukrainians are treated by the press, this is in relation with Poland and Catholicism, but these articles could provide us informations on Ukrainian-Polish relations and Ruthenian relation with Catholicism. In 1874, the Pope sent an encyclical to all the Ruthenian Bishops, complaining about the situation to free the ritual of the United Greek Church from Romish Innovations, demonstrating a declaration of war against the Russian government and their fear to lose the United Greek Church¹⁹⁸. Their allegiance to Catholicism, even if it is not Roman catholicism, therefore seems to be an important while rarely identifying with Ukrainians, because it would make them lose credibility for their fight. But considering only class reasons would be a limit. 1845 was a period of stammering for Ukrainian communities. This is simply not something they addressed in the press, contrary to the large covered situation in Poland. Austria did its best to cultivate the attitude of alienation from the Poles in Ruthenian peasantry: it is largely to Austrians that Ukrainians owe their modern sense of nationhood.

While socialism was developing itself in Ireland, interestingly, the most left-wing figures tend more to use this comparison than before.

We have already recalled several times Casement's quote about the Ukraine-Ireland connection. If it is so important, it is because Ukraine did not experience the Holodomor, probably the most relatable event in Ukrainian history for an Irish, or their independence after the first world war with a leftist movement. Indeed, Casement took part in the Easter Rising and was executed for that, in 1916.¹⁹⁹ The same goes for James Connolly, who was sometimes called the Irish Lenin. His son, Roddy Connolly, who had met Lenin in St-Petersburg in 1920, told that he had “*a Rathmines*

195 HEALY Roisin, “*Reflections on Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Ireland and Poland*” in *Central Europe and Colonialism: Migrations, Knowledges, Perspectives, Commodities*, Wrocław, 21-23/09/2016

196 “Poland”, *Freemans Journal*, 13/03/1861

197 “Reported Massacre by Russian troops”, *Carlow Morning Post*, 17/06/1876

198 “The Pope”, *Kerry Evening Post*, 30/05/1874

199 “Other Nations took example of freedom from us”, *Mayo News*, 26/06/1954

accent”²⁰⁰, Lenin had ties with Ireland, and in addition to Roddy Connolly's assertions, English-speakers as well as Russians stated that he “*spoke English with an Irish accent*” as he hired an Irishman to teach him the language.²⁰¹ This suburb in the southside of Dublin in addition played its part during the Easter Rising, Anglo-Irish war and Irish civil war and this means that the man at the origin of the Bolshevization of Ukraine had close ties with Ireland. Despite the signification that the period has today in Ukrainian memory, and the fact that in consequences a century later there would be an important resentment against communism in Ukraine, if Lenin developed arguments in his works about the comparison between Poland and Ireland, the same went about Ireland and Ukraine too.

3) *The foreign look on Ukrainian-Irish similarity*

As it was far less systematic for the Irish to compare their country with Ukraine, the same goes for foreigners. Both countries were peripheries of the two most important European empires and while this is an important similarity, this could have played against Ukraine international recognition. It was often seen just as a region of Russia. However, evidence of comparison, based on this specific factor, between them made by foreign thinkers can be found, and yes, by people who defended Irish-Polish connection. To recall, we introduce this parallel by quoting Lenin when he says that: “*Ireland is something of a British Poland, only rather more like Galicia than the Poland represented by Warsaw, Lodz and Dombrowski*”²⁰². We also just demonstrated that in terms of social construction Ireland and Ukraine were closer than Poland and Ireland. In addition, we showed that Poles can be seen as on a dominating position above Ukrainians. Lenin, as well as other Russian socialists, were among the first to use the term “Internal colonialism” who applied to both Ukraine and Ireland, to underline their underdevelopment. Ireland has been denied full industrial development as were Wales, as was Ukraine.²⁰³ In an article considered to have a great historical importance, “On the National Pride of the Great Russians”, published the 12th December of 1914, Lenin recognized Ukrainians as the equal as a nationality to the “Great Russians”²⁰⁴, and indirectly in this text, he presents as a model of emancipation “*Our model will always be Marx, who, after living in Britain for decades and becoming half-English, demanded freedom and national independence for Ireland in the interests of the socialist movement of the British*

200 “Michael McInerney, Roddy Connolly – 60 years of political activity”, *The Irish Times*, 8/09/1976

201 BRENNAN Michael, “Lenin spoke English with an Irish accent, says the Russians”, *Irish Independent*, 24/08/2012

202 LENIN Vladimir, “Class War in Dublin”, *Severnaya Pravda No. 23*, 29/08/1913, Marxist Internet Archives

203 HECHTER Michael, *Internal Colonialism, Alien Rule, and Famine in Ireland and Ukraine*, Vol. 8 No. 1 (2021): EAST/WEST: JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES (ISSN 2292-7956)

204 The term is sometimes used to differentiate “Ethnic Russians” from the other ethnicities of the Russian Empire.

workers.”²⁰⁵ However, we should recall that some of the comparisons supporting similarities between Ireland and Ukraine are not in fact mentioning directly the latter. They are rather generally non-Russians living in Russia, but Ukrainians being among them, we deduce those comparisons could apply for this region and its people as well. This also emphasizes the lack of recognition the Ukrainian nation get. For instance, the famous German sociologist and economist Max Weber, thus compared the non-Russians part of the Romanov empire with British colonies, and he included Ireland²⁰⁶. It is only in 1911, however, that Ukrainian thinkers regarded themselves as colonised people, when Mykola Stasiuk labeled the relationship between Ukraine and Russia’s imperial government as “colonialist.”²⁰⁷ By a comparison between their oppressors, these two people are brought together. This also underlines the importance of marxist thinkers in underlining Irish-Polish-Ukrainian similarities in their oppressions.

To conclude, in the light of these first two parts, how could the comparison between those two international relationship be analysed? And how does comparison with another nation's struggle is conjugated with exceptionalism?

C. How could this comparison allow us to understand the issues raised by the national question in Europe between mid-XIXth century and first world war?

1) Contemporary comparison and political analysis confronting these three countries

Even if rare, political analysis directly linking Poles, Irish and Ukrainian existed at that time and quite surprisingly, an large number of them presented Poles not as mere victims of Russian colonialism but as landlords subjugating the peasantry. This triple comparison was even used to point out the impossibility of a Polish-Irish brotherhood, and to underscore the limits of this comparison in socio-political terms. In 1908, the Polish historian of economics, politics and sociology Franciszek Bujak did not view the political and cultural affinities between Polish and Irish nationalists as possible. Instead, Bujak saw structural analogies between Anglo-Irish

205 LENIN Vladimir, “*On the National pride of the Great Russians*”, Sotsial-Demokrat No.35, 12/12/1914

206 VELYCHENKO Stephen, “Ukrainian anti-colonialist thought in comparative perspective. A preliminary view.”, *Ab Imperio*, n°4, 2012, p. 339–71

207 Ibid

landowners, and the Poles of Eastern Galicia (now Western Ukraine), the Irish and Ukrainians peasants being implicitly put together.²⁰⁸ This analogy again practically assimilates class to nation. Bujak was not a Marxist, his political views were rather centre-right, but he belonged to an agrarian party. The relation between nation and land would therefore be important in his analysis and differentiate the Poles from the Irish, and despite the obvious oppressions they faced, Poles were relatively privileged as a social group compared to Belarussians, Lithuanians or Ukrainians.²⁰⁹ However, this is something Irish Press, rarely addressed, save alone the mention of the 1907 students riot in Lviv (still mentioned as from the Ruthenian Nationality) who mentioned the great bitterness of the Ruthenian population against the Polish ruling class, two last words rarely put together in representation of Poland.²¹⁰ Ukrainians are rarely mentioned and when they are, it's always in relation to Poles.

One could wonder: why did they chose to identify with landlords? The question came regularly throughout our analysis. Paradoxically, Irish nationalists needed to identify with a nation that was not to politically weak. Ukrainians, Bosnians or Slovaks were socially closer to them, and while they wanted to underline how oppressed they were, that shared common traits with the British oppressors. However, we also could underline that Poles were a very catholic nation, and that it was a real factor of identification, and that their repression had spectacular traits. And in the Irish press, the three nations (Poles, Ukrainians and Irish) never appeared in a same article before the First World War, when autonomy as a nation became a serious opportunity. And in the XIXth century, how could history justified these comparisons? Could we conclude that history was justifying this parallel? Or where they are just social construction? The previous study of these historical parallels between 1845 and 1913 teach us more about transnational history than about real historical similarity. It would have been premature to assume these three nations would share the same political destiny. To what extent were they really comparable?

2. Behind the mutual identification : political agenda vs. historical accuracy

We could learn about some mechanisms behind their history separately taken individually, under a national frame.

The comparison is relying in the first time on the conclusions coming from studies on relation and identification, then on demographic and cultural datas, religious belief. The links also rely on the circulation of the ideas between the countries. The chronology of the events

208 BUJAK Franciszek, *Galicja*, Lwow, H.Altenberg, 1908

209 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, p. 5

210 "Ruthenians students in prison will starve until release", *Belfast Newsletter*, 25/02/1907

representing their political emasculation is indeed strikingly similar, as explained Roisin Healy. The definitive incorporation in United Kingdom, and Russia/Prussia/Austria are close in time and were something clearly datable : the 1801 Act of Union occurred only six year after the first partition, both events being the consequences of failed uprisings whose memory would endure during the whole XIXth century in the arts. Those uprisings are the Polish Kosciuszko Uprising of 1794 - 1795 and the Irish Rebellion of 1798²¹¹. They both were an inspiration for authors all along the XIXth century, along with a political marker of an artist's relation with Irish or Polish History. In Poland, Tadeusz Kosciuszko is still one of the most important hero of Polish history, and he made apparition in novels as diverse as *20.000 leagues under the sea* by Jules Verne, and its victories during the Uprising were importantly represented in paintings, incarnating hope for the Polish nation and memories of more glorious times (see for that matter *Raclawice Panorama*, by Jan Styka in 1894, or *Bitwa pod Raclawicami* by Jan Matejko in 1888). Contrary to a lot of small nations for whom XIXth century was a definitive occasion to settle a written national language, like to say Slovakia, Poland and Ireland were speaking a rather ancient language, dating back from centuries ago²¹². We should at first focus on the need of a nation to compare with another struggle to see this elements. The need for the clergy and this national oppression was seen in both countries tied up with oppression as Roman Catholics.

In addition, there is a strong symbolical aspect in this comparison that could allow to emphasize the Irish suffering : they are comparing themselves to the Christ of Europe. So antinomically, yes, Polish exceptionalism helped them to not be isolated. This is this religious aspect (because this status came in addition from an enduring catholic tradition) that helped Irish and Poles to create links, rather than stronger cultural and structural similarities. The fact that thinkers emphasizing this similarity came from a large political spectrum also gives it credits. Quotes supporting a special Polish-Irish links came indeed as well from marxist writings than from catholic conservatives and ethnonationalists. Ukraine-Ireland pairing on the other hand, appears to be less present in the sources because it was very less emphasized in the medias. However, it is based on more structural and interesting elements of comparison. As Velychenko wrote it :

“The ruling educated English and Russians considered their respective nations agents of progress and civilization, and that it was possible to “civilize” and assimilate the Irish and Ukrainian peasants with the English and Russians, respectively. The ruling elites considered Scots, English, and Irish, on the one hand, and “Great Russians” and “Little Russians,” on the other, single nations. Ukrainian and Irish nationalist radicals at the beginning of the century were a

211 SHANAHAN Jim, *Tales of the Time : Early fictions of the 1798 Rebellion*, Irish University Review, Vol. 41, No. 1, Irish Fiction, 1660-1830 (Spring/Summer 2011), pp. 151 – 168

212 ANDERSON Benedict, *L'imaginaire national*, La Découverte, 2006 (1983), 224 p.

minority and the fact they spoke English or Russian, rather than Irish Gaelic or Ukrainian, did not make them any less nationalist or anti-imperialist"²¹³

These considerations of Ireland or Ukraine as being colonies or nationalities were not unanimous though, and as we have underlined previously, this was not a common way to identify even for them. However, they definitely existed and this, along with a close social structure with an overwhelming population of peasants ruled by foreign administrators and landowners, as long as a rising national and cultural movement of revival with an emphasis of language, is bringing Ireland and Ukraine together for the XIXth century period. The transition to the First World War and especially from monarchy to Republic, Socialism or to a Free State, would change the status quo to this country. However, as we have seen, identification was based beyond cultural traits, and the aspects of international solidarity between them appearing being deeply linked with politics, changing of status quo let think of changes in identification mechanics.

3. Partial conclusion : anti-colonial solidarity within Europe)

To conclude, anti-colonial solidarity within Europe appears to be somewhat conditioned. If identification as a sincere feeling appears to have been was a thing, and that solidarity was driven by empathy, construction of parallels is always symptomatic of a political agenda. In Ireland and Poland, it relied on religion, in a (natural) desire to promote their cause and on the timing of history. A quote that supports this conclusion perhaps more strikingly than another, the extent of this politicization, compared Ukraine and Ireland. An active politician, who was neither Ukrainian or Irish, had shortly before the First World War that "*Ukraine became for Russia what Ireland was to England, 'sucking everything from it & giving nothing in return.'*". His name? A certain Vladimir Lenin. It was in 1914, in Switzerland, during a speech about Russian economic colonialism over Ukraine. As we will see in a second part, and have seen in the first, Lenin will continue to express indirectly the parallels between Ukraine and Ireland in their relations with Empire, supporting the Independence of the latter. And after the Revolution of October, he never mentioned that parallel again.²¹⁴

213 VELICHENKO Stephen, " Ukrainian anti-colonialist thought in comparative perspective. A preliminary view.", *Ab Imperio*, n°4, 2012, p. 339–71

214 HRYNEVYCH Liudmila, *The Ukrainian Holodomor in the Context of Soviet Imperialism*, [Conference], Holodomor Research and Education Consortium (HREC) Conference Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective: The Bengal, Irish, and Ukrainian Famines, Toronto Canada, 28/10/2016 < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s8c3YQc4RN8> >

However, curiously, during the second Komintern Conference, he mentioned that: "*us communists from colonies, the paths and means required on a given territory [to rebuild] are more visible and obvious than they are for those who worked and work in the metropole. What is now happening in Russia will also happen in England, the Balkans, Asia, and elsewhere; Ukraine, Ireland, India, and Macedonia, and on and on* "

**POBLACHT NA H EIREANN,
THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.**

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty, six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,

SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN CEANNT,
JAMES CONNOLLY. JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

II) The Neverending First World War (1914-1923)

On the occasion of an exposition made to celebrate the centenary of the Armistice in 2018-2019, the *Musée des Invalides* in France presented an exposition called “*A l'est, la guerre sans fin*”, which means, “At the east the neverending war”. Despite that the title mentioned exclusively Eastern Europe, it was an Irishman who directed its committee²¹⁵. This war that followed and that made the Great War “*even greater than we thought*”²¹⁶ was something that brought back our three countries together: they knew the chaos and destabilizations caused by the fights of the World War I represented an opportunity to take their independence, and even after the 11th November of 1918, the fights went on. How did this relationships survive during this decisive moment? How were they concerned by the ideological upheavals of the period?

In a first part, the most important, we will focus on comparisons between Ireland, Poland and Ukraine, in the frame of the world war and their struggle towards Independence. However, considering how the name “*World War*” also underlines how the revolutions which erupted in its wake were “a global moment”²¹⁷ themselves, and that the internationalisation of the struggle, bringing together was not a marginal phenomenon, something we will show through selected case studies. This internationalisation is also reflected in the struggles: to achieve their liberty, some people embraced ideologies that rejected nationalism as a way for emancipation, and who were even more susceptible to do so when they were subverted to a Monarchy. New political analysis to resist oppressions were definitely to resist war.

A. Poles, Irish, Ukrainians during the First World War, and its aftermath: An Anti-Imperial moment.²¹⁸

In the frame of the first two parts, we will begin with a comparative study between the war experiences and the national movements in Ireland, Poland and Ukraine, during and after the war, to develop what we pointed out in the political context of the introduction, until we will move out of the national frame to see how the ties these people began to develop all along the XIXth century survived during the war period.

215 HORNE John, GARNIER Frédéric, “La violence de la grande guerre n'a pas pris fin le 11 novembre 1918”, *Géo*, 5/02/2019

216 Ibid.

217 BARRY Gearóid, DAL LAGO Enrico, HEALY Róisín, *1916 in the global context, an anti-imperial moment*, Routledge, 2018, 232 p.

218 Ibid.

1.The great war : 1914-1918

To begin with, let's make a quick comparative study between the ways those countries faced the war. All of them were engaged in a war conducted by the power, and in the case of Ukrainians and Poles, living in both Austria-Hungary (Triple Alliance) and Russia (Triple Entente), they even had to fight each other. 800,000 Poles served for Russia, 300,000 for Austria and 300,000 for Germany. For Ukraine, it was the centenary of Shevchenko's birth. For Poland, the centenary of hopes provided by Napoleonic wars. Irish Nationalists were particularly active as anti-militarists, refusing to die for the interests of the British Empire, leading to the conscription crisis of 1918, when the British government tried to impose conscription in April. Despite this anti military movement, Irish people had willingly joined the ranks of the British Army during the war, as 200 000 fought in it. At least 2 millions of Poles were conscripted into the partitional powers as well, 3.5 millions Ukrainians fought for the Imperial Russian Army and 250,000 for Austria²¹⁹. Comparisons between Ireland and Poland Poland and Ukraine on the other hand were physically at the heart of the fights and death toll was therefore really more important, and more difficult to estimate : for Irish deaths didn't exceed 28 000, death in Poland probably exceeded 1 million in its border of the interwar period²²⁰, and in Ukraine, 590 000²²¹. Ukraine was a peripherie of the Russian Empire, but was at the heart of Eastern Europe. In the diaspora, Irish-Americans in general had an anti-English discourse. In the Evening Mail, were hoping for German successes in the war not only for accomplishing liberation of Ireland, but of Poland and Finland as well.²²² In the conscription debate during the war, in April of 1918, Poland was never far from the debates. Anti-conscription complainers for instance used the example of Russian Conscription in Poland in 1863 to argue that conscription by the British was oppressive²²³, and the fact that Britain endorsed Polish rejection of Austrian conscription²²⁴, as part of a long history of denouncing an England “who can't see the Ireland she has in the eye.” This is this Irish Conscription crisis that achieved to bury the Home Rule Idea, not radical enough for the Sinn Féin.

219 SUBTELNY Orest, *Ukraine : A History*, University of Toronto Press, 2000, pp. 340 – 344

220 CLODFELTER Michael, . *Warfare and Armed Conflicts – A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures, 1500–2000*, McFarland, 2002, 840 p.

221 ERLIKMAN Vadim, *Poteri narodonaseleniia v XX veke : spravochnik*. Moscow, 2004, p. 34

222 BARRY Gearóid, DAL LAGO Enrico, HEALY Róisín, *1916 in the global context, an anti-imperial moment*, Routledge, 2018, p. 39

223 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, p. 256

224 Ibid, p. 258

However, the comparisons between Ireland and Poland were also used by the propandist tools of the “*War Culture*” to emphasize how Germany, an enemy of the United Kingdom at that time, was worse in its way to threat its own national minorities, and why the Irish would have interest in fighting for Britain against Germany. Surprisingly, this argumentation was also used notoriously by the Irish themselves, opposing the antimilitarist vision of Sinn Féin members who saw this war as not theirs. In fact this is even those pro-military pamphlets and declarations that passed the most the test of time. The Irish party issued during the conscription debates the declaration that follows : “*Involved in it is the fate of France, our kindred country, the chief nation of that powerful Celtic race to which we belong; the fate of Belgium, to whom we are attached by the same great ties of race, and by the common desire of a small nation to assert its freedom; and the fate of Poland, whose sufferings and whoso struggles bear so marked a resemblance to our own*”.²²⁵ The subject undermined Irish Nationalist unity²²⁶. This was elements of a common genre of war communication, called “atrocities propaganda”: this basically consisted in spreading news about the atrocities committed by the ennemy, with often exaggerations. In 1915, the 14th of November, in Cahir, Co. Tipperary, the Reverend William Burke issued a pamphlet called soberly *Ireland and Poland*, stating that: “*The Germans have set themselves to crush Poland out of existence*”. He there focuses on German agrarian policy's impact on Poles, as ban on Poles buying land, and the expulsion of 25,000 Poles from their land to replace them by Ethnic Germans. It is a reference to the politic of Germanisation that were made in Poland during the partitions, violent especially at the beginning, and discriminatory against Catholicism as well. It assumes that, since “*it is a war of conquest*”, Ireland would be annexed to the German Empire and be in charge of their administration, victims of the same treatment as Poles, since: “*the Germans mean to exchange the arid wastes of the Baltic and the sands of Brandenburg for the rich pastures of Ireland.*” But the most surprising here is the valorisation of English policies in Ireland : according to the author the British worked hard to “*reinstate and root the Irish People on their own soil. Great ranches have been divided up, and no fewer than 4,000 tenants have been restored.*” Burke was probably referencing to the Land Acts, a series of agrarian decisions dating back from the “Landlord act” of 1870, when the British governement took a closer look to the Irish question following a serie of Fenian violence, and electoralist manoeuvre by adressng the Irish question in order to unite the Liberal Party in prevision to the 1868 elections. They indeed realized that only 3% of the “ethnic Irish” disposed of their own land and wanted to calm tensions reducing the concentration of land ownership. The “Land Purchase Act” was only signed 6 years ago at that time, which extended the

225 CONSCRIPTION IN IRELAND. *HC Deb 09 April 1918 vol 104 cc1357-62*

226 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

existing limited provision for tenant purchase. This also allowed the British power to make from an agrarian proletariat a class of small landlords who would find less personal interest in armed revolts. However, this is specially English gestion of the agriculture that was blamed for an event as traumatic as the Great Famine. Strzelecki, mentioned before, for instance, told in 1849 that “*by manifold evil consequences upon a too sudden revolution in agriculture industry.*”²²⁷ In another pamphlet, written the same day, “*The “German” Catholics*”, using the here the exemple of the “*Poor Little Belgium*”, as History reminded it. The German Invasion was also called “*The Rape of Belgium*”, because of its violence, and quickness. His orginality and relevance however is that he chose to exemplify the plight with another small catholic nation. This underlines how the catholic identity was strong in Ireland as it was used to create empathy and identification with various other european nations. Finally, at the end, he asked to his audience : “*Do you think that they will spare you because you are Catholics?*”

The fact that Burke was a clergyman is not innocent. Not only because it obviously explains his emphasis on religion, but it recalls the past of the Irish Church, during the XIXth century. In her globality much less inclined to use force against the government than its Polish counterparts²²⁸, as it was expected for them to be loyal to the government that discriminated them. Even if it is very far from being always the case, as for instance some priests supported national revolts. For instance, in 1861, Terrence Bellew McManus who participated died and was buried in San Francisco in 1861. Local members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood or Fenians, an Irish-American organisation committed to ending British rule in Ireland by force, however, concocted a plan to transfer his body to Ireland for reburial as part of an elaborate propaganda exercise. The bishop of Cork as well as the archbishop of Dublin, Cullen, refused to allow the body into their churches. The parallel is appealing as it is the same Cullen who issued a call in 1864 to support the violent rebellion of the Poles as they were part of the Catholic World.²²⁹ In 1870, the pope himself considered the Fennians as a secret society. It therefore rejoins Domagalski's skepticism towards the 1863 January Uprising.

227 STRZELECKI Pawel, “Expenditure in the relief of Irish distress” , *Nation*, 27/10/1849

228 KERR Donald, ‘Priests, Pikes and Patriots: The Irish Catholic Church and Political Violence from the Whiteboys to the Fenians’, in *Piety and Power in Ireland, 1760–1960: Essays in honour of Emmet Larkin*, ed. Stewart J. Brown and David W. Miller (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000), pp. 16–42.

229 EGGEN Sabine, *Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe (Re-imagining Ireland, book 39)*, Peter Lang, 2011, p. 25

IRELAND & POLAND

The Germans have set themselves to crush Poland out of existence.

They have uprooted some 25,000 Polish farmers, and replaced them by Germans. To complete the destruction of Poland, the Germans passed a law prohibiting any Pole purchasing land, so that in process of time the whole soil of Poland must pass into German hands.

Now, during all this period, the British Government has been labouring to reinstate and root the Irish People in their own soil. Great ranches have been divided up, and no fewer than 4,000 tenants have been restored. Is Germany going to treat Ireland differently from Poland?

This is a war of conquest, and the Germans mean to exchange the arid wastes of the Baltic and the sands of Brandenburg for the rich pastures of Ireland. Every one of us should face these facts as common-sense men, and not as dreamers or talkers.

I appeal to every Young Man of Military age to join the Colours.

The REV. WILLIAM P. BURKE, G.C., at Cahir, 14th November, 1915.

These arguments are strikingly close to a better-known and longer pamphlet that was published two years later: Thomas Rolleston's "*Poland and Ireland, a comparison*". Thomas Rolleston was born in Ireland in 1857, and he died in London in 1920. He was an active and early member of the Gaelic League, a founding member of the Irish Literary Society, and a leading figure in the Irish Co-Operative movement, supporting the work of the Department of Agriculture²³⁰. And still, "*Poland and Ireland, a comparison*" appears like an element of war propaganda very similar to Reverend Burke's pamphlets. This text underlines that considering how Germany treated poorly Poland, the Germans would not treat the Irish differently if they won the war. Rolleston knew Germany : he was deeply interested in their literature, and above all he had lived in Wiesbaden and Dresden during four years, between 1879 and 1883²³¹. Here, Poland's situation is served to show how the Irish are lucky in comparison, using superlatives statements such as: "*Ireland enjoyed the the fairest and most liberal treatment ever accorded to a small nationality incorporated in a great empire*" (p.18), while the memory of the violent repression of the Easter Rising's triggered more sympathy towards the national movements. To recall, sixteen leaders were executed, three thousand five hundred people were arrested. However, it was also published in a coincidental timing with the release of those prisoners, and in Poland, it was forbidden since 1899 to speak Polish even in family circle, while there was no such policy against Gaeilige in Ireland, even if it was paradoxically more endangered. However, Rolleston's analysis is focused on the questions relating to land, which was a domain he knew very well, assisting Horace Plunkett in the management of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society. This is what makes this work strikingly similar to Burke's appeal to fight alongside the British army against the Germans. All these arguments finally led him to conclude that: "*Ireland is not an oppressed and plundered nation, ground under the heel of a foreign power [...] like that of Poland in the German Empire*". (p. 21) There is therefore no wonder why the Irish poet W.B Yeats, who had been close to both sides, described Rolleston as his "*intimate ennemy*"²³², while the two men had founded the Irish Literary Society together in 1891. Indeed, if Yeats had ignored Irish nationalists before the Easter Rising, there were the aftermath of the Rising which changed this view, as it changed the context of Rolleston's publication.²³³

230 MCATEER Michael, *T.W Rolleston's Ireland through a Polish prism*, Acta Universitatis Sapientiae Philologica 12, Scientia Publishing House, 9/11/2020, pp. 42-54

231 Ibid.

232 FINNERAN Richard *The Yeats Reader*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002

233 KIYCI Hale, *Yeats ambivalence towards Irish Nationalism in "September 1913" and "Easter 1916"*, 14th International League, Literature and Stylistics Symposium, Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences 158, 2014, pp.

Rolleston rejects here some widespread views among, as the fact that England would be hypocrit to defend Polish Independence while oppressing the Irish. In addition, he does not mention the famine, which is in accordance with his the major argument of the paper which is the relatively good situation Ireland enjoyed under English rule, but still surprising considering the importance Rolleston is paying to to the agricultural factor.

Compared to his almost homonymous “*Ireland and Poland*”, Rolleston's pamphlet received more recognition. It has few mentions in the press, notably in an article of *New Ireland* called “Facing the future”. This pamphlet had such an impact that it was translated into Danish, in 1917, in Copenhagen under the title “*Irland Og Polen, En Sammenligning af T.W Rolleston (a Comparison by T.W Rolleston)*”. Denmark country had maintained its neutrality, making this publication even more appealing: they had not particular political interest in issuing it. In Ireland, such campaigns were very successful, as more than 200,000 Irishmen served in the British forces, and more than 10% died.²³⁴ This context, and the fact that Rolleston was employed during the first world war in the British Departement of Information is why this publication may have been sponsored by the British government²³⁵, and benefited of a wider audience in order to serve a purpose more against Irish Nationalism than against Germany, a major difference with Burke's call.

This two works deserved to be analysed deeply, but they took place in two very different contexts, that's why they were analysed separately. However, this did not prevent the Irish to be mobilised against Conscription as were the Poles. The 11th November of 1918, date of the Armistice and traditionnally remembered in Poland as the day of its Independence, did not stop the war. The governments and fighting factions that took the opportunity for Independence were still involved in wars – the Russian Civil war in Ukraine that involved the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Whites of Denikin, the Red Army and the Black Army. The Soviet-Russian war, where Ukraine was also involved. The Anglo-Irish War and the Irish Civil War. The parallel doesn't stop here : political similarities between Ukrainian, Polish, and Irish nationalists are evidents, and evidences are that they were aware of it.

119 - 123

234 FITZPATRICK David, *Militarism in Ireland, 1900-1922*, Keith Jeffrey and Thomas Bartlett, p. 392

235 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, p. 253

2. Contemporaneous hopes and struggles 1918-1923 : “We are Republicans because we are socialists, and therefore enemies to all privileges”²³⁶

This was with these words, that on the second page of the Irish newspaper *Worker's Republic's* first issue, the 13th August of 1898, that James Connolly summarized his ideological line. Those are words that paved the way to the fights for Independence, that reached their climax towards the end of the First World War, and in which he was involved, as he was one of the major figures of the Easter Rising and was executed for High Treason, the 12th May of 1916. Poland and Ireland eventually succeeded in Independence, while the Ukrainian fought bravely for it, but finally this Independence was short-lived. The Constitution of the Irish Free State, that however made Ireland still a British Dominion without six counties of the Ulster province at the North of the Island, was signed the 6th December of 1922, only 24 days before Ukraine was definitely admitted as a Republic of the Soviet Union, the former Ukrainian government being in exile for already two years.

Contemporaneous comparisons between these three political groups that carried these hopes allow to emphasize their political proximities, and some active members were already conscious of it even before the events of 1916-1917. Mykola Porsh, (1877-1944), a prominent activist of the Revolutionary Ukrainian party and the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party (like were the Directory President Vynnychenko and Petliura), knew it since at least the beginning of the 1910's.²³⁷ While he was writing under close censorship, he used a particular device to talk about Ukraine under imperialist and nationalist oppression : he used the term Ireland and India. This way to escape censorship seems to have been efficient, stressing how important were the similarities between Russian and British imperialisms, as well between their victims. Furthermore, he somehow “predicted” that Ukrainian and Irish national movement will be similar as movements of national proletariat and peasants, in opposition to the “Bourgeois-Capitalist” national movement of Czechs for instance. When Ukraine government began to constitute itself, with the creation of the council the 4th May of 1917, the Ukrainian government did not forget this parallel. One of the first books published by the Central Rada in 1917 was a Ukrainian translation of *The Republic of Ireland* by an anonymous author. The choice was not accidental, because the figures behind the Ukrainian independence movement drew inspiration from Irish activists and saw much in common between Ukraine and Ireland.²³⁸ The same affinities could be found between the Polish Józef Piłsudski and some socialist activists from Ireland. James Connolly had spiritual affinities with Józef Piłsudski,

236 CONNOLLY James, *The Worker's Republic*, 13/08/1898

237 BOJCUN Marko, *The Worker's movement and the National Question in Ukraine (1897 – 1948)*, Historical Materialism Book Series, Volume: 229, 2021

238 KAZAKEVYCH Hennadiy, “Parallel Struggle”, *The Ukrainian Week*, 17/04/2012

since as early as December 1899, writing in the columns of his *Worker's Republic*, he recognized “*Polish Socialism as being of a kind with his own Irish Republican Socialism*”. The Polish Socialist Party of Poland was indeed rather similar to the Irish Trade Unions, and many people also considered Józef Piłsudski as the like of Michael Collins, member of the First Irish Parliament in 1919²³⁹. In 1935, the Irish expressed their sympathies when the Marshal died, in the name of the Irish people, but also in the name of the Polish community of Ireland. An Ireland's tribute commemoration broadcast was also registered.²⁴⁰ Finally, this came full circle when Ukraine and Poland made an alliance against the USSR in 1920, entering together in Kiev in 1920. Poles and Ukrainians have however fought against each other in 1918-1919 and even after their alliances Piłsudski made a treaty to the depends of Ukraine to take back Galicia in exchange of a military support against the Soviet Union. The 18th March of 1921, the Treaty of Riga definitely established Polish borders. Those people had all in common to felt as nations threatened by Capitalist Industrialization, and Mikhnovsky, a Ukrainian political and social activist, saw Irish and Ukrainians as both “*a rural and urban proletariat*.”²⁴¹ This, despite the antagonism between Poland, Ukraine and the Soviet Union, is interestingly set in the continuity of the predominant part of Marxists in social comparisons between those nations and the critical support they gave them.

During the first years of their Independence, those three countries made attempts to let their national culture reborn. In 1922, teaching Irish was made compulsory in Irish public schools. It was not only the first national language. In addition, a degree of proficiency in Irish was even recommended for people aiming to work in Civil Service and Public function. In Poland, despite of the treaty on minority rights they signed the 28th June of 1919, this was done at the expense of minorities, in a country when so-called Ethnic Poles were only representing 69% of the population, according to the 1931 Polish census. This was however not due to the regime's legislation : citizens were equals to the eyes of the law, but discriminations were still an important problem in the building country. It was extremely difficult for these people to work for instance in public administrative fonction, to have if they were not ethnically Polish (Understand - Polish Roman Catholics). And this included the Ukrainian minority in Poland.

239 BYSZEWSKI Damian, *Social Partnership in Ireland*, Warsaw Forum of Economic Sociology 3:1(5) Spring 2012

240 CABLEGRAM Reuter, “Marshal's Piłsudski last hours – Irish Sympathy”, *Evening Herald*, 15/05/1935

241 VELYCHENKO Stephen, “ Ukrainian anti-colonialist thought in comparative perspective. A preliminary view.”, *Ab Imperio*, n°4, 2012, p. 339–71

3. Poland, Ukraine and Ireland facing violence

As the political sympathies between those countries could let us imagine, international solidarity between those countries endured during the war, with clear evidences of Irish and Poles knowing they could rely on each other. In 1915, an unnamed Polish Princess came in Ireland to find relief for the sakes of the Polish Victims Relief Fund as Ireland was seen as able to provide it, despite the fact that the war inevitably has repercussions of people's level of life²⁴². When the Irish declared independence from Britain in 1921, a call was sent to the new Polish state for support, and published in Paris. It was written in Polish, and called “*Odezwa do Przedstawicieli Narodów Calego Świata*” - *tekst przyjęty na zgromadzeniu styczniowym 1921 przez Dail Eireann (Parlament Irlandzki)*”²⁴³ or the “Appeal to the Representatives of the Nations of the World – text adopted at the January 1921 assembly by the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament)”. So the Irish felt that they would continue to keep on and not just only because they were two small nations.

How is this inscribing itself in this global geopolitical context of post-war? In the facts, the Poles were not really able to answer to that call. The two countries experienced, as well as Ukraine who was by far the most affected with the casualties reaching numbers such as hundreds of thousands victims, state repressions. The Easter Rising of 1916 and the Poznan Uprising of 1918 - 1919, that ended with the Treaty of Versailles. In both countries, paramilitary forces were behind most of the violent acts against civilians during the wars that ensued, and in Ukraine it was mostly the action of Ukrainian government troops. In Poland as well, if there was Independence there was not effective control by the Piłsudski's commands. Those war violence were widely reported in Ireland, according to the number of articles reported in the Irish Newspaper Archives, as was the Easter Rising in Eastern Europe. In three of them, the lack of state control was a decisive factor in the outburst of those violences.²⁴⁴ Similar patterns such as punitive expeditions and shaving hairs marked those periods in those three countries. In Ireland, Poland and Ukraine, public shaving had striking similarities, as well as burying which was used by all sides during the conflict.²⁴⁵ If in Ireland the “*Belfast pogrom*” was the name given to a period of intense violence in 1921-22, this is

242 *Irish times*, 22/02/1915

243 *Odezwa do Przedstawicieli Narodów Calego Świata*” - *tekst przyjęty na zgromadzeniu styczniowym 1921 przez Dail Eireann (Parlament Irlandzki)*, Delegacja Irlandzka, Société Générale d'Imprimerie et d'Édition Ang. Impr. Levé, January 1921.

244 EICHENBERG Julia, *The Dark side of Independence : Paramilitary violence in Ireland and Poland after the first world war*, *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Aftershocks: Violence in Dissolving Empires after the First World War (August 2010), pp. 231-248

245 *Ibid*

obviously in Poland, with the 1918 Lwow pogrom and the Vilna offensive, and especially in Ukraine that this words was linked to the memory of those war violence, and the wave that killed in Ukraine up to 100,000. Because of a further history of attacks against Jews in the region of Western Russia, the word is nowadays used to qualify violence against Jewish people. If in Poland and Ireland these violences enforced the national feeling, in Ukraine this is what caused its lost, as it was at the very least a true demonstration of weakness from the government. In Ireland, if violence at home exceeded by far after the second world war the violence experienced during, the death toll of the first world war remained far superior. In Poland and Ukraine, the state put themselves in a position to oppress. A difference to note however is the terminology : “sectarian violence for Ireland”, and “ethnic violence” in Poland and Ukraine.²⁴⁶

However, the acknowledging by those countries of their similarities and their solidarities were not just the legacy of a century of Irish-Polish close relation and identification. This was the first global conflict, and this play, and this is particularly shown through three concrete type of sources : the investigation journalism, the Sinn Féin leaflets available in the archives, and the most significant of all, the Peace conference.

B. The Internationalisation of the National Question (1916-1923)

1)The circulation of the ideas and the engagement for foreign causes in the two countries during the war)

The news of the Easter Rising did not stay within the Irish borders. The Polish press covered extensively the Irish Rising, and this goes beyond simple war journalism : this is rather an example of the circulation of ideas. The Poles did see some similarities with the Polish Uprisings of the XIXth century. When the Rising happened, they were themselves caught in the middle of the war, and in a rather sensitive situation, and the link between Irish history and Polish history . In “*Kurier Polski*”, the article about 1916 proposed to go back on 700 years of English incursion in Ireland to underline how their motivation for liberty were justified, a fight that was still not over.²⁴⁷ He underlined : “*Irlandia jest żywym wyrzutem sumienia dla Anglii. Dzieje jej przypominają dzieje Polski pod berłem Rosji. I tu, i tam naród chce być sam panem na swej ziemi mieć wolność*

²⁴⁶ Ibid

²⁴⁷ REK. [pseudonim], “Irlandia przeciw Anglii”, *Kurier Polski*, 1916, nr 124 (5 V), s. 1-2.

wyznania. *I tu, i tam ciągle przyrzeczenia reform, a potem stan wojenny, rozlew krwi i niezadowolenie całego ludu.*"²⁴⁸ However, while the Poles saw this analogy, it remained silent because of war censorship.²⁴⁹ In another article published by *Kurier Polski*, and underlining the futility of Partitioning Power's attempts to erase Polishness, she had the occasion to detail this history. In this context, there is a thread of an analogy to Ireland. However, it does not point out the similarities, but to the differences in the martyrdom of the two nations. The extermination of the Irish brings to mind a happier fate of Poles, deprived of the state, but determinedly and effectively defending their nationality, developing their creativity in all fields, against the oppression of the Russian hegemony. Paradoxically, it is giving weight to Irish discourses which underlined how Ireland's fate was worse than the Polish fate despite the more important, widespread in nationalist circles during the XIXth century : "*Los Irlandii, której wydarto jednak skibę ojczystą, zniewalając połowę narodu do opuszczenia starych siedzib, i którą zmuszono do przyswojenia sobie języka wroga, wskazuje, jak wyjątkową żywotność przejawiała w swej walce obronnej Polska.*"²⁵⁰ (*The fate of Ireland, from which, however, its native furrow was torn off, enslaving half of the nation to leave its old seats, and which was forced to acquire the enemy's language, shows how exceptional vitality has shown Poland in its defense struggle*). Maybe it gave inspiration and motivation for a national demonstration planned for May 3, on the 125th anniversary of the Constitution (which was an attempt to save independence in 1791). The celebrations gathered 250,000 Poles in the capital, freely and with national symbols, demonstrating their patriotic feelings²⁵¹. We could use the writings of the L'viv based Irena Pannenkowa (*Irlandzkie Momento*), as a primary source and case study.

*Irlandzkie Momento - Irena Pannenkowa (1916)*²⁵²:

Irena Pannenkowa was born in Warsaw in 1879. Formed at the L'viv University, she was an Independentist journalist, and activist, militing in the ZONP (Związek Odrodzenia Narodu Polskiego - Union for the Renaissance of Polish Nation). She was as well involved in the socialist association Pomien (Change) during her studies. Her major works included as well "*Legenda*

248 *Ireland is a living remorse for England. Its history resembles the history of Poland under the rule of Russia. Both here and there the nation wants to be the lord of its own land and to have freedom of religion. And here and there, there are always promises of reform, and then martial law, bloodshed, and the discontent of the whole people.*

249 STEPNIK Krzysztof, "Easter Rising in the Polish Press (Political Commentaries), *Politeja* 17, 15/10/2020, p. 184-215

250 CHOLANIOWSKI A., "Obrachunek. Po 120 latach niewoli" (The account of 120 years unfree), *Kurier Polski*, 5/05/1916

251 Ibid.

252 PANNENKOWA Irena, "Irlandzkie memento", *Kurier Lwowski*, 1916, 41 p.

Piłsudskiego.”, who can indeed, be qualified as legendary. Pannenkowa was Jewish²⁵³. This detail has its importance: she was a Polish patriot without being a Christian while the Endecja, the far right, had a political line of a strong ethnonationalism who excluded Jews from Polishness, and when Polish-Irish comparison in general, insisted on the Catholic character of the victims, even in her own works. There is no comparison with protestants Irish nationalists like Yeats because Jews were even more vulnerable to state violence of the partition power. In addition, since she lived up to 1969, she was a Holocaust survivor, and a member of the Polish Resistance²⁵⁴. In consequences, she was respected in her country, while she is practically absent from the Irish press, despite the fact her profession as well as her political views made her documenting the Rising, giving it critical support.

But what we are interested in now is that in “*Irlandzkie Momento*” she covered the Easter Rising from an assumed Polish point of view. This is a detailed account of its importance in Irish history and politics, from a foreigner journalist, of the Easter Rising for the newspaper “*Kurier Lwowski*”. In “*Irlandzkie momento*”, references to Poland are made even from the introduction. She indeed wrote: “*Porządek panuje w Dublinie*” - *mogłby był , trawestując słowa rosyjskiego generała*”.²⁵⁵



L'ordre règne à Varsovie (the order is reigning in Warsaw), by Grandville, 16/09/1831

253 HEALY Roisin “Early Risers and Late Sleepers: The Easter Rising and the Poznanian Uprising of 1918-1919 compared.” in Enrico Dal Lago, Roisin Healy, Gearoid Barry, *1916 in Global Context, an Anti Imperial Moment*, Routledge Studies in Modern European History, 2017, 248 p.

254 Pakszys Elżbieta, “The Victims and the Survivors: The Lvov-Warsaw and the Holocaust”, in Anna Drabarek, Jan Woleński, Mateusz M.Radzki, *Interdisciplinary Investigations into the Lvov-Warsaw School*, Palgrave McMillan, 2019, pp. 39 - 46

255 "Order rules in Dublin" - he might have been, travesting the words of a Russian general "

This is a reference to the November Insurrection of 1831 who was smashed by the Russians and repressed in a particularly violent way. However, the sources of this caricature rather indicate that those are the words of the French Prime Minister, Horace Sébastiani, and that they are so well-known thanks to a caricature by Grandville, named after this cynical quote that sparked outrage in a France sympathetic to the Polish revolutionaries. And according to her, as Poles Uprising are sometimes remembered by historians as wars (like the Kościuszko Uprising), this is an Irish Declaration of War against England. To help her readers understand the situation, she is providing a little chronology of the English domination on the island since the XVIIth Century, and of the Irish resistance against it. For her, it is similar to the Polish situation under Russian and German imperialism. She is indeed abundantly using the instinctive device of comparison, maybe to help the readers understand what is happening in Dublin. For her as well, these people's relation with Catholicism are similar in their importance. However, in this text the famine is curiously non evocated, except for this curious remark “*As we see, Potato question is on the day not only in Poland...*” (p.34). Despite the past of Polish solidarity, the help provided by Strelecki in particular, this aspect of their relations seems to be under represented in the synthesis of British repression in Ireland, while it clearly involves comparison with Poland. It is possibly because there is no Polish equivalency. Comparisons between Irish and Poles based on trivial cultural traits therefore appear to not have been something modern, or limited to considerations in the intimate frame. We had previously evoked Norman Davies in his *God's Playground* (see p.37 of this thesis), who qualified Poland and Ireland as “*two Catholic countries which thrive on a diet of potatoes and hard spirit*” : this appears as a reflect, here it is a Pole who is referencing to Poles and Irish “*thrieving*” on a Potato-based diet. Irish did not want to die for England, or for far away Serbia. She also evoked the presence of an Irish Countess with a Polish name, Constance Markievicz, and explained about her in the article. The Polish press indeed noticed the presence of a woman with a Polish name who already made her name in the artistic circle and during the 1913 lockout, and presented her as one of the key elements in the Rising, underlining how “*She transported weapons and ammunition in her own car during the uprising until she was imprisoned.*”²⁵⁶

However, should we talk about an alliance between Poland and Ireland? Two years after, the Poznań uprising broke out. In the Irish accounts of Eastern European battles, there is often something romantic in the descriptions, this is a small nation that stood back, for instance a pamphlet called “*The Resurrection of Hungary : A Parallel for Ireland*” issued by the Sinn Féin was worth noticing (p.32), and was issued very early, in 1905. This pamphlet is one of the first of a

256 STEPNIK Krzysztof, “Easter Rising in the Polish Press (Political Commentaries),” *Politeja* 17, 15/10/2020, p. 184-215

genre that became increasingly widespread until the declaration of the Irish Independence : pamphlet describing how a nation stood back to get right for auto-determination. From an Irish point of view, and we are therefore curiously brought in those representations in the consensus that “the Irish had it worse.”, even is as historians, our part is not to pronounce on this or to make a hierarchy. However, the Irish activists who wrote that kind of pamphlets definitely did and this is what we would see in the analysis of a collection of leaflets written around 1917-1918, gathered under the name “*What of Ireland?*”.

2. Case study : “Ireland and small nations”, Sinn Féin leaflet compilation from the Irish national library, edited around 1917-1918)

Irishmen, look around you! Every small nation in Europe has taken the opportunity that was upon of demanding freedom. The Poles for centuries were oppressed and now acknowledged as a distinct nation by the whole world. The Esthonians have demanded It. The Esthonians have recently been acknowledged a separate nation and are now free.

Ukraine has demanded It. Ukraine is now a free and Independent Republic.

The Finns have demanded It. Finland is now free, with its own government, its own army and Navy.

These Nations are all younger nations than Ireland. Their history is not nearly as glorious as the history of Ireland.

*Their oppression has not been as awful as that of Ireland!*²⁵⁷

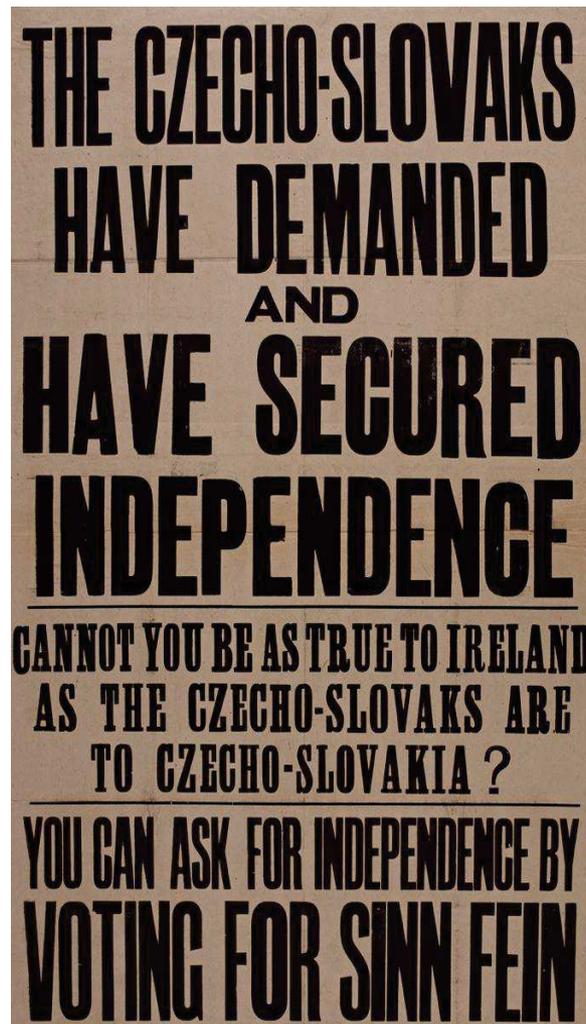
This is what one could read in “*Ireland, look around you!*”, among the numerous Sinn Féin pamphlet comparing Ireland to other European nations, this one having been published in 1918. After the war, so many countries were born, including Poland and Ukraine, but in December of 1918, Ireland was still part of Great Britain, and a lot of Irish people therefore felt like they were lagging far behind those countries. Between the Easter Rising and the beginning of the Anglo-Irish war, they published tens of leaflets, sometimes translated into french, to encourage vote for Sinn Féin and to emphasize the injustice lived by Ireland as a country as valuable as the other to be granted Independence, often more valuable, but who is still an English colony. They presented them as the sole party that can accomplish this goal. In their leaflets, Sinn Féin, needed for a comparison between their situation and those situations; to give Irish independence some credit, they were wondering why they did not get to achieve their Independence while smaller nations in Central Europe had this chance. As WW1 saw old empires fighting each other, this was an occasion for subjected small nations to fight for liberty. A lot took it. And among them, there were Ireland,

257 #utls000113464 : Sinn Féin, *Irishmen look around you! : Every small nation in Europe has taken the opportunity the war has given of demanding freedom*, 1918

Ukraine and Poland. If the Sinn Féin insists that “*The Poles for centuries were oppressed*”, they also judged useful to add that this oppression was not nearly as unbearable as what happened in Ireland, in the continuity of a Sinn Féin way to present Polish plight as overrated comparing to the Irish one, along with a patriotism that sometimes patronized other small nations, a tone different from the empathy towards Poland they also used to express. For instance, in a leaflet issued in August 1917 entitled “*Small Nations*”, Sinn Féin members analysed the political division of Europe, and they separated “*Small Nations*” in two distinct types. We may therefore briefly review the small nations of Europe and contrast them with our own country. There are 10 recognized sovereign states in Europe which may be recognized as small nations: Sweden, Holland, Norway, Belgium, Romania, Serbia, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Denmark and Greece. Then a second category of small nations : 4 nations which could be classified as small, but small in regard of political importance, as they are nations in sense of people, but deprived of a state. Those are Poland, Ireland, Finland and Bohemia. If Poland is put as the equal of Ireland, they insisted “*Poland [..] economically prospered*”, contrary to Ireland. Concerning Ukraine, this is not even a nation for them : *Claims are also made on behalf of the Letts, Ruthenians, the recently discovered Czecho-Slavs . But these people are no nations.*²⁵⁸ The Czecho – Slovaks were even more often dismissed than Ruthenians as a nation less legitimate than Ireland to achieve Independence. In another leaflet, the Irish authors even stated that : *Nobody is quite sure who the Czecho Slovaks are but the whole world knows who the Irish are and would wonder if that ancient race did not demand Independence.*”²⁵⁹ Contrary to what we could have expected, Poland is not overly present in those leaflets, but there are leaflets exclusively about the country.

258 A17850: Sinn Féin. *The Small Nations*. Dublin: National Council of Sinn Féin, 1917

259 #utls000077293 :Sinn Féin, *Czecho-Slovaks are demanding Independence*, 1918



A propaganda leaflet by Sinn Féin, 1918²⁶⁰

In this recollection of pamphlets, some were indeed specifically about Poland. The 16th of October of 1918, in a leaflet title “*POLAND FREE*”²⁶¹, they rejoiced that Poland was now “*Sinn Féin*”, to say “*herself*” in reference to the Irish etymology of their name, insisting that they should profit from Poland's example. This example showed how their situations were similar : an Austrian Polish deputy stated that he will never come back to Austrian Parliament again, and this is how Irish people should act. In another leaflet condemning the position of John Dillon, the last leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, they denounced his actions severely: “*Mr Dillon wants to see Poland, Finland [...] Independent. The only nation [...] of which the independence he fights is his own*”.²⁶² Dillon supported Ireland joining the British forces for the first world war specifically for the sake of

260 Sinn Féin. *The Czecho-Slovaks Have Demanded and Have Secured Independence: Can not You Be As True to Ireland As the Czecho-Slovaks Are to Czecho-Slovakia*. Dublin: Sinn Fein, 1918

261 EPH A840 : “*Profit by Poland's example; send no more representatives to the English Imperial Parliament, and secure independence for Ireland by voting for Sinn Fein*”

262 #utls000355504 : LITTLE Patrick, *Eleven election propaganda leaflets : leaflet n°26, Mr Dillon wants to see Poland Finland [...] absolutely independent*, 1918.

other Catholic nations under German aggression such as Belgium or Poland, and this is therefore a way to return this argument against him. He eventually failed to reach a pact with the Sinn Féin. This showed that there was a possibility to achieve Independence and autonomy going further than Home Rule: the Jugo-Slavs (sic), the Poles, they demanded no home rule.²⁶³ A few months later, the Irish representative would meet in the aftermath of the first world war, with the representative of Ukraine and Poland in Paris, in order to value their right to Independence and their territorial revendications in regard to the principal powers.

3)The political importance of the peace conference)

The peace conference was held in Paris between the 18th January of 1919 and the 21st January of 1920, with representatives from 32 countries and nationalities, and the Irish, Polish and Ukrainian delegations were all here to participate and represent their country. The negotiations took place at the Quai d'Orsay, Paris. As we have underlined it, their borders were still in dispute as the war was not over for them. They all have different status, and Poland was in fact the only one of them really independent at that time. The Irish sent optimistically a delegation in Paris, but was not even able to gain a seat at this conference. The hypocrisy that the Irish nationalists denounced concerning Britain's regard towards Poland showed itself one more time, and their relation to Britain represents therefore a major difference between those countries. In *An Irish Quarterly review*, the journalist Walsh, who reviewed the conference for the United States said that: “we can see certain demands being made for American People upon the benefit of the others. Freedom and Security for Poland and Bohemia under the league of nations.” For him, the fact that Ireland did not benefit from the same treatment is something that can hardly be justified : “I do not think it is vain to imagine a non-Irish American platform orator asking why Poland should be kept free and Ireland must be kept bound.”²⁶⁴ Concerning Ukraine, although they were a proclaimed Republic, representatives were sent to do lobbying for a recognition of their Independence, as well as for a Ukrainian-Polish armistice which would allow them to keep Eastern Galicia. The Prime Minister of Great Britain at that time, dismissed Ukraine, while its Prime Minister refused the Union between Eastern Galicia and Poland. In December 1919, the delegation from the ZUNR (Western Ukrainian People's Republic) came as well to reclaim Independence from Poland, CzechoSlovakia and Romania. The Map of the potential country presented by the Ukrainian delegation at the Conference was rejected. However, the fate of Ukraine interested the Irish less than the fate of Poland, and the

263 #utls000077295 : “The Jugoslavian demanded not Home Rule within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but Absolute Independence.”

264 WALSH J.c, *Ireland at the Peace Conference*, Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review, Correspondance of America at the Peace Conference, Vol. 8, No. 30 (Jun., 1919), pp. 177-188

accounts of the Brest-Litovsk negotiations regarding Ukraine were in comparison quite detached. None of these countries was in position to help the other, when they are not directly in conflict.

It was, despite this failures, a first occasion to establish official diplomatic relations. Sinn Féin believed as well that this conference was an occasion to use Ireland's natural borders as a bid for sovereignty. Writing from his prison in Gloucester, Arthur Griffith, the original creator of the Sin Féin, justified that the conference's consideration to Poland's Independence is definitively a convincing argument to justify Ireland's appeal for her own auto-determination.

Pursuing a certain tradition of cuncurrence between Irish and Polish suffering, Griffith even added that Poland eventually became more prosperous under Russian's rule while Ireland knew nothing but suffering between British hands.²⁶⁵ However, the relations between the Ukrainian and the Irish state at that time are surprisingly vagues. There is for the moment an apparent lack of informations about it.

However, emancipation for these people, and relations between those who wanted to be emancipated, really began to exist outside of the nationalist frame.

C) Anti-imperialist alternatives to Nationalism

In February 1921, the Times noted that they identified “Ireland” as a world problem. This means not only that there is an internationalisation of the national questions, but also that ideas are circulating faster and on a larger scale. Only focusing on the question of creating a new state also forgetting that independence does not necessarily mean a new state, and does not necessarily mean borders. Studying the relations between anarchists or internationalists movements from our three countries would bring an interesting ideological counterbalance to the study of nationalism in these nations, presenting another way to emancipate them from the colonial power.

1. Internationalists of all countries, reunite yourselves?

The Russian Revolution had its echo in an Ireland thorned by its own revolution. Russian Revolution and Civil War being contemporary with the Anglo-Irish war, with the Irish side having socialist sympathies, this interestingly made the working class more receptive to it. Some soviets also existed in Ireland. The best known of them was the Limerick Soviet, which rose up in the

265 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 175

context of the Irish War of Independence, in April 1919 and was directly inspired by this system.²⁶⁶ To illustrate this, we will use as a case study this very documented case of an Irish soviet, as it could represent the wider phenomena of an Eastern European concept that spanned around the country precisely during the Irish revolutionary period, and the consequential conflict with England. There was indeed a series of self-declared Soviets in Ireland, mainly in the province of Munster, from 1919 to 1923, therefore the precise period between the Irish Declaration of Independence and the end of civil conflicts in Ireland as well as in Russia.

Case study: The Limerick Soviet)

The internationalism was developed as well in Poland and Ukraine, with this idea of workers of all countries uniting. The image of those countries changed in the Irish imagery as well as Ukraine became incorporated in the imagery of a new Russia, more progressive and receptive to worker's rights. This aspect of Ukrainian politics got more reception in Ireland than the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The 17 march of 1913, *The Times* wrote that “*With the exception of Derry, there is perhaps no other towns in Ireland in which its history bulks so large as it does in Limerick.*” Written 6 years before the episode of the Limerick Soviet, this article seems almost premonitory, as Limerick is the city of the most important Soviet established in Ireland. This story is equally set in the context of Anglo-Irish War and Russian Revolution imagery in Europe. In the Irish Labour Party and 25th Trade Union Congress Annual Report in 1919, it is reported that: “*On Monday April 14th, there began in Limerick City a strike protest against military tyranny which [...] excited world wide attention*”. Just before, Robert Byrne, both a trade unionist and IRA fighter died and his funeral was held on the 10th of April. In reaction, british soldiers installed the martial law, therefore a strike was decided on the 13th. This strike had been declared by Limerick United Trades and Labour Council. By Monday, 14,000 Limerick workers had joined the strike. The Soviet was created on the 15th. Unfortunately, this was a short-lived experience, as it lasted until the 27th. Of April. Throughout the life of the Soviet, the problem of the bread supplies remained crucial, therefore they tried, at some point, to requisition food supplies. They did receive helps from the outside: the Clare farmers sent potatoes, milk, eggs, butter, tea, sugar and homemade bread, towards the premature end of the Soviet. However, they did experience a certain form of independence, as workers get their own currency and The British sympathisers with Soviet Union were delighted by this enterprise, And in the press? The Irish Times made an editorial on *The Strike*

266 PRENDIVILLE Cian, "Opinion: The Limerick Soviet of 1919 is part of a hidden history in Ireland", *The journal*, 5/08/2019

at Limerick the 23 April of 1919, stating that “*We are spectators today of a very bold and candid experiment in Irish syndicalism.*” Therefore, here, we have an example of these people sharing a common experience. In Poland, as news of the Russian Revolution came, like the Irish of Limerick people tried to applicate communist ideas within the small scale of a city and this is how was born the Republic of Tarnobrzeg. It was an attempt to create an egalitarian society with land redistribution, made by a priest, Father Okon, who was later elected to the Polish Parliament. It was suppressed by units of the Polish Army in 1919.

In May 1920, the munitions strike in Ireland was precisely inspired by dockers in London who refused to ship munitions to Poland to assist it in its war, showing it was not as important as before. It was the most effective strike against the British rule during the struggle for Irish Independence. However, contacts with oppressed groups through oppressed nations was not limited to the working class. Another category of population began to organize, and contributed to exchanges between Ireland, Poland and even Ukraine : women.

2. Contacts between oppressed groups : emancipation within or without the nation ?

In February 1918, Louie Bennett told on the occasion of a meeting of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom that “*Ireland of the East would surely support Poland of the West in its bidd for Independence*”²⁶⁷. Bennett (1870-1956) was a suffragette, she co-founded the Irishwomen suffrage federation, and was in addition a trade unionist, journalist and writer²⁶⁸. She was the Irish representative in this edition of the Women's International League for Peace, who was created in 1915, therefore totally in the middle of the war context. It was indeed her anti-war engagement that made her president of its Irish section. The people of Poland had also sent female representative The expression “Ireland's sister of the east”, is therefore taking a supplementary meaning there, the sisters were not only countries turned into female allegory, but actual human beings, women. These encounters between members of a particular demographics, facing the same national oppression than their male counterparts, but also the consequences of patriarchy, were an important place of idea circulation. Their visions of the national cause and women’s enfranchisement as united share a number of striking similarities.²⁶⁹

267 KEOWN Gerard, “*Ireland of the East and Poland of the West*”, *Reflections on the intersections between Poland and Ireland*, a lecture at Royal Łazienki Museum by the ambassador of Ireland, , 18 September 201, 11 p.

268 CLARKE Frances, “Louie Bennett, Pacifist, Feminist and Trade Unionist”, *The Irish Times*, 10/12/2018

269 STEPIEN Aneta, “Ireland’s Sister in Misfortune, Poland”: Polish Militant Suffrage and Its Echoes in Ireland”, in Galina Chimiak and Cierlik Bozena dir., *Polish and Irish Struggles for Self-Determination, Living near Dragons*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020, p. 91 – 113

Indeed, those women knew emancipation as active citizens in surprisingly close circumstances. When these nations took their independence over, in 1918, one of the first decisions they made was to allow women to vote, all three. More exactly, in 1918, Irish women get the right to vote under the British legislation, but they were still not equal: while men could vote after they turn 21, their female fellow citizens should wait to be 30. In 1922, when Ireland was definitely separated from the United Kingdom, the Irish Free State gave equal rights to vote for men and women. In Eastern Europe, indeed, even among reactionary forces, such as the Endecja, vote for women appeared as a natural political decision. Polish women got it just two weeks after the Independence, on the 28th november of 1918, by a decree of the Chief of the State Józef Piłsudski²⁷⁰. This right was allowed to Ukrainian women, one of their most important aims in the struggle for emancipation, and it was granted in 1918 as in Poland, and most importantly “*No one questioned the right for women to vote*”²⁷¹. The interdiction for women to vote was therefore rather a western specificity.

To conclude,

The dynamics observed during the XIXth century between the three countries can also be observed during the Great War period. Poland is still important in Irish nationalist rhetoric, Ireland is still notoriously present in the mind of Polish and Ukrainian nationalists, while the reverse is still very marginal. However, this period of course induced changes. If we observe the Irish tendency to overlook other nation's oppression and/or historical importance to emphasize theirs, the world war context showed that the opposite rhetoric was also present in political writings, due to anti-germanism, while the attempt to ally with Germany against England from some Irish nationalists was a threat to this historical Polish-Irish alliance. The global factor induced by the “world” in first world war saw an internationalisation of nationalist problematics with various countries being the object of Irish nationalist tracts, and help with the circulations of new ideas, emerging in the void created by the war, including between Ireland and Ukraine. However, according to our sources, they were not as important as we could imagine. Nationalism was of course important in emancipation, and in the three country, a combination of Nationalism and Socialism did appear, creating therefore both a solid point of comparison between them, and this common point was emphasized by a lot of political actors during this period. Concerning the point of anarchy and communes, the circulation of these ideas does not seem to have been important

270 *The Anniversary of Polish Suffrage*, Ambasada Irlandii, Polska, 28/11/2020

271 BOHACHEVSKY-CHOMIAK Martha, *Feminists despite themselves: Women in Ukranian Community Life, 1884-1939*, CIUS Press, 1988, p. 133

between Ireland, Ukraine and Poland. Alexei Bayer evoked in his article "Ukraine and Ireland overcoming mighty neighbours" that *"They have a true anarchic streak, which in Ireland manifests itself in the persistence of the Travellers groups. As to Ukraine, anarchism exploded during the Russian Civil War in the years 1917-22 [...] a full-fledged Anarchist movement, led by Nestor Makhno, gained tens of thousands of followers"*. The Makhnovia was indeed one of the most important attempts to create a stateless society and as we have already underlined, Irish and Ukrainians had a similar social background, with a large population of peasants. This could have been a major influential event in Ireland. As nationalism brought this country back, the same could be said of internationalism. However, despite its peasant basis Makhnovia recorded very few echo in the press. Despite common structures in the society, anarchism did not find a similar echo in Ireland and anarchist initiatives were not nearly as important, despite the real importance of syndicalism in the country. The Workers Solidarity movement in Ireland, which clearly positioned itself in the platformist tradition of Nestor Makhno, was only created decades later, in 1984, when emancipation from the British was not a question anymore, and the state racism they fought against was not anymore from the British state but from the Irish state. Alexei Bayer's comparison definitely finds one of its limits there. In Poland, anarchism is much older, and the tsarist regime triggered it even more due to its high authoritarianism. Attempts to create anarchist societies existed in Poland during the partition, the "Black banner of Białystok" created during the Russian Revolution gathering hundreds of people, or "The International", active in Warsaw. Around the period of the Russian Civil War, however, internationalism on other form and circulation of ideas of the October Revolution ideas were indeed present between those countries, while the circulation of specific Polish or Ukrainian alternatives to nationalism seems to be curiously absent.

On the other hand, one can clearly see the part marginalised groups played in union between people, and this is not limited to workers, as political involvement of women is a more important point that one may imagine. This is where the major point of intersection, between the history of those countries and their struggles towards emancipation is laying. Her name was Constance Markievicz. One of the most active women in the struggles for Independence and women's rights in Ireland, she was married to a Pole born in Ukraine, who gave her this Slavic name.

III) Constance (and Kazimierz) Markievicz : the point of intersection)



In the frame : MARKIEVICZ Kazimierz, *Ukrainian Landscape*, 1902-3, Courtesy of the Office of Public Works, Pearse Museum.

-Photography by CROZIER DE ROSA Sharon, *MURAL*, 'CUMANN NA MBAN, Corner of Beechmount Avenue and Falls Road, West Belfast, June 2015. Translation from Irish Gaelic : CUMANN NA MBAN. 100 YEARS. NO FREEDOM UNTIL WOMEN'S FREEDOM'.

While as a Ukrainian nationalist of Polish descent who gave lectures about Irish history, Włodzimierz Antonowicz (as Volodymyr Antonovych is spelled in Polish) could connect history of all three, the Markievicz couple is a more relevant example. Indeed, Constance Markievicz was Irish herself and one of the most admired women of the country, along with Maud Gonne, because of her involvement in the Independence process, in addition known to achieve becoming the first woman elected in the British Parliament, in 1918. This was not her unique fight as she was called the *Red Countess* due to her socialist convictions, and was as well a renowned suffragette. As she was active during all the period, participating in the conflict and living from the very inside, she would have a very interesting point of view to tell this history. Her husband was a Polish artist, born in a noble family like Antonowicz, in a Ukrainian village, Zhyvotivka, now located at the extreme east of the Vinnytsia Oblast. In conclusion, all three could evoke an aspect of Irish, Polish and Ukrainian history and permit us to enter there. In a first part, we will analyse through their respective biographies all the interactions between Polish, Irish and Ukrainian societies and histories they experienced. The second part would be more comparative, as it confronts two villages put into the tormoils of the XIXth and XXth century and their political changes, with a population of peasants living in a land possessed by nobles from a different religion and ethnicity. From this environment, Constance, providing elements of analysis in advance on her time which will permit us to look with a new angle upon the interactions, differences and similarities between these three societies.

A) Constance and Kazimierz Markievicz, Con and Casi : National and transnational destinies

1. Further Biographical elements

As a reminder, Constance Markievicz was born in 1868 in an open-minded Anglo-Irish family, with a polar discoverer father, and a mother who opened a sewing school in Lissadell to train women so that they can earn their own salary. She was even introduced in 1883 to Queen Victoria, therefore enjoying the privilege of her social class. This is there she experienced, like her sister Eva, her first political awakening as a feminist. He went from the Dunin-Markievicz house, which owned a domain in Zhyvotivka, Ukraine, which is in Western Ukraine, like Constance was

from western Ireland. Both of them therefore grew up in the west of their countries, where cultural traits of both Ukrainians and Irish were concentrated. In 1892, Constance had to leave Ireland to study art because there was no University in Ireland accepting women, so she went to Paris to study, where she met Kazimierz, in the very bohemian and international context of Parisian artistic life.

2. Constance meets Ukraine and Kazimierz meets Ireland)

They married in London in 1900, and they adopted Kazimierz's son, Stasko, born from the first wife of Kazimierz, Jadwiga, who died during Stasko's infancy. The boy therefore totally lived between those two cultures, Polish and Irish, as did the Markievicz daughter, Maeve. Kazimierz got the nickname of “Polonus Vagabondus”, and when they came to Lissadell, where the daughter was born, this exotic character attracted the community's curiosity. After her birth, Constance visited the village of her stepfamily and met the Polish noble family of the Markievicz as well as Ukrainian peasants. These cultural transfers therefore made themselves in the private sphere. The first influences of Polish and Ukrainian culture on Constance were at first on her art, not on her political culture. She described the Ukrainian people as a “*hardworking folk who spoke their own language.*”, and represented them in her paintings, more inspired by them than Casi.²⁷² Constance painted *The Conscript* in 1902, in their little studio in the park, a painting representing a typical Ukrainian house where a conscript eat his last meal before going to fight in the Russo-japanese war (the real life conscript never returned to Ukraine)²⁷³, *Russian Harvest*²⁷⁴ and wore Ukrainian dresses (as in the cover)²⁷⁵. During this period, even before her political epiphany, Constance began to express sympathy towards Ukrainian peasants of the surrounding village. As she and Casimir were leaving Ukraine during the Conscription for the Russo-Japanese war, they pretended that a young boy, Janko, was their servant so that he could flee the country and escape the conscription (or prison, depending on the sources). As a clear manifestation of her adaptation to local habits, she shouted “*Moskal swinja*” (Muscovite – Russian – pig!) at a policeman while the train was leaving the station.²⁷⁶ An insult common in Ukrainian nationalist circles.

272 QUIGLEY Patrick, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Time of Count Casimir Markievicz*, Liffey Press, 2011, p. 49

273 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 32

274 QUIGLEY Patrick, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Time of Count Casimir Markievicz*, Liffey Press, 2011, p.31.

275 Ibid, p.33

276 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary Lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton University Press, 2015, p.30



The Conscript, 1902 (detail)



Russian Harvest, 1902-3

3. Dublin's King and Queen of Bohemia)²⁷⁷

This was the year she finished her *Russian Harvest* that the couple moved to Dublin. They moved into a house provided by Constance's mother in Rathmines, and were known as Count and Countess. Both of them being artistically inspired by Russian and Polish cultures, their paintings created a wave of attraction for Ukrainian landscapes and countryside scenes in Dublin.²⁷⁸ Some of them were referenced as “Russian Landscapes”, though the sceneries were from Ukraine, showing the lack of recognition the country got in Western views. They joined there a group of artists, the Arts club, in a city with a very rich and transnational cultural life. The Irish Literary theatre and the National Dramatic Society were created at the moment they came and this made cultural transfers easier and more natural.

Kazimierz Markiewicz, who felt agreeable in Ireland thanks to his remarkable ability for languages, has seen connections between Ireland and Poland, and reflected them in his art. Ireland inspired him in his paintings, enough to be noticed by *The Celts*, a newspaper deeply involved in the Celtic revival²⁷⁹, and in 1904, an exposition was held called “Pictures of two countries”, set during the Horse Show week, showing pictures from both Irish and Polish perspectives, and where the couple exposed pictures inspired by scenes from Ukraine²⁸⁰. This double culture is also reflected in Kazimierz's contribution to Irish theatre. For example, he wrote the play about the 1798 rising *Memory of the Dead*, played in 1910 at the Abbey Theatre, thinking about his beloved Poland²⁸¹. The play encountered success, and launched his career, deserving a special focus. The plot deals with the arrival of a French military force in Mayo, during the rebellion of 1798, a period in which Poland was just partitioned. Critics indeed noted references to classics of Polish Literature, such as Norah's entrance recalling the beginning of “*Pan Tadeusz*”, an enduring Mickiewicz classic, when the hero finds Zosia picking flowers in the garden. Constance interpreted Norah²⁸², and Mieczyslaw Fijalkowski wrote about the play that: “*Kazimierz Markiewicz, a Pole from beyond the vistula, has become unwillingly the perpetrator of a fire which spread in the English woman's soul who felt in their veins Irish blood.*” Yeats considered the play as an important part in turning ordinary people into revolutionaries, even if he disliked first Kazimierz's plays, resenting the fact that the Abbey

277 FOSTER Roy, " Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markiewicz by Lauren Arrington ", *Irish Times*, 19/03/2016.

278 QUIGLEY PATRICK, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Times of Count Casimir Markiewicz*, the Liffey Press, 2011, p. 55

279 Ibid, p. 61

280 Ibid, p. 65

281 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markiewicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p.70

282 *The Memory of the Dead*, Abbey Theatre Archives.

Stage should have been reserved for more Irish works.²⁸³ The play received good reviews, as well as Constance's interpretation, and maybe it helped that five years before, Constance had her epiphany and became invested in politics reading "*The Peasant*" and "*Sinn Féin*" by Padraig Colum, on a boring raining afternoon. She hence joined the Sinn Féin and became more and more active in independentist cause. The connection she made through her family life and cultural activities in Ireland and Ukraine would be kept in her mind during her revolutionary life, and the same goes for Kazimierz. Maybe the stories of Polish rebellion that Casimir told her prepared her to be receptive to rebellious messages.

4. Revolutionary lives)

Constance Markievicz was one of the organizers of the Easter Rising and while sixteen people died for this, as James Connolly or Roger Casement, she was sent to prison. Irish Nationalist Women's Organisation Daughter of Ireland or Inghinidhe na hÉireann, founded by Maud Gonne who led this organization from 1900 to 1914, when it merged with the new Cumann na mBan (The Women's Council, created the same year, on the 2nd of April). That was during this period that Casimir left her and Ireland. It was in 1913, the year of the Dublin lock out in which Constance took part in emphasizing her socialist convictions, an industrial dispute involving forces of 20,000 workers led by Jim Larkin and James Connolly. There was indeed during this period 300,000 person living in Dublin with 70,000 among them living in the infamous Dublin tenements²⁸⁴. Her political commitment had therefore three major angles : feminist, socialist, and nationalist. During the first world war, she was against the involvement of Irish Soldiers.

If Constance survived to the violent repression that followed the Rising, it was most likely because she was a woman. She even composed the Citizen Army anthem, based on the tune of a Polish song.²⁸⁵ The suffragette in her granted the announcement with: "*I wish your lot had the decency to shoot me*". The repression was so violent that the Irish nationalist cause attracted more sympathy from the people. The 15th of June 1917, as British attitudes towards Ireland changed significantly, she was released, and then converted to Catholicism. She supported the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, and when nominated to stand as Sinn Féin's candidate for Dublin's St Patrick's Ward, she said that "*Freedom has downed in the East*". However, in 1918, the 28th of December, when she became the first woman elected to the British Parliament, she refused to seat there, as she did not

283 QUIGLEY PATRICK, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Times of Count Casimir Markievicz*, the Liffey Press, 2011, p. 113

284 PONS Anne, *Constance ou l'Irlande, une biographie de la comtesse Markievicz*, NIL, 1997, p. 67

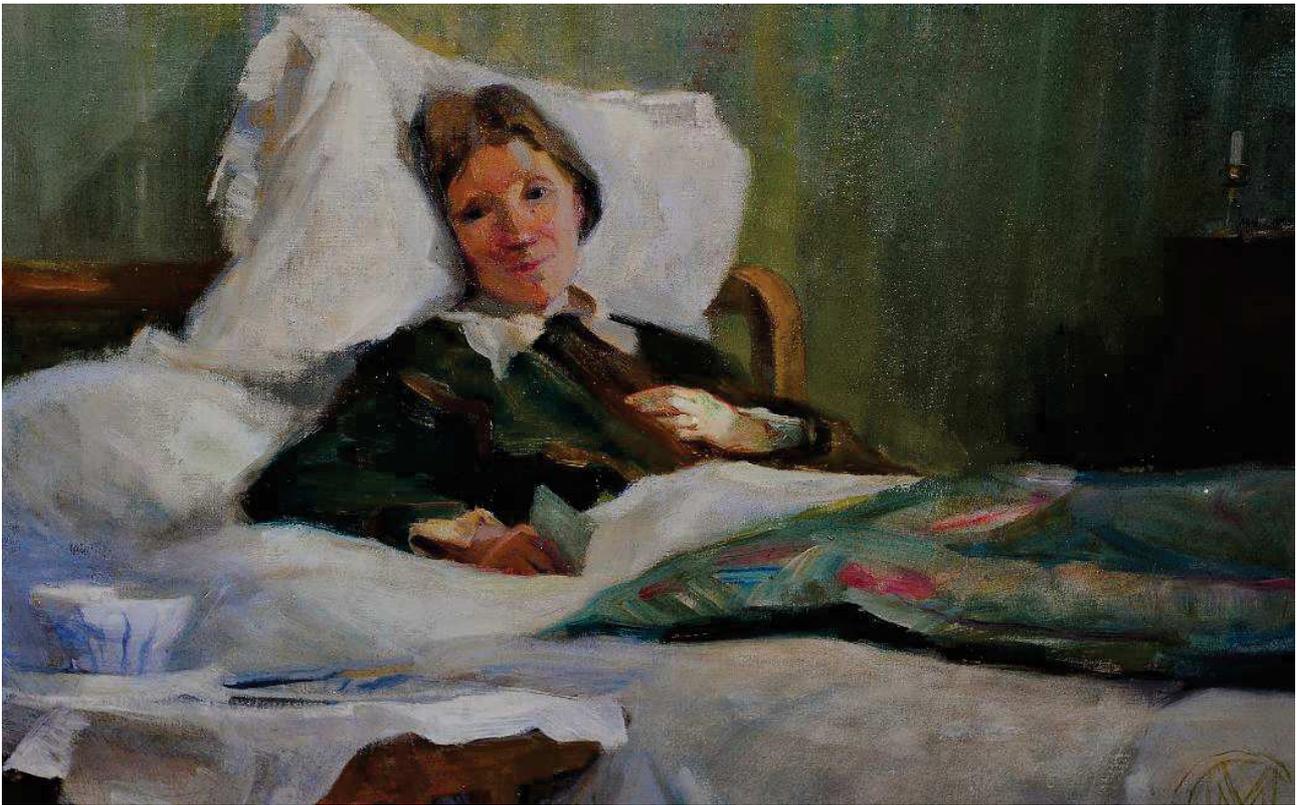
285 MARKIEVICZ Constance, *A Battle Hymn*, Irish Traditional Music Archive, retrieved 11/05/2014

consider herself as British. When the Irish Republic set up their own revolutionary government called the Dáil Éireann in 1919, she was elected Minister for Labour and served until 1922, becoming the first Irish female cabinet minister. In the spring of 1922, she came to America in search for diasporic support, and she refused to apply for a visa with a British passport. Thus, Constance Markievicz definitely became a Polish citizen and it was in this quality that she came to the United States.²⁸⁶ By the time she came back to Ireland, in June, the Civil War erupted. She supported Éamon de Valera against Arthur Griffith during the Irish civil war, as she disagreed with the clauses of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. She wanted a fully independent Ireland, as wanted the Fianna Fail movement. Moreover, she added that “*the Free State was an attempt to build up English civilization in Ireland, and to get the capitalist system firmly rooted there*”. She visited the United States this year to seek support from the Irish Republic. The Anti-Treaty forces were defeated, and the compromise of the Anglo-Irish Treaty continued to apply. She died in Dublin the 15th of July in 1927, and no less than the equivalent of Dublin's population attended her funerals. Future Irish president Eamon De Valera pronounced her funeral oration, including the following extract: “*Madame Markievicz is gone from us. Madame, the friend of the toiler, the lover of the poor. [...] She now lies at rest with her fellow-champions of the right, mourned by the people whose liberties she fought for, blessed by the loving prayers of the poor she tried so hard to befriend. The world knew her only as a soldier of Ireland, but we knew her as a colleague and comrade. We knew the friendliness, the great woman's heart of her, the great Irish soul of her..*”²⁸⁷ She was not only a patriot or a feminist, but a friend of the poor. As Patrick Quigley said, “*They could still feel pride for the women who had achieved for Ireland what Piłsudski had done for Poland*”.²⁸⁸

286 QUIGLEY Patrick, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Time of Count Casimir Markievicz*, Liffey Press, 2011, p. 184

287 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 258

288 QUIGLEY Patrick, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Time of Count Casimir Markievicz*, Liffey Press, 2011, p. 207



Kazimierz Markiewicz's Constance on her death bed, 1927

During the First World War, the changes in Russia, Ukraine and Poland affected the Markiewicz family and Kazimierz participated on his scale in those changes as well. After he left Ireland he began to work at the Polish theater in Kyiv, and some plays he wrote in Ireland were played here. Sharing the patriotic fervor of his wife, he rode seven hundred kilometers to find a hussar regiment, when he learnt WW1 broke out while he was working as a correspondent in the Balkans. While she was in prison in 1917, he was war wounded. Kazimierz's son Stasko was conscripted in the Russian Navy, but he was made prisoner by the Soviets, including in a concentration camp at Kojochowo in June 1921, where conditions were particularly harsh.²⁸⁹ He was released in March 1922, while his country became a state. However, for Kiev, their hopes were short-lived. Kazimierz went back to the city and visited the newspaper he worked in before the war, and according to him, it was as the Poles never were here. Their home in Zhyvotivka burnt at some point of the war, probably in 1919, but it is hard to determine²⁹⁰. As Markiewicz was in Eastern Europe during the war, he could use it as an internal point of view of the period. However, his links with Ireland were not cut. He even participated in cultural transfers from Ireland to Russia and

289 Ibid, p.166

290 Ibid, p. 177

Poland, in political and artistic ways. His play “Memory of the dead” was performed in 1917 in Moscow and it echoed with the Revolutionary fervor he began to support. In the series “*The Freedom and Brotherhood of Peoples*”, published under the general editorship of Lew Kozlovskii, a Pole born in Ukraine like Kazimierz, and Alexander Salikovskii, an old school friend of Kazimierz and a prominent Ukrainian nationalist who served briefly as a minister of interior between 1920 and 1921. The overwhelming majority of the episodes of this serie were dealing with theoretical questions about Poland, Ukraine, the nations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and of the Western part of Russia. Regarding Western Europe, the only nations deserving their own volume were Belgium, probably because it is a small nation only aged of 90 years (and badly affected by war), and Ireland. There was born Markievicz's Russian Pamphlet on Ireland²⁹¹. This short text (only 12 pages), written around 1918, has a large autobiographical dimension, even suggesting that he still loved Constance, describing Irish women with “*open bright faces, with beautiful eyes and turubulent hair*”. However, this is more the work of a Polish nationalist than of an ally of Ireland, beginning with his lack of knowledge of the country's history. Kazimierz failed for instance to remember the date of the Smith O'Brien's famine revolt, dating it to 1857 (while the famine was over) instead of 1848, and curiously underestimating the casualties of the famine, “*thousands have died*”, while the casualties exceeded a million, attributing the loss of population to emigration. We understand in this text that he left Ireland before the war, and it reflects the lack of communication between both countries. While called a pamphlet, the first pages of this text curiously look like the description of a touristic guide, with sentences such as “*In regard to the beauty [...] of its scenery Ireland is not inferior to Switzerland or Italy*”, or “*the men are tall and handsome, the people is cheerfull...*”, divided between different thematics. The work is more historically interesting when it addresses Ireland's links with Poland and Russia, and the similar oppression Irish people suffered. We learn that Kazimierz knew that Constance had been sentenced to death for her participation and that it was commuted to life imprisonment. Towards the end, he called Ireland Poland's “*younger sister in bondage.*”, and concluded with “*May the Sun of Russian freedom, illuminating the whole world, warm even this distant island, the victims of the historical errors of the cultured English people.*” It was in 1921 that Constance received a letter from Kazimierz, her first since 1916. In 1924, Kazimierz secured his positions and made an official portrait of Piłsudski. This position allowed him to come back to Ireland as well, with a delegation to London, and from here, he was able to meet Constance again. When she died he was with her, and was seen grief stricken during her funerals : he still loved her. He died in Warsaw on the 2nd of December in 1932. He got much

291 MACWHITE Eoin, *A Russian Pamphlet on Ireand by Count Markievicz*, *Irish University Review* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn, 1970), pp. 98-110

more simpler funeral than her wife's, and his grave in Nowe is actually unmarked, but The *Irish Press* of the 3rd December marked the day with a headline.²⁹² In 1937, Stasko published in the *Irish Times* "Memory of my father". They took different paths, like their respective countries would do, and their political writings, articles and letters expressed mutual incomprehensions.

5 - Political divergences)

She was a renowned leftist, and he was very right wing towards the end of his life. Considering in addition the fact that they did not live together the whole time of the first world war and Markiewicz's political struggles, this appear finally quite coherent that their opinion about Ireland, Poland and the Soviet Union would be different.

-Markiewicz perception of Ireland and of political changes of Eastern Europe, case study on his writings.

In 1928, Kazimierz Markiewicz wrote a book about Ireland : *Przemoc Krwi*²⁹³, translated as "The Power of Flesh and Blood." *The Kurier Poznanski* reviewed it as "a Polish book about Ireland", contradicting assertion that he was in fact indifferent to Ireland. The novel tells the story of Anna O'Rourke, the child of a drunken English soldier and a prostitute, brought up in a convent and who will later fall under the cut of slavers trying to help her mother. The character's names are based on people he knew and is both a tool of retaliation and for people he knew. It ends with a "vividly described" representation of the 1916 Easter Rising²⁹⁴. Kazimierz published a serie that demonstrated his nationalist radicalization, *Letters from Ireland*, published a serie of articles from June to November 1924²⁹⁵ in the newspaper "*Rzeczpospolita*", (Republic, in Polish), where he glorified Arthur Griffith but beside of politics also depicted treatments of light and universal terms like "how to drink in Ireland." In this serie, he unfamously emphasized that Jews are a non trustworthy element in Ireland, and in his world vision, the only worthy element in Ukrainian society was the Polish nobility, the only educated element besides the "*money worhsipping*" Jews.²⁹⁶ To this regard, Constance never expressed such positions²⁹⁷, contrary to, for instance, Maud Gonne. This is closely linked with a conservatism that separates him from his wife.

292 "DEATH OF COUNT MARKIEVICZ, Artist, Playwright and Patriot", *Irish Press*, 3/12/1932

293 Blood violence

294 QUIGLEY PATRICK, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Times of Count Casimir Markiewicz*, the Liffey Press, 2011, p. 211

295 Ibid, p. 198

296 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markiewicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, 294 p.

297 Ibid ;

-Important divergences on their vision of Soviet Union: analysis of their respective letters.

The question of the Bolshevik Reunion was an important point on which they expressed their opinion, and on both cases, therefore, it appeared that they lacked of informations on the topic and that they were overwhelmed by political bias. Indeed, the Bolshevik Revolution finally led to the repression of Zhyvotivka's village, and the Markievicz's Dworzec (Polish noble house) was eventually burned to the ground. Constance Markievicz declared that she was ready to burn down houses such as Lissadell, but Soviet repression also meant repression against the population of Zhyvotivka.

Moreover, she expressed her good opinion of Lenin (contrary to Kazimierz) in her prison letters written at the beginning of the Russian Civil War, hoping that he would defeat Denikin, general of the white army faithful to the Russian Empire: "*Maybe Lenin will win through after all. God speed him ! And poor Russia*"²⁹⁸. The 30th August of 1919, while she was imprisoned in Cork jail, she wrote that she "*rejoice the bad weather when I think of Denikin stuck in the mud of the Ukraine*"²⁹⁹. Constance Markievicz also read other less known Soviet pamphlets during the time she was in Holloway jail, in Islington, North London.³⁰⁰ For instance, the pamphlet by Maxim Litvinov "*The Bolshevik Revolution: Its Rise and Meaning*", published in 1920. Why this pamphlet in particular? Among other places, Litvinov lived in Belfast for a while and was sent by Lenin as a Soviet's Government representative in Britain, but with a non-regularized situation. Like Constance, Litvinov was arrested by the British Government, in 1918, and held until exchange with the British diplomat Robert Lockhart, who was in Russia. This is through him that she tried to contact Casimir in March 1919, when she was released from jail.³⁰¹ It was one year after this experience that he published "*The Bolshevik Revolution*", distributed by the British Socialist Party, while she was imprisoned again. In every case, Constance's gender and her aristocratic social class were the main reason of this extraordinary allowance to read during her five periods of imprisonment, during which she read Soviet revolutionaries and wrote about them. On the other hand, when asked whether Ireland had or not Bolshevik tendencies, her husband wrote an article in the 208th issue of the *Rzeczpospolita* newspaper, in his serie "*Letters from Ireland*" published the 31th July of 1924. There, he stated that : "*Green Erin has recently been accused of Bolshevik tendencies, but it is not really drawn in that direction [...] rather, Ireland's difference was based on "the distinctiveness of*

298 MARKIEVICZ, Constance, *Prison letters of countess Markievitch*, Virago Press, 1987, p. 242

299 Ibid, p. 242

300 ARRINGTON Lauren, "One woman's Irish Revolution: Reading the Bolshevik Revolution in a British Jail", *Age of Revolutions*, 12/12/2016

301 MACWHITE Eoin, *A Russian Pamphlet on Ireand by Count Markievicz*, *Irish University Review* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Autumn, 1970), pp. 98-110

Celtic culture and race.”³⁰² Kazimierz’s emphasis on race testifies to a sharp turn of his politics, his ideas strongly reflecting the influence of Roman Dmowski.³⁰³ When Constance used the term “race”, it takes “an inclusive tone that denotes a spiritual and character differences rather than essential physical characteristics.”³⁰⁴ This language is not prevalent in her writings either. When Constance died, their disagreement over Russian Revolution pursued them into her funeral. Labour, Republican and Feminists political organisations indeed came to her funeral, including solidarity marks from the USSR, through a banner with cyrillic inscriptions. This annoyed her husband and stepson, but they kept it to themselves, at least during the ceremony. Stasko writing to Molly Gore-Booth, eleven years later “*Do you think I liked Larkin and his red flag!*” He was indeed deeply marked by his years in detention and kept from this period in camps a grievance against the Bolsheviks for the rest of his life, as well as the rest of the family who had to flee from Zhyvotivka. Constance had answered to his letter in 1922, when she was in the United States, with “*You rail against the Bolshies. I know very little about them, but I do know our people suffered far mre from the English, and what I begin to believe is that all governments are the same, and that men in power for themselves and are absolutely unscrupulous with those who disagree with them.*”³⁰⁵

B. Lissadell and Zhyvotivka: a local history of Irish, Polish and Ukrainian people

1. The Gore-Booth and Markievicz History as landlords : Zhyvotivka and Lissadell under monarchy)

The Gore-Booth family owned a land that was as wide as 129 square kilometers in county Sligo, Western Ireland. One of the most confronting event Consance saw in her youth on her land occurred when in Ireland, in 1879, a famine lesser known has stricken Ireland, one more time, sometimes curiously known under the name of An Gorta Beag (Mini-famine, in opposition to An Gorta Mor, the Great Famine). Constance was then 12 years old, when she assisted to the effects of the famine on the villagers but also the decisions and the efforts made by her family to handle with

302 MARKIEVICZ Kazimierz, “Letters from Ireland”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 31/07/1924

303 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 232

304 Ibid, p. 233

305 Constance letter to Stasko, May 1922, Five letters to her son, MS 13778, NLI

the famine. Their politics were regarded as one of the most liberal in the country³⁰⁶. This did not prevent her to later criticize the lack of political implication of her privileged Anglo-Irish family³⁰⁷, some of her biographers believed that this event participated in politicization not only of Constance, but also of her siblings, Eva and Josslyn. The latter, described as a compassionate man³⁰⁸, therefore worked with Horace Plunkett, in intention to create a cooperative creamery, and also created a large horticultural enterprise at Lissadell, giving employment to hundreds of families. Eva became as well notoriously involved in Labour movement and women suffrage. The simple fact that the Gore-Booth were living on their own land in Ireland was not anecdotic, as it was not the case for the majority of those landowners. Their grandfather took similar welfare decisions during the Great Irish Famine. Robert Gore-Booth, 4th baronet, who built Lissadell House, was at that time in charge of the domaine “*In 1843 a total of 51 per cent of tenants with farms under 5 acres owed more than one year’s rent, while 16 per cent in the 5 – 15 acres category were in arrears.In the 1830s [Sir Robert] built a harbour at Raghley, designed by Alexander Nimmo, to improve fishing in the area*”³⁰⁹ He also assisted emigration program.

In her first prison letters, Constance emphasized that the Markievicz, “*like many landowners of the district, were Poles.*” However, the real Ukrainian element in this family is the village of Zhyvotivka, even if it was located in a stronghold of Polish nationalism, villagers were speaking Ukrainian and were strongly arked and influenced by Ukrainian culture. Kazimierz and Constance had rather different views and attitudes regarding the people who were living and working on the lands possessed by their families: in one of her letter to Eva, her sister she maintained a rich correspondance with, she recalled passig by a drunken peasant that passed out on the side of the road along with her husband. While she wanted to stop the car to help, Casimir insisted that there was nothing to be done. So they passed on.³¹⁰ Her sketches and drawings of that period, while it was before the 1908 shock that launched her political career, already exposed a class consciousness³¹¹. This union between two families formed a family with roots in two villages, two countries, and this is why the following part will be a local case study of those two villages, their society and their administration, as well as their history during the XIXth century.

306 Here liberal is meant in a social term. Ironically, liberalism is often blamed for the high death toll of the Irish famine.

307 OIKARINEN Sari, *A Dream of Liberty, Constance Markievicz vision of Ireland, 1908-1927*, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1998, p. 31

308 Famine in Lissadell < <http://lissadellhouse.com/famine/> >

309 MORAN Gerard, *Sir Robert Gore-Booth and His Landed Estate in County Sligo, 1814-1876: Land, Famine, Emigration and Politics*, Four Courts Press, 2006, 64 p.

310 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 29

311 Ibid, p. 66

2. Lissadell and Zhyvotivka : a reflect of Ukrainian and Irish societies?)

Zhyvotivka's history dates back to at least the XVIth century³¹², approximately the time period that the land of Lissadell was granted to Sir Paul Gore. We have emphasized that in Western Ukraine and Ireland the social construct of villages were rather similar, with Anglo-Irish and Polish-Ukrainian³¹³. While the peasants in Zhyvotivka were speaking Ukrainian, as Constance Markievicz already emphasized it herself, their owners were Polish-speakers, and they practiced different religions: Poles were Catholics, and Ukrainians were Orthodox Christians. In Ireland, the religion of the Gore-Booth family was also different from the population of the village. Constance and her siblings were christianized within the Church of Ireland, and she later converted into Catholicism, and having a Catholic epiphany at the occasion of Easter Rising, she has chosen to register as a Catholic when she was jailed in May 1916. However, regarding the language, situation was quite different. Sligo was historically Irish-speaking, but after the important loss of population, the golden ages of Irish Gaelic were far beyond them. For the Zhyvotivka population, emancipation of serfs in the Russian Empire was relatively recent, 1861. Constance made observations of the relation between peasants and owners in both Zhyvotivka and her own family estate, as well of the villagers's lives.³¹⁴ Local cultures fascinated her, feeling that they were so far yet so close. She was familiar with life in peasants cabin in Ireland, but the poverty she saw in Ukraine caused her some distress. Most of them were one-room buildings, with tin roofs and clay floors, cultivating earth in a land with harsh continental climate.³¹⁵ In 1919 the village was the theater of nine days of fights between the whites of Denikin and the army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, and the house family was regularly attacked by bands. Stasko mentioned the incident in a letter to Molly Gore-Booth in 1931, telling her that : “*when bolshevism began, our own peasants did not touch us, in fact they gave refuge to some members of the family.*”³¹⁶

After being a theatre of fights during the Independence, the small village was hit very hard by the Holodomor³¹⁷, so were the Vinnytsia oblast and the Orativ raion. A cross was planted in the village to honour the memory of the dead. Sligo was in the province of Connacht, the most starvation - affected province in Ireland. These villages could be confronted as particular cases of

312 СКРИПНИК Віктор, “З Ірландії вимагають звіту про музей на Вінниччині Посилання”, 31/07/2008

313 BUJAK Franciszek, *Galicja*, Lwow, H.Altenberg, 1908

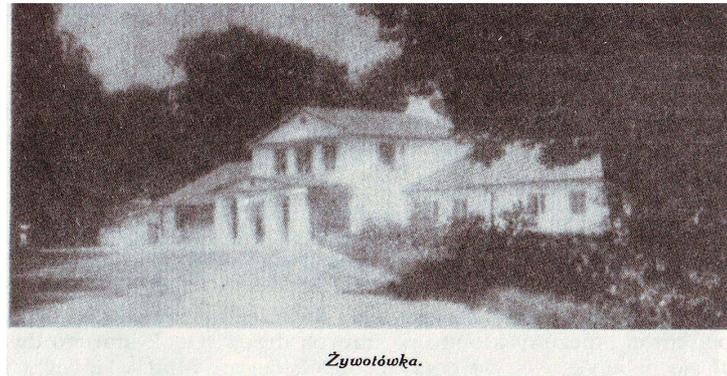
314 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 66

315 QUIGLEY PATRICK, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Times of Count Casimir Markievicz*, the Liffey Press, 2011, p. 51

316 *Stanislas to Molly Gore-Booth*, 21/07/1931 LP/K13 (30)

317 Ukrainian archives < <https://archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/Publicat/index.php?1931-08> >, consulted in May of 2021

villages hardly stroke by famines. They could emphasize the similarities between both countries's history.



Postcard of Zhyvotivka (before 1910, most likely 1902)³¹⁸

3. Lissadell and Zhyvotivka evolutions during and after the Revolutions

Constance Markievicz expressed that she supported the destruction of houses such as Lissadell³¹⁹. Lissadell did not know this fate, contrary to Zhyvotivka. Society and production means in Ukraine totally changed, and the village experienced collectivisation. In 1930, the village was completely collectivised³²⁰. The Markievicz were no longer here when the Holodomor happened.

Famines represented a joint point in the History of these places. For a simple reason: those were villages of peasants, the demographic stricken by famines. In documentaries mostly based on testimonies such as *Holodomor le génocide oublié* (Holodomor the forgotten genocide), the interviews of survivors and their families insisted that there were those people who worked the land that were keeping alive the culture of the countries. They were talking about Ukraine, but considering that there were those population who were mostly speaking Irish, this applied as well for Ireland.

Robert Gore-Booth was the landowner of the Lissadell estate during the famine. Sir Robert also chaired four Famine Relief Committees, building a mill during the famine years to ingrain diseased potatoes, and in 1845 organised, while distributing food along with his wife, to the point of falling ill with famine fever.³²¹ His politics were contrasting with the *laissez-faire* ideology that in majority contributed to the famine. In a letter from the parish priest of Carney to Caroline Gore-

318 СКРИПНИК Віктор, “З Ірландії вимагають звіту про музей на Вінниччині Посилання”, 31/07/2008

319 ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, 294 p.

320 *Історична довідка села Животівка*, Оратівська селищна рада

321 MORAN Gerard, *Sir Robert Gore-Booth and His Landed Estate in County Sligo, 1814-1876: Land, Famine, Emigration and Politics*, Four Courts Press, 2006, 64 p.

Booth, during Black 47, he wrote that : “*He feels not to advert to the most extensive, indiscriminate and unostentatious charities, performed by her Ladyship and so gratefully remembered by the poor of God, that the respectful regard, exhibited by her for the religious convictions of the Roman Catholic people of this District, entitle her to the eternal gratitude of every friend of suffering humanity, as well as of freedom of conscience*”³²² In the five months from December 1846 to May 1847, Sir Robert spent two thousand four hundred and twenty seven pounds, 15 shillings and 9 pence (£2,427.15.09) on famine relief for “labourers and their families”, the “poor in Ballinrillick”, and also for clothing, blankets and food for ‘Emigrants’ on the ship *Aeolus*³²³. However, these noticeable politics of welfare did not prevent consequences of British politics. In the three districts that formed Lissadell, population loss was behind overall Sligo's statistics, but still important. Between 1841 and 1851, the population dropped from 1,953 to 1,436 people (26%) in Lissadell East, from 3,236 to 2,426 in Lissadell North (25%), and from 3,431 to 2,431 in Lissadell West (29,14%), making it the most affected district. For the overall place, it lost 26,99% of this population (8620 to 6293)³²⁴. This may appear important, but county Sligo overall was very badly affected by the famine, like the overall Connaught region. The county Sligo population dropped by third during the great famine: 180, 809 people were living there according to the 1841 census, and this number dropped to 128,510 in the post-famine census. This represents more precisely a loss of 31,4% - 20.4% immigrated and 10,91% died, in just five years³²⁵ Canada received an influx of 11,904 people left Sligo for Canada, compared to 1,146 for the U.S.³²⁶ The county continued his population's loss even after the end of the famine, due to emigration: in 10 years, the county lost supplementary 10,21% of its population.³²⁷

In Ukraine, Zhyvotivka suffered tremendously from the famine. Even before 1932, the archives recorded that the people had begun to suffer from the lack of food. On the 5th August of 1931, the villagers began to write to the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee about the unbearable taxations and starvation of the families³²⁸. Other accounts of October 1931 are reporting

322 Letter from the parish priest at Carney to Caroline Gore Booth 1847

323 Famine in Lissadell < <http://lissadellhouse.com/famine/> >

324 Famine Mapping by Maynooth University, County Sligo Statistics, < <http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/external-content/famine-mapping-1841-1851-county-sligo> >

Note: the source does not make the difference between people who left and people who died. We could still suppose that since the emigration was facilitated, a lot did actually survive, but there is no statistics to prove it.

325 COUNTY SLIGO FAMINE COMMEMORATION COMMITTEE, *Co. Sligo commemoration of the Great Irish famine : Sligo, July 27, 1997, Cuimhneachán an Ghorta Mhóir*, B016TI7WFW , 1997, 52 p.

326 Ibid.

327 THOM Alexander, *1861 Census: Decline of the Population in Ireland*, Thom's Almanac and official directory, 1862

328 Лист селян-одноосібників с. Животівка на Уманщині до ВУЦВКу про непосильне оподаткування та голодування сімей, ЦДАВО України, ф. 1, оп. 7, спр. 144, арк. 146, 5 серпня 1931 р.

that grains was already confiscated³²⁹. And in the special report of the Vinnytsia regional department of the DPU dated June 27, 1932, it is stated that in the village of Zhyvotivka, Orativ district, 18 people died in two days, and during the spring - 120.³³⁰ In Zhyvotivka, there is no precise statistics about the famine, as for instance the official government pages are relying on “*ocular witnesses*” to estimate the casualties of the famine to 500 villagers³³¹. Volodymyr Babenko, who lived in the village when the famine broke out, told that :

“The harvest is over, and the “first commandment,” that is, the procurement of bread, has become even greater than at the beginning. There was no hope for the people who would give bread for the working day. Therefore, where there was no bale, children, women with bags, gathered on the stubble to gather ears of corn. But soon the commissioners ordered that the ears be brought to the currents. Many people did not want to gather ears of corn hungry and then carry them to the stream. That's why they sent patrolmen to catch children and women and snatch bags.

The most harmful was the Parfen tour. Once he caught up with me, hit me with a whip, I fell, got scared, started screaming. He got off the horse and set fire to the bag with the ears, which I had been collecting all day, and threatened: “I will trample you, kulak dog, when I see you here tomorrow, with a horse.” Such was the cursed werewolf”³³²

The actual population of Zhyvotivka is of 816 people³³³. As it is only 30 years after Constance's journey there, those are maybe people Constance met. The town even have its own memorial, despite this small population. However, if the oblast of Vinnytsia overall was affected by the famine, but in terms of proportion it was not part of the most affected oblasts. The lower level of direct losses in Vinnytsia oblast, compared to Kyiv and Kharkiv oblasts, can be explained to some degree by the border hypothesis, as the lower levels of direct losses in border raions bring down the Oblast average, and it was also the only oblast with a negative net urban migration for 1927-38 period. They were also a lot of them who were deported to Kazakhstan in 1936, and a lot never came back. ³³⁴

329 В. М. Даниленко (відповідальний упорядник), Л. Л. Аулова, В. В. Лавренюк, *Історична довідка села Животівка, Оратівська селищна рада, Голодомор 1932—1933 років в Україні за документами ГДА СБУ: Анотований довідник*, Львів, 2010, 472 р.

330 Володимир Сергійчук, НЕХТУВАННЯ ВІТЧИЗНЯНИМИ АРХІВАМИ ЯК ОЗН А К А НЕПОВНОЦІННОСТІ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬПРО ГОЛОДОМОР-ГЕНОЦИД 1932–1933 РОКІВ, [1, ф. П-136, оп. 3, спр. 11, арк. 11–13]

331 *Історична довідка села Животівка*, Оратівська селищна рада

332 Микола Геркалюк, Найвище блаженство в житті – їсти кусок хліба”: Голодомор на Вінниччині в спогадах очевидців, *Vezha*, 22/11/2019

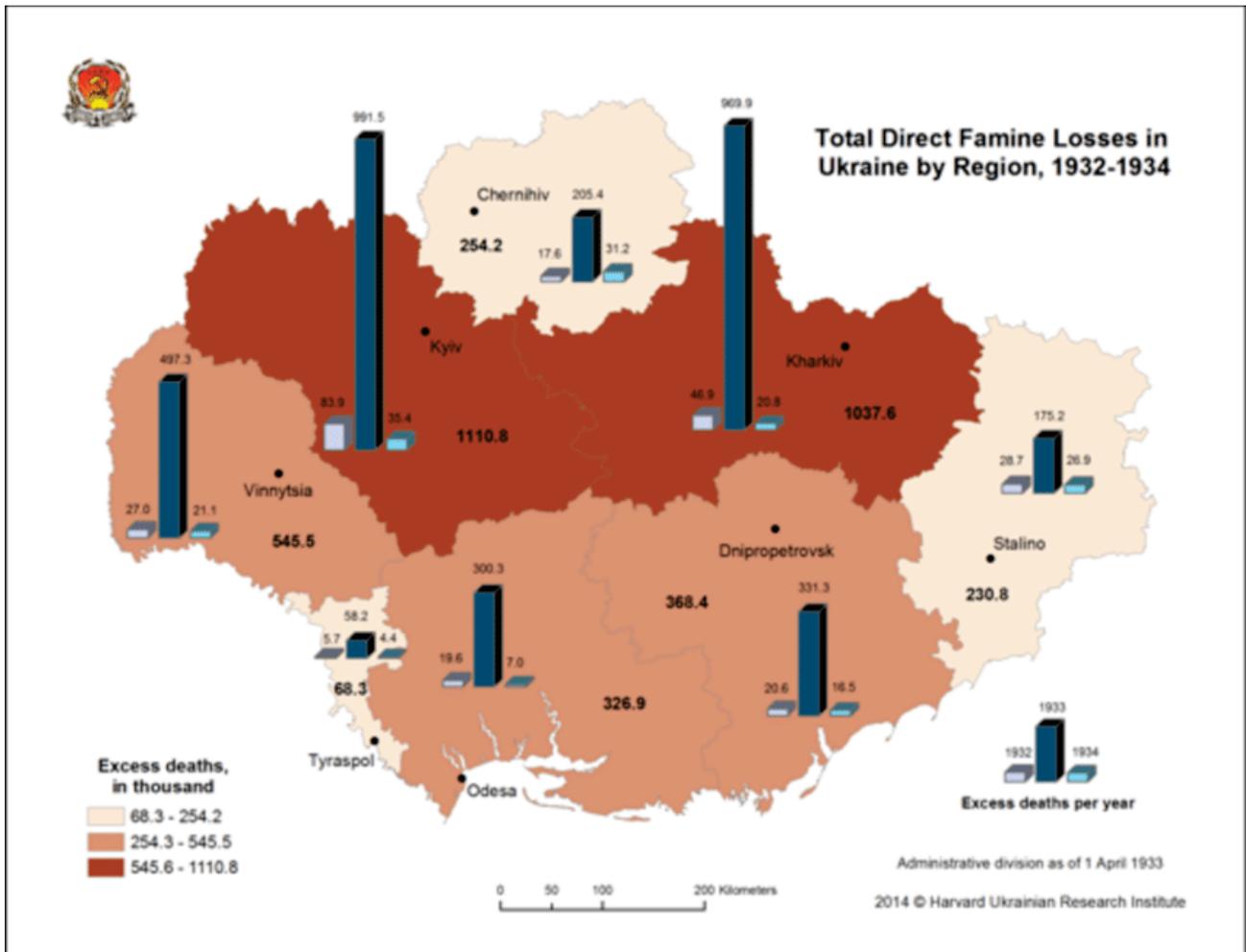
333 Оратівська селищна (сільська) рада громада < <https://gromada.info/gromada/orativska/> >

334 COLLECTIVE, *Regional variations of 1932-1934 famine losses in Ukraine*, *Canadian Studies in Population* 43, no. 3–4 (2016): 1–28



Zhyvotivka's memorial to Holodomor's victims, built in 1995-6³³⁵

335 О.М. Веселова, *Пам'ятні знаки і пам'ятники жертвам голоду-геноциду 1932-1933 рр. в Україні*, Український Інститут Національної Пам'яті, UINM



Maps of the Total demographic losses in the Ukrainian SSR by region caused by the holodomor famine³³⁶

336 JONES Deborah, *Afterlives & Other Lives: Semiosis and History in 21st Century Ukraine*, Phd under the supervision of Bruce Mannheim, Stuart Kirsch, Alaina Lemon and Brian Porter-Szucs, 2017

C. Sisters in Misfortune: Markievicz's political feminist reflection applied to Eastern Europe)

1. Poland and Ukraine in Markievicz's socialist, anti imperialist and feminist rhetoric

Her elements of comparison between Ireland and Eastern Europe were given by the fact she married a Pole from the Russian Empire. Poland and Ukraine are importantly addressed in her letters and she pointed out parallels. For her, Ireland should accentuate, in its struggle for freedom, its position in the eyes of the world as one of the oppressed small nationalities of the world, a comrade of Poland, Finland, and the rest, and not merely as a rather rebellious and troublesome province. She insisted that it should be recognized as a member of the small nationalities, an analysis close to what we could have seen in Sinn Féin's leaflets. Constance was aware of the famines that took place in Soviet Union, including Ukraine, as a consequence of the Civil War. This recalled her the analysis made by Mitchel “*who was certainly not a Bolshie [but] a queer mixture*” about the Irish famine of the 1840's. She added that “*famines are potent weapons. I would like to read Mitchel's account about the coalition gov before questions about Russia and Central Europe are put*”.³³⁷ However, her most singular angle is her analysis of those similarities from a feminist point of view. “*Women, Ideals and the Nation*”, and some other pamphlets, should be analysed as a key work of analysis, allowing a transition with the question of intersectionality.

-Case study on “*Women, Ideals and the Nation*” (1909)³³⁸

Constance delivered this speech in March 1909, to the Students National Literary Society, along with Daughters of Erin. In the introduction of the publication, she presented their goals for Ireland : to re-establish a complete Independence of Ireland, to encourage Irish language and literature, to support and popularise Irish manufacture... In this speech about Irish women, Polish and Russian women are brought upon as a model since the very first lines. She connected them to Polish and Russian women who had the same problems: they were oppressed both as women and as Russians, Poles or Irish. Her argument is that Irish women had taken less part in public life than in other countries, here Russia and Poland. “*In Russia [...] in Poland [...] women worked as comrades*”, she had told the audience, using a marxist vocabulary, answering definitely to the polemics regarding the intercomprehension between both fights. Therefore, those women

337 MARKIEVICZ, Constance, *Prison letters of countess Markievitch*, Virago Press, 1987, p. 244

338 MARKIEVICZ Constance, *Women ideals and the nation*, 1909, Inghinidhe na h-Eireann, 16 p.ççl

experienced the repressions of the czarist authorities, *“Many time a woman has been incarcerated in the dungeons under St Peter and St Paul, [prison fortress in Warsaw] to sit in the damp and mouldy gloom and watch – perhaps for a week, perhaps for a year.”* Markievicz indeed heard stories about the January Uprising from her aunt in Zhyvotivka, however she is still idealizing the situation of Polish suffragettes and revolutionaries by presenting them fighting arm to arm with her males counterparts. She recalled as well that women were victims of deportations to Siberia : *“Many another women had dropped exhausted on the long, weary march through the snow-covered steppes of the land of exile.”* All these references are directly made within the first page. The comparison is also made between the oppressors themselves, here England and Russia, for she knew much better conditions in this part of Poland due to her familial history, but also because Russia was regarded as the worst place for Poles. The audience should be inspired by those courageous women, to fight against their own ennemy, England. She said that *“Now England in the XXth century is much more civilized, and much more subtle than Russia in her methods for subjugating a nation, therefore, more difficult to fight, and much more difficult to realise as an ennemy”* The pamphlet emphasized as well the patriotic fervor of Polish women, a further argument to her famous sentence : *“If there are men in Ireland ready to die for their country, there are just as many women.”*, coming from the play “Memory of the Dead”, whose script was written by a Pole. When she talks about Russian women, she talks about all populations that are forming the Russian Empire, this included therefore Ukrainian women. According to Zinaida Mirna, the women's movement in Ukraine cannot be separated from the overall Russian's movement for women.³³⁹ When she addressed the Catholic emancipation, Poles were still not far from her mind, and so was religion : *“Catholic emancipation must have come, it has come even in Russian Poland [...] Catholicism is an integral part of Poles identity [...] for all Poles are Catholics.”* However, she still recognised, while not bringing the same nuance regarding Poland, as some Poles who fought for Independence were Jewish for instance, like Irena Pannenkowa. who covered the Easter Rising. The reference to the 1863 Revolution in Poland also concluded her call : *“The '63 Revolution in Poland was chiefly organized by Students. Cannot the young men and women realise their strenghts?”*

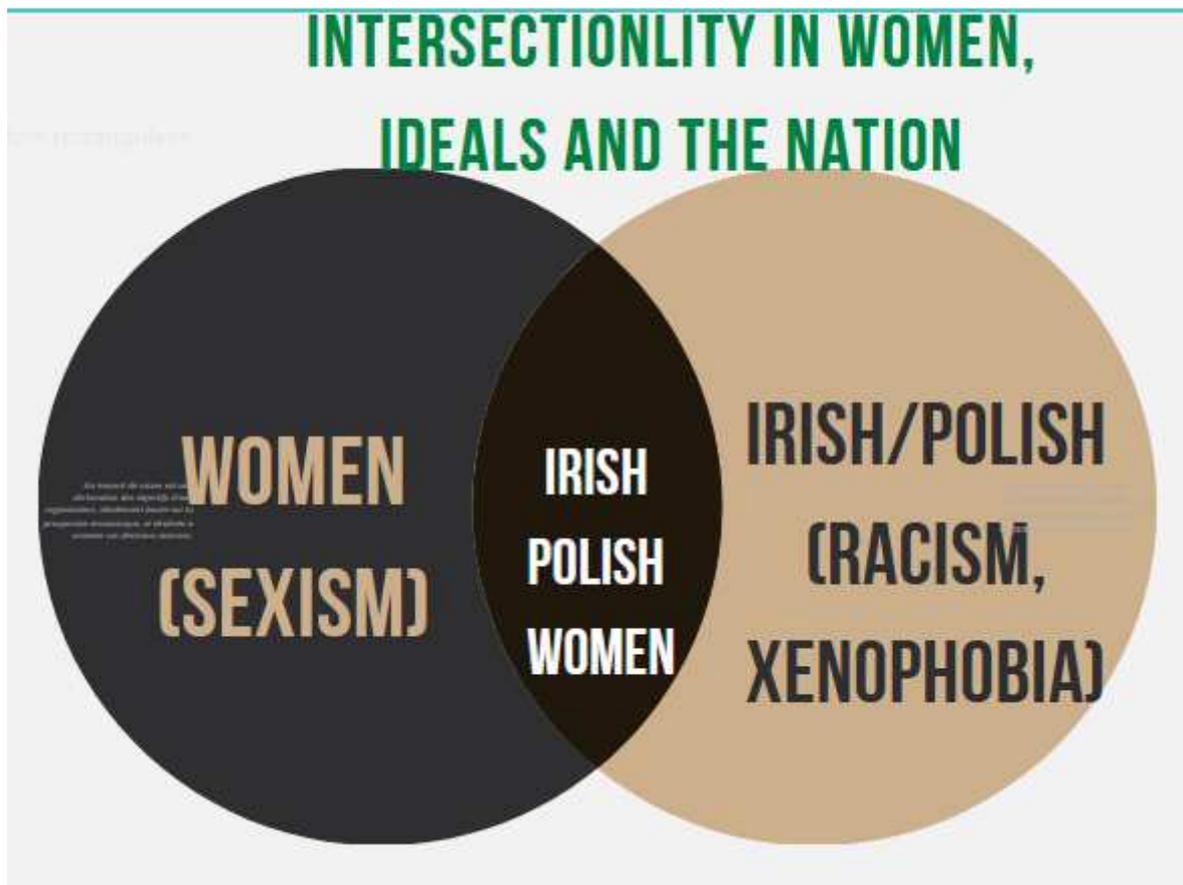
However, Irish women are oppressed within their own people, and their own gender. She emphasized the difficulty to see Unionist women as potential allies : *“We are in a very difficult position here, as so many Unionist women would fain have us work together with them for the*

339 BOHACHEVSKY-CHOMIAK Martha, *Feminists despite themselves: Women in Ukranian Community Life, 1884-1939*, CIUS Press, 1988, 460 p.

emancipation of sex and votes - obviously to send a member for Westminster". In 1912, Christabel Pankhurst, a British suffragette and ally of Irish women, would send a poster parade to Parliament, bearing the message "*No vote for women – No Home Rule*"³⁴⁰. Men, on the other hand, have narrow minded views : "*Men all their lives are so occupied in examining closely, from a narrow party point of view all the little bills "relating to Ireland" [...] let them remind their men tht their first duty is to examine [...]*" Those remind problems socialists from country such as who were often stricken by chauvinism : as James Connolly and Jim Larkin condemned the Britishness of English Socialists, Ukrainian Socialists, who saw Bolshevik politics as a continuation of czarist politics, condemned the Russianness of Bolsheviks. There is, in conclusion, a triple convergence of fights in Markievicz's mind : feminist, socialist, struggles against ethnic oppressions. This way to see oppression as connected, reminds the notion of intersectionality. There are three variables of analysis there : gender, ethnicity and class. Her lecture on Irish situation could as well apply to the way Ukrainian feminism could not be separated from Russian or Polish feminism, while experiencing the same kind of concurrence than between Irishwomen and Britishwomen. This view of Constance Markievicz is summarized the most explicitly in the following quote, the very same year, in "To miss Nora Cassidy and the Young Women of Ireland" : "*first step on the road to freedom is to realise ourselves as Irishwomen – not as Irish or merely as women, but as Irishwomen doubly enslaved and with a double battle to fight.*"³⁴¹ Could therefore Markievicz be seen as third-wave feminist in the middle of the first wave? Was it something new? Revolutionary?

340 PASETA Senia, *Irish Nationalist Women (1900-1918)*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 306 p.

341 MARKIEVICZ Constance, "To miss Nora Cassidy and the Young women of Ireland", *Bean na h-Éireann*, July 1909



Venn Diagramm of Intersectionality as seen in Women, Ideals and the Nation by Constance Markievicz

2. “A Free Ireland with no sex disabilities in its constitution [...] And a grand motto it is.”³⁴²
Markievicz : third wave feminism during the first wave?

As we have underlined it in the historiographical overview, the question of intersectionality was a very typical aspect of third-wave feminism, while Constance Markievicz and the fight for women's right to vote is first wave feminism. This led to further analysis of her political vision : how the national and feminist struggles are linked?

This was during this period that she appeared dressed as Joan of Arc in a suffrage pageant, a popular figure among British feminists, as well as in a Daughter of Ireland play, who would fight to free Ireland against the British. This figure therefore encompasses the delicate positions of Irish feminists : they led the same fight than British feminists, and being a feminist, or a woman, did not

³⁴² MARKIEVICZ Constance, *Women ideals and the nation*, 1909, Inghinidhe na h-Eireann, p. 4

cancel their position of British or even prevent them for being xenophobic. This interpretation was not rare. Claire Hackett for instance formulated that : “*The concept of self-determination is what best defines republican feminism for me. I am oppressed as a woman, and I am oppressed as an Irish person.*”³⁴³

Her sister, Eva Gore-Booth, can be considered as well an “early intersectionalist” like her sister was.³⁴⁴ Just like her sister, she was focused in assistance to the poor and dedicated to the working-class, and as a feminist, to working-class women. It is an important point that they had politicised themselves together when they still lived in Sligo. She was however way more pacifist than her sister, as during this one took part in the Easter Rising, she continued to reject nationalism. In addition, she lived with a woman, Esther Roper, and both of them produced reflections on the very notion of gender, among the now forgotten revue “Urania” : The journal’s provocative mission statement asserts that ‘there are no ‘men’ or ‘women’ in *Urania*. Therefore, this emphasizes how in the closest circle of Constance Markievicz, there were very progressive people.

Analysis of Constance Markievicz's writings as primary sources)

Other texts written by Constance Markievicz appear as ahead of their time on this question. We should at first focus on her first speech that she gave when she founded along with her sister in 1896 the Sligo branch of the Women's Suffrage Society. There are the germs of her political thoughts : “*force the government to realise that a very large class have a grievance, and will never stop making themselves disagreeable till it is righted*”³⁴⁵ At this public meeting, Eva Gore-Booth expressed the view which was to become the dominant line of the two sisters; that both men and women had duties to their neighbours, to their country and to society at large. In her rhetorics, the term “Irishwomen” is very present. Her ability to connect this political issues that appeared as clearly disconnected seemed to be in her favour before her target audience. She understood that she also should make some circumstantial alliances with non-Republican women, and of course Irish men. This questions which imposed themselves to Irish women regarding their own activism and their way to organize within their nation is similar to their Polish and Ukrainian counterparts.

343 BOSI Lorenzo, DE FAZIO Gianluca, *The troubles in Northern Ireland and theories of social movement (Protest and social movements)*, Amsterdam University Press, 244 p., 2017

344 ROGERS Andrew, “*No Wild Utopian Theory' : The Antiwar Writings of Eva Gore-Booth*”, *A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Liberal Studies At Rice University*, 1/12/2018, 117 p.

345 OIKARINEN Sari, *A Dream of Liberty, Constance Markievicz vision of Ireland, 1908-1927*, Suomen Historiallinen Seura ,1998, p. 39

3. Irish, Polish and Ukrainian women within the nation.

How could her analysis of History permit to give a new look to both the history of these three people and of their connections? Some feminists in Poland and Ukraine shared similarities with Constance Markievicz's mode of action. Aleksandra Piłsudska, the second wife of Józef Piłsudski, for instance took part in the creation of female paramilitary groups, The Riflemen's Association [Związek Strzelczyń] was created in 1912. During the First World War, riflemen provided auxiliary service to the Polish Military Organization (POW) and the Polish Legions, acting as intelligence, couriers, and translators. As were Piłsudski and Markievicz, she was an ardent socialist. The recognition in their role of paramilitary activities was an argument for granting vote for women after the Polish Independence.³⁴⁶ The development of feminism in these nations gave them new tools for social analysis, to apprehend their political situation, therefore we can compare certain categories of Poles, Irish and Ukrainians. Agnieszka Graff affirmed for instance in diverse works that Nationalism in Poland is strongly gendered. Concerning Ukrainian women, the multiplicity of oppression they faced was clear for themselves. They saw their lives as "*difficult, grey and fearful*."³⁴⁷ Despite the fact that in *Women, Ideals and Nation*, Constance Markievicz represented them as suffering together the same plights, Polish and Ukrainian women were in competition between themselves. The latter were clearly benefitting from Lucja Charewiczowa (1897-1943), a Polish Lvovian feminist and patriot activist, evoked the "*so-called Ukrainian women*",³⁴⁸ In parallel, she wrote about "Ukrainski ruch kobiety" (Ukrainian movement for women). Furthermore, to a state-level, the Lviv based feminist newspaper "*Zhinka*" (little women) was subjected to Polish censorship until it was closed in 1938³⁴⁹. Therefore, it enforced the fact that Poles were in dominating position upon the Ukrainians. They seem to confront in the same way that British and Irishwomen's right as they were hierarchized. For many Ukrainians, Maria Zankovetska was the incarnation of Ukraine.³⁵⁰ It was not rare to see feminine figures as incarnation of the nation, but it was regarded. The term "*mother*", sometimes used to qualify the nation "Mother Poland"³⁵¹, "Mother Ukraine", "Mother Ireland", was rather regarded as an injunction to purity,

346 STEPIEN Aneta, "Ireland's Sister in Misfortune, Poland": Polish Militant Suffrage and Its Echoes in Ireland", in Galina Chimiak and Cierlik Bożena dir., *Polish and Irish Struggles for Self-Determination, Living near Dragons*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2020, p. 91 – 113

347 BOHACHEVSKY-CHOMIAK Martha, *Feminists despite themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939*, CIUS Press, 1988, p. 314

348 Ibid, p. 215

349 *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 5 (1993).

350 Ibid, p. 13

351 TIESZEN Bożena, "Matka Polka (Mother Poland) and the Cult of the Virgin Mary: Linguistic Analysis of the Social Roles and Expectations of Polish Women", in Allyson Jule dir., *Language and Religious Identity, Women in discourse*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, pp. 220 – 228

hence the expression “*Mother Ireland, get off our backs!*”³⁵² The phrase comes from a documentary by Anne Crilly, *Mother Ireland*, Mairead Ferrell explained that when she was in Armagh Jail she and her fellow prisoners used this phrase, and it is not excluded that use of this sentence is more ancient among Republican feminists.

In addition, different congresses of women allowed to reunite women from various countries around the world to discuss national issues. In 1933, the Women's Union took part in the activities of the Ukrainian community to make the famine public and help those who were affected by its aftermath, publishing a brochure on the subject.³⁵³ It allowed the Ukrainian women to attract attention on an event, through the International Council of Women. In the assembly, there were Irish women, whose people had experienced almost 90 years before. And so there was Irish support on the investigation about the famine as soon as 1933. These famines are indeed maybe the most precise event that could connect Irish and Ukrainian histories, and therefore deserve to be a major part in the chapter about the interwar period. What this third chapter underlined however, is that the Women were therefore an overlooked actor of international connection between people at that time.

To conclude, the story of Constance Markievicz and her husband could be a red thread on this analysis of Polish-Irish and Ukrainian-Irish relations. It could usefully complete all the elements we have gathered in this section. However, the history of Irish-Polish and Ukrainian-Polish shared destiny goes on, as well as for the more specific history of Irish, Polish and Ukrainian women. As we have shown, the way women organized within the countries allowed Polish, Irish and Ukrainian women to meet and to attract attention on the struggles experienced by their people. While Polish and Ukrainian struggles were contemporary with Irish, a feeling of union could clearly be seen in sources.

In Geneva, 14 countries met Rudnytska who was chosen by Ukrainian Women's Organization through their ties with International organizations, to seek international aid and support and bring the attention of the League of Nations upon the horror of the situation.³⁵⁴ Milena Rudnytska spoke at another international conference held in Vienna in December 1933 urging that

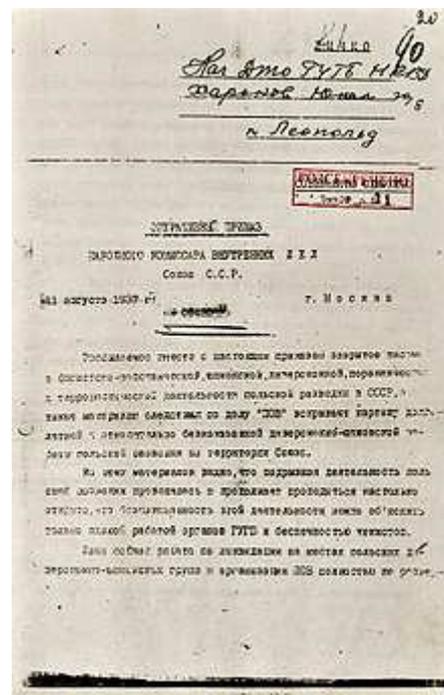
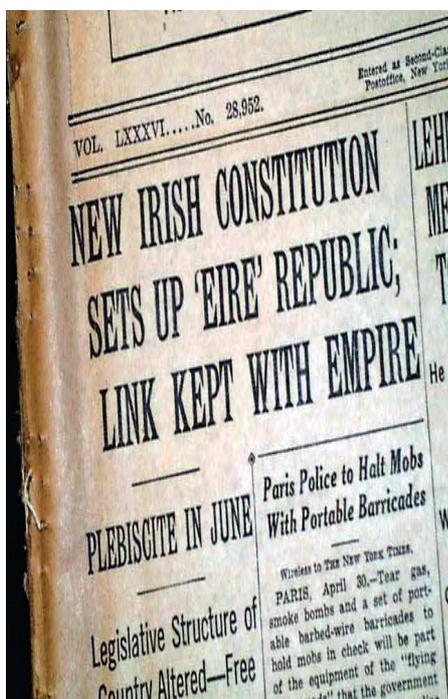
352 O'KEEFE Theresa, “Mother Ireland, get off our backs: feminism and social movement organising during conflict.”, in BOSI Lorenzo, DE FAZIO Gianluca *The Troubles in Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements*. Amsterdam University: Amsterdam University Press, 2017, p.165-184

353 BOHACHEVSKY-CHOMIAK Martha, *Feminists despite themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939*, CIUS Press, 1988, p. 277

354 MALKO Victoria, *Women and the Holodomor-Genocide: Victims, survivors, perpetrators*, The Press at California State University, Fresno, 2019, 144 p.

the international community pressure the Stalinist regime to admit there was a crisis and allow aid. Denial continued and any information about the nature and scope of the famine was suppressed. These countries took different paths, but these famines are indeed maybe the most precise event that could connect Irish and Ukrainian histories, and therefore deserve to be a major part in the chapter about the interwar period. What this third chapter underlined however, is that the Women were therefore an overlooked actor of international connection between people at that time.

IV) Different Paths (1923-1939)



Images :

Left : “New Irish Constitution set up “Eire Republic”, link kept with the Empire”, *The New York Times*, 01/05/1937

Right : NKVD Order n° 00485, Polish Operation of the NKVD, archived by the Kharkov branch of the NKVD, 9/08/1937

Behind : WIENERBERGER Alexander, Starving families during the Holodomor, Ukraine, 1933

In our period, the short interwar (1923-1939) was the period when the political situations of those three countries were the most different. Ukraine was a Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union, a status that granted it paradoxically more recognition than before, but in fact it was totally incorporated in the Soviet Union, and its political changing directive lines therefore directly affected Ukraine. Ireland and Poland on the other hand were countries. Poland passed in 1935 from the regime of Pilsudski, that set itself following the state coup of 1926, to the ethno-nationalist regime of the Endecja, which made the treatment of National and Political minorities (especially communists) harsher. In Ireland, the elections were free, as the losing side of the Irish Civil War – although many of their candidates were imprisoned, including De Valera.

If Ireland was no longer subverted to English Imperialism (the highest stage of Capitalism, to quote Lenin)³⁵⁵, Irish communists were still a part of the dissidence (not to the same extent as Polish communists though), as the countries forgot the socialist past of its national struggle, and this in spite of the access to power of the Labour Party within a coalition in 1932. The pro-treaty side, organised in the Cumann na nGaedheal (Society of the Gaels), was highly conservative. Kevin O'Higgins, who was served as Minister of Justice, even declared that “*we were the most conservative-minded revolutionaries that ever put through a conservative revolution*”³⁵⁶. He was assassinated by the leftist and nationalist IRA in 1927, emphasizing how political tensions and oppositions were still vivid. Despite the fact that it is still discussed if the Soviet regime it was “real communism”, Soviet Union was the incarnation of those socialist hopes of emancipation for Ireland's People. However, while Ukrainians and Poles may have conceived the same hopes and that these two nationalities were present among the state authorities (the creator of the Tchecha, Feliks Dzierzynski, was for instance a Pole), they experienced ethnic cleansing on the hand of the Soviets. This is what the illustration at the page 149 illustrates : the Holodomor and the NKVD Polish Operation. In a first part, a question is drawing itself : how could the special relation between countries based on their feeling of a shared destiny could go on, while these political similarities are no more?

However, this presupposition is not entirely true. This is in 1932 and 1933 that Ukrainian SSR as well as the Ukrainian Kuban were touched by a famine that left a general trauma comparable to the Irish Famine. This is why the diachronic Holodomor/An Gorta Mor comparison deserves a whole chapter, as this could be the best-known and obvious historical similarity between Ukraine and Ireland.

355 LENIN Vladimir, *Imperialism, the highest stage of Capitalism*, Petrograd, 1917 in *Lenin's Selected Works, Vol. 1*, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1963, p. 667 - 766

356 KNIRCK Jason, “Afterimage of the Revolution : Kevin O'Higgins and the Irish revolution”, *Eire Ireland, a Journal of Irish Studies*, Irish American Cultural Institute, Fall-Winter 2003

Eventually, how could this period of interaction finished itself at the eve of the second world war?

A) How changing the regime changed the Polish-Irish and Ukrainian-Irish relations?

Between 1845 and 1933, Ukrainian independentism experienced two very different periods: Ukraine against the Russian Empire, and Ukraine against USSR. And the Ukrainian nationalists fought against the Polish domination. If the Republic of Ireland did not recognise the USSR until the 29th September of 1973, the Irish Republican Army and the Soviet Union maintained their collaboration, though it was slowly decreasing. Lenin told in 1920 to Connolly's son that he rated his father's work way above the works of other European socialists³⁵⁷. In addition, with the historical retreat of the passing years, historians began to take a look upon the history of the XIXth century and they therefore could observe and confirm that such comparisons are possible.

Therefore, to what extent was it a change in those relations?

1) A survival of Irish-Polish and Ukrainian-Irish relations?

The Independence of those countries did not trigger privileged international relations. Despite being both part of the league of nations, international league created in the aftermath of the Great War, the 10th January of 1920, following the Paris Peace Conference, relations between Ireland and Poland were not developed, even if Poland was one of the first countries to establish relations with the new Irish Free State. Each of them were not that open towards the other, as they were preoccupied with rebuilding their own country.³⁵⁸ A Polish diplomatic presence was established in Dublin only in 1929, under the direction of Tadeusz Waclaw Dobrzyński, as Consul General, and the Polish community in Ireland was small³⁵⁹. The date underlined how at that time international relations were slower to establish. The Irish and the Poles have the appealing similarity to have turned a Revolution led by socialists into conservative regimes. They experienced

357 Great Britain Parliament, House of Commons, *Intercourse between Bolshevism and Sinn Féin*, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921, 6 p.

358 KEOWN Gerard, "Ireland of the East and Poland of the West", *Reflections on the intersections between Poland and Ireland*, a lecture at Royal Łazienki Museum by the ambassador of Ireland, , 18 September 2017, 11 p.

359 Id.;

similar agrarian problems, mobilizing the population in both countries.³⁶⁰ The Irish were maybe not interested in social reforms, but they were not as aggressively ethno-nationalists as the Poles. The Endecja was, for instance organising boycott of Jewish shops, outburst of violences against them, causing the death of some of them, notoriously in 1936 during the Przytyk Pogrom. However, it is not a situation that encountered an echo in Ireland, as the word “Endecja” simply does not appear in the press archives, and Przytyk, once. Paradoxically, Sinn Féin had expressed admiration for the divisive economic tactics of the Endecja.³⁶¹

However, one of the main difference between, apart from was the time that was separating people from these events. In the interwar period, the Irish famine was an event that belonged to a distant past and survivors were almost all extinct. Indeed, in this period, maybe helped by the distance and by the research made under the supervision of now state - sponsored Universities, the interwar period saw the history of XIXth Ireland Poland and Ukraine begin to be written. And this analysis is proving at least one other common point between the two countries: being victim of an economic policy, even as opposed as communism and capitalism, is something that defenitiely bring them together.

2.Looking back to the XIXth century)

After 1917, the XIXth century, Nationalism, the partition of Poland, English colonial violence in Ireland with a famine as a peak, the Austro-Hungarian and the Tsarist Empire began to belong to history and to become a subject of study to historians. In this chapter, we will rather focus on appealing examples, than making a whole historiographical overview, as sources are consequently less accessible than more recent works would be. However, this period also provides examples that shows that connected the historiographies of those countries is contemporaneous with our period. Therefore, as we have underlined in our attempt to make a historiographical overview, while there were a lot of contemporaneous comparisons between Poland and Ireland, fewer between Ireland and Ukraine, comparisons between them in historical works are anterior to 1939. The oldest attempt, maybe, in a historical work to compare Irish, Poles and Ukrainians through a particular point could have been in a work by Oszkar Jaszi, an Hungarian historian. In his monograph “*The*

360 BRETT Daniel, “Indifferent but mobilized : Rural Politics during the Interwar Period in Eastern and Western Period”, in Anna Hajdu, Natalia Mamanova, Prospects of Agrarian Populism and Food Sovereignty Movement in Post-Socialist Romania. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 2020, p. 880 - 904

361 HEALY Róisín, *Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, p. 281

Dissolution of the Habsburg monarchy”, in 1929, he wrote, about magyarization that affected minorities such as Romanians that:

*I would say that the method and practices of the Magyar nationality policy were in their essences the same as those applied by all those countries which tried to assimilate their citizens of a foreign tongue by forcible or artificial means. The Policy of the Russian tsarism against the Poles, the Finns and the Ruthenians [...] and the policy of feudal England against the Irish*³⁶²

The evolution of political situation in Ireland and Poland also convinced thinkers to look back on political literature on this topic, whether their own or about a foreign context. In 1922, Karl Kautsky looked back on his correspondence with Engels in the 1880's, in his text “*Ireland*”, reminding what Engels told in 1882 about his support of Irish and Polish Independence. According to him, if Marx and Engels were alive to this day and saw Polish Independence as it was, they would have very mixed feelings. Those particularities layed in the fact “*that they were effective forces against the absolutism*”. But this power of relied on force who were “*economically reactionaries*”, still recognizing that Independence was necessary. National historiographies as well began to be changing and renewing themselves. In Ireland for instance, while the famine was still a topic overlooked compared to the struggle for Independence and the Nationalist movements, revisionist movement began to develop. Among their objectives, they aimed at dispelling politically-oriented readings of history in general, and nationalist myths in particular.³⁶³ Their goal was to create a dipassionate history. It is possible that the fact they achieved Independence reduced a lack of propaganda history.

Indeed, the political changes in those countries, and above all the denouement of Russian Revolution and changed the way they would view history.³⁶⁴ The diasporic population also produced history. “*Національна революція в Ірландії*”³⁶⁵ by Fédir Krushynsky (1931) was written in Paris, where Ukrainian immigrants were relatively numerous, partly due to the fact the country was elected by former members of the Ukrainian government. This was in this context that he came to France, and was among the leading representatives of Young Ukrainian Intellectuals in emigration, and former adjutant to the chief of the government.³⁶⁶ The book is constructed so that he could show the national awakening of the country. Interestingly, the current website of Ukrainian

362 JASZI Oszkar, *The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy*, ACLS History, 2009 (1929), p.328

363 GILLISSEN Christophe, Charles Trevelyan, John Mitchel and the historiography of the Great Famine, *Revue française de civilisation britannique*, XIX-2, 2014, p. 195 - 212

364 KAUTSKY Karl, *Ireland*, Classic Reprint Series, 1974 (1922), 42 p.

365 Крушинський Ф., *Національна революція в Ірландії*, Париж, б.р., 1931, 176 p.

366 YATSIV Roman, “A Present from Kremenchuk to Wawel”, *Kyiv Day*, 15/02/2018

Nationalists in the United States integrated the book in their database. F. Krushynsky also tried to compare the situation in Ukraine and Ireland. He wrote that Ireland is very similar to Ukraine: “*the same meadows, pastures, poplars, groves...*” But in both countries you can see the consequences of the domination of a foreign state: the English fortress “became a formidable, gloomy and sinister English center in Ireland ... On the foundations of the first fortress grew what is our Pechersk in Kiev, but more formidable and gloomy.”³⁶⁷ This was also during this period that was published «Данило О'Коннель» (Daniel O'Connell) by Д. Варнака, (Varnaka) written in 1935.

As a case analysis of a primary source, *Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Irish Revolution*, published by the Cork Workers Club in 1932, is particularly eloquent. According to the opening page, this is part of a serie of pamphlets and booklets issued by the club “*of historical value to the study of the development of the Socialist movement in Ireland*”. Since the first lines, he used the trope of “*ceaseless and heroic struggle*” it acknowledges the transnational characteristic of this struggle which “*has been connected with that of other people and classes.*”. They pay there a special attention to “*the leader of world revolution*”, the famous political theorists of the title, who were conscious of the possible “*immense*” consequences of Ireland's liberation on the world's politics. Engels indeed spent time in Ireland and with Irish communities in England, and knew how to speak Irish. He described Ireland in 1855 as a land with “*Gendarmes, priests, lawyers, officials, landers, in number to gladden the eyes, the complete absence of any industry, so that it would be difficult to understand how these parasites live, were it not for the corresponding contrast of the peasants*”. He also underlined the traces of the “*awful famine.*” This could imply for the authors that things did not change that much for the country. “*Ireland can be counted the first English Colony*”, according to Engels. But oppression in Ireland is not just an affair of ethnicity, it is an affair of social classes. While in 1849 Engels thought the Czechs should not have independence because they were an “*unhistorical peoples*”, in 1893 he wrote that their wish for independence was “*natural.*”, as history have finally not so much importance for this question. By considering the Irish problem, he realized that what socialists of large powerful nations called “*internationalism*” meant national oppression for socialists of small poor nations. The marxist vocabulary is indeed particularly present in their descriptions of English politics towards Irish People, and their analysis of the Irish famine, which they considered as a mass murder. Again, as it was the case in texts studied earlier, like Rolleston, agriculture is a very important factor for an analysis of a society : his diagnostic is without appeal, it is a capitalistic agriculture, and it was fatal to the Irish people. Elements of analysis that the “*bourgeois historians*” would not provide, according to the authors.

367 Крушинський Ф., *Національна революція в Ірландії*, Париж, б.р, 1931, 176 р.

Why such an attention to an Irish-centered political analysis? The point is that they insisted on the Irish famine as a colonial crime against the Irish, while they were idealizing the Soviet Union who was suffering a famine itself. This was an opinion shared in the militant socialist narrative, including by James Connolly, that the Famine was a class crime perpetrated against a peasant proletariat by capitalistic exploiters, domestic and foreigners.³⁶⁸ In addition, the problematics relative to Independence in leftist circles applied to Ukraine and Poland as well : is it bourgeois to reclaim a country with frontiers and a state? One position was put forward by the Polish revolutionary Karl Radek, who maintained that "the right of self-determination [...] is a petty-bourgeois formula that has nothing in common with Marxism." This represents how those considerations were not solely Irish. These contribute to explain why they would turn their eyes towards the Soviet Union : the Irish Independence did not help the Working Class Emancipation. They idealised this, as for them "*The Bolsheviks [...] freed the oppressed peoples of Russia after the Revolution of November 1917.*" (p. 29). Tsarist Russia and Great Britain represented the same thing after all : fortresses of landlordism, conservatism and capitalism. The Soviet Union is for them a deadly enemy of imperialism, but also of the capitalism and political catholicism that began to shape the country conservatism. Ukrainians, on the opposite, began to see themselves as victims of an economical politics as well, here communism. However, as we have stated concerning the interwar political context, it is true that Ireland had forgotten the leftist roots of its Independence, and it contributed to separate ideologically the workers from the Irish state. Even during the war, the *Irish Times* reproached the workers to pledge "*neither allegiance to the Irish Free State nor the Irish Republic, but only to Soviet Russia.*" In 2016, one century after Connolly was murdered, the Irish Labour party recognised that Connolly's vision never realised, and for the Cork worker's club, it is tragic. In 1910, in his *Labour in Irish History* he already provided a complete marxist analysis of the famine, called "*Our Irish girondins sacrifice the Irish peasantry upon the altar of private property*". In this pamphlet, he wrote that : "*it brought to a head class antagonism in Ireland*", and that: "*It is a common saying amongst Irish Nationalists that "Providence sent the potato blight; but England made the famine". The statement is true, and only needs amending by adding that "England made the famine by a rigid application of the economic principles that lie at the base of capitalist society"*"³⁶⁹. The saying he quotes comes from John Mitchel's "*The Last Conquest of Ireland*". And even John Mitchel, as early as 1863, in the first text describing as a mass murder the Irish Famine, described a whole nation dying of an economical policy³⁷⁰. They quoted him as relevant on the question of the famine, even though as Constance Markievicz had declared it in her prison letters,

368 CONNOLLY James, *Labour in Irish History*, Forgotten Books, 2018 (1910), 238 p.

369 Ibid.

370 MITCHEL John, *The last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*, University College Dublin press, 2005 (1860), 220 p.

he was not, as she said, “*a bolshie*.”³⁷¹ However, at the same time, Ukrainians were dying of an economical policy. In the USSR, both Stalin’s commitment to the collectivization of agriculture and his desire to punish what he considered to be the counter-revolutionary Ukrainians have been presented as justifications for the harsh Soviet policies³⁷². The Collectivisation was one of the main policies of Stalin's five years plan that applied for the whole USSR, but it is closely linked with the Ukrainian famine and with the disappearance of millions of Soviet citizens. This aimed to gather, into state-controlled and collectively-controlled farms sovkhozes and kolhozes, while Ukrainian agriculture was functioning far more with a private-property system than the Russian peasants. At the beginning of the 1930's, 91% of agriculture was collectivised. Presented as a way to apply communism, and here, anybody could be considered as such. This implied the deportation of up to 2 millions people³⁷³.

Like in many countries in Western Europe, a part of the Irish population saw the rise of State-socialism in the USSR as a source of hope and an inspiration for the workers around the world. These hopes continued in the 1930's, even though the mass deportations, the famines and the purges claimed millions of lives throughout the decade.³⁷⁴ The Soviets did their best to cover those events, sometimes with the help of foreigners like Edouard Herriot, who came there to see Potemkine villages, or Walter Duranty, that makes documentation of the famine ever harder. In an Ireland that had moved far from the socialist roots of its Independence, USSR represented a form of hopes as well. While Soviet Poles and Ukrainians were so numerous to be victims of these repressions, what these relations with the Soviet Union implied?

3. Soviet relations with Ireland: An obstacle against identification or a link with Ukraine and Poland (1917-1939)?

Lenin welcomed the Easter Rising as the first step of the European Revolution. He welcomed *the blow delivered against the power of the English imperialist bourgeoisie by a rebellion in Ireland*³⁷⁵. The Free State of Ireland and Soviet Union were proclaimed exactly the same year, 1922. However, Irish and Ukrainian independentist often shared similar views. James Connolly, Roger Casement, ... were convinced marxists. For Vynnychenko, the second president of Ukrainian’s People Republic, a Ukrainian who lived in the Russian Empire, marxist meant total

371 MARKIEVICZ, Constance, *Prison letters of countess Markievitch*, Virago Press, 1987, p. 244

372 HECHTER Michael, *Internal Colonialism, Alien Rule, and Famine in Ireland and Ukraine*, Vol. 8 No. 1 (2021): EAST/WEST: JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES (ISSN 2292-7956)

373 CONQUEST Robert, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet collectivization and the Terror famine*, OUP Australia and New Zealand, 2012, 411 p.

374 See COEURE Sophie, *La grande lueur à l'Est*, Archives du Communisme, Seuil, 1999, 358 p.

375 LENIN Vladimir, in *Sbornik Sotsial Demokrata*, n°1, October 1916

liberation, "*social national and individual – and the creation of an egalitarian society*"³⁷⁶. However there was no place for an independent Ukraine in the Soviet political project, that represented traditionally for communists much more an ideal than the Ukrainian People's Republic. In Ireland, Ukraine was always seen as a part of Russia or Poland. Constance Markievicz said more often that her husband was going to his home in Russia than that he was going to Ukraine. All the Irish were of course not communists and we could not make generalizations about ideology, but Ukrainian and Irish had clearly not the same experience of Communism after 1920.

As the Cork Worker's Club had underlined, Soviet Union was a state inspired by Communism, an ideology which like its theorician, Karl Marx, advocated for Irish independentism. Most Irish did not know what happened to Ukraine or even during Soviet-Polish war who revealed Soviet expansionist nature. If Lauren Arrington had explained that his violently right-wing views prevented Casimir Markievicz to understand Ireland, maybe the hope given by the Soviet Revolution prevented some Irish to understand Poland and Ukraine. The fact that Soviet administration initiated a politic of indigenization, "*Korenizatsiya*" which granted to Soviet Poles and especially Ukrainians rights and opportunities they could not even dream off under the Romanov rule, could have given credits to this opinion. This law created posts in the Soviet administration for national minorities, and a development of their languages in regional administrations and especially schools that allowed a large literacy rate. However, at the turning of the 1930's, the laws turned against the Ukrainians in an important serie of repressions, and the members administration who benefitted were murdered in the Purges. Lemkin recorded those events when justifying the expression "*Soviet Genocide in Ukraine.*"³⁷⁷ This did not prevent people to defend this regime in the 1930's. One of the most striking examples is that the writer who saw Irish and Poles as tragic nations, Bernard Shaw, supported Stalin and denied Ukrainian suffering during the famine. In March of 1933, he wrote with twenty other persons a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, while the Welsh Gareth Jones was in Ukraine. He wrote that :

*Particularly offensive and ridiculous is the revival of the old attempts to represent the condition of Russian workers as one of slavery and starvation, the Five-Year Plan as a failure, [...] We the undersigned are recent visitors to the USSR. Some of us travelled throughout the greater part of its civilized territory. We desire to record that we saw nowhere evidence of such economic slavery, privation, unemployment and cynical despair*³⁷⁸.

376 SOROKA Mykola, *Faces of Displacement: the writings of Volodymyr Vynnychenko*, McGill Queen's press, 2012, p.25

377 JACOBS Steven Leonard, *Lemkin on Genocide*, Lexington Books, 2014, p.18

378 SHAW Bernard and twenty others, " Social Conditions in Russia ", *Manchester Guardian*, 2/03/1933

If the famines could have brought them together because of the similar traumas they left, the political context did not allow that. Trevelyan's inaction during the Irish famine was a consequence of laissez faire ideology, and Soviet Union was sometimes seen in western countries as a serious alternative to this. Thus it could explain their sympathy towards Soviet Union. About the Irish famine, Bernard Shaw wrote the following exchange in his 1903 play "*Man and Superman*" :

Malone: Me father died of starvation in Ireland in the black 47. Maybe you've heard of it.

Violet: The Famine?

Malone: No, the starvation. When a country is full of food, and exporting it, there can be no famine." ³⁷⁹

However, it worth noting that Shaw created in 1884 the Fabian Society, with the purpose to advance the principles of democratic socialism through reformist methods. ³⁸⁰ Beatrice Webb, an eminent member of the Labour Party during the interwar period, and one of the most important advocate of the Stalin turn from Indigenization to Russification of the USSR, was notoriously anti-Scottish and anti-Irish, qualifying the latter "a detestable race". White imperialism and leftism were therefore not exclusive there. Finally, the most "ironical" point here could be that the Polish Operations of the NKVD³⁸¹ against Soviet Poles, which killed more than hundred thousand Poles, happened during the Purges of 1937. Shaw defended the Purges, demonstrating his fanaticism, stating that *victims often have to be pushed of the ladder with ropes around their necks* " ³⁸².

379 SHAW Bernard, *Man and Superman*, New York, Brentano's, 1903, p. 150

380 PUGH Patricia, *Bernard Shaw, Imperialist*, Vol. 11, Shaw and Politics, Penn State University Press, 1991, pp. 97-118

381 See SNYDER Timothy, *Bloodlands, Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, Basic Books, 2012, 560p.

382 Philpot Terry, " Reactionary toffs knew better than Georges Bernard Shaw ", *The Guardian*, 20/11/2015



Soviet stamp bearing the effigie of Georges Benard Shaw, 1956

In conclusion, Irish contemporary views on the Soviet Union are very important to see and understand their perception of Ukraine at that time. Moreover while they had similar experience of empires but not of communist-inspired regime, it was an event which happened under the latter that brought Ukraine closer to Ireland.

B) A Diachronic Comparison : Holodomor and Gorta Mor

The similarity between the impact of the Irish and Ukrainian famines and the way they could bring Irish and Ukrainian people together deserves a whole chapter. In the first part, we will focus on the specific trauma induced by the effect of starvations of the scale of a whole people, including within the nation and among the diasporic people. In addition, what they share is the central place of the famine in their history and in the antagonism with their neighbors : this makes Ukrainians and Irish two post-colonial European people to have a mass starvation as their main recent historical tragedy.

1. Ukrainian possibility of identification with the Irish: the universality of starvation-induced suffering?

First, let us focus on the two articles written by Alexeï Bayer. Bayer explained that he has a Russian background, so he comes from a people culturally very close to Ukrainians, but he's not a Ukrainian himself. In these articles, the importance of famine is highlighted. He declared that "*Both countries suffered massive famines, which killed millions. (They are even known by similar names: an Gorta Mór in Irish Gaelic and Holodomor in Ukrainian)*"³⁸³

The connections between these two episodes by these people themselves is a case of connected memories. However, as the Soviet Union made important efforts to hide the famine, finding contemporaneous sources about these connected memories would be hard and not necessarily concluding. There are however both similarities in representation of their memories and, even, crossed memories. At first, their imageries share some strong similarities, and the way the vocabulary employed could be similar is impressive, and this is also induced by their scales. The imagery of mass starvation, and the traumas they left are strikingly similar and their impact could be compared. In Mitchel's pamphlet about the Irish Famine, who left a durable mark on its memory, description of cannibalism could also be found: "*Mad mother began to eat their own children.*"³⁸⁴ Research works were made on this topic, only to prove that it was likely practiced and that cases occurred during the famine according to the archives³⁸⁵, but this is nothing comparable with the famine imagery that was left in Ukraine. In Ireland, the imagery that left a mark is rather the

383 BAYER Alexeï, " Ukraine is the Ireland of the Russian Empire", *Kyiv Post*, 23/12/2018

384 MITCHEL John, *The last Conquest of Ireland (perhaps)*, University College Dublin press, 2005 (1860), 220 p.

385 *Eating People is wrong and Other Essays on the Famine, Its Past and Its Future*, Princeton University Press, 2015, 248 p.

people who ate grass and were found dead on the roadside. The compilation of oral testimonies of the famine by Catherine Poirteir contained tens of accounts of that types, while they were quiet about cannibals, maybe because of traumas, while in Ukrainian testimonies it is dramatically frequent³⁸⁶. In Ukraine, however, cannibalism was central in famine descriptions, and therefore this is often quoted in testimonies. Some accounts of it are quite impressive. A grandmother in Tarhan, Central Ukraine, declared to the documentarist Bénédicte Banet that was gathering testimonies : *“En face vivait une femme enceinte, elle était sur le point d’accoucher, ma mère est allée l’aider. Ce matin-là ma mère voit à côté du poêle un sac de déchets et un chaudron sur le feu. La femme y avait mis son enfant et l’avait cuit. Elle dit à ma mère qu’il n’est plus là et qu’elle l’a mangé... Je connais ce fait.”*³⁸⁷ The difference with the Irish Famine is that in its case the external accounts were far more numerous. Description of starvating people were qualified in the case of the Irish famine as “spectropoetic.”³⁸⁸ In Doecember 1846, Cummins came to Skibbereen, one of the most affected locality of Ireland during the first years of the famine, and he reported this appearance in *“The Times”* of 1846, what he saw when he was bringing bread to them. Cummins explained that when they saw the food, the people surrounded him and he described 200 *“phantoms”*, clamouring *“demoniac yells”*, they were *“frightful spectres.”* This gave to these events a supernatural aura.

In addition, those accounts of spectacular dehumanizing behaviours of people desesperate for food, often before dying, were taking place in a land that should have been spared by starvation if not for politics. This is a pattern that was left on both memories and representations. For instance, in the lecture of Mitchel wrote in his famous pamphlet that *“they died of hunger in the midst of abundance.”*, a motif ulteriorly used in cultural famine representations : we can quote Sinead O'Connor *“Famine”* song (1994) : *Specifically I want to talk about the “famine” / About the fact that there never really was one / There was no “famine”* . However, other studies, as well as the British government at that time, thought that the famine was due to overpopulation. Ukraine, on the other hand, was described as the breadbasket of Europe long before the 1930's and it is emphasized that *“чернозём”*, which means *“black earth”* in Russian, were among the most fertile soil on Earth. In fact, there is still a debate if a famine could ever be called natural.³⁸⁹

386 POIRTEIR Cathal, *Famine Echoes – Folk memories of the Great Irish Famine : An Oral History of Ireland's Greatest Tragedy*, Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 1995, 310 p.

387 *Across the street lived a pregnant woman, she was about to give birth, my mother went to help her. That morning my mother saw a bag of garbage, and a cauldron on the fire next to the stove. The woman had put the child there and cooked them. She tells my mom that they're not here anymore and that she ate them...I know this fact.*

BANET Bénédicte, *Holodomor, Le Génocide Oublié*, Insitut Productions, 2013, 90 minutes.

388 MCLEAN Stuart, *With Death looking out of their eyes, the Spectropoetics of Hunger in accounts of the Irish Famine, Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 43, No. 3, Subjectivities in Material Worlds (November 1999), pp. 40-67

389 See *“Famine, Natural or Man Made?”*, *World Ecology Report, Critical Issue on Health and Environment*, Winter 2008, Vol. XX, n°4, 16 p. The article featured the famine, while other article putting up this interrogation are focusing on more actual events.

In the Ukrainian-Irish relations, the question of a parallel Holodomor-An Gorta Mor is one of the most important points to solve, for the similarity in the trauma they left and the central place they bare, but also for the difference between the origins of the famines. With declaration such as “*The Great Famine is the furnace in which the great Irish soul was forged.*” (and the true reason we march with such conviction on St Patrick's day)³⁹⁰, the declarations of Yushchenko who qualified it as a key to unlock Ukrainian identity, or the example of this online Ukrainian shop based in Paris where “Holodomor” is a whole category separated from “History” and “Politics”, show how crucial some could consider it.³⁹¹ A deeper comparative study of their impact and a crossed analysis of their memory therefore appears to be necessary, and two major problematics at least remains.

2. Holodomor and Gorta Mor : Starvation as their main historical tragedy)

“*The famine was our Holocaust*” This is what *The Irish Independent* chose to entitle an article in which Jim O'Brien recalls that : “*It's a chapter of our history we should never close*”³⁹². It is not exactly a comparison with “*the*” Holocaust. He did not state that it worth comparison with the Genocide of the Jews; it is not even, in fact, a way to call it a genocide. When stating that “*During the mid-XIXth century, Ireland experienced the worst social and economic disaster a nation could suffer.*”, it means that for the Irish this is their peak in suffering. It is the fundamental tragedy of their history. The use of the word “Holocaust”, now essentially used to qualify the Genocide of Jewish and Roma people by the Nazis during the Second World War, sometimes refered as Shoah, has a particular connotation and is sometimes considered as a unique example of a total Genocide. Considering the aims of the Wannsee Conference, therefore a total annihilation of specified ethnicities, and the Holocaust is the direct consequence of it, what some specialists of the question underlined regarding to the Holodomor. In 2009, three years after the government of Viktor Yushchenko recognized the Holodomor as a Genocide against the Ukrainian People³⁹³, an attempt was made to give a legal aspect to his historical question. Volodymyr Vassylenko, a member of the controversial Ukrainian Institute of National Memory, published “*The Ukrainian Holodomor of 1932-1933 as a Crime of Genocide: A Legal Assessment.*” His goal was to explain and demonstrate

390 SANSFIELD BOWMAN Stephen, “The Great Famine is the furnace in which the great Irish soul was forged”, *Syracuse*, 15/03/2013

391 See it here <http://www.la-boutique-ukrainienne.com/fr/>

392 O'BRIEN Jim, “The Famine is our holocaust, a chapter in our history we should never close”, *The Irish Independent*, 15/12/2020

393 See the recognition act in the European Parliament in 2008, as a crime against humanity <

<https://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?language=en&type=IM-PRESS&reference=20081022IPR40408> >

in legal terms the genocidal aspect of the Holodomor, and study the consequences of the Holodomor in a very detailed way, while refusing the comparison with the Holocaust. He explained that : “*First, the legal criteria of the Convention were not designed to qualify all cases of the mass destruction of people as genocide. Pursuant to article II of the Convention, the term genocide means certain criminal acts committed against any national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such, and not simply cases of mass destruction of people. As mentioned earlier, the mass destruction of people is the separate international crime of extermination*”.³⁹⁴ Andrea Graziosi came to a similar conclusion :

*The number of victims makes the Soviet 1931–1933 famines into a set of phenomena that, in the framework of European history, can be compared only to later Nazi crimes. The course of events in Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, and the link this course had to both Stalin’s interpretation of the crisis and the policies that originated from this interpretation, reintroduce, in a new way, the question of its nature. Was there also a Ukrainian genocide? The answer seems to be no if one thinks of a famine conceived by the regime, or— this being even more untenable—by Russia, to destroy the Ukrainian people. It is equally no if one adopts a restrictive definition of genocide as the planned will to exterminate all the members of a religious or ethnic group, in which case only the Holocaust would qualify.*³⁹⁵

Why is talking about genocide, that the word is legitimated to qualify “their main historical tragedy” is so important for national memory? The term Holocaust is not always used to create equivalences with the Holocaust, as the term is older than the second world war, and is itself . An interested point of view on this question is brought precisely by a historical book about the Irish famine on the importance of the *Genocide* term:

*[i]n the circumstances in which they found themselves in 1852, the survivors of the Great Famine, in Ireland and overseas, could be forgiven for failing to observe fine semantic distinctions as to the exact meaning of the term ‘genocide’ is peculiar, as the term was only introduced in 1943 by the lawyer Raphael Lemkin and defined legally by the United Nations in 1948. Presumably, Ó Murchadha has confused the more laden and specific concept of genocide with the term holocaust – a biblical notion which, prior to the Second World War, was widely used to refer to cataclysmic events in general, including the Famine (for instance by Michael Davitt’.*³⁹⁶

394 VASSILENKO Volodymyr, *The Ukrainian Holodomor as a crime of genocide : A legal assessment*, Kyiv, Olena Teliha Publishing House, 2009, 48 p.

395 GRAZIOSI Andrea, *The Soviet 1931–1933 Famines and the Ukrainian Holodomor: Is a New Interpretation Possible, and What Would Its Consequences Be*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 27, n°1-4, 2004, 2005 pp. 97-115

396 O’MURCHADHA Ciaran, *The Great Famine: Ireland’s Agony 1845-1852*, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013 (2011), p. 196

His quote illustrates the distinction between Genocide and Holocaust, but paradoxically, when we don't talk about genocide but about Holocaust, this is not to compare with the Shoah, this is not even to call something a genocide. Some quotes are supporting this point: . It is a word used to qualify the principal traumas in their history, the “climax” of their long history of oppression and misery. Lemkin himself thought about genocide in terms of cultural impact: and this is one of the elements giving credits to the comparison. There is something biblical in there, in the origin of the name of course, but also in the fact that famines are bad signs. The connotation is however not to forget, and there are two events that should not be compared: the specificity of the Holocaust lied in the intent to eliminate, a whole population. During the Holodomor, the intentionality, still discussed, aimed at just a part. If the mortality datas of the later are impressive (According to a former employee of Ukrderzhplanu (Ukrstateplan), S. Sosnovyi, in Ukraine during the first half of 1933, every minute 17 died every minutes, every hour more than 1,000; and daily 25,000 people during the peak of the famine³⁹⁷), this cannot compare with the losses experienced by for instance Ukrainian Jews during the Holocaust, who were around 60%³⁹⁸. The Ukrainian people conserved their language, while Yiddish is gravely endangered. Andrea Graziosi viewed mass violence as a pyramide, with Holocaust as its peak, and Holodomor being only close. Comparing these events would present the first of them as milder than it really was³⁹⁹. This effect, better known, could be similar to what some Ukrainians could feel when their famine is compared to the Irish famine.⁴⁰⁰ For instance, the life expectancy of Ukrainian people was much lower than of Irish people at the height of famines: 9,1 for Ukrainians⁴⁰¹, for Irish people approximatively 20. In both cases, the women lived longer : 10,9 for Ukrainian girls, against 7,3 for boys⁴⁰² – and 18,7 for men and 22,4 for women at the height of the Irish famine (a low 38,3 of life expectancy before the famine for the Irish, inducing how weak they already were).⁴⁰³ Women's life expectancy was studied in both cases, which contributed to studies that confirm they were more likely to survive in life-threatening situations. This seems to have impacted their fertility as well, and their role as mothers, as victims

397 SOSNOVYI Stepan, “The Truth about the Famine”, in Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Terror, *The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, a White Book, Vol.1*, The Basilian Press, 1953, p. 222 – 225

398 DAWIDOWICZ Lucy, *The War Against the Jews*, Bantam, 10th anniversary edition, 1986 (1975), 467 p.

399 DMYTRYCHYN Irina dir., *La Grande Famine en Ukraine-Holodomor (connaissance et reconnaissance)*, L'Harmattan, collection ‘présence ukrainienne’, 2017, 216 p.

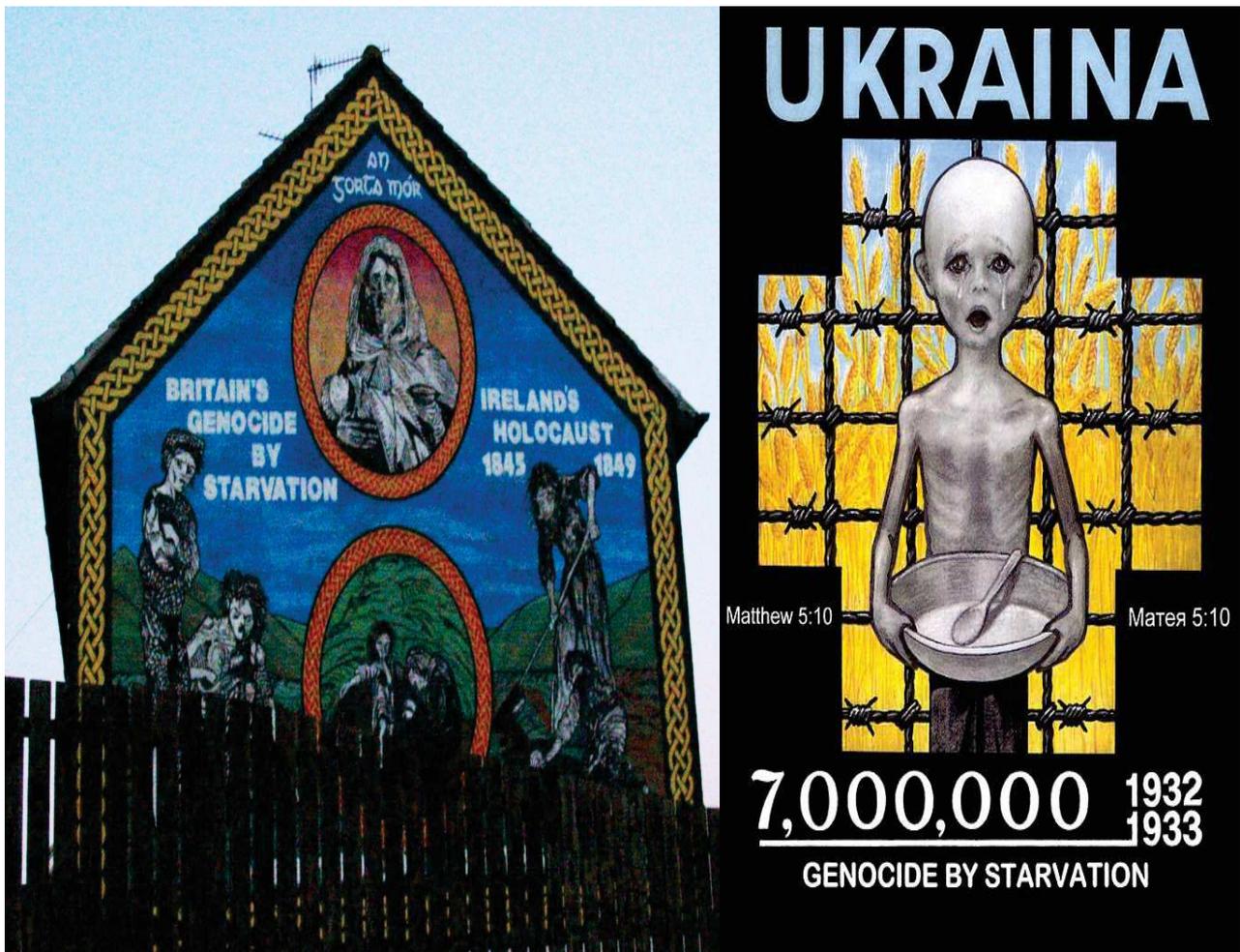
400 *На противагу ірландському голоду український Голодомор став наслідком навмисних дій дослідниця*, Radio Svoboda, 26 novembre 2015

401 ANDREEV Evgeny, Jacques Vallin & France Meslé, *Demographic Consequences of The Great Famine: Then and Now*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 30, No. 1/4, AFTER THE HOLODOMOR: THE ENDURING IMPACT OF THE GREAT FAMINE ON UKRAINE (2008), pp. 217-241 (25 pages)

402 ANDREEV Evgeny, Jacques Vallin & France Meslé, *Demographic Consequences of The Great Famine: Then and Now*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 30, No. 1/4, AFTER THE HOLODOMOR: THE ENDURING IMPACT OF THE GREAT FAMINE ON UKRAINE (2008), pp. 217-241 (25 pages)

403 O'NEILL Aaron, *Life Expectancy from Birth in Ireland from 1845 to 2020*, Statista, 6/01/2021

of mass violence, had a particular part in the memories of the famine⁴⁰⁴ This describes a matriarchal society. Here, it is the nation who is feminized as well as the typical famine victim. For example, when the family's grandmother is trying to save the remaining supplies the Soviet soldiers are trying to take from them "*The blow from a rude communist does not just bring an old woman or the mother down but forces Ukraine down to her knees* " ⁴⁰⁵. Semantically, the word Holodomor seems like a mix between the terms Holocaust and An Gorta Mor, and historically, it was compared to both, and shares traits with both.



Two artworks denouncing the famines as “Genocide by Starvation”

404 DROHAN Freya, “Scientists studying Irish Famine reveal women more likely to survive life-threatening situations”, *Irish Central*, 9/01/2018

ZARULLI Virginia, *Women live longer than men even during severe famines and epidemics*, Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 23/01/2018

405 Ibid, p. 203

Left: Belfast Mural, Republican side, denouncing Genocide by Starvation. Whiterock Road, West Belfast.

Right : DENYSENKO Leonid, Чому!?! (Why?!), 550mm x 400 mm, Graphic art on paper, black ink & gouache. 2008

Another common point is indeed that the generational trauma induced by state-scale starvation built Irish and Ukrainian psychological and genetic memories. During the Second World War, ten years after, the famine remained by far the most important subject of conversation among ordinary people in Central Ukraine.⁴⁰⁶ Written in 2017 by children of a famine survivor born in the 1960's, but addressing problems that were principally applying to survivors and their children before the 1990's, "*Ukraine 1933, Holodomor: Itinéraire d'une famille et témoignages de survivants*"⁴⁰⁷, considered the generational trauma as a key point of their analysis, considering themselves heirs of a tragedy, and that a lot more of mental illnesses could have been helped and prevented if the famine and the intergenerational trauma it caused were taken into account. The people they interviewed, presented as true memory keepers, insisted on how people were turning into hoarders as consequences of life-threatening deprivations, and this also marked their children through the most ordinary moments of life. M. Mykolenko declared for the Lyon-based association *Ukraine 33*, that is gathering testimonies for almost 40 years: "*Quand mon fils vivait avec ses parents et qu'il ne voulait pas manger, je lui disais que si nous étions en 1933, il mangerait bien!*"⁴⁰⁸ This point shows another major difference between both events, laying in its diachronicity. The traumas are still contemporary, even 175 years after the Irish famine, but in Ukraine, the fact the famine was more recent makes it more impactful on the society. In Ireland, affects on survivors and their families are less precisely recorded but the symptoms, like people turning into hoarders were probably similar, and they are studies about the biological impact of the famine on humans. The ambiguity remains on the statuts of these events, despite of these precisions, as the connotation of the word is rather inevitable.

Both historical events are indeed hard to be studied and compared without addressing their long-term consequences, and their parallel or crossed memories, because both of them really had a harrowing demographic and cultural impacts. We should analyse them and their decades coming after. However, before that, there is a step: the aftermath of the Holodomor and of the Irish Republic declaration, just before the outbreak of the Second World War, as well as its place within

406 GRAZIOSI Andrea, HAJDA Lubomyr, HRYN Halyna dir., *After the Holodomor, the Enduring Impact of the Great Famine in Ukraine*, Harvard papers in Ukrainian studies, 2014, p. 177

407 Itinerary of a family and survivors' testimonies

408 When my son lived with us, and he did not want to eat, I told him that if we were in 1933, he would eat well!
Témoignage d'un survivant, témoin du Holodomor, *Ukraine 33*, Paris, 22/11/2010

the Russian-Ukrainian antagonism as compared with the Irish-British one. Therefore, their memories are sometimes opposing themselves. Mike Davies was interviewed on the Crimes of Socialism and Capitalism, he declared on Ireland that : “*Coupled with this was the fanatical, dogmatic British belief that whatever happened shouldn't interfere with the operation of the market. The market should work to ultimately relieve the famine. It was the same policy they had applied in Ireland in the 1840s, which had led directly to the starvation and death of about a fifth of the Irish population. At a time when Ireland was exporting things like cattle and horses, people in the west of Ireland were reduced to cannibalism*”, and on Ukraine: “*Things like the famine in the Ukraine, the purges in the Soviet Union in 1937-8, the Great Leap Forward Famine, and the Khmer Rouge are political crimes. And of course many socialists would dispute that they occurred under socialism at all*”⁴⁰⁹. Jacobin is a magazine that present himself as the voice of the American Left. On the other hand, other works on the Holodomor, like the Naumiak's *Holodomor 1933*, insisted a lot on and evoked the Irish Famine (here in Stéphane Courtois introduction) without mentioning the Capitalist roots of the tragedy. However, all these examples are dating from decades after the Holodomor. Are there publications in Ireland that used the Holodomor to demonize the Soviet Union and “Communism” in general in the 1930's?

C) Fenians and Petliurites : the epitome of an antagonism?

Petliurite is a derogatory term for Ukrainian nationalists, based on the name of the last President of the UPR directory, Petliura. The Soviet Administration denounced Petliurite elements that corrupted the collective farms, chasing “Ukrainian-chauvinists” elements of language and their authors. The liquidated author of the Ukrainization, purged and victims of deportation as were Ukrainian peasants, were qualified of petliurite swines.⁴¹⁰ The term “Fenian”, predating the creation of the Sinn Féin, while it is unclear if the word was used during the Famine, filled the same function. This is under these names that were known. In Ukraine, the term petliurite from the name of the last president of the Ukrainian directory. Both famines were however so much linked with social discriminations that this ethnic factor is sometimes seen as exaggerated, as indeed class were openly despised and ostracized in the government's political line, kulaks in the Soviet Union, and lazy peasants in a British context. Laziness and Otherness were common traits to draw them. Michael de Nie, in “*The Eternal Paddy, Irish Identity and the British Press 1798 – 1882*”, present multiple passages dehumanizing the Irish, including during the Famine. He was presented as

409 DAVIES Mike, “On the Crimes of Socialism and Capitalism”, *Jacobin*, 23/10/2018

410 APPLEBAUM Anne, *Red Famine*, Doubleday, 2017, 496 p.

'violent' and 'conspiring' (de Nie 90), a 'wild man', 'an animal in human form' (de Nie, p. 120), 'short-sighted and foolish' (de Nie, p. 121), and often "symbolized in the satirical press by the pig" (de Nie 17, p. 233)⁴¹¹. In Ukraine, wealthy peasants were labelled as "kulaks" (fists), branded as traitors and portrayed as "the enemy of the people", and the vocabulary of otherness applied to them as well.⁴¹² In Ireland, they were despised because they were very poor. In Ukraine, they were stigmatized as rich peasants, while in practice the possession of pigs or chickens was enough to be qualified as a kulak. The stigma of social class and ethnicity are strikingly interlinked in both cases. The Ethnic factor induced the central place of the famines in the antagonism. British and English, Soviet and Russians, (Britain and Soviet Union being both federations) those words have become synonymous in nationalist discourses.

Few informations filtered about the Ukrainian famine in Ireland, but articles about it are findable. In 1932, the *Nenagh Guardian* launched a warning against "*the Dangers of Communism.*", and "*Its position in Ireland.*"⁴¹³ The author, anonymous, uses as an example the famine in Soviet Union and particularly in Ukraine, but also in Dublin, with, ironically, the use of "hunger marches". The article therefore declares : "*This, one may say in passing, is not the policy adopted by the Soviet authorities in dealing with their own hunger marchers in Ukraine and elsewhere. Maddened by Starvation and famine such as is unknown in any other country to-day, these helpless peasants have from time to time attempted to march [...]*" In 1935, two years after the famine, the *Evening Herald* published an article called "Irish Parallel in the Ukraine".⁴¹⁴ They suggested that Irish people should find interest in the story of a race (sic) whose struggle are not yet over. The country seemed so far from their geographical imagery that they felt the need to precise that this is a south western part of Russia, because as they said "*How many people have heard of the Ukraine?*". In an ethnocentric point of view, they presented the desire of Independence from Ukraine as justified by their belonging to Western/European civilisation while Russia was an "oriental" civilisation, and that it would be useful as a bulwark between the "progressive" and the Bolshevik Europe as was Poland. The article is even mentioning the financement of OUN by Nazi Germany as a chance for Ukraine to gain Independence, despite the fact that victorious Nazis would kill the vast majority of ethnic Ukrainians if succeeded, and the totality of the Jewish and Roma

411 DE NIE Michael, *The Eternal Paddy, Irish Identity and the British Press 1798 – 1882*, University of Wisconsin Press, 2004

412 KROL Tatiana, *A Comparative Imalological study of the Irish and Ukrainian Great Famines in Novels by Samchuk, Macken, Motyl and Mullen*, School of Applied Languages and Intercultural Studies, Dublin City University, September 2018, p. 32

413 "Dangers of Communism", *Nenagh Guardian*, 26/11/1932

414 "Irish Parallel in the Ukraine", *Evening Herald*, 18/06/1935

population of Ukraine⁴¹⁵. It concluded with “*Poor Ukraine! No one is interested by you or your Independence*”. No mention of the Holodomor famine was made : Soviet censorship was effective.

C) 1939 : The Epilogue?

The Ukrainians were wiped out in the purges, 500.000 disappeared during this period⁴¹⁶. The Polish Operation of the NKVD, in the context of the great purges, that targeted the Poles in USSR, and claimed 22% of the population⁴¹⁷. Numerous articles were made about the purges, of the “removal” of officers, but mention of a Polish specificity are rare : “*The Collective Farms are alleged to be hotbeds of Polish Espionage.*”⁴¹⁸ It had similar demographic consequences, and it was sometimes seen as a genocide. However, the situation of pre-war was very different. Poland was experiencing threats from Germany and the Soviet Union, that spared the distant Ireland, who, at the same time, was enjoying a new constitution. An analysis of the *Irish Examiner* published in 1937 emphasized that schoolchildren were not taught about Poland anymore and that references of sympathy to Poland were becoming rare, while Polish people were targeted by Soviet and Nazi genocidal politics. As he emphasized, public foreign opinion was stirred. However, the Irish continued to play their roles as allies of the Poles. If there was no Irish embassy in Poland, an Irish diplomat, Sean Lester, would play an important role as League of Nations High Commissioner in Gdansk from 1933 to 1936. Lester was one of the first to warn of the danger posed by Nazism, and to protest the persecution of the city’s Polish and Jewish inhabitants. Lester has been honoured by the City of Gdansk and his portrait hangs in the headquarters of the Irish Foreign Ministry in Dublin.⁴¹⁹

This is how this long chapter of almost a century of shared struggles and mutual identifications was closed. The war again reshuffled the cards. Poland and Ukraine were on the other side of the Iron Curtain, and the antagonism between East and West was more important than ever. However, the impact of a century of and those relations are still built specifically on this chapter's legacy. During the Second World War, Ireland as a state remained neutral and untouched, while Ukraine and Poland experienced among the highest losses of the second world war. The

415 “General Plan Ost”, *Shoah Resource Center*, The International Schools for Holocaust Study, Yad Vashem.

416 CONQUEST Robert, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet collectivization and the Terror famine*, OUP Australia and New Zealand, 2012, p. 303

417 KARSKI Karol, *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* Volume 45\Issue 3 2012 *The Crime of Genocide Committed against the Poles by the USSR before and during World War II : An International Legal Study*, Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law, Case Western Reserve University, Volume 45, Issue 3, 2012

418 “Soviet's Latest Purge”, *Irish Press*, 17/06/1937

419 MCNAMARA Paul, *Sean Lester, Poland, and the Nazi Takeover of Danzig*, Irish Academic Press, 2008, 255 p.

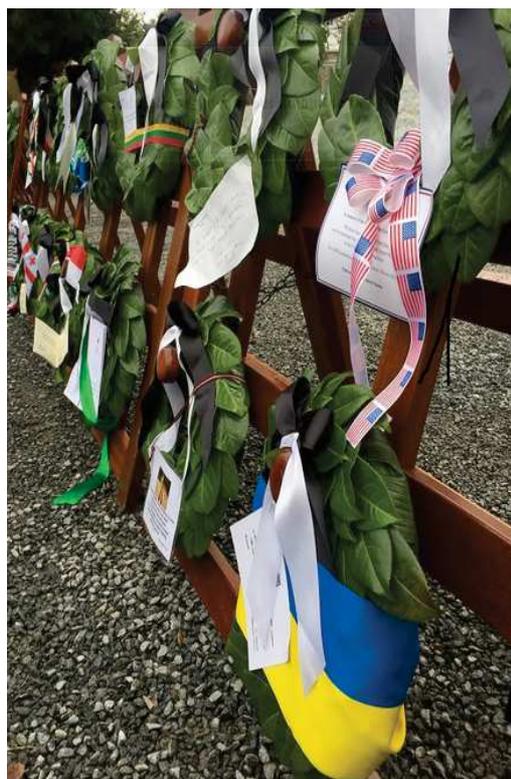
Belfast-born poet John Hewitt declared, during the second world war, that : “*We must know more than Ireland.*”⁴²⁰, emphasizing that the country should continue to learn from Eastern European. However, the war left very different marks on Ireland, Poland and Ukraine, and after the war there were two sides of the Iron Curtain in Europe,

To conclude, it is safe to say that those periods following Independence wars did not help to continue the building of International Relations between Ireland, Poland and Ukraine. The latter specifically was often forgotten. It shows rather that they were “busy” with their own evolution and their own problems. Despite this, the studies of the parallels between the Irish and Ukrainian show how parallels could be deep. The famines, especially. However, the end of this period showed that the circulation of the ideas was more important than we could think, as the “Irish Press Archives” are showing. However, this period of time and its event left a trace on the memory of those countries, especially considering how what is similar between those famines is that they had a deep psychological and political impact on those societies, and that the parallel is built on the long term, and its impact should be studied to have a complete representation of those relations and parallels. We indeed emphasized that it is the presence of the famine in the national imagery, its importance in the national identity, and even the biological impact on the people that made them the most similar.

What legacy left this common past and the relations of self-identification these countries built between 1845 and 1939?

420 WOODWARD Guy, *Culture, Northern Ireland and the Second World War*, OUP Oxford, 2015, p. 143

V) The hereafter : a convergence or an estrangement of memories?



Images : Advertisting for the Polska-Eire festival, Website of the Republic of Poland, 29/06/2021

A Ukrainian Flag during the Annual National Famine Commemoration in memory of those who suffered during the Great Famine in Ireland in 1845-1852, Embassy of Ukraine in Ireland, 02/10/2017

On the 24th August of 1991, Ukraine was an independent country, and on the 31th December of 1991, Ireland recognized Ukraine. Russian troops were leaving Poland. In Ireland, the Troubles. Therefore, in the history of those countries and the construction of their memory, there is clearly a before and an after the 1990's. This is why we will begin with the 1939 – 1995 period, where the political context did not allow neither international encounters (except, and we should notice it, in the diaspora), nor the development of national memory. In a second part, we shall focus on the legacy of Constance Markievicz after 1939, regarding her role in East/West relations but also her theories about intersections between national issues and gender issues, and how they could apply to our topic. Finally, we will be able to address the contemporary political situation of those countries and how the memory of those relations between 1845 and 1939 survived to this day, as well as the way historical parallels of this period impacted international relations.

A. The importance of memory in those countries crossed history (1939-1995)

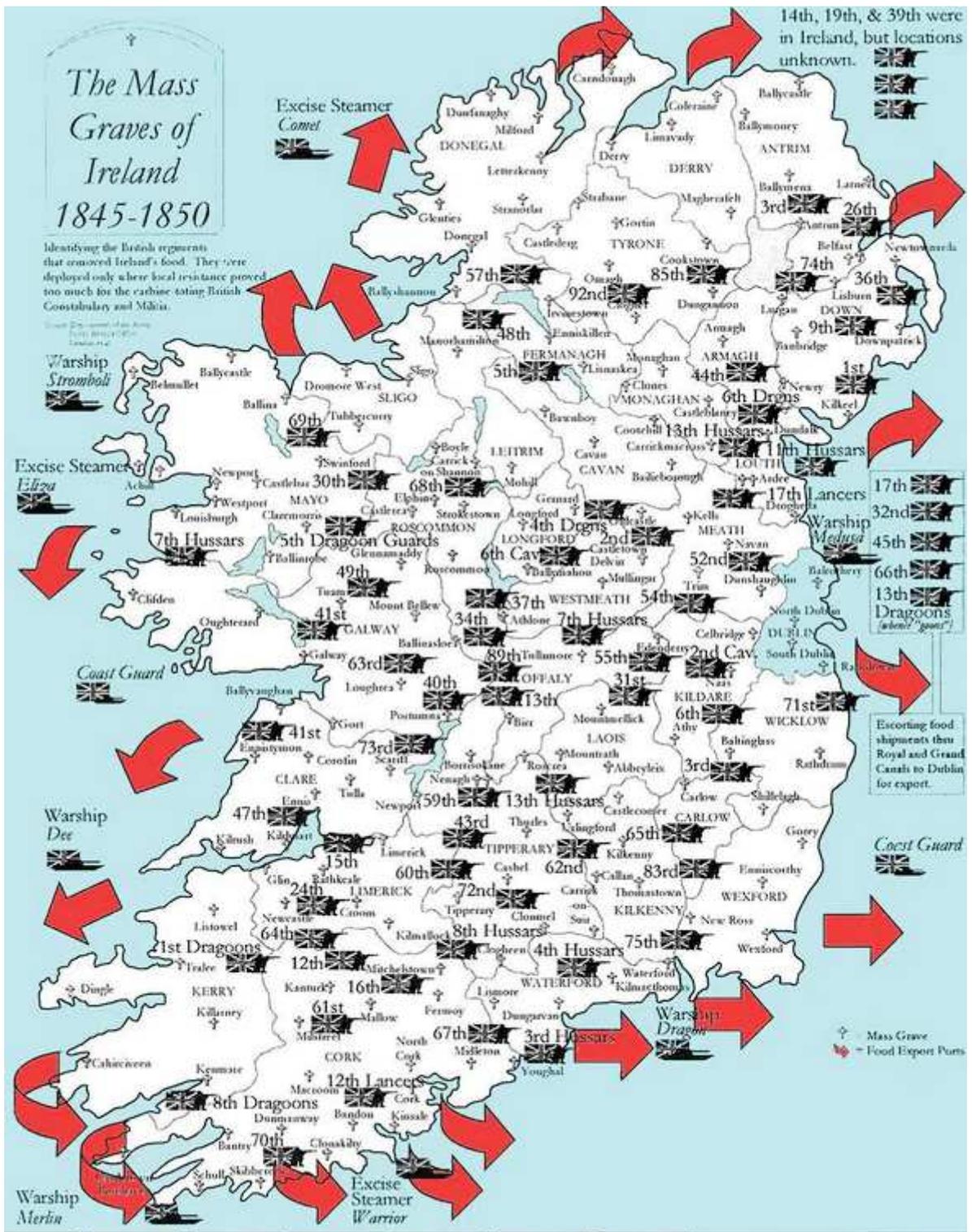
At first, we will focus of the impact of the 1845-1939 on Irish Polish and Ukrainian memory after 1939, especially the memory of the Irish and Ukrainian famine considering that their impact on the society is way more important than anything else. Then, we will be able to go back on : how were the political relations between Ireland and Poland going on? And how was the Iron Curtain effective in preventing the relations between those people?

1. Comparative study of the memory's construct

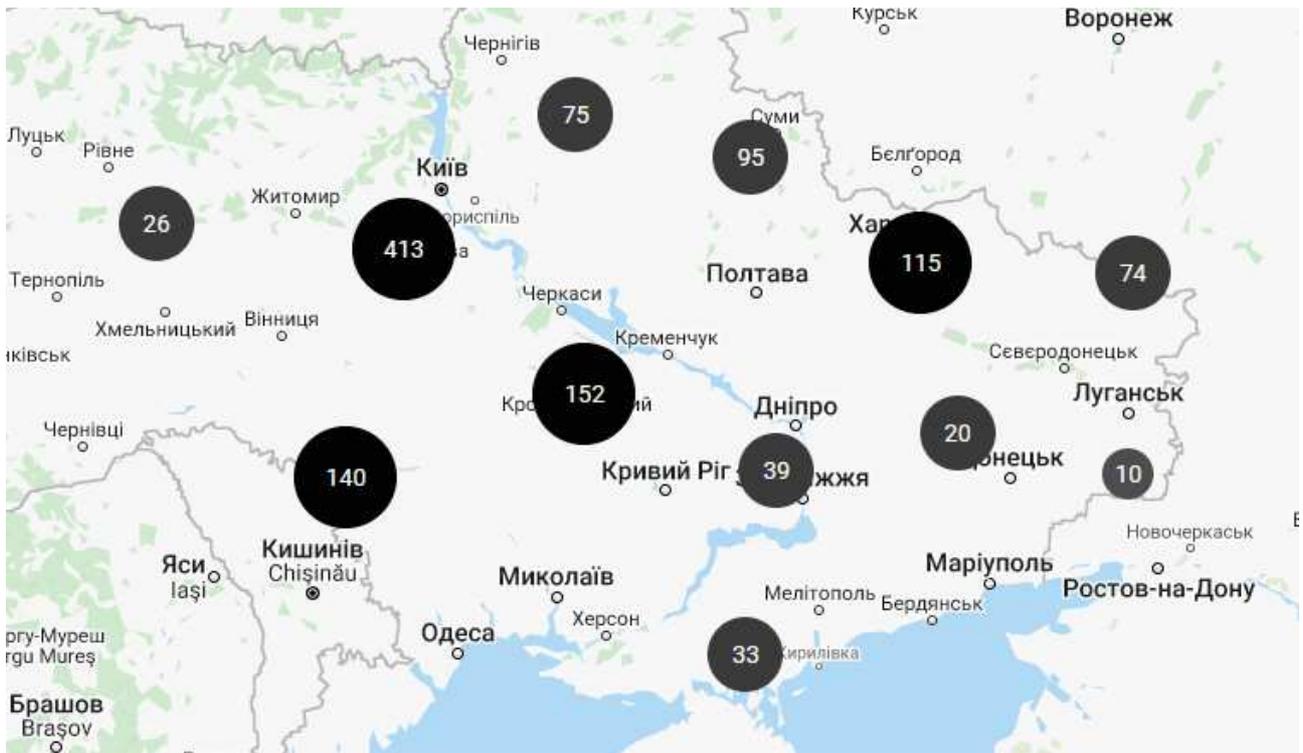
1939 – 1995 was the period of the direct aftermath of the Ukrainian famine while in Ireland, politicians were more preoccupied with nationalist issues. In the case of both Irish and Ukrainian people the consequences of the famines were impactful during this period, but still remained particularly silent outside of the diaspora. The lack of historiographical references about the Irish famine before 1995, widely illustrated in our historiographical overview, is just one of many symptoms. In 1895, the famine was not commemorated, and for its centenary in 1945, Ireland privileged the memory of nationalism and the 100th anniversary of Thomas Osborne Davis's death, the death of one man who died without English intervention, was more important for the

authorities⁴²¹ and in 1966 mass celebrations of the Easter Rising took place. In Ukraine, this is due to the repression of memory by the authorities. The causes were significantly different, as the part played by the State is way more important in the Ukrainian case, but the consequences on memorial material construct were similar. There was nothing to commemorate, no monuments in the territory. Only mass graves, who were still marking the territory.

421 COLANTONIO Laurent, "*La Grande Famine en Irlande (1846-1851): objet d'histoire, enjeu de mémoire*", *Revue Historique*, 2007, 264 p.



Map of the Mass Graves, Food Export point and British Regiment during the 1845-1851 Irish Famine



Map of the Holodomor Mass Graves in Ukraine, Holodomor Museum

Some testimonies ever precised that there were not “enough hands to burry the dead”⁴²². Because indeed, visible consequences remain. The demographic consequences of the famine are tangible, proven by data statistics. Both countries experienced striking demographic declines, while before the famines, they were reputed as fertiles as the land who feed them: the term Irish twins in British slang, derogatory term to call two siblings born within a year, came from it. The Holodomor and the Second World War just ten years after were a fatal strike for Ukrainian demography. The loss in the sole period of 1933 – 1936 was of 3.5 millions⁴²³, and by 1939 the birth deficit was already of 1.1 millions. Contrary to the situation of Ireland, the effect of migrations are maybe the most difficult to quantify⁴²⁴, and takes into account two types of migration: forced migration to Siberia and Central Asia, and voluntary migration which is the most difficult to quantify as it was often illegal. Taking into account the absence of people who were not born because of these events,

422 NAUMIAK Anne-Marie et Philippe, *Ukraine 1933 Holodomor : itinéraire d'une famille et témoignages de survivants*, Les éditions bleu et jaune, 2017, 279 p.

423 ANDREEV Evgeny, Jacques Vallin & France Meslé, *Demographic Consequences of The Great Famine: Then and Now*, Harvard Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 30, No. 1/4, AFTER THE HOLODOMOR: THE ENDURING IMPACT OF THE GREAT FAMINE ON UKRAINE (2008), pp. 217-241 (25 pages)

424 Ibid.

it is estimated that Ukraine's hypothetical population would have been of 87 million people on the eve of independence in 1991, instead of its actual 52 millions.⁴²⁵ In Ireland, the population did not recover its pre-famine population. Ukrainians and Irish people born after the famines were also more susceptible to developing diabetes according to medical studies.⁴²⁶ In addition, before the famines, Ukrainian and Irish people got the reputation of being fertile.

425 ROMANIUK Anatol, GLADUN Oleksandr, *Demographic Trends in Ukraine : Past, Present and Future*,
Population and Development Review
Vol. 41, No. 2 (JUNE 2015), pp. 315-337 (23 pages)

426 DUBOIS Michel, *From Cellular Memory to the memory of trauma: Social epigenetics and its public circulation*,
Social Science Information, 17/01/2020

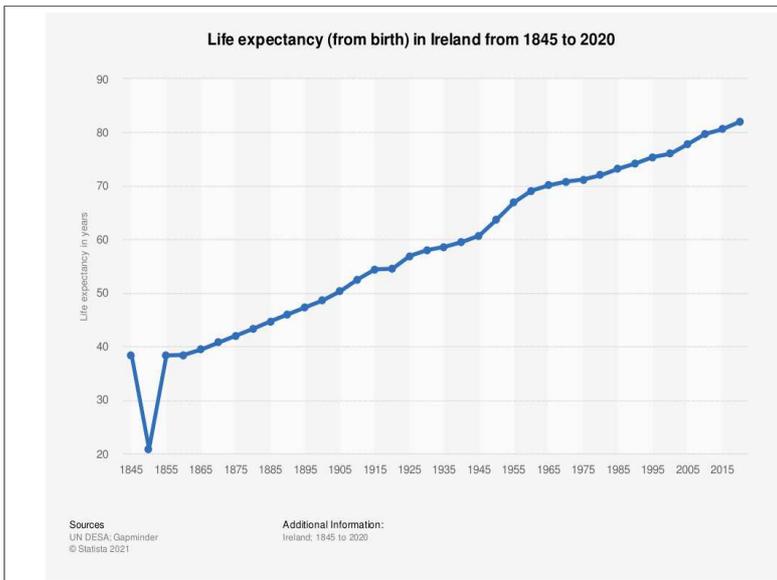


Figure 1 : Life Expectancy in Ireland from 1840 to 2020, the crash corresponding to the Great Famine Years⁴²⁷

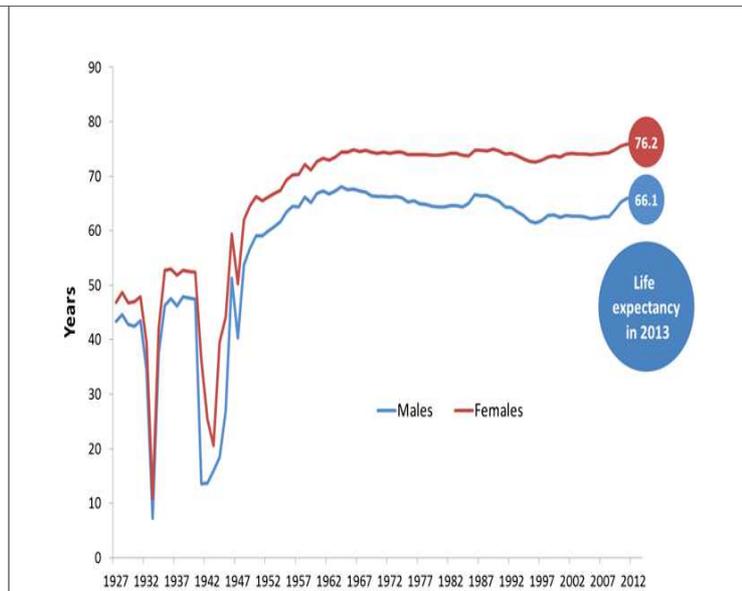


Figure 2 : Life Expectancy at Birth, Ukraine, 1927 – 2013⁴²⁸

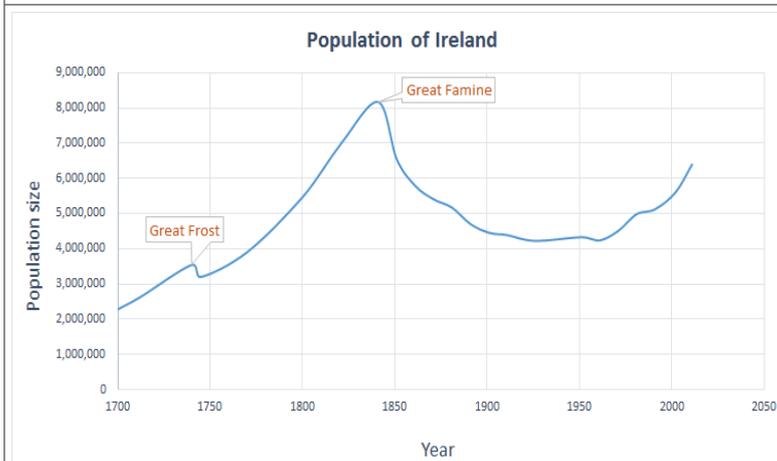


Figure 3 : Demographic Evolution of Ireland from 1700 to 2010⁴²⁹

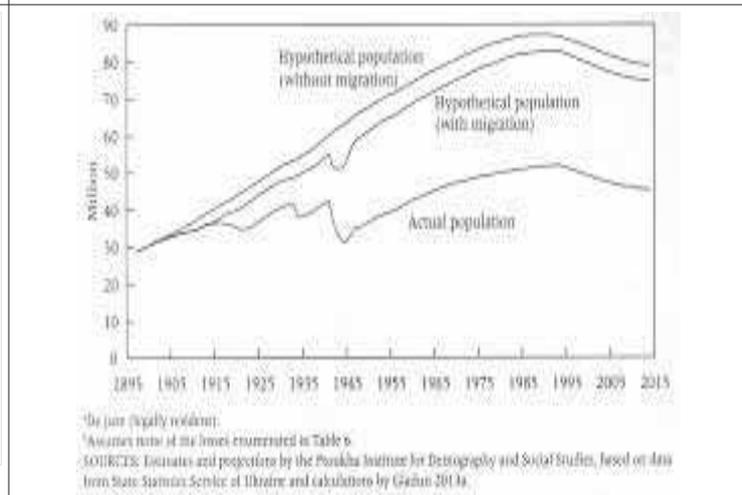


Figure 4 : Actual and hypothetical population trajectories, with and without migration, Ukraine, 1897-2014 (millions)⁴³⁰

The people in diaspora, often descending of survivors and victims, relied more on this memory as it was fundamental for them, and felt more free to talk about it. In addition, they bore the same traumas as the rest of the population still at home. This was also where the idea of a famine genocide began to develop, and it was not without any link with the Irish Famine. As we

427 O'NEILL Aaron, *Life Expectancy from Birth in Ireland from 1845 to 2020*, Statista, 6/01/2021

428 LISENKOVA Katerina, *Life Expectancy in Ukraine : Why is it so low*, 28/03/2015

429 *Ireland's population in the 1800's*, Antique Map of Ireland

430 ROMANIUK Anatol, GLADUN Oleksandr, *Demographic Trends in Ukraine : Past, Present and Future*, *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (JUNE 2015), pp. 315-337 (23 pages)

have underlined in our historiographical overview, in 1953, the Ukrainian Weekly organized a rally, “as their compatriot had done on the 18th November of 1933”⁴³¹ This was where Lemkin, the author of *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine* and conceptualizer of the term Genocide at the occasion of the Nuremberg Trial, pronounced the sentence who caught the attention of the Times : “[we should remind that] *the high crime had been employed 100 years ago against the Irish*”⁴³². Famine stories were part of the life of following generations. However, despite the important censorship, the state couldn't prevent the people to evocate intimately what happened : it was still part of their life. Svetlana Alexievich, who won the Nobel Prize in Literature and regularly visited parts of her family in Ukraine (her mother was from Ivano-Frankivsk), recalls this childhood memory: *There was a woman in the village of my Ukrainian grandmother. Once, when I was a little girl and we were passing by her house, granny said: ‘Quiet! Here lives a very terrible and unhappy woman – she ate her children.’*⁴³³ In Ireland, those stories had to have passed at least 3 or 4 generations more, and were therefore less likely to be confronted with Ukrainian memories. Therefore, how does Irish-Ukrainian, and Irish-Polish encounters in diaspora allowed this memory to perpetrate during the times of the Iron Curtain?

The first monuments built to commemorate the victims of the famines were located in diaspora. Concerning the Holodomor, it was built in Edmonton in 1983, as we have already seen that Canada was a very important place for the Ukrainian diaspora. It was also in this country that the first monument to the Irish Famine was erected, as early as 1859 with the Montreal Black Rock , while there was no monument in Ireland commemorating the Famine before 1995. Not one. The majority of memorials in Diaspora would be built after this date as well.

The direct aftermath of the famine should be confronted through diachronic comparison of traumas, epigenetics, affection of the demographic in Ireland and Ukraine, as they were the main demographic upheaval (while in Poland, the main historical trauma remains the Second World War and the crime committed by the Nazis). For instance, AJP Taylor stating that *All Ireland was a Belsen*⁴³⁴ recalled the first words of one of the first researches made about the henceforth called *Holodomor*: “*Fifty years ago, as I write these words, the Ukraine and the Ukrainian, Cossack and other areas to the east – a great stretch of territory with some forty millions inhabitants-was like*

431 SERBYN Roman, *The Holodomor : Reflexion on the Ukrainian Genocide*, 16th Annual J.B. Rudnyckyj Distinguished Lecture Friday, November 7, 2008

432 LEMKIN Rafał, *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine*, Kyiv, Mainsternia Knyhy, 2009 (1953), p. 16

433 “Svetlana Alexievich “You should kill ideas, not people, in the 21st century”, *Kyiv Day*, 11/04/2016

434 Belsen was a concentration camp in Germany. This therefore underlines a need to make a comparison with a better known, and largely more lethal event, the Holocaust.

one vast Belsen"⁴³⁵. These words are coming from Robert Conquest's *Harvest of Sorrow*, a book that has a fundamental importance in the historiography of the Holodomor and participated in the revelation of the famine to the Western world.

However, this did not prevent the “special relation” between Poland and Ireland to endure, and Poland to face similar problematics: Deportation of Poles began before 1939, and their epigenetic impact, while less enduring than the genocidal violence of the WW2 by Soviet and above all Germans, was studied as well⁴³⁶. If Poles, Ukrainians and Irish were bearing scars of History throughout the XXth Century, this wasn't the motor of the Polish-Irish relations for this period. Irish and Polish continue to compare their fates in the countries of the Diaspora, including in the highest spheres of the state.⁴³⁷ During the first session of the 86th congress of the United States, the Poland / Ireland comparison had an occasion to be developed at the occasion of debates. The debate concerned the St Patrick's Day, as it happened the 17th March of 1959, which induced a long speech regarding the History of Ireland and of its struggles. This included “Blessing upon Ireland and the Irish” for this occasion. Here, it is stated that “*Both the Irish and the Poles [...] both have long and invincible traditions*”. This underlines also the high esteem that was held of both. He in addition compared Ireland and Israel. However, despite the fact that Poland and Ireland remained linked in some imagery, relations between both countries were virtually non-existent.

2) Political relations)

In Poland, the government that was forced into exile due to the Second world War remained in London until the 1990's. It had therefore its own diplomatic institutions. Ireland maintained relations with them, until 1958, when the Consulate closed. In this context of exile, papers from the archives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs were kept in Dublin until 1959. Reciprocally, there were discussions concerning the installation or not of an Irish Embassy in Warsaw, but finally the project was not concluding.⁴³⁸ A decision was taken to not recognise the PRL (Polska Republika Ludowa, Polish People's Republic), leading to little to no relations between Ireland and Poland. The Cold War indeed affected political relations between Ireland and Poland. However, during these years Ireland became a temporary home for hundreds of Polish soldiers and airmen from the Home

435 CONQUEST Robert, *The Harvest of Sorrow: Soviet collectivization and the Terror famine*, OUP Australia and New Zealand, 2012, 411p.

436 ARCHER Greg, *Know Place Like Home : Dancing an Emotional Polka with Epigenetics*, LinkedIn, 3/12/2015

437 UNITED STATES CONGRESS, *Congressional record, Proceeding and Debates of the 86th Congress 1st session, Vol. 105- part 4*, U.s Government Printing Office, 1959, pp. 4343 - 5718

438 KEOWN Gerard, “*Ireland of the East and Poland of the West*”, *Reflections on the intersections between Poland and Ireland*, a lecture at Royal Łazienki Museum by the ambassador of Ireland, , 18 September 2017, 11 p.

Army. They came to study at Irish universities at the request of the government-in-exile, the first group arriving in 1946. This was an opportunity for Ireland to show solidarity with Poland. However, this was short-lived again, as most of them finally left for Britain or the United States, and the scheme came to an end in 1962, with only a few people establishing themselves in Ireland after. This episode of solidarity is still little-known.⁴³⁹ The Polish government in exile proposed to create a Polish cultural centre in Ireland, a conference was held in Dublin, but the lack of international communication and mobility again due to the cold war context did not allow it. For some years after, there were no relations with between Ireland and Poland. Official diplomatic relations between Ireland and the PRL were established in 1976. However, this did not prevent the tradition of solidarity that began during the first half of the XIXth century to perdure.

3) *Irish relation with Eastern European countries at the time of the Iron Curtain: how could the memory of such shared experience get over it?*

In Ireland, some articles were issued as they realised that Ukraine was not just a Russian region, for instance in Mayo News in 1954, coming from the *Ukrainian Weekly*, (the article mentions however the Ukraine Bulletin, whose location they only suggests as being the United States), a diasporic Ukrainian journal in the United States. The article was entitled “*Influence of the Irish Spirit on Ukraine.*”⁴⁴⁰ Such an article could not have been written in Ukraine because of an important censorship, so the diaspora was still the only place to let informations about the famine circulate to an international level. It was written from a totally American point of view, explaining that when foreigners were settling in the United States, they were astonished by the question “*what are the Irish of this nation?*”. The author, the Ukrainian Roman Smal-Stocky, is wondering why this Irish influence on struggling nations of the Soviet Union and the Russian Empire has been forgotten : “*It is indeed pity that modern, independent Ireland, has not collected and catalogued scientifically the political and literary influences has had upon the non-Russian nationalities of the Czarist Empire.*”, he said. By “non-Russian nationalities”, this included Poles as well (and the Finns, the Lithuanians, and even the Caucasus). He therefore told that Irish opinion had been focused on the west, and this is not surprising considering the lack of international communications. Hence, the article seems still oblivious that, during the XIXth century, there was an important

439 Ibid;

440 “Other Nations took example of freedom from us”, *Mayo News*, 26/06/1954

presence of Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination, and to a lesser extent of Hungary and Ukraine.

After 1939, this tradition of non-governmental solidarity continued. Irish solidarity with Poland expressed itself at the occasion of the massive strikes of the beginning of the 1980's. In Ireland, the most important institution is the *Irish Polish Society*. It was created in 1979, at the occasion of the pope's venue in the country.⁴⁴¹ John-Paul II, born Karol Wojtyła, was a Pole. It is one of the most important bridge between these people, created when the Polish population in Ireland did not exceed 350. In addition to her historical heritage and importance for various Polish-Irish associations, they raised £250,000 to ship twenty containers filled with medical supplies, food, and clothing to Poland by February 1983, honouring a centuries old tradition of international solidarity.⁴⁴² Polish artist, Ula Retzlaff-O'Carroll made a special Christmas crib with puppets of Jaruzelski consulting with the Devil.⁴⁴³ However, Ireland as a state did not support the Solidarnosc movement. Despite Bernard Shaw's denying of Polish suffering under Soviet domination, Poland's relation with Bernard Shaw lasted longer than some would admit. In Communist Poland, Bernard Shaw's plays continued to be played, his strong affinity towards USSR probably playing a part in it.⁴⁴⁴ Interestingly, the article about this solidarity was written by Patrick Quigley, the author of the *Polish Irishman*. He still presents the martial law as one of the few moments where people can help one another while their governments failed. Patrick Quigley is in addition a honorary treasurer of the association. One of the most important ties that those countries share is indeed Constance Markievicz, and this element is going to confirm this affirmation. It would be very reductive to reduce her transnational history to Poland/Ireland, her legacy goes beyond the national history of those countries, even if it remains, of course, something very important to work on.

B. Constance and Kazimierz Markievicz's legacy: a real bridge?

Which mark did she leave besides the important number of her biographies and historical works we've seen ?

Before their death, in 1925, the Markievicz couple and their interactions as Eastern and Western bohemians from Ancien Régimes monarchies maybe inspired William Gerhardie's novel

441 See their website < <http://irishpolishsociety.ie/> >

442 Irish Solidarity with Poland, *Irish Polish Society*, < <http://irishpolishsociety.ie/> >

443 Ibid ;

444 EGGEN Sabine, *Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe (Re-imagining Ireland, book 39)*, Peter Lang, 2011, p. 97

The Polyglots, the tale of an excentric Belgian family caught in the WW1 and the Russian Revolution in Far Eastern Europe.⁴⁴⁵ One of Kazimierz's friend who worked with him in the Warsaw theater became Polish Consul in Ireland in 1940. Contrary to Zhyvotivka, Lissadell was preserved and turned into a museum, holding paintings and documentations. Several statues of her can be found across Ireland, for instance in Dublin next to a fitness club named after her (left), a statue of her with her dog the cocker Spaniel Poppet (it is the only statue picturing him)⁴⁴⁶, sculpted in 1998 by the Irish artist Elizabeth Mclaughlin, from Ballygowan. There is also a bronze bust located in St James Park, who was an important place of the Easter Rising's fights, where she was accused of having shot a policeman (right), still the subject of historical controversy (see p. 59). The bust was at first unveiled in 1932 by De Valera himself, but it suffered degradations. On the Rising's fortieth anniversary, in April 1956, President Seán Ó'Ceallaigh unveiled a second bust of Markievicz to replace the bust that had been defaced in 1945 and 1947.⁴⁴⁷



Markievicz was also buried in this city. However, what we are really interested in now is her transnational legacy, as well as her political influence as a socialist, nationalist and feminist who lives between different countries and whose political thoughts were deeply influenced by these multiple engagements and this transnational life.

Constance Markievicz is important for the “Irish-Polish society”. Many events were held in her memory by its members, mostly conferences, some about her connection with Poland, some about her feminist engagements⁴⁴⁸. However, even in Poland the legacy of his husband is marginal. If his works of art are kept by the Muzeum Narodowe (National Museum) of Krakow, they are barely exposed : he is known above all as a playwright, even if he made it to the biographical

445 See GERHARDIE William, *The Polyglots*, Faber and Faber, 2009 (1925), 336 p.

446 *Constance Markievicz and Poppet*, located at Townshend street, Dublin 2,

<<https://www.sculpturedublin.ie/constance-markievicz/>>

447 ARRINGTON Lauren, “Constance Markievicz: a fighter whose legacy has been fought over for decades”, *The Irish Times*, 21/01/2016

448 “Was Countess Markievicz really a Feminist?” – an evening with Mary Kenny”, *Irish Polish Society*, 01/04/2019

dictionary of Poland. However, this does not prevent her transnational Irish-Ukrainian legacy to be taken into account. For instance, in 2008, an attempt was made in Zhyvotivka to build a museum similar to Lissadell's one, but he was eventually never built.⁴⁴⁹ The Ukrainian ambassador in Ireland, Boris Bazylevski, had indeed visited Lissadell, and met the owners of the property, along with other officials, and viewed old paintings that represented sceneries of Ukrainian life. The ambassador simply declared after his visit that: *"There are a number of unknown pages in the history of our countries," the ambassador said. [...] "We have many close ties. We had some tragic pages in our history and we both struggled for independence"*⁴⁵⁰. This initiative benefited from a media coverage in Ukraine as well, and two points of view on this affair must be confronted: Ukrainian and Irish sides did not have the same approach due to socio-economic differences. The Irish side was very enthusiastic: in an article written by a RTE journalist who went to Ukraine in November 2008 following the ambassador's visit to Lissadell⁴⁵¹, it is question of giving Ukrainian penpals for children in Sligo. The possibility of exchanges with those Irish children was the point Ukrainians were particularly enthusiastic about. Moreover, Constance Markievicz is described as being not only known, but highly regarded by Zhyvotivka's inhabitants. And among the different Irish actors of this exchange following Markievicz steps, we find a member of the Irish-Polish society, Patrick Quigley, who would later write *"The Polish Irishman: the Life and Times of Count Casimir Markievicz"* about the couple. This is therefore a member of a Polish-Irish association who made these visits in Ukraine to build a museum about an Irish figure, this link between Ireland and Ukraine is made through Irish-Polish relations, and therefore through the interlinked history of the Polish and Ukrainian territories. In the *Sligo Champion* article, it is mentioned that the locals were very enthusiastic concerning the creation of a museum, but in the Ukrainian press, they appeared as worried about the payment of such a project. Indeed, through them, we can see the material difficulties that the Ukrainians endure, and which is an obstacle to the development of a cultural life shared with Ireland. This is probably the fact that the country is not a member of the European Union, contrary to Poland, that is to blame for the lack of money already. However, the lack of interest from the state and the local institutions as well is denounced in the *20 minut* article. If Elena Verbova, who lived in the village, was very enthusiastic with the idea of building a museum in the town, she was however annoyed of constant reminding from Patrick Quigley while she explained there was nothing to finance it. He did not mention the incident in his *"Polish Irishman."* The state, despite the fact that at that time the president Yushchenko wanted to get closer to Europe, would not

449 СКРИПНИК Віктор, "З Ірландії вимагають звіту про музей на Вінниччині Посилання", *20 minut*, 31/07/2008

450 GUIDERA Anita, "Museum to honour Countess Markievicz", *Irish Independent*, 10/03/2008

451 MAGNIER Eileen, "Ukrainian Pen-Pals", *Sligo Champion*, 19/11/2008

give money for the project, she said to *20 minut*.⁴⁵² Polish Press Agency wrote about the museum as well⁴⁵³, but after 2008, mentions of this project seem to have disappeared.

In Bemowo, Warsaw, a school named after Constance Markievicz was built⁴⁵⁴, with a shamrock as a logo, and a page with little biographical explanations on their “*patronka*” on their website, underlining that she was married to a Pole from Ukraine of course, but also her engagement in socialist and feminist causes. However, in Poland, her intersectionality regarding the specific situation of Polish women, still victim of a particular form of sexism aimed at Slavic women, notably in the UK, appeared to have never been mentioned. Indeed, as the Zhyvotivka museum incident showed us, Irish women have as a group a social advantage on Polish and Ukrainian women, especially since they represent an important part of woman moving to Ireland.⁴⁵⁵ Polish feminists know her, but she does not appear to be “their”. They are indeed an important part of this heritage as well, and even more so that she was ahead of her time. In Ireland, work of historians and biographers played a decisive part in, with the instance of Lauren Arrington's declaration : “*Scholars continue to discuss the political legacy of Markievicz, whom Lauren Arrington believes offers liberal feminists today a lesson in intersectionality – activism outside the interests of your own social class*”, insisting she was not recognised enough for this.

As for her echo outside Ireland, what legacy did she leave in Britain, though? Constance was a woman's right activist, and to commemorate the centenary of her historical election, her portrait was offered to the House of Commons. Its speaker said himself that It was an inspiration for future generations. The Communist Party of Great Britain (marxist-leninist) also saluted her memory as a working-class hero, as well as a “*class traitor*”⁴⁵⁶. Ireland being moreover part of the United Kingdom, she was rooted in British political life, and Irish Independence had very important consequences on British political life. The first woman to take her seat, Nancy Astor, an American-born and very conservative politician, was also commemorated as such, occasioning enduring debates. What is sure for now, is that Irish Women continue to fight 100 years after 1918, for instance for abortion, and that she remained a model⁴⁵⁷. She remains, however, in addition to her interlinked Republican, Socialist and Feminist convictions, an important element of connection with Poland for the Irish.

452 СКРИПНИК Віктор, “З Ірландії вимагають звіту про музей на Вінниччині Посилання”, 31/07/2008

453 Id;

454 Constance Markievicz Elementary School's website < <http://sp364.edu.pl/> >

455 There were 122,515 Polish nationals living in Ireland in April 2016, the largest non-Irish population group in 2016 with 2,57% of the population according to the Central Statistic Office of Ireland.

456 *Constance Markievicz, - class traitor, Irish Republican and Working Class Hero*, Communist party of Great Britain's Website < <https://thecommunists.org/2019/02/20/news/constance-markievicz-class-traitor-irish-republican-working-class-hero/> >

457 See MULLALY Una, “Irish Women continue to fight, 100 years after 1918”, *The Irish Times*, 10/12/2018

C. Ireland, Poland and Ukraine after 1995



A Polish-Irish Mural painted in Dublin by a two street artists, the Polish Aga Grandowicz and the Irish Una Woods, in the frame of the Polska-Eire festival of 2021⁴⁵⁸

In 2016, the Polska-Eire festival is created, a nationwide celebration of Irish-Polish links. Since the 1990's, this friendship never ceased to develop, and this explained the popularity of the event. In 1990, Ireland opened its embassy in Warsaw, and in 1991, Poland opened its embassy in Dublin. This last period of East/West relations was rich in projects, and we will see that the memory of mutual solidarity, and of similar experiences of violence, could again be divided into three parts, three decades : the 1990's, the 2000's and the 2010's.

1. The 1990 as a key turing point regarding to history)

The 1990's decade does not only represent the fall of the USSR and the Ukrainian Independence. Induced by the fall of the Iron Curtain, this was for both Poles and Ukrainians a period of rediscovery of their own history. In Poland and Ukraine, the re-opening of the Soviet archives allowed for ex-Soviet nationals, as well as foreigners, to study Soviet histories and the crimes committed against a lot of populations. The relation of the Polish and Ukrainian people with history during this period deserves to be compared with the rediscovery of this memory by historians and non historians. Indeed, while there was no particular re-opening of archives, this decade was a little historiographical revolution regarding the famine, and changements in the social

458 About the Polska-Eire festival, created in 2014, see their website < http://polskaeirefestival.org/?page_id=11 >

place of this famine as well. In 1996, the New Jersey University even incorporates the Irish Famine in her *Genocide and Holocaust Studies*, while this was not such a crime. Finally, as it was about an event that was particularly traumatic and important for Ukrainian population,⁴⁵⁹ the writing of history proved to have the same importance it had 150 years before in Ukraine when the first Ukrainian nationalist organisation was created by a historian, to definite what makes part of Ukrainity. In Poland, a similar effect could have been observed when the archives of Soviet crimes on Poles were opened, especially the Katyn Massacre in 1940 (who claimed among others the life of a Kazimierz Markiewicz's relative)⁴⁶⁰, when during a visit in Poland in 1993 Yelstin asked to Polish people – with tears in his eyes : “*forgive us, if you can*”. Even if it made less victims than the Polish Operation of the NKVD or the deportations in Siberia, this tragedy became a symbol. And in Ireland, the 150th anniversary of the Famine was widely commemorated, and it was the occasion of similar apologies from the British officials. In June 1997, the recently elected Prime Minister Tony Blair also issued an apology in the name of the state he represented, for their responsibility in the crime, here not active however : “*The famine was a defining event in the history of Ireland and Britain. It has left deep scars. That one million people should have died in what was then part of the richest and most powerful nation in the world is something that still causes pain as we reflect on it today. Those who governed in London at the time failed their people*”⁴⁶¹ But in Ukraine, such apologies never occurred for the Holodomor famine.

When it was time for Ireland and Ukraine to commemorate the famine, respectively in 1995 and 2006, they both realised that there was nowhere in the Capital city to commemorate these tragedies. This is what inspired the construction of Roman Gillespie's sculptures and of “The Bitter Memory of Childhood”. After this, monuments were multiplying in both countries. There are more (referenced) famine monuments in Ireland than in Ukraine, even if Ireland is smaller and could seem more pudic on that question. The two monuments seem to be echoes of each other. Both chose to show victims and to emphasize how people were vulnerable, their bodies are emaciated, their eyes expressing pain, and misery, or in the case of the little Ukrainian girl, they don't express anything anymore. Showing physical and psychic starvation-induced suffering, both Ukraine and Ireland got their allegories of hunger in their own capital cities. True incarnation of the tragedies, their images often illustrate articles, books or university articles on the subject. The major difference lies in the emphasis put on them: Dublin famine memorial's statues are set on the Liffey bank, but they are next to the EPIC museum of Irish immigration and of the reconstitution of a

459 O'GRADA Cormac, *Black 47 and Beyond : The Great Irish Famine in History, Economy, and Memory*, Princeton University press, 1999, p. 2

460 QUIGLEY Patrick, *The Polish Irishman, Life and Times of Count Casimir Markiewicz*, the Liffey Press, 2011, p. 5

461 “The Famine : What the British PM said in 1997”, 28/11/2006

famine ship. On the other hand, the little Ukrainian girl is in a wider memorial complex, a national museum established in 2008.



Texte 1: A Bosnian family, who probably came in Ireland during the 1990's, taking part in a demonstration in solidarity with refugees during a major migration wave in Europe, September 2015



GILLEPSIE Roman, Dublin Famine Memorial, Dublin Docks, 1997



Figure 1: Bitter Memory of Childhood's reproduction in Winnipeg, Manitoba, unveiled in 2014



Figure 2: Netanyahu taking part in commemorations at the Holodomor monument, Kyiv, 2019

The *Bitter Memory of Childhood* is representing the most vulnerable victims of the famine: children. In a further symbolic, the little girl is hugging the “five ears of grain” of the eponym law. The law enacted the 7th August of 1932 stated that anyone caught taking any produce from a collective field could be shot or imprisoned for stealing “socialist property”. Even such a little girl. A copy exists in Winnipeg, Manitoba, that was unveiled in September 2014.⁴⁶² The similarity to the Irish song “*Fields of Athenry*” is striking: the main character of the song is convicted to have stolen corn to feed his pregnant wife, in Athenry, County Mayo, and would never see the child she carried, as he is deported in convict ship, probably to Australia.⁴⁶³ The song was then sung by quantity of artists, and even became a song for stadium. In the Irish famine memorial, victims are men, women, children (carried on the shoulders of his dad), and a dog, to represent how the madness of humans affected animals as well.

Both these monuments are political places. In Ireland and in Ukraine, foreign officials come to visit.⁴⁶⁴ They therefore became testimonies of the political evolution of the International Relations during the XXI th century.

2. The 2000's)

The visit of this monument is included in official visit in Ukraine, and in Ireland, the visits of English officials to the famine memorial were mediatized, and they still provoke reactions from the locals, especially when members of the British Royal family came there⁴⁶⁵. However, in spite of the increasing bibliography about the Holodomor/An Gorta Mor comparison, Irish visits to the Kiev memorial were not mediatized by Irish Press and there is still only 17 mentions of the Holodomor in the Irish Newspaper Archives among millions of articles archived, the oldest one being only written in June 2008, two years after Ukraine had recognised it as a genocide, with a title such as “Ukraine remembers Staline's deliberate act of genocide”, recording the testimony of a survivor. They still wrote the article without presenting the event as a genocide outside affirmation of survivors or of members of the Institute of National Memory. Similarities with what happened in Ireland remained a taboo as well.⁴⁶⁶ In 2009, however, the chronologically second reported article established the

462 WORTH Tim, *Historical sites in Manitoba: Bitter Memories of Childhood Monument (Osborne Street, Winnipeg,)*, Manitoba Historical Society, 2015.

463 The song is still often sung in stadium, here in a match against Spain during the 2012 European cup...organized in Ukraine and Poland: < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fZmYv6kDutw> >

One of the best known version of this song : < <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Hqy8n3BcqA> >

464 AHREN Raphael, “In Kyiv, Pm vows to advance pension for Israelis with Ukrainian roots”, *Times of Israel*, 19/08/2019

465 MCGOWAN Sharon, “Prince Harry and Meghan Markle heckled by shouts of 'tiocfaidh ar la' and 'up the RA' at Famine Memorial in Dublin”, *Irish Mirror*, 11/07/2018

466 Irish Newspaper archives,

<<https://archive.irishnewsarchive.com/Olive/APA/INA/Default.aspx#panel=search&search=3>>

HALPIN Tony, “Ukraine remembers Stalin's deliberate *act of genocide*”, *Irish Independent*, 23/06/2008

link, and more curiously in an opinion article that was not about either of them, declaring that he accepts that “*The Shoah happened, so did the Irish famine, the Armenian genocide, or the Ukrainian Holodomor*”, presenting it as inrefutable facts.

In 2004, Poland entered the European Union, while Ukraine is still not part of it. However, that did not prevent the European Union to initiate debates regarding the international recognition of the famine : was it a Genocide or not? During the debates of the 22nd October of 2008, the Irish Deputy Colm Burke (Fine Gael) declared : “*Madam President, coming from Ireland, a country that also suffered a tragic famine over 150 years ago, I understand the Ukrainian desire to have the victims of their artificial famine from 1932 to 1933 commemorated [...] Our resolution on the commemoration of the victims of the Holodomor in Ukraine was adopted at the 34th session of the UNESCO general conference, which was supported by Ireland among others.*”⁴⁶⁷ The European Union eventually recognized it as a crime against humanity⁴⁶⁸, but Ireland, contrary to Poland, did not recognize the Holodomor as a Genocide.

Regarding the Irish-Polish relations, the political issues were not as important, so the Irish-Ukrainian famines deserved a more important focus. However, with Poland joining the European Union in 2004, and Ireland immediately opening its borders to Polish workers, examples of cooperation between those countries are numerous, as for instance shown by the activity of the Irish Polish society and the tenor of diplomatics encounters. The 7th May of 2004, in Letterkenny, Donegal, a welcoming of Poland in the UE was organized in Ireland. 50 Poles lived in this small Donegal town, for 20,000 inhabitants, but the Polish Ambassador still honoured them with his presence. He presented Ireland as a role model to Poland, and reminded that a strong history of solidarity was uniting the countries.⁴⁶⁹ The fact that this town is in addition an urban gateway to the Ulster Gaeltacht may have been deliberate. An Polish-Irish exhibition was in addition held in this city. And as we have abundantly illustrated, the historiography of Irish-Polish relations is more important than the Irish-Ukrainian one. However, if they are not as charged in political significance as the Ukraine/Ireland pairing, the Poland/Ireland pairing and its memory are surprisingly alive 100 years after the Independence of both countries.

467 Commemoration of the Holodomor, the Ukrainian artificial famine, European Parliament Website, Debate of the 22/10/2008, Strasbourg - [PV 22/10/2008 - 14](#)

468 *Parliament recognises Ukrainian famine of 1930s as crime against humanity*, Press Release, Plenary Session, European Parliament Website, 23/10/2008

469 GALLEN Catriona, “ Polish Ambassador happy to be in perhaps the most beautiful county in Ireland and hoping for greater links between Ireland and Poland”, *Donegal News*, 07/05/2004

3. The 2010's)

Poles and Irish, especially the Irish, continue to seem remarkably self-aware of the complexity of their common heritage. The number of conferences organised by the Irish Polish Society importantly increased. And this commemoration spans numerous political circles. In the Lecture at the Annual General Meeting of the Irish Labour Society, the 23 April of 2016, not only did they compare James Connolly to the Irish Lenin but they explained that “*much socialists viewed themselves as patriots such as James Connolly or Poland's Józef Pilsudski*”. They therefore acknowledged an often forgotten part of Polish history, and their shared history of socialist and independentist struggles. In september 18th, 2017 in Warsaw a whole exhibition was inaugurated on that matter, called “*From Strangers to Neighbors*”, in which the ambassador of Ireland in Poland Gerard Keown delivered a whole discourse, stating for instance that :

A shared experience of loss of self-rule and a struggle for independence, the interplay of literature and politics, a desire for liberty and a love of travel and exploration are just some of the themes that link us. Strzelecki's life-saving work was recognised in 2015 when a plaque was unveiled on Dublin's main thoroughfare, O'Connell Street, on the site of the house he had lived in. It records the gratitude of the Irish people for this Polish man who came to Ireland in its darkest hour to save lives. ⁴⁷⁰

470 KEOWN Gerard, “*Ireland of the East and Poland of the West*”, *Reflections on the intersections between Poland and Ireland*, a lecture at Royal Łazienki Museum by the ambassador of Ireland, , 18 September 201, 11 p.

Dawniej obcy, dziś sąsiedzi
Polsko-irlandzkie spotkania na przestrzeni wieków

From Strangers to Neighbours
Encounters between Poland and Ireland

WYSTAWA PLENEROWA
OUTDOOR EXHIBITION

Ambasada Irlandii
Ambasáid na hÉireann

*Advertising for the exhibition “From Strangers to Neighbors” in 2017
(we could note the presence of Constance Markievicz down in the right)*

His discourse is detailing a long list of examples of Polish-Irish solidarity, coming from the XVII th century and the history of Bernard Connor, physician for Sobieski, to the XXIth century, in a 11-pages discourse. Constance Markievicz is of course an important part of it, and so is Strzelecki. A plaque was recently unveiled for him in Dublin in May 2015. Cultural transfers between some of Poland's most important cultural figures like Frederic Chopin or Adam Mickiewicz are also mentioned. As a conclusion, he declared that: *“We are living through the most sustained and intensive period in Irish-Polish relations. I like to think that the Polish community in Ireland has become the ‘Poland of the west,’ in a way that Louie Bennett could not have imagined a hundred years ago. And the small but growing number of Irish people living here in Poland, as well as a new generation of dual Irish-Polish people, are her Ireland of the east.”*⁴⁷¹ We could state that it set itself in a local folklore still vivid after hundreds of years.

The Irish-Ukrainian connection however appear to be still in building, and therefore need . More curiously, the famine is evocated as part of a critic of a Ken Loach movie set in Ireland, *“Jimmy's Hall”*. This is an artistic representation of the different paths those countries took, as it is set in 1932, in a post-civil war country, where an Irishman comes back from America with jazz.

⁴⁷¹ Id;

Being a communist in Ukraine as the critic insisted was so much different. While church was represented as a factor of oppression, censoring Jimmy's music, and communism being an ideology the main characters has sympathy with, the abundance of works depicting the opposite situation, with people deprived of their faith and oppressed by a self-proclaimed communist regime, is quite striking. The critic wanted to underline that Soviet Union censored Jazz as well, but it is the fact that a famine which was raging in parallel of Jimmy's problems that shocked the critic:

But there is another background issue which was also part of what really occurred: and that was the great famine in the Ukraine, directly caused by Stalin's policies of forced agricultural collectivisation.

Some 7.5 million Ukrainians perished in this man-made famine in the early 1930s – a deliberate act of political genocide now called the “Holodomor”, akin to the Holocaust.

The Irish Catholic devotional press were carrying reports about these famines from the 1920s – the humble “Messenger of the Sacred Heart” published information about horrifying scenes of hunger and cannibalism even before Malcolm Muggeridge in the ‘Manchester Guardian’ and Gareth Jones in ‘The Times’ filed their renowned eyewitness accounts.⁴⁷²

In addition, the movie was selected to compete for the Palme d'Or for the Festival de Cannes, and Ken Loach is a renowned director. This is recalling our conclusions on *Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Irish Revolution*: Jimmy is Irish and his ancestors were oppressed as such, but the Independence, so he idealized communism, while History showed that Soviet people (including Ukrainians, then) were experiencing similar oppressions⁴⁷³. Therefore, Holodomor and Irish Famine appeared in this press articles to be intentional. In 2019, the *Irish Central* made this appealing declaration : “*Even Ireland’s horrific great hunger could not match the Ukrainian famine for pure evil*”. Further, the article took a revisionist turn, by insisting on the non-responsibility of the British in creating the famine conditions: “*If you think the British were callous, then consider Stalin’s orders to create a Famine so he could create huge collective farms and feed his Red Army as well as crush Ukrainian nationalism. The British did not start the Famine, the potato blight caused it*”.⁴⁷⁴ It is also the occasion for the newspaper to criticize Russian actual politics. He indeed wrote that: “*Putin has often claimed Stalin as his hero. I’m sure the Ukrainian leader President Volodymyr Zelensky is fully aware of that fact when they sit down over coffee.*” This does not prevent them to see that both people endured similar repressions throughout their existence. According to this

472 KENNY Mary, “Jimmy's Hall is a fine film but Irish Society wasn't as black and white as Loach depicts”, *Irish Independent*, 02/06/2014

473 FOX Ralph, *Marx, Engels, Lenin on the Irish Revolution*, Cork, The Cork Workers Club, 1932, 36 p.

474 O'DOWD Niall, “Ukraine's Stalin created Famine much worse than Irish famine”, *Irish Central*, 27/09/2019

article, the fact that the Soviets “*removed Ukrainian-language books from schools and libraries, ordered local officials to stop using the Ukrainian language in their correspondence, and cracked down on Ukrainian cultural policies that had been developed in the 1920s.*” For them, tis sounded incredibly like Irish Penal Laws. The Irish Penal Laws were a series of decrets regulating the status of Irish Roman Catholics, to force them to accept the Church of Ireland's authority, most of them were removed in 1829. However, this link is not only made through press coverage. There is interesting examples of reappraisal of this conjunction by artists : in music, in 2011, the two ambient metal groups *From the Bogs of Aughiska* and the Ukrainians of *Dark Ages* created the small album *Holodomor/Gorta Mor*. Their title recalls clearly with titles such as “*Mass Starvation*” or “*Requiem on that Black Autumn*”. However, this identification is not only the fact of Irish and/or Ukrainian artist.



From the Bogs of Aughiska/Dark Ages – An Gorta Mor/Holodomor (2011)

Human Jigsaw Records

Two years later, the French author Sorj Chalandon wrote the introduction of the Ukrainian translation of his 2011 novel *Retour à Killybegs*, set during the Troubles in Ireland. At this occasion, he declared to the French cultural blog “*Perspectives Ukrainiennes*”, that while pretending he did not make any historical parallels, there is a common base for it : “*Je trouve que la bataille de la langue, le combat pour la nation et la famine entretenue sont trois choses qui sont extrêmement rares dans les pays européens. Je ne savais pas que des parallèles historiques pouvaient exister. J'avais entendu parler de la famine en Ukraine. Mais j'ai trouvé intéressant de*

dire aussi que ce livre n'est pas traduit en ukrainien pour rien."⁴⁷⁵ The journalist further asks him: *"L'Irlande a perdu sa bataille, mais ce n'est pas le cas de l'Ukraine. Pourquoi, à votre avis, est-ce important de préserver sa langue nationale?"*⁴⁷⁶ to which Chalandon answers that *"Une langue c'est fondamental. Je pense que la langue c'est l'épiderme d'une Nation."*⁴⁷⁷ However, in 2021, Ireland still did not recognize the Holodomor as a genocide contrary to Poland for instance, and if there is no official reason for this, some elements could help to explain it: there is not a large Ukrainian diaspora in Ireland, contrary to the large diaspora of Irish and Ukrainians in Canada and in United States that have written about it in different disciplines, about their famines. In addition, there is no particular reason for Ireland to address questions of foreign genocides, furthermore if it is threatening good relations with a super power like Russia, as it is not itself comfortable with the question of its own famine. Relations with famine questions in diaspora and in Mother Ireland are also still different.⁴⁷⁸ However, this is still not the main subject for which the Ukrainians are looking towards Ireland, even if they probably hope to benefit from the same recognition and the same excuses from a Russian government. If Ukraine was looking westward, towards Ireland this is still for the same reason they looked at the Irish nationalist movement. Even before its sovereignty was threatened by Putin's government and the Donbass war, Ukraine feared for its language⁴⁷⁹. In 2010, Volodymyr Lytvyn, speaker at the Ukrainian Parliament, declared in Dublin that Ireland made a mistake in recognising English as a second language: *«A certain psychological barrier exists when the Russian language is considered to be the most prestigious one»*, he explained. But if he stated that the Ukrainian-Russian relations were normalising and that the country was stable, we know it proved wrong. This war changed again Ukrainian look to Ireland, including regarding the language question. And like the Irish government did, they passed laws to promote the Ukrainian language, laws that the Russian government but also by some Ukrainians themselves, quickly denounced as russophobic, as there are 11 million people with Russian as a native language in Ukraine and that it could lead to internal conflicts.⁴⁸⁰ If the situation of their languages could not be compared as Ukrainian is much more largely spoken, there is still a fear of such a fate.

475 I think that the battle of the language, the fight for the nation and the maintained famine are three things extremely rare in European countries. I did not know that historical parallels could exist. I have heard about the famine in Ukraine. And I found interesting to also tell that the book was not translated into Ukrainian for no reason

"Sorj Chalandon: la langue, c'est l'épiderme d'une nation", *Perspectives Ukrainiennes*, 15/11/2013

476 Ireland has lost its battle, but it is not the case of Ukraine. Why do you think it is important to preserve its own national language?

477 A language, it is fundamental. I think that language, this is the epidermis of a nation

478 *На противагу ірландському голоду український Голодомор став наслідком навмисних дій дослідниця*, Radio Svoboda, 26 novembre 2015

479 "Ukraine vows not to repeat Ireland's language mistake", *The Irish Times*, 25/03/2010

480 ROSADA Ivan, "Le langage de la contrainte totale", *Maison russe des sciences et de la culture à Paris*, 20/01/2021



KRAMAR Oleksandr, “The Problem with Irish”, *Ukrainian Week*, 18/09/2018

In 2018, an article called “The Problem with Irish” was issued. It defends the idea that Ukrainian is not protected from a fate similar to the Irish Gaelic. The article underlines, but without giving statistics, that most people are feeling that the Ukrainian language is threatened, and that for long there was no effective state policy. If this fails to provide enough statistics to justify it, this definitely show that this is an existing fear. And all these interrogations proved to not be only present in Ukrainian minds. In the Western world, to which Ireland belongs, and where it is maybe better known, it was used as a point of comparison to explain. In *The Spectator*, an article said it straight: “*Want to understand the conflict in Ukraine? Compare it with Ireland*”⁴⁸¹. And again, the comparative methods are as instinctive as usual : “*But the 'rebel' region of Ukraine, as it stands today, is about the same, proportionally, in area and population, as Northern Ireland is to the Republic [...] Thereafter, the rest of Ukraine could go its own, westward way. And what right*

481 DEJEVSKY Mary, “Want to understand the conflict in Ukraine? Compare it with Ireland”, *The Spectator*, 11/02/2015

would we, in the United Kingdom, really have to object? ”. On the other hand, *The Interpreter* exposed in 2015, one year after the beginning of the war, ten reasons “*Ukraine's Donbass is not and will not become a Northern Ireland*”⁴⁸². Indeed, they are totally different societies and the typology of the region changed a lot during the while the Northern Irish conflict was rooted in long-terms problems. Anyway, considering that the Irish are still looking towards the consequences of the Brexit, the history of both these countries is still writing itself.

482 GOBLE Paul, “ Ten reasons why Ukraine's Donbass is not and will not become a Northern Ireland”, *The Interpreter*, 06/04/2015

Conclusion)

The study of these relations allowed us to realise numerous things. Let's remind the questions we began with: to what extent could their oppressions and struggles be compared? To what extent could the parallels drawn by historical actors of the 1845-1939 period really describe comparable phenomenas? Concerning the research methods we used, it clearly appear that looking into the press was the easiest way the way those people represented each other. Furthermore, the historiography was in fact an illustration of those representation as well. We clearly pointed out five different periods. Indeed, studying sources written after 1939 was the best way to see the enduring impact this period finally had on the relations between those countries up to our days.

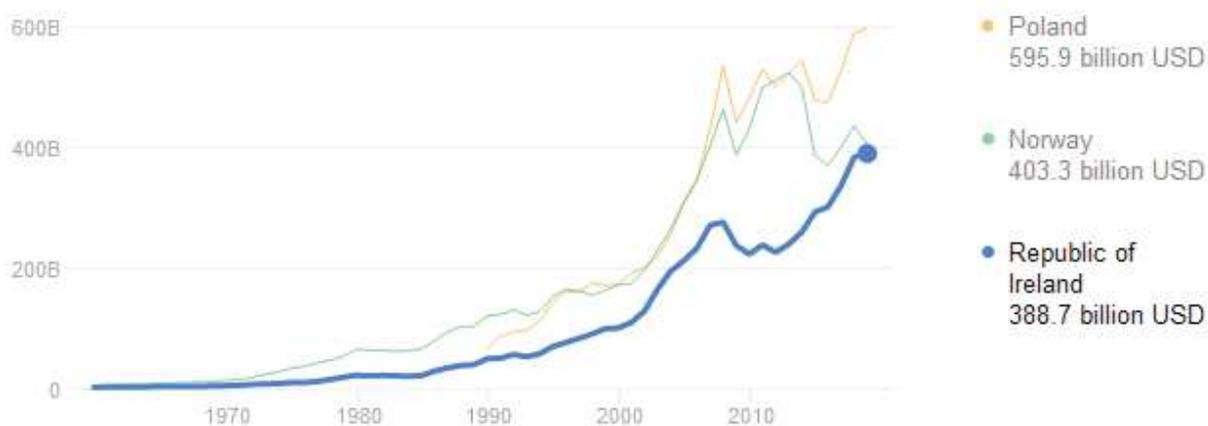
During the XIXth century, Poland was more present in the Irish nationalist imagination than the reverse, while Ireland was already regarded as an inspiration by Ukrainians, and the same actors that participated in an establishment of a Ukrainian culture were involved in cultural transfers between both countries. All of these countries had in common to have been denied auto-determination, in addition they were strongly repressed by the empires that administrated them. While Ukraine was maybe already more similar to Ireland than Poland was, the fact that the latter used to be a great nation, was very catholic and was very present in political debates, made it an important point of comparison. It was exposed to the point some Irish nationalists tried to underline how Ireland had it worst. When the void created by the Great War was seen as an occasion to take Independence back, this rhetoric continued in Irish leaflets. Examples of circulating informations or ideas and of comparisons between political situations were numerous. and if it was not possible to bring concrete help across Europe, there is evidence they tried. There is also clear parallel between them in this period, concerning their approach of nationalism, as anarchism didn't encounter similar successes there. Their struggles for autodetermination around the end of the First World War were contemporaneous, and their national movement were socialists, all three. And there are sources proving that they knew this linked them. However, it was also socialism that separated them: their experience of socialism was very different. In Ireland, the government quickly forgot its socialist roots, therefore communists were parts of the dissidence and were sure. They didn't know what the Soviet Union they thought of as a model was inflicting to Ukraine. Despite they are linked to opposite ideologies and that the causes and implication of the state are different, parallels are

evident. Ukraine and Ireland can be considered as having a harsh history, with slaughters and repression enamelling it, but these famines are a central event in their history, their martyrology and their antagonism with the bordering power. At first, there is the impact that we could imagine a mass starvation would have : descriptions contains a lot of similar descriptions of starved dying beggars and of their repression, even if when we are reading accounts and testimonies there are obvious differences (to mention one of them, cannibalism is more of a “Soviet” trait). The population continued to decrease after the famines, that was followed in Ukraine by a long period of silence (because of soviet censorship) until the 1990's, and scientists came to the conclusion that this had a biological impact on the offsprings of the survivors as well. This comparison therefore required to be an important part of this thesis. In addition, it is clear, looking onto historiography and the press, that this is a major point linking those countries not only in our paper. This underlines for instance how it is important to study these relations further, to see the impact of the links established between 1845 and 1939. Indeed, memory is a crucial point since we are talking about the transmission of ideas, and about representations. Ireland is nowadays the home of an important Polish community but this is not the only reason there are still celebrations of these links. The links they established in the past are still frequently emphasized, and they still appear as more established for the Irish than the Ukraine/Ireland connection, even if the latter is more and more often mentioned.

The second question was : how did Constance Markievicz's ideology and actions allow to reunite those countries? Having been in contact with her Polish family and the Ukrainian villagers, she compared the conditions of Irish, Polish and Ukrainian population several times in her writings, but they became particularly interesting women specifically. This opened new perspectives to study the comparison between Irish, Ukrainian and Polish, by studying relations between a specific part of them reunited by a further oppression. We were able to go from particular to general. The case of Constance Markievicz therefore allows us to focus on women's history, and this underlined other connections : many international congresses of women, where Polish, Irish and Ukrainian women met and expressed mutual support, permit to discuss national oppression issues. This even allowed Irish women to help Ukrainian women in the recognition of the famine. The famines, indeed, emphasized a gender gap and in the representation of both famines, women had a special place. This even includes the way women had a special part in their memories, and how they were more numerous to survive, how they had a greater life expectancy. However, if there is many examples of people comparing it, this is not the most important point that makes Ukraine looking to Ireland nowadays. Irish and Poles continued to commemorate the strong links they built, but they are in fact still compared around very precise problematics. Ireland continue to give hopes and perspectives to

both countries. And more precisely, the situation in Ireland right now is giving hope to a particular category of people: women.

Indeed, the topics that had brought back together these countries almost two centuries ago are precisely the questions that are reuniting them right now. Polish and Irish sovereignties are very well established, and their GDP seems to have grown significantly in the past decades (another possible point of comparison since the curves are rather similar)



Polish and Irish GDP's evolution compared

The question of their sovereignty is no longer something. This is the question of church that bring them back together like in 1845, but for very different reasons. This question is again linked to minority rights but here the state and especially the church who were formerly hopes for emancipation, are seen as oppressive. Here, it is not about the oppression of Poles or Irish as such, but of sexual minorities (to understand, women, homosexuals, transgender people) in a national context, considering the influence church has on social subjects. The stereotype of a very pious Ireland seems to be of the touch.⁴⁸³ In 2016, in Ireland, gay marriage was legalized thanks to a referendum, and in May 2018, after abortion became legal as well. The last point is particularly present in debates about the church and the state. Considering that Ireland was before considered as one of the last pro-life bastions in Europe and that it used to be a bastion of Catholicism in general.

⁴⁸³ "Ireland sees 73% increase in number of non-believers", *National Secular Society*, 06/04/2017

⁴⁸⁴ In Poland, on October of 2020, a law passed that restrained even more the right to abort, that was already reduced to three cases since 1993⁴⁸⁵: when the pregnancy was the result of an illegal act, when it was a threat for the mother and when the fetus was deformed. With this new law, the latter condition is not even valid to get access to an abortion. This led to very important protest, gathering up to 100,000 people for just one day in the streets of Warsaw⁴⁸⁶. But the law finally passed, in January. Therefore, secularism is for women, due to the very strong relation between the Church and the State, a chance of emancipation. Therefore, an interrogation is subsisting in Poland : will they follow the same path as Ireland? Ireland is indeed way less influenced by the church on that kind of topics. And the same interrogations exist in Ukraine: will they follow the path of Ireland? Ukraine gained its independence only 30 years ago. The question of language, in spite of both countries's intensive efforts to promote it, began again a question that spanned the political debates. On her side, Ireland regarding towards a region torn by war in Europe for the first time since 20 years, and some foreign analysts are still wondering what will be after the Brexit. That since Ireland as an island is cut in half, the history is not over.

Poland and Ireland are in addition together in the same European Union, Ukraine is not, despite a sincere and deep will to join from a part of the population, as testified by the Maïdan riots in February 2014. But still, they have their future to reunite them, as well as their memory. Commemorations, semantically, is really something that could bring them together. Commemorate mean remember together. In 2007, Ukrainians and Jews, , held in Montreal to the “memory of so much suffering.” despite the problems concerning the recognition of Ukrainian implications in the Holocaust and the polemics created by comparisons between Holocaust and Holodomor⁴⁸⁷ The communicate emphasizes that suffering create links of empathy.⁴⁸⁸ Ukrainians and Irish do not even share such a sensitive history of relations. A common commemoration of both Holodomor and Gorta Mor, in Canada for instance, seems far from impossible considering the elements we have. This show how it is important to pass over the bonds of ethnicity and nationality. This story is definitely still writing itself right now.

484 CALKIN Sydney, KAMINSKA Monika, “Persistence and Change in Morality Policy: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Politics of Abortion in Ireland and Poland”, *Feminist Review*, 23/03/2020

485 See HOFF Joan, *Comparative analysis of abortion in Ireland, Poland and the United States*, Women Studies International Forum, Volume 17, Issue 6, 1994, p. 621-646

486 MORTENSEN Antonia, “Poland's biggest protests in decades stand against abortion ban”, *CNN*, 31/10/2020

487 See RAYSKI Benoît *L'enfant juif et l'enfant ukrainien: réflexions sur un blasphème*, Editions de l'Aube, 2001

488 HAWRYLUK Alexandra, *A la mémoire de tant de souffrances*, Jewish-Christian Relations, 30/06/2007

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Belfast Mural, Republican side, denouncing Genocide by Starvation. Whiterock Road, West Belfast – p. 164

Bitter Memory of Childhood, Holodomor Memorial, Kyiv, Ukraine (Netanyahu taking part of a commemoration in 2019) – p. 188

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Map of the An Gorta Mor Mass graves in Ireland – p. 175

Map of the Holodomor Mass Graves in Ukraine, Holodomor Museum – p. 176

Map of the total demographic losses in the Ukrainian SSR by region caused by the Holodomor famine – p. 138

MARKIEVICZ Constance, *The Conscript*, 1902 - p. 123

-Russian Harvest, 1902-3, (Courtesy of the Lissadell Collection) – p. 123

Photographs of the Constance Markievicz's bust installed in St James Park, Dublin, (Anna Lefèvre, 02/11/2019) – p. 183

- Statute of Constance Markievicz next to a fitness club named after her, Dublin, (Anna Lefèvre, 01/02/2020) - p. 183

MARKIEVICZ Kazimierz, *Constance on her Death Bed*, 1927 – p. 127

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Venn Diagramm of Intersectionality as seen in *Women, Ideals and the Nation* – p. 142

WIENERBERGER Alexander, Starving families during the Holodomor, Ukraine, 1933 – p. 147

Zhyvotivka's memorial to Holodomor's victims – p. 137

La Pologne et l'Ukraine.
“Les Soeurs Orientales de l'Irlande?”

De l'Identification et de la convergence des luttes
dans les Relations Ukraino-Irlandaises et Irlando-Polonaises
(1845 - 1939)

Etude de cas sur Constance Markievicz

En 1863, l'Irlandais Patrick McCabe Faye organise une collecte à l'Insurrection qui a lieu en Pologne contre l'Empire Russe, que l'Histoire a retenu sous le nom d'Insurrection de janvier, la dernière et la plus importante des insurrections patriotiques polonaises du XIXème siècle. Il lui semblait que ce ne serait que justice que la “*Pologne de l'Ouest vienne apporter son aide à sa sœur dans l'Est.*”¹ En effet, partagée depuis 1795 entre trois grands pays européens, la Russie, l'Autriche-Hongrie et la Prusse (l'Allemagne après 1871), le calvaire de la Pologne a eu un écho important en Europe, et ce particulièrement en Irlande. Celle-ci connaissait également une situation critique à cette époque, ce qui fut un terreau fertile pour le nationalisme et créa un sentiment de connivence et de solidarité avec la Pologne, catholique comme elle. Cela permit aussi à de nombreux polonais, irlandais ou penseurs étrangers d'établir des parallèles entre leurs deux situations... Partie intégrante du Royaume-Uni à la suite de l'Acte d'Union de 1801, elle subissait les conséquences de l'impérialisme britannique, mais également de l'idéologie du laissez-faire. L'événement le plus traumatique de cette période est sans aucun doute la Grande Famine, ou An Gorta Mor en Irlandais. C'est donc pour cela que l'année 1845 a été choisie comme date de départ pour l'étude des relations de ces deux nations que nous pouvons donc qualifier de “soeurs”. De plus, cet évènement est central dans les rapports et parallèles beaucoup moins étudiés, que l'Irlande entretient avec un autre peuple slave : l'Ukraine.

Avant 1991, l'Ukraine n'avait pas connu d'Indépendance hormis une courte période connue sous le nom de République Populaire Ukrainienne entre, entre 1917 et 1920. En 1845 son peuple vivait entre la Russie et l'Autriche-Hongrie, et son identité culturelle était en plein développement, notamment grâce à la publication de *Kobzar* de Taras Shevchenko en 1840, considéré comme le plus important écrivain pour la langue ukrainienne². Alexeï Bayer, journaliste et écrivain né à Moscou, a consacré plusieurs articles à ce parallèle, notamment “*Ukraine and Ireland : Overcoming Mighty Neighbors*”, publié sur le site “The Globalist” le 8 février 2014 pendant l'Euro Maïdan en Ukraine, et où il déclare la chose suivante : “*The Irish have traditionally identified with the Poles and their struggle for freedom and for their own national state. There are obvious parallels between two Catholic nations being oppressed by - and constantly rebelling against - an overwhelming colonial power of a*

¹ HEALY Roisin, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, 1772 - 1922 : Anti-Colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

² SETON-WATSON, *Nations and States*, WestView Press, 1977, p. 187

*different confession. But in fact, the Ireland-Ukraine pairing may be closer*³. De plus, un événement très précis les rapprochent, portant des noms et une mémoire similaire : la mort par la famine. An Gorta Mor, la famine irlandaise de 1845 donc, et l'Holodomor de 1932 - 1933 en Ukraine soviétique. Il s'agit en effet de deux famines s'étant déroulées dans l'Europe contemporaine dont les victimes se comptent en millions. En Ukraine, les circonstances ne permettent pas de fixer un chiffre, mais ceux-ci sont de l'ordre de plusieurs millions de victimes, les estimations variant de 3 à 7 millions en moyenne. En Irlande, en revanche, les registres étaient mieux tenus et on a le consensus d'un peu plus d'un million de victimes, pour deux millions de personnes qui ont tout simplement fui leur pays. Des produits culturels, certes marginaux, montrent qu'en conséquence une identification existe et que les premiers concernés se réunissent autour de projets communs. En 2011, les Irlandais de From de Bogs of Aughiska et les Ukrainiens de Dark Ages s'associent pour créer l'album An Gorta Mor / Holodomor, créant donc pour ces famines un seul et même mémorial.

De plus, un élément historique particulier vient connecter ces trois pays. Il s'agit de Constance Markievicz née Gore-Booth (4/02/1868 - 15/07/1927), militante irlandaise nationaliste, socialiste et féministe, qui prit une part active dans les événements liés à l'Indépendance irlandaise, et de son mari. Constance était en effet mariée à Kazimierz dit "Casimir" Markievicz (15/03/1874 - 02/12/1932), un noble polonais dont la famille était originaire du village de Zhyvotivka en Ukraine occidentale (oblast de Vinnytsia). Ces liens avec sa belle-famille en Pologne et en Ukraine lui ont permis d'enrichir sa culture politique, et la poussèrent donc à établir des rapports entre la situation des Polonais, Irlandais et Ukrainiens sous la coupe d'un Empire étranger, mais aussi des femmes au sein de ces nations. Ce couple est donc un acteur important des transferts culturels et de la circulation des idées entre l'Irlande et le Sud-Ouest de l'Empire Russe. En 1939, la Seconde Guerre mondiale est déclarée. Celle-ci représente pour la Pologne et l'Ukraine peut-être le traumatisme le plus important de leur histoire, chacune d'entre elles perdent environ 16 à 17% de leur population dont la grande majorité de leur population juive, tandis que le territoire de l'Irlande, restée neutre durant le conflit, est relativement épargnée. Cette date marque donc la fin de la période étudiée.

Ce long travail de recherche mobilise des connaissances de l'Histoire de trois pays différents sur une période de presque un siècle, mais demande également des connaissances théoriques sur différentes méthodes historiques. Afin de déterminer dans quelle mesure les histoires nationales de ces pays sur une période donnée peuvent être analysées comme similaires, il faut faire appel aux méthodes de l'histoire comparée. La comparaison est un outil historique peut-être aussi ancien que l'Histoire en tant que discipline elle-même.⁴ Dans "*Manuel d'histoire globale*", ceci est résumé ainsi : "*Dès l'antiquité grecque, la méthode*

³ Les Irlandais se sont traditionnellement identifiés aux Polonais, et à leur lutte pour leur liberté et leur propre Etat. Il y a des parallèles évidents entre deux nations catholiques opprimées par - et se rebellant constamment contre - une puissance coloniale écrasante d'une confession différente. Mais dans les faits, la paire Irlande-Ukraine est peut-être plus proche.

BAYER Alexei, "Ukraine and Ireland : Overcoming mighty neighbors", *The Globalist*, 08/02/2014

⁴ MAUREL Chloé, *Manuel d'histoire globale*, Armand Colin, 2014, 216 p.

comparative a été utilisée par des historiens grecs de manière intuitive, sans être théorisée...” C’est cette méthode instinctive que les populations concernées ont utilisée elles-même. Mais l’histoire comparée elle-même est plus récente, et daterait plutôt de Marc Bloch et du début du XXème siècle.⁵ Le tournant global en histoire lui daterait plutôt des années 1980, et il développe de nouvelles méthodes historiques dépassant le cadre national. Un grand nombre de méthodes historiques associées au tournant global seront employées ici. Ainsi, les démonstrations de solidarités et d’identification appartiennent davantage à l’histoire transnationale, qui rejettent souvent, ou est opposée, à l’approche comparative et l’histoire connectée qui est une réaction à celle-ci⁶. Michel Werner propose donc une troisième approche dans " Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité" : *Elle [l’histoire croisée] offre en particulier des pistes nouvelles pour sortir de l’impasse des débats entre comparatistes et spécialistes des transferts sans pour autant minorer les apports de ces deux approches sur lesquelles elle s’appuie largement*⁷. Enfin, l’étude de l’histoire du couple Markievicz dans sa dimension transnationale relève plutôt de la micro-histoire globale. Micro-histoire car l’on se centre à petite échelle, sur deux familles, mais elle est dite “globale” car elle montre précisément des transferts culturels et une circulation des idées à petite échelle, des processus d’identification... Les historiens Michel Calafat et Romain Bertrand résumèrent ainsi sa pertinence scientifique : *“Riche de promesses, elle [la microhistoire globale] allie l’intérêt historiographique suscité par la microhistoire dans le courant des années 1980 au paradigme de l’histoire globale qui s’est imposé à compter des années 1990”*⁸

Pour un sujet comme celui-ci, l’état de l’art est une part très importante du travail. Dans le travail original, celui-ci faisait environ plus d’une quarantaine de pages sur 227. En effet, il s’agit d’un moyen concret d’étudier la représentation de l’histoire de ces pays et il est surprenant de voir à quel point l’historiographie les connecte à de multiples occasions, que ce soit dans des travaux portant sur des similitudes historiques ou des relations particulières entre deux de ces pays, ou même au sein de monographies portant sur l’histoire de ces nations sur de longues périodes, faisant appel à la méthode instinctive de la comparaison.

1) Le premier point abordé fut l’historiographie de ces trois pays au sein de travaux ayant eux même une dimension transnationale, par exemple ceux portant sur l’histoire des nationalismes et s’appuyant sur l’histoire d’un grand nombre de nations. Des travaux ayant

⁵ BLOCH Marc, *Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes*, “Revue de synthèse historique”, (1928), T. XLVI, ou. série t. X

⁶ DOUKI Caroline, MINARD Philippe, "Global Histories, Connected history ", *Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine*, Belin, 2007/5 (No 54-4bis), p. 7-21

⁷ WERNER Michel, " Penser l'histoire croisée: entre empirie et réflexivité " , *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2003/1 58e année, p. 7-36

⁸ ROMAIN Bertrand, CALAFAT Guillaume, "La microhistoire globale: affaire(s) à suivre", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2018/1 (73e année), p. 1-18

fait date dans l'historiographie des nationalismes, tels que *“L’imaginaire national”* de Benedict Anderson (1983) ou *“Nations and Nationalism since 1780”* (1990) de Eric Hobsbawm, représentent une source d’informations importante sur le concept même de nationalisme, ce qui est fondamental pour appréhender l’histoire de ces pays, et du XIX^{ème} siècle de manière générale, appelé siècle des nationalismes. Le sentiment national et son imaginaire s’étant particulièrement développé au XIX^{ème} siècle en Ukraine, Anderson se penche plus particulièrement sur son cas, et rappelle que la première association nationaliste ukrainienne été fondée par un historien⁹. La Pologne n’est en revanche mentionnée qu’une fois, p. 33. Sur la définition du nationalisme, Hobsbawm rappelle que L’ intérêt historiographique de ce genre de travaux vient de ce qu’ils permettent de comparer l’importance qui leur a été accordée au sein de travaux de ce genre. Cette partie permet de plus de s’interroger sur des concepts pouvant s’appliquer à l’Irlande, à l’Ukraine et à la Pologne : les “petites nations” et les “colonies.” La Pologne, l’Irlande et l’Ukraine furent en effet toutes trois désignées par ce terme de “petites nations” dans l’ouvrage de 2016 *“Small Nations and Colonial peripheries in World War I”*, où elles sont toutes étudiées. Ce concept est plus ancien que ce livre et fut déjà évoqué au début du XX^{ème} siècle, “tous ces petits pays étaient destinés à disparaître.” On y apprend également que le tournant global dans les “war studies” était dû à la formation transnationale des historiens de la Première Guerre mondiale. Dans le cas de cet ouvrage en particulier, le terme de “petites nations” désignait plutôt pudiquement des “nations soumises.” Cependant, un autre terme pouvant désigner ces trois pays apparaît aussi en historiographie : le mot colonie¹⁰. Celui-ci est plus controversé. En effet, peut-on qualifier ces trois nations européennes de sociétés post-coloniales? Certains historiens utilisent ce terme, comme Anne Applebaum au sujet de l’Ukraine dans son “Red Famine”¹¹, ou Stephan Velychenko, qui avait une analyse similaire au sujet de l’Irlande et écrivait : *“Anticolonialism normally refers to the socialist/Marxist nationalism that emerged in Africa and Asia.[...]. Since Ukrainians were ruled by Russia they have a tradition of anti colonialist thought, which those interested in people who experienced modernization through domination should know”*¹². Le terme de colonialisme intra-européen et de colonialisme interne a été créé par Hechter pour qualifier cette situation particulière, qui peut donc s’appliquer à ces trois pays.¹³ De plus, Roisin Healy qui a consacré plusieurs travaux aux relations polono-irlandaises au XIX^{ème} siècle a employé plusieurs fois ce terme dans ce contexte: citons *“The Shadow of colonialism on Europe's modern past”* (2014), ou *“Poland in the Irish nationalist imagination (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe”* (2017)

Dans un premier temps, nous allons nous concentrer sur l’importance de la comparaison dans des travaux à dimension pourtant intra-nationale.

⁹ ANDERSON Benedict, *L’imaginaire national*, La Découverte, 2006 (1983), p. 74

¹⁰ APPLEBAUM Anne, *Famine rouge: La guerre de Staline en Ukraine*, Grasset, 2019, 512 p.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *L’anticolonialisme fait normalement référence au nationalisme socialiste/marxiste qui a émergé en Afrique et en Asie. Puisque les Ukrainiens ont été dirigés par les Russes ils ont une longue tradition de pensée anticoloniale, que devraient connaître ceux qui s’intéressent à la modernisation par la domination.”*

VELYCHENKO Stephen, *“ Ukrainian anti-colonialist thought in comparative perspective. A preliminary view.”*, *Ab Imperio*, n°4, 2012, p. 339–71

¹³ Voir HECHTER Michael, *Internal Colonialism, Alien Rule, and Famine in Ireland and Ukraine*, Vol. 8 No. 1 (2021): EAST/WEST: JOURNAL OF UKRAINIAN STUDIES (ISSN 2292-7956)

2) Historiographie comparée de l'Irlande, de l'Ukraine et de la Pologne. Comment les œuvres historiques à dimension nationale – et leur évolution – pourraient-elles aider à une analyse transnationale et comparative?

Dans l'historiographie irlandaise, le cas d'un livre en particulier se démarque des autres. Avec "*Unhappy the land : the most oppressed people ever; the Irish?*"¹⁴, écrit en 2015, Liam Kennedy entend remettre en cause quelques mythes nationalistes au sujet d'épisodes clés de l'histoire irlandaise. Il se compose de trois parties: la vue sur le long terme, la famine en Irlande, et la décennie révolutionnaire. Dans ce travail, l'historien s'appuie à plusieurs reprises sur des exemples et arguments issus de l'histoire d'autres pays, dont la Pologne et l'Ukraine. Il appartient à l'école dite révisionniste, qui a pour ambition de remettre en cause une vision "orthodoxe" et "victimaire" de l'histoire irlandaise cultivée par les nationalistes, par exemple, en critiquant fortement le fait de qualifier de la Grande Famine Irlandaise comme d'un génocide. Il réfute les travaux d'auteurs comme Tim Pat Coogan, qualifié de "manifestation curieuse d'un sous-genre visant à amplifier la responsabilité britannique dans la famine" en s'appuyant notamment sur Lemkin, juriste juif polonais qui a créé le terme de "génocide" après la Shoah, et mentionne qu'il avait qualifié la Grande Famine ukrainienne de "génocide soviétique" lors d'une manifestation en 1953 à New York à l'occasion des 20 ans de la famine. Dans "*Lemkin on Genocide*", publié par Steven Jacobs, basé sur les travaux de Lemkin, plaçait dans la catégorie "Temps modernes," sans plus d'informations, "*Irlande*"¹⁵. Il critique également, point plus controversé, la qualification des conflits irlandais post-première guerre mondiale entre 1919 et 1923 de "Guerre d'Indépendance", notamment dû au fait que les sources contemporaines ne le mentionnent jamais comme tel. Dès les premières lignes, il compare la lecture nationaliste de l'histoire irlandaise au révisionnisme des nationalistes polonais ou serbes.

Concernant l'historiographie polonaise cherchant à se démarquer de la doxa nationaliste, Liam Kennedy cite Brian Porter-Szücs que l'on pourrait considéré comme un équivalent polonais, ayant eu la même ambition de démystifier l'histoire en se concentrant sur une période longue, mais qui n'a pas eu un écho aussi important¹⁶. Kennedy l'avait cité dans son introduction comme une de ses références. Il dénonce les "*ultra-nationalistes polonais, "patriotes autoproclamés"*", qui avaient longtemps célébré la Pologne comme une nation martyre sans regarder en face les discriminations et les meurtres commis en son nom, en particulier pendant l'entre deux guerre où les Juifs et les Ukrainiens étaient des minorités très discriminées. Brian Porter-Szücs y consacre donc un chapitre dans son ouvrage. Ce qui est assez paradoxal, c'est que ceux qu'il qualifie de patriotes autoproclamés sont également qualifiés de révisionnistes dans leur lecture de la Shoah, soulignant à quel point ce mot est polysémique.¹⁷ Dans sa critique de l'ouvrage, Anita Przazmowska de la London School of

¹⁴ KENNEDY Liam, *Unhappy the land: the most oppressed people ever; the Irish ?*, Merrion Press, 2015, 294 p.

¹⁵ JACOBS Steven Leonard, *Lemkin on Genocide*, Lexington Books, 2014, p. 18

¹⁶ PORTER SZUCS Brian, *Poland in the modern world: Beyond Martyrdom*, Chichester, Wiley Blackwell, 2014, 390 p.

¹⁷ SHEEP Jonah, "Poland's Holocaust Law and the Right-Wing desire to rewrite history", *New York Intelligencer*, 3/02/2018

Economics, écrivait entre autre à son sujet: “*Since Poles and the Polish media tend to have an exaggerated regard for foreigners who take an interest in Polish history, as witnessed by the esteem in which they hold Norman Davies, this modest book is very much to be welcomed.*”¹⁸ Norman Davies est effectivement un historien polonophile célèbre, qui a consacré de nombreux ouvrages au pays. Dans l’un des ouvrages les plus importants consacrés à l’histoire polonaise, *God’s playground*, publié en 1979, son origine britannique peut expliquer les diverses allusions à une ressemblances entre les Irlandais et les Polonais qu’il évoque au travers de ses digressions : “*Poland appears to be imbued with the unmistakable flavour of irishness [...] and not only because Poland and Ireland are the only two Catholic countries which thrive on a diet of potatoes and hard spirit*”.¹⁹ D’autres comparaisons soulignent à quel point ce procédé historiographique apparaît comme instinctif, écrivant par exemple au sujet de l’immigration polonaise : “*Together with Ireland, Sicily and parts of Germany, the Polish lands have produced a disproportionate share of European Immigrants*” (P.202), et notant aussi que les Irlandais n’ont eu à affronter que les Britanniques, alors que la Pologne était divisée entre trois empires.

De la même manière, les origines britanniques de Ann Reid, l’auteur de “*Borderland, a journey through history of Ukraine*” expliquent les références faites à l’Irlande dans sa monographie consacrée à l’Ukraine ainsi que ses comparaisons entre les Irlandais et Ukrainiens. De manière assez surprenante, elle est toute aussi explicite que Davies dans sa comparaison : “*Ukraine thus became to Russians what Ireland and Scotland were to the English*”²⁰ De plus, elle invalide le parallèle entre les Irlandais et les Polonais, comparant davantage ces derniers aux Anglais et donc aux oppresseurs : “*Poles, like the English responded [to Ukrainian revolts] with a curious mixture of affection, scorn and feare.*” (Les Polonais, comme les Anglais, répondirent [aux révoltes ukrainiennes] avec un curieux mélange d’affection, de mépris et de peur). Au sujet de la grande famine ukrainienne, ou Holodomor, elle fait aussi appel à la comparaison avec la Grande Famine d’Irlande : “*Famine n’est pas le bon mot pour qualifier ce qu’il s’est passé. Contrairement à l’Irish Potato Famine des années 1840, les morts de 1932 - 33 était un événement délibéré, créé par l’Homme.*” Cette famine eut une historiographie similaire à celle d’An Gorta Mor, passant par de longues années de silence en métropole (ici en revanche dûes à la censure soviétique). Victoria Malko divise l’historiographie de la famine en quatre phases. Durant la première, qui dure jusqu’aux années 1950, elle était anecdotique et hors du cadre académique, notamment les rapports du journaliste Gareth Jones qui s’était rendu personnellement en URSS. La seconde se déroule des années 1950 à 1980 : “*la famine de masse est exposée par les historiens occidentaux et elle commence à être qualifiée de génocide, et le terme « holodomor » est inventé. C’est également ici que sort Harvest of Sorrow de Robert Conquest.*” La troisième phase

¹⁸ Comme les Polonais et les médias polonais ont tendance à avoir une reconnaissance exagérée pour les étrangers qui s’intéressent à l’histoire polonaise, comme en témoigne l’estime qu’ils portent à Norman Davies, ce modeste livre est très bienvenu.

¹⁹ *La Pologne semble être imprégnée de la saveur indubitable de l’irlandité [...] et pas seulement parce que la Pologne et l’Irlande sont les deux seuls pays catholiques qui se nourrissent d’un régime de pommes de terre et d’alcool fort.* DAVIES Norman, *God’s playground*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1981 (1979), p. 467

²⁰ *L’Ukraine devint ainsi pour les Russes ce que l’Irlande et l’Ecosse était pour les Anglais.* REID Anna, *Borderland, a journey through history of Ukraine*, W&N, 2015 (1997), 368 p.

correspond à l'ouverture des archives soviétiques, une période où la famine fut de plus en plus reconnue comme un génocide. La quatrième phase, ces dix dernières années, correspond davantage à une interprétation des dynamiques sociales de la famine, phase à laquelle Malko elle-même appartient.²¹ La révolution de Maïdan en 2014 eut également un impact sur la réédition d'ouvrages sur l'histoire ukrainienne.

3) Sur les rapports polono-irlandais, les Irlandais furent plus nombreux à écrire. Patrick Clancy a publié en 1992: *"Ireland and Poland: Comparative Perspectives."*, Klaus Tenfelde et John Belchem ont publié en 2002, sur la similitude entre les mouvements migratoires irlandais et polonais: *"Irish and Polish Migration in Comparative Perspective."* L'ouvrage de référence majeur sur le sujet est publié bien plus tard, en 2017. Il s'agit de *"Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, 1772 - 1922 : Anti-Colonialism within Europe"* de Roisin Healy, une historienne de l'Université de Maynooth qui a écrit de nombreux travaux sur les rapports d'identifications entre Irlandais et Polonais, ainsi que sur la fin de la première guerre mondiale: elle a notamment participé à *"1916 : an anti-imperial moment"*, et écrit *"Reflections on Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Ireland and Poland"*. Ses travaux furent une source majeure d'informations pour ce mémoire. De plus, la collection de Peter Lang *"Re-imagining Ireland"*, qui dans sa démarche de revisite de l'histoire irlandaise accorde donc une certaine importance à l'histoire transnationale, a consacré plusieurs travaux aux rapports entre l'Irlande et l'Europe Orientale, dont *"Polish-Irish Encounters in the Old and New Europe."*, qui rassemble plusieurs travaux d'historiens mais aussi de sociologues sur divers sujets rassemblant Irlandais et Polonais. Les Irlandais sont également à l'origine de la majorité des articles sur le sujet, citons par exemple : ou le séminaire *"Talk on 1916 Rising and a Polish Connection"*. Cependant, une littérature historique polonaise commence à se développer sur le sujet, notamment par la publication du livre *"Placing Poland at the heart of Irishness"* par Adam Kucharski en 2020.

4) Les historiens ukrainiens commencent à souligner les parallèles peu de temps après 1939. En 1953, Roman Smal-Stocky, ancien ambassadeur ukrainien reconverti dans le domaine académique, écrivait dans la presse irlandaise : *"Both Ukraine and Ireland were confronted with a similar agrarian problem. That, in part, forced the Irish to emigrate to America and the Ukrainians to Siberia. Britain systematically hampered the Irish economy just as the Russians did in Ukraine... [...] in our Young Ukraine, we saw Young Ireland."*²² Gennadiy Kazakevich de l'Université Taras Shevchenko de Kiev semble être l'historien le plus actif sur le sujet, s'étant spécialisé sur les rapports entre Irlandais et Ukrainiens sur plusieurs périodes historiques différentes, notamment sur celle qui nous intéresse ici, citons :

²¹ MALKO Victoria, The Holodomor as Genocide in Historiography and Memory, Paper presented at the 51st Annual Convention of the Association for Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies in San Francisco, California, 2019, 27 p.

²² "L'Ukraine et l'Irlande ont toutes deux été confrontées à des problèmes agraires similaires. Cela a en partie forcé les Irlandais à immigrer aux Etats-Unis et les Ukrainiens en Sibérie. Dans notre Jeune Ukraine, nous voyions la Jeune Irlande.

"Ireland and Ukraine, both fought for their liberty", *Anglo Celt*, 19/09/1953

“Ukrainian O’Connors: the family of Irish ancestry in cultural life of the 19th century Ukraine” ou “Parallel Struggle” dans *The Ukrainian Week*.²³ Les départements d’étude ukrainienne semblent également plus actifs, et on remarque que ceux-ci sont beaucoup plus nombreux en Amérique du Nord, et plus particulièrement au Canada. En effet, le pays comporte une importante diaspora irlandaise et ukrainienne, et cette dernière diaspora est particulièrement active.²⁴ Par exemple, en 2018, l’appel à projet de l’*Ukrainian Studies in the Alberta University* s’articule autour de quatre points, comme la “nation entre la région et l’empire”, la famine, la résistance et la diaspora. Le plus controversé est la comparaison IRA/UPA. L’UPA était d’extrême droite, et l’IRA est de gauche, et malgré les attentats terroristes dont elle s’est rendue coupable, ceci n’est pas absolument comparable avec la participation à l’Holocauste de l’UPA.

La comparaison Irlande/Ukraine dans la littérature scientifique s’axe cependant majoritairement sur la question de la famine. Si ces famines sont régulièrement citées conjointement dans les articles traitant des famines de manière générale, le premier travail majeur, “*Holodomor and Gorta Mor; Histories, Memories and Representations of Famine in Ukraine and Ireland*”, dirigé par Christian Noak, date de 2012. Ces mémoires se ressemblent fortement surtout dans leur imagerie, et elles peuvent donc s’influencer mutuellement, il en est de même pour l’historiographie. Plus de 20 ans après la publication de “*The Feminization of the Famine: Expressions of the inexpressible?*” par Margaret Kelleher (1997)²⁵, c’est Victoria Malko qui publie en 2019 *Women and the Holodomor Genocide*²⁶, dans l’introduction duquel elle précise quelle différence le genre peut faire dans le vécu de la famine Malko précise que sur 2,918 témoignages publiés dans 22 collections documentaires différentes, 73% sont écrits par des femmes. Ces historiennes soulignent par exemple à quel point les femmes ont pu avoir des vécus similaires de ces tragédies, ayant une espérance de vie plus importante que les hommes dans les deux cas, et ont eu des places similaires dans la mémoire de ces famines. Ce point précis a de plus été l’objet de plusieurs articles, par exemple “Rupture and Call: Famine Encounters from Contemporary Irish and Ukrainian Women in the Arts” par Emily Holt et Grace Maloney (2020), et surtout, cela souligne qu’un point aussi précis que l’histoire d’une famine sous un prisme genré, et souligne à quel point l’approche de Constance Markievicz, qui avait rapproché les situations des femmes irlandaises et polonaises au sein de l’Empire et des mouvements nationaux, peut être pertinente dans une approche historique transnationale.

5) L’historiographie liée à Constance Markievicz relève donc à la fois de l’histoire du genre, de l’histoire nationale irlandaise, de l’histoire des idées et de l’histoire transnationale. Cependant, son statut de figure historique fait que la majorité des travaux qui lui ont été consacrés sont des biographies. Beaucoup d’entre elles ont été publiées, la première date de 1934, et Anne Haverty qui lui consacre une biographie en 1988 écrit qu’il est peut-être

²³ KAZAKEVICH Hennadiy, “Parallel Struggle”, *Ukrainian Week*, 17/04/2012

²⁴ On compte en effet 4,5 millions d’Irlando-Canadiens et plus d’un million d’Ukraino-Canadiens en 2016. Immigration and Ethnocultural diversity highlight tables, Canada, 2016 Census

²⁵ KELLEHER Margaret, *The Feminization of the Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible ?*, Duke University Press, 1997, 272 p.

²⁶ MALKO Victoria, *Women and the Holodomor-Genocide: Victims, survivors, perpetrators*, The Press at California State University, Fresno, 2019, p. 1

l'homme qui lui a fait le plus de dommages. Ensuite, il faut attendre le cinquantenaire de l'Easter Rising pour que plusieurs biographies soient publiées. Il existe aussi des publications non anglophones comme *Constance ou l'Irlande* de Anne Pons. Le principal travail écrit par une polonaise, écrit en italien en 1998 puis en polonais en 2000 par Marta Petrusiewicz, est appelée "*Irlandzki syn*" (un rêve irlandais). Elle publiait d'autres travaux sur les relations polono-irlandaises, tels que "The Modernization of the European peripheries: Ireland, Poland and the two sicilies, 1820-1870, Parallel and connected, distinct and comparable" en 2004. Les deux biographies majeures du couple de Markievicz sont : "*The Polish Irishman: Life and Time of Casimir Markievicz*" de Patrick Quigley et "*Revolutionary lives : Constance and Casimir Markievicz*" de Lauren Arrington Patrick Quigley est un membre éminent et avait écrit dès 2007 : "*in the XXIst century the name of Constance Markievicz and her husband will connect Ireland, Ukraine and Poland in new and unexpected ways. I think she would be pleased*"²⁷ Ce fut chose faite avec son propre travail, puisque celui-ci s'est rendu en Ukraine et a accordé beaucoup d'importance à l'aspect ukrainien de ce couple transnational. Quant à Lauren Arrington, elle a publié quelques articles dans l'*Irish Times* au sujet de Constance Markievicz, notamment au sujet des biographies déjà écrites. Mais au sujet de Patrick Quigley, elle qualifie sa biographie d'œuvre pionnière.²⁸ Cependant, quelques différences notables avec le travail de Quigley: elle est une historienne et il est écrivain, le travail de Lauren Arrington se centre moins sur Casimir et ce dernier est pourtant dans son travail plus largement présenté dans ses aspects plus sombres, notamment ses positions d'extrême-droite, proche de la Endecja de Roman Dmowski.

Ces biographies (environ une dizaine dans notre corpus) sont publiées très largement par des femmes, et anglophones. Mais les biographies insistant sur la dimension transnationale du couple et donc de l'histoire de Markievicz furent les plus utiles à nos recherches. De plus, celles-ci mettaient en valeur le discours que Constance Markievicz, prononcé en 1909, *Women, Ideals and the Nation*, comparant la situation des femmes polonaises et irlandaises, en tant que femmes dans les mouvements nationalistes et en tant que membre de peuples opprimés au sein d'un empire. Comme Lauren Arrington l'a expliqué à *Al Jazeera* en 2018, elle "*offre aux féministes libérales actuelles une leçon sur l'intersectionnalité*". Or, l'intersectionnalité appartient à la troisième vague du féminisme, et Constance Markievicz, ainsi que son engagement pour le droit de vote des femmes, à la première.

6) Markievicz a été citée dans des ouvrages analysant la relation entre les femmes et le nationalisme dans une plus large mesure, tels que « *Femmes, État et nationalisme : chez soi dans la nation ?* », écrit par Sita Ranchod-Nilsson et si le livre fournit une analyse forte du lien entre nation et genre, son évocation de Markievicz n'est qu' anecdotique, d'où le terme « citée ». Cette partie souligne quel rôle les minorités peuvent jouer quand il s'agit de connecter l'histoire de plusieurs pays. Sur le nationalisme en tant que facteur de

²⁷ QUIGLEY Patrick, "A Irishman's diary", *Irish Times*, 3/12/2007

Au XXI^{ème} siècle le nom de Constance Markievicz et de son mari vont connecter l'Irlande, l'Ukraine et la Pologne, d'une nouvelle manière inattendue. Je suis sûr qu'elle en serait ravie.

²⁸ ARRINGTON Lauren, "What to make of Constance Markievicz? Three biographies reviewed", *The Irish Times*, 12/11/2016

discriminations, par exemple Roisin Healy rappelle: “Renowned Irish historian Roy Foster [a revisionist] has also highlighted links between Irish and Polish nationalism, specifically the importance of the themes of crucifixion and resurrection, the links between Catholicism and political violence, the presence of anti-Semitism, as well as the mixed ethnic and religious family backgrounds of many nationalists”²⁹.

Cette importance accordée au genre nous pousse donc à consacrer un volet à l’historiographie des femmes dans ces régions : leurs organisations furent en effet une source importante non seulement de changements sociaux et politiques mais également de communications internationales. L’ouvrage de Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak “*Feminists despite themselves: Women in Ukrainian Community Life, 1884-1939*” est donc intéressant sur plusieurs aspects. Il aborde les relations de domination entre femmes polonaises et ukrainiennes et entre Ukrainiens et Ukrainiennes en profondeur, mais également l’importance que les comités internationaux ont eu dans la diffusion d’informations. Ceux-ci ont en effet permis aux femmes ukrainiennes d’alerter sur la tragédie qui se jouait au début des années 1930. De plus, il fut écrit en 1988, et a donc une place loin d’être anodine dans l’historiographie de l’Holodomor. Concernant l’intersectionnalité, cela a commencé à être théorisé aux Etats-unis en 1989 avec “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Policies.”

7) La dernière partie de cette historiographie se concentre sur la place de la Pologne et de l’Ukraine dans les ouvrages traitant de la connexion entre l’Irlande et l’Europe de l’est de façon plus large. D’autres transferts entre ces trois pays, se sont faits avec les Juifs venus de la zone d’exclusion de l’Empire russe. Il paraissait donc utile de se pencher sur les rapports entre l’Irlande et l’Europe de l’Est en historiographie de manière générale. Dans la collection Re-Imagining Ireland, il est publié le livre sur les rapports entre l’Irlande et l’Europe Orientale : *Ireland East to West : Irish Cultural Connection with Central and Eastern Europe*, basé sur une conférence tenue à Zagreb en 2011. Ce qui est assez intéressant dans l’étude de ce livre, c’est que l’Ukraine n’est pratiquement pas mentionnée. Celui-ci se centre en effet davantage sur les liens entretenus entre l’Irlande et les Balkans. Il semble donc y avoir un lien beaucoup plus large à explorer entre l’Irlande et cette région du monde.

Cet état de l’art montre donc que le parallèle Pologne-Irlande était quelque chose de déjà établi et que les comparaisons Ukraine-Irlande étaient aussi assez instinctives pour certains historiens. Cependant, il n’y a toujours pas de confrontation directe de tous, pas de triple analogie entre ces pays. Dans quelle mesure leurs oppressions et leurs luttes pourraient-elles être comparées ? Dans quelle mesure les parallèles tracés par les acteurs historiques de la période 1845-1939 pourraient-ils être des phénomènes réellement

²⁹ Le célèbre historien irlandais Roy Foster [un révisionniste] a également mis en évidence les liens entre les nationalismes irlandais et polonais, en particulier l’importance des thèmes de la crucifixion et de la résurrection, les liens entre le catholicisme et la violence politique, la présence d’antisémitisme, ainsi que la mixité ethnique et les antécédents familiaux religieux de nombreux nationalistes

comparables ? Dans ce tripoint historique, un nom se détache, inscrit dans trois histoires nationales: Constance Markievicz. Elle s'est déjà illustrée dans l'histoire, par son propre engagement pour la cause de l'Irlande, et pour ses opinions socialistes, y gagnant le surnom de "comtesse rouge" mais elle s'est aussi avérée être non seulement à l'intersection entre l'Irlande, la Pologne et l'Ukraine en tant que nations soumises avec un passé commun, mais à l'intersection entre le féminisme et l'indépendantisme, alors que nous pouvions trouver des similitudes dans la façon dont ces les luttes ont convergé en Irlande et en Europe de l'Est. Nous nous appuyerons assez largement sur une bibliographie et sur des sources secondaires en raison de la pandémie de Covid-19, mais aussi sur la presse et sur les discours politiques de l'époque, des sources importantes lorsqu'il est question de représentations. Les ressources de l'*Irish Newspaper Archives* ont donc été assez largement mobilisées, et de nombreuses parties de ce travail reposent sur des études de cas, que ce soit des livres, des pamphlets, des correspondances...

Comment les idées politiques de Markievicz, comme les intersections qu'elle a soulignées entre Nation et Genre, pourraient-elles offrir une nouvelle lecture des connexions et parallèles polono-irlandais et ukraino-irlandais ? Que pouvons-nous apprendre de cette similitude et des identifications auxquelles elle conduit ? Dans quelles mesures peut-on d'ailleurs parler de similitude, ces oppressions, et les luttes contre celles-ci, peuvent-elles vraiment être comparées? Dans quelle mesure les parallèles tracés par les acteurs historiques de la période 1845-1939 pourraient-ils vraiment décrire des phénomènes comparables?

Le corps de ce mémoire se compose donc de cinq grandes parties, qui se suivent dans un ordre chronothématique : la période précédant la première guerre mondiale (1845 - 1913), la Première Guerre mondiale et les guerres qui suivirent impliquant ces trois nations, un chapitre consacré à Constance et Kazimierz Markievicz, la période de l'entre deux guerre, et enfin la mémoire des événements de cette période, ainsi que la manière dont ils rassemblent ces trois peuples encore aujourd'hui.

- La première porte donc sur la période, à savoir **Les Irlandais, Polonais et Ukrainiens durant le siècle des Nationalismes (1845 - 1913)**, durant lequel aucune de ces trois nations n'avaient accès à l'Indépendance.

1) Les relations polono - irlandaises de 1845 à 1913 représentent peut-être la partie la plus documentée de ce mémoire. Dû à une documentation très riche, à une meilleure accessibilité des sources, notamment les coupures de presses irlandaises étant mises en ligne depuis la fin du XVIIIème siècle, la représentation de la Pologne en Irlande et dans les cercles indépendantistes irlandais témoigne de l'importance que le "Christ parmi les nations" avait dans leur littérature politique. Cet exceptionalisme polonais couplé à un imaginaire catholique servait en effet leurs objectifs politiques. Cet imaginaire catholique fit également que les prêtres irlandais participèrent aux appels à la solidarité envers la Pologne, amplifiant leur position de sœurs catholiques dans la servitude. Il était tellement généralisé qu'en 1937, un article expliquait qu'à cette époque, chaque élève savait que la Pologne avait été partagée

par trois grandes puissances.³⁰ Parfois, cependant, cette comparaison servait pour les nationalistes irlandais à rappeler que leur sort était encore moins enviable que celui des Polonais, et mériterait autant de sympathie à l'international. En conclusion, la passion plutôt que la précision était dominante dans les commentaires irlandais sur la Pologne.³¹

Cependant, une réciprocité existe dans ses rapports. La solidarité des Irlandais envers les Polonais obtint une réponse quand, pendant les heures les plus sombres de la Grande Famine (Black '47), l'explorateur polonais Pawel Strzelecki, naturalisé Britannique depuis son exil, a offert son aide aux populations du comté de Mayo et de Sligo, un des plus touchés par la famine, notamment en offrant de la nourriture aux enfants dans les écoles³². Il fit également des rapports de ses voyages humanitaires. Il est moins médiatisé cependant que le Trail of Tears des Choctaws. Ignacy Domagalski, un prêtre de Varsovie, écrivit un livre entier sur l'Irlande et la Pologne, sobrement intitulé *Irlandia i Polska*.³³ Sans surprise, celui-ci met une emphase sur la manière dont le catholicisme réunit ces deux peuples, mais ce qui est davantage surprenant est sa condamnation, ce qui contrebalance une idée du clergé comme fer de lance de la révolte. De plus, dans les années 1890 et 1900, il y eut un important intérêt pour le mouvement "Irish Ireland" en Pologne.

Un troisième élément offrant un poids supplémentaire à cette comparaison est sa présence dans la littérature politique étrangère, et surtout de la part de quelques-unes des figures les plus marquantes de ce siècle. Victor Hugo commenta ainsi "*L'Angleterre qui reproche à la Russie sa Pologne ne voit pas l'Irlande qu'elle a dans l'œil.*"³⁴ En France, la solidarité envers la Pologne était très présente, ce qui s'observe dans des œuvres aussi mondialement connues que *Germinal* (où la lapine des Rasseneur est nommée Pologne) ou *Madame Bovary* (où est mise en place une poule patriotique pour la Pologne). Marx et Engels ont soutenu les indépendances polonaises et irlandaises, et ce pour des raisons similaires. Ils ont donc beaucoup écrit à ce sujet, et Engels écrivit entre autre en 1882 "*Ireland and Poland remained [...] therefore hold the view that two nations in Europe have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic: the Irish and the Poles*"³⁵. Ces comparaisons viennent de cercles politiques très variés. Cependant, c'est précisément au niveau de l'analyse sociale et de l'Histoire de ces pays sur le long terme que le parallèle Irlande/Pologne trouve ses limites. Mais elle déclarait également au sujet du rapport Pologne/Irlande Roisin Healy soulignait ainsi que cette identification reposait sur

³⁰ "Irish Interest in Poland", *Irish Examiner*, 08/12/1937

³¹ HEALY Roisin, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, (1772-1922), anti-colonialism within Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

³² KINEALY Christine, "A Polish Count in County Mayo Paul de Strzelecki and the Great Famine" (pp. 415-430), in *Mayo: History and Society*, edited by Gerard Moran and Nollaig O' Muraile, Dublin: Geography Publications 2014, pp. 944

³³ DOMAGALSKI Ignacy, *Irlandia I Polska*, Lwów, Drukiem W. Korneckiego, 1876, 278 p.

³⁴ DUHAMEL Jérôme, *Le Grand Méchant Dictionnaire de la Politique et des Politiciens*, FeniXX, 1985, 384 p.

³⁵ *L'Irlande et la Pologne sont restées [...] Je suis donc d'avis que deux nations en Europe ont non seulement le droit mais même le devoir d'être nationalistes avant de devenir internationalistes : les Irlandais et les Polonais*
ENGELS Friedrich, Engels's letter to Karl Kautsky, 7/02/1882, *Marx & Engels on the Irish Question*, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1971, p.332 translated by Einde O'Callaghan

suffisamment d'éléments pour que *“bien qu'il servait clairement des intérêts politiques particuliers au XIXème siècle, ce parallèle n'est pas invalide [...] et autorise les nationalistes irlandais à remettre en cause la légitimité du règne britannique en Irlande en argumentant que ce gouvernement était hypocrite de condamner en Pologne les pratiques qu'ils avaient eux-même en Irlande”*. Malheureusement, cela les empêchait de se concentrer sur des nations qui avaient moins de “légitimité historique”, ce pourquoi ils se sont plus concentrés sur les Hongrois et surtout les Polonais que, par exemple, les Slovaques ou les Ukrainiens³⁶. Pourtant, leur structure sociale, surtout celle des Ukrainiens, semble plus proche de celle des Irlandais.

2) L'identification d'Ukrainiens aux Irlandais ainsi que les transferts culturels depuis l'Irlande ont été rendues possibles par des acteurs similaires à ceux qui ont développé au XIXème siècle sa culture. La création d'une identité ukrainienne s'est construite de manière décisive au XIXème siècle à travers la langue, la littérature et l'histoire, ces trois éléments étant bien sûr finement entrelacés. Des écrivains, des historiens et des chercheurs ont donc participé à ces transferts culturels. Volodymyr Antonovych était professeur d'histoire, et déclarait trouver consolation dans le fait que les Irlandais n'ont pas perdu leur intense sentiment national malgré l'anglicisation linguistique, et évoquait ce parallèle dans ces leçons.³⁷ Antonovich était originaire d'une famille polonaise, mais voyait malgré tout dans ces derniers des oppresseurs et des ennemis de la cause ukrainienne. Par exemple, Lesia Ukraïnka, poétesse ukrainienne indépendantiste majeure du panthéon national, fut l'élève d'une descendante des O'Connor. Celle-ci est aussi responsable de la traduction en ukrainien du manifeste du parti communiste par Marx et Engels en 1902, soulignant le caractère marxiste du nationalisme Ukrainien pré-soviétique. L'expression Wirlandiya, contraction de wira”foi” et Irlandiya “Irlande” a même commencé à se répandre parmi les paysans irlandais. Ceux-ci subissaient de plus des répressions et des interdictions quant à l'usage de la langue. C'est donc un vrai point de contact important entre ces deux peuples.

Ici cependant, la réciprocité, et donc l'existence d'un sentiment d'identification particulier des Irlandais aux Ukrainiens est malheureusement pour ces derniers beaucoup moins claire. Roger Casement cependant déclara que si un ukrainien lisait un chapitre de l'histoire irlandaise, il ne pourrait pas s'empêcher de comparer sa propre expérience avec celle des Irlandais³⁸. Cette constatation s'est faite à la suite de sa rencontre avec Roman Smal-Stocky. Cependant, dans la presse irlandaise, l'évocation des “Ruthènes” est majoritairement liée à leur appartenance au catholicisme grec. Cela est vrai aussi pour les observateurs étrangers. La similitude entre les empires tsaristes et britanniques est souvent mentionnée, mais cela fait que la ressemblance entre l'Irlande et l'Ukraine n'est pas directement adressée. En effet, ce que l'on peut lire, par exemple de la part de Max Weber, est que l'Irlande est comparable aux régions périphériques de l'Empire de Russie. Cependant, une des rares personnes à le faire, ni irlandaise, ni ukrainienne, est Lénine. Il rappelait que les Ukrainiens étaient une nationalité aussi légitime que les “Grands Russes” (Russes ethniques),

³⁶ HEALY Roisin, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, 1772-1922*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2017, 321 p.

³⁷ HAMM Michael, *Kiev: A Portrait, 1800-1917*, Princeton University Press, 1996, p. 101

³⁸ " Other Nations took example of freedom from us ", Mayo News, 26/06/1954

en rappelant que Marx sera toujours un modèle d'émancipation, dans la manière dont il a demandé l'indépendance pour les Irlandais.³⁹

3) Comparer entre elles les situations politiques de plusieurs nations n'est évidemment pas politiquement neutre. C'est ce que tendait à montrer la troisième partie, consacrée aux confrontations des trois pays, assez rares. La comparaison des au XIX^{ème} siècle précisément n'était de plus pas le travail des historiens. Selon l'économiste et sociologue polonais Franciszek Bujak, dans *Galicja* en 1908, l'alliance entre Irlandais et Polonais n'est pas viable pour cette raison⁴⁰. Les paysans irlandais ressemblaient beaucoup trop aux paysans galiciens, ceux là même qui vivaient l'oppression de la part des propriétaires terriens polonais. Ces derniers lui rappelaient les nobles dits "Anglo-Irlandais". Il est effectivement historiquement vrais que les Polonais étaient "relativement" privilégiés par rapport aux Biélorusses, Ukrainiens, et surtout aux Juifs. Mais à nouveau, pourquoi s'identifier à des propriétaires terriens? Nous avons souligné que l'histoire de la Pologne lui donnait une légitimité historique, que la religion et les similarités chronologiques ont énormément joué, mais il est temps de poser la question: dans quelles mesures les comparaisons faites à l'époque entre ces trois pays sont justifiées par l'histoire?

Concernant l'Irlande et la Pologne, leur soumission totale fait suite à deux soulèvements ayant échoués à la fin du XVIII^{ème} siècle, en 1795 et 1798, évènements qui ont marqué leur conscience politique et leur production artistique, et une imagerie fortement liée au catholicisme romain. Quant aux Ukrainiens et aux Irlandais, leur considération par les puissances dirigeantes (Russie et Angleterre) étaient similaires. Les nationalistes étaient plus minoritaires qu'en Pologne et ne parlaient pas ukrainien ou irlandais, même si l'Irlande avait en commun avec la Pologne d'avoir une langue nationale pluri-séculaire. Les considérer comme des colonies ou des nations n'était cependant pas un jugement unanime à cette époque.

Les guerres (surtout la grande guerre) qui ont suivi 1914, et ont changé ce statut quo en changeant le statut politique de ces pays, et donc les relations d'identification entre ces trois pays. Ces comparaisons sont souvent symptomatiques d'une idéologie politique. Finalement, un des exemples les plus frappants est peut-être celui-ci. En 1914, Lénine déclarait lors d'un discours en Suisse sur le colonialisme économique de l'Empire Russe, que l'Ukraine était devenue à la Russie ce que l'Irlande était à l'Angleterre, suçant tout ce qu'elle avait et ne lui donnant rien en échange. Mais après la Révolution d'Octobre, il ne mentionna plus jamais ce parallèle⁴¹.

En conclusion, cela démontre qu'il y avait une hiérarchie claire entre ces trois nations qui se reflétait dans les identifications entre différents peuples, et dans la place qu'elles occupaient au sein des discussions politiques. La Pologne était définitivement la plus présente au sein de ces discussions et des luttes contre l'oppression, et même des cercles intellectuels

³⁹ LENIN Vladimir, "On the National pride of the Great Russians", Sotsial-Demokrat No.35, 12/12/1914

⁴⁰ BUJAK Franciszek, *Galicja*, Lwów, H.Altenberg, 1908

⁴¹ HRYNEVYCH Liudmila, *The Ukrainian Holodomor in the Context of Soviet Imperialism*, [Conference], Holodomor Research and Education Consortium (HREC) Conference Empire, Colonialism, and Famine in Comparative Historical Perspective: The Bengal, Irish, and Ukrainian Famines, Toronto Canada, 28/10/2016

en général, que ceux-ci soient nationalistes ou communistes, ce qui était dû tant à son passé en tant que nation importante (la République des Deux Nations, 1569 - 1772), qu'à la nouveauté que constituait la disparition d'un état européen. L'Irlande était donc particulièrement réceptive, elle-même opprimée, au sort d'une autre nation catholiques. Quant aux Ukrainiens, ils étaient inspirés par la survie du nationalisme irlandais en dépit du déclin du gaélique irlandais, et les Polonais de Galicie étaient bien souvent des aristocrates ou au moins des propriétaires terriens tandis que les Ukrainiens (ou Ruthènes) étaient des paysans, donc les Polonais étaient vus comme des oppresseurs.

- La seconde partie est nommée ***La Guerre Sans Fin (1914 - 1923)***. Ce titre s'inspire d'une exposition qui a eu lieu à Paris, nommée "À l'Est, la guerre sans fin", tenue aux Invalides à l'occasion du centenaire de l'Armistice. Si le titre indique que l'exposition se centre sur l'est de l'Europe, le comité était dirigé par un irlandais. Comment les relations irlando-polonaises et ukraïno-irlandaises ont-elles survécu à ces bouleversements politiques?

1) Pendant la Première Guerre mondiale, ces peuples connurent des situations similaires, enrôlés dans les armées des puissances dirigeantes. Les Irlandais sont nombreux à s'être engagés, plus de 200.000, 2 millions de Polonais ont été conscrits, 3,75 millions d'Ukrainiens également. Deux pamphlets en particulier l'illustrent "Poland and Ireland", écrit par le Révérend Burke, dans le comté de Tipperary et surtout "Poland and Ireland : A Comparison" de Thomas Rolleston, écrit en 1917. Ce dernier fut même publié en danois, ce qui laisse supposer que Rolleston a travaillé avec les Britanniques. Bien que les deux soient écrits par des irlandais, ils défendaient la Grande-Bretagne contre l'Allemagne, prétendant que cette dernière ne traiterait pas mieux l'Irlande qu'elle traitait la Pologne, et surtout déclarait que l'Irlande avait bénéficié d'un traitement enviable, surtout du point de vue des questions agraires. Cette comparaison participe ainsi à la "culture de guerre", demandant même aux citoyens "pensez-vous qu'ils vous épargneront parce que vous êtes catholiques?" Les mouvements nationalistes qui se développent au sein de ces trois peuples possèdent également en commun des convictions socialistes marquées. Cela fut constaté avant la guerre : James Connolly et Józef Piłsudski avaient des affinités spirituelles. Connolly avait écrit aussi tôt que 1899, dans "The Worker's Republic", il reconnaissait que le socialisme polonais ressemblait aux socialisme républicain irlandais. De plus, Mykola Porsh (1877-1944), prominent activiste du Parti Révolutionnaire Ukrainien, parti de Volodymyr Vinnichenko et de Simon Petlioura, s'en doutait depuis le début des années 1910. Celui-ci a résumé ainsi la situation: le mouvement national irlandais et le mouvement national ukrainien se ressembleront, et seront des mouvements socialistes de paysans et de travailleurs, contrairement à des nationalismes bourgeois, comme celui des Tchèques, qu'il cite en exemple.⁴² La suite lui a donné raison, un des premiers documents publié par la Central Rada en 1917 était une traduction en ukrainien par un auteur anonyme de "The Republic of

⁴² BOJCUN Marko, *The Worker's movement and the National Question in Ukraine (1897 – 1948)*, Historical Materialism Book Series, Volume: 229, 2021

Ireland".⁴³ Ainsi, prenant ces similitudes en compte, comment les relations entre ces pays ont-elles continué pendant cette période de guerre? Les manifestations de solidarité ont continué. Les Irlandais ont envoyé en 1921 un appel au nouvel état polonais pour demander de l'aide, sachant que déjà en 1915 une princesse polonaise anonyme chercher de l'argent pour le "Polish Victims Relief Fund" et que les Irlandais donnèrent généreusement. Cependant, ici aucune nation n'était réellement en mesure d'aider l'autre. Chacune de ces nations fut le théâtre de violence de masse et de violence politique, le paroxysme s'étant déroulé en Ukraine, qui fit des centaines de milliers de victimes, dont jusqu'à 100,000 juifs victimes de pogroms. Ceci fut assez largement partagé dans la presse irlandaise, ce qui souligne un autre aspect de cette période: une internationalisation plus importante des questions politiques, dans le contexte d'une guerre pour la première fois mondiale.

2) Cette partie sera donc largement centrée sur des études de cas. La première est un petit livre publié par la célèbre journaliste polonaise Irena Pannenkowa en 1916, appelé "*Irlandzkie Momento*", (moment irlandais) raconte l'histoire de l'*Easter Rising*, et est enrichi par un rappel historique sur l'oppression des Irlandais et de très nombreuses comparaisons avec l'histoire de la Pologne, s'adressant à une audience polonaise. Du côté irlandais, des militants du Sinn Féin ont écrit plusieurs pamphlets, comparant la situation de l'Irlande à celle d'autres petites nations. En effet, les sources disponibles à la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Irlande montrent que la comparaison avec d'autres nations ayant eu accès à l'Indépendance, y compris donc la Pologne et l'Ukraine, mais aussi la Yougoslavie, la Tchécoslovaquie... Nous ne citerons ici que la plus représentative de ces annonces, ici traduites depuis l'anglais:

*Irlandais, regardez autour de vous! Chacunes des petites nations d'Europe a saisi l'opportunité qui se présentait de demander la liberté. Les Polonais ont été opprimés depuis des siècles et sont à présent reconnus comme une nation distincte par le monde entier. Les Estoniens l'ont demandée. Les Estoniens ont récemment été reconnus comme une nation à part et sont maintenant libres. L'Ukraine l'a demandé. L'Ukraine est à présent une nation libre et indépendante. Les Finlandais l'ont demandé. La Finlande est à présent libre, avec son propre gouvernement, sa propre armée et sa marine. Ces nations sont toutes des nations plus jeunes que l'Irlande. Leur histoire est loin d'être aussi glorieuse que celle de l'Irlande. Leur oppression n'a pas été aussi horrible que celle de l'Irlande!*⁴⁴

Ce texte n'en est qu'un exemple parmi une longue liste, poursuivant entre autres cette tradition du Sinn Féin de présenter son oppression comme plus violente, et son droit à la nation plus légitime. Ces trois nations eurent une occasion commune de faire valoir ce droit: la conférence de la paix à Paris, entre janvier 1919 et 1920, à l'issue de la Première Guerre mondiale. L'Irlande n'a pas bénéficié du même traitement que la Pologne, ce qui fut vécu par les Irlandais comme une injustice: L'envoi d'une délégation par une Ukraine pourtant déjà indépendante se solda également par l'échec de la reconnaissance de ces frontières. Leur

⁴³ KAZAKEVYCH Hennadiy, "Parallel Struggle", The Ukrainian Week, 17/04/2012

⁴⁴ #utls000113464 : Sinn Féin, Irishmen look around you! : Every small nation in Europe has taken the opportunity the war has given of demanding freedom, 1918

destin importait cependant moins les Irlandais. La participation de ces trois pays à la conférence de la paix est cependant également symptomatique de cette globalisation. La conférence de la paix a de plus fini par aboutir à la création de la Société des Nations en 1920.

Cependant, il faut rappeler que à cette époque révolutionnaire, des alternatives au nationalisme importantes existaient, et que les idées circulaient beaucoup.

3) La circulation des idéologies de gauche alternatives au nationalisme s'est intensifiée à la suite de la Révolution d'Octobre. Dans quelles mesures les prolétaires de tous les pays se sont-ils donc unis? Les idées de la Révolution d'Octobre ont circulé en Irlande, des irlandais créant des soviets comparables à ceux que l'on trouvait en Ukraine, mais des idées apparues en Ukraine comme la makhnovtchina ne s'y développent pas et sont en fait très peu relayées. L'anarchisme est peu populaire dans le pays. Nous nous sommes donc surtout centrés sur le cas du soviet de Limerick, une expérience de courte durée s'étant déroulée en avril 1919, en plein dans le contexte de la Guerre d'Indépendance. Cependant, la circulation d'idées entre les pays n'a pas concerné uniquement les classes laborieuses. Par exemple, en février 1918, Louie Bennett, déclara lors d'un meeting de la Women's International League of Peace, déclarait que "l'Irlande de l'Est supporterait sûrement la Pologne de l'Ouest".⁴⁵ Les femmes de ces trois pays ont en commun d'avoir reçu le droit de votes dans des circonstances similaires, à l'occasion de leur indépendance nationale. Par le biais de meetings féministes, les femmes de plusieurs pays du monde, y compris de pays dont on nie l'auto-détermination, pouvaient donc se rencontrer dans ce cadre. Et l'un des exemples les plus importants de cette convergence possible entre féminisme et indépendantisme est justement Constance Markievicz, notre tripoint.

- En point d'intersection, nous parlerons des biographies, productions artistiques et actions politiques de *Constance Markievicz, née Gore-Booth, et de son mari Kazimierz.*

1) Tout d'abord, ce chapitre s'ouvre sur une biographie commune de ce couple. Ces deux personnes sont originaires de milieux sociaux similaires. Née le 4 février 1868, elle est la fille d'une famille de l'aristocratie anglo-irlandaise, les Gore-Booth, possédant un domaine dans le comté de Sligo, à l'ouest de l'Irlande, une des rares familles à vivre sur leurs terres en Irlande, et non en Angleterre. Ils se sont rencontrés à Paris, à la fin des années 1890, alors qu'ils étudiaient l'art, elle parce qu'aucune université irlandaise n'était ouverte aux femmes. En 1900, Casimir et Constance se marient, et leur fille Maeve naît le 13 novembre de l'année suivante. En 1902, Constance se rend en Ukraine auprès de sa belle-famille, et le contact avec la paysannerie ukrainienne influence son art et sa vision sociale, les comparant avec ce qu'elle connaissait des paysans irlandais. Elle peint par exemple "Russian Harvest" à cette

⁴⁵ KEOWN Gerard, "Ireland of the East and Poland of the West", Reflections on the intersections between Poland and Ireland, a lecture at Royal Łazienki Museum by the ambassador of Ireland, , 18 September 201, 11 p.

occasion, et surtout “The Conscript”, représentant la conscription d’un jeune paysan lors de la guerre russo-japonaise. Casimir et Constance y furent considérés comme les rois et reines de la bohème dublinoise. C’est en 1908 que Constance a son épiphanie irlandaise : elle lit “*The Peasant*” et “*Sinn Féin*”, de Padraic Colum lors d’un après-midi pluvieux. Casimir présente en 1910 la pièce de théâtre “*Memory of the Dead*” sur le soulèvement de 1798 en Irlande, de son point de vue de polonais. En 1913, alors que Constance participe au lock-out de Dublin, Casimir retourne en Ukraine. Du 24 au 29 avril 1916, Constance participe à l’Easter Rising (littéralement soulèvement de Pâques), à Dublin, insurrection nationaliste qui fut écrasée. Seize de ses organisateurs, dont James Connolly et Roger Casement, sont exécutés. Constance échappe à la peine de mort principalement parce qu’elle était une femme. Cette répression fut si violente qu’elle permit à la cause du Sinn Féin de gagner un plus important soutien populaire. Pendant la guerre civile, elle s’opposa au traité qui partageait l’île et qui faisait du pays un dominion britannique. De son côté, Casimir s’est engagé dans l’armée et son fils fut prisonnier de guerre. C’est durant les années 20 que la divergence politique entre Casimir et Constance s’est accentuée. Leur opinion sur la Révolution d’Octobre en est un exemple frappant. Lors de son séjour en prison, Constance bénéficiait, probablement en raison de son genre et de ses origines sociales, d’un accès privilégié à l’écriture et à la lecture. Le 30 août 1919, alors qu’elle était emprisonnée à Cork, elle se réjouit de la mauvaise météo en pensant à Dénikine piégé dans la boue d’Ukraine, ce qui permettrait l’avancée de Lénine⁴⁶. Emprisonnée plus tard à Londres, elle y lit un pamphlet soviétique écrit par Maxime Litvinov, *The Bolshevik Revolution: Its Rise and Meaning*, publié en 1920. La famille Markievicz garde une vraie rancœur contre le pouvoir soviétique. Interrogé de son côté sur les “tendances bolchéviques de l’Irlande”, Casimir répond le 31 juillet 1924 que cette “différence irlandaise” était davantage basée sur le caractère distinctif de la culture et de la “race” celtique.⁴⁷ Cette emphase sur la race montre clairement la radicalisation politique de Casimir, proche des idées d’extrême-droite de Roman Dmowski, qui s’accompagne, dans ce petit feuilleton, d’opinions antisémites⁴⁸. Mais cela ne signifie pas pour autant séparation. En 1927, Constance meurt avec Casimir auprès d’elle. S’en suivent des funérailles où pas moins de 300,000 personnes sont présentes et où De Valera prononça son oraison funèbre. Le visage saisi par la douleur de Casimir soulignée par les témoins de cette manifestation montre que malgré les années passées séparément et leurs divergences politiques, ils ont continué à s’aimer. Il continuera à travailler par la suite, à écrire, à peindre. En 1932, Casimir meurt à Varsovie et est enterré dans une tombe anonyme.

2) Le sujet permet de se pencher sur l’histoire des villages dont Constance et Casimir sont originaires. Si la demeure des Gore-Booth à Lissadell est aujourd’hui une activité touristique de la région, la demeure (Dworek, en polonais) de la famille Markievicz a été détruite en 1919 (la date exacte est encore inconnue), et s’est retrouvée à travailler dans des kolkhozes. Les habitants de ces deux villages furent victimes des famines, car il s’agit de villages de paysans. A Lissadell, c’est 26.99% de la population qui a été perdue, en comptant les

⁴⁶ MARKIEVICZ, Constance, *Prison letters of countess Markievicz*, Virago Press, 1987, p. 242

⁴⁷ MARKIEVICZ Kazimierz, “Letters from Ireland”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 31/07/1924

⁴⁸ ARRINGTON Lauren, *Revolutionary lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz*, Princeton, Princeton University press, 2016, p. 232

victimes de la famine et l'émigration, la population passant de 8620 à 6293 personnes.⁴⁹ Pendant la famine de 1879, la famille Markievicz a porté assistance aux victimes d'une autre famine, ce qui a marqué durablement les souvenirs de la fratrie de Constance.

Le village de Zhyvotivka quant à lui fut l'un des plus affectés du raïon d'Orativ, et les pertes humaines sont estimées à environ 500 personnes.⁵⁰ Si le nombre d'habitants de Zhyvotivka en 1932 est très difficilement trouvable, il est impressionnant que la population de Zhyvotivka en 2020 ne soit que de 816 habitants.⁵¹ Zhyvotivka possède par ailleurs son propre mémorial consacré aux victimes de la famine, construit entre 1995 et 1996.

3) La vision politique de Constance Markievicz est donc ce qui apporte une nouvelle dimension à l'étude des rapports entre Polonais, Ukrainiens et Irlandais. Dans son texte, *Women, Ideals and the Nation*, lu à la *Students National Literary Society* en mars 1909, elle établit plusieurs liens entre les femmes irlandaises et celles issues de minorités de l'Empire de Russie, dont les Polonaises. Il est aussi l'un des textes les plus marquants de ce début de siècle sur l'intersection entre les oppressions liées au genre et celles liées à l'ethnie, et sur la difficulté de trouver des allié(e)s politiques. Les féministes ukrainiennes étaient en compétition avec les féministes polonaises, tout comme les irlandaises l'étaient avec les britanniques. Elles ne sont pas simplement des femmes, pas simplement originaires d'Irlande, mais irlandaises. Elle semble très en avance sur son temps, même si d'autres féministes de son temps ont établi ce genre de lien. De plus, elle établit même une connexion entre la famine irlandaise de 1845 et celles conséquentes de la guerre civile russe, se demandant ce que John Mitchel dirait sur ces dernières. Ceci prédate pourtant un des parallèles les plus importants entre l'Ukraine et l'Irlande, les famines.

- Ces nations suivirent alors, après l'Indépendance de la Pologne et de l'Irlande, ***Différents Chemins (1923 - 1939)***, la Pologne et l'Irlande étant indépendantes alors que l'Ukraine était une République Socialiste Soviétique depuis le 30 décembre 1922. Les famines d'Irlande, An Gorta Mor, et d'Ukraine, Holodomor, se révèlent posséder énormément de points rendant possible une comparaison.

1) Dans quelle mesure le changement de régime a-t-il affecté les relations entre ces trois pays? Une présence diplomatique polonaise n'a été établie à Dublin qu'en 1929, ce qui souligne à quel point les relations politiques étaient longues à se mettre en place. L'Irlande et la Pologne ont oublié leurs tendances socialistes, leur gouvernement devenant très conservateur surtout le gouvernement polonais. Pour les socialistes irlandais déçus, l'Union Soviétique dont fait partie l'Ukraine devient alors un horizon porteur d'espoir, alors même que celle-ci se montre de plus en plus répressive envers les cultures minoritaires après avoir pourtant mis en place une politique d'indigénisation, c'est-à-dire de promotion de ces langues et autres spécificités culturelles au sein de l'administration. Le *Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Irish Revolution* du Cork Workers club de 1932 est parlant à ce sujet. Les Ukrainiens de

⁴⁹ Famine Mapping by Maynooth University, County Sligo Statistics, < <http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/external-content/famine-mapping-1841-1851-county-sligo> >

⁵⁰ *Історична довідка села Животівка*, Оратівська селищна рада

⁵¹ Оратівська селищна (сільська) рада громада < <https://gromada.info/gromada/orativska/> >

diaspora, en revanche, eurent la liberté académique d'écrire des travaux sur l'Irlande. L'exemple le plus spectaculaire est probablement George Bernard Shaw: alors qu'il avait qualifié les Irlandais, les Polonais et les Juifs de "trois nations tragiques", il soutint les purges staliniennes de 1937 qui touchèrent ces deux derniers groupes dans de grandes proportions, et participa à l'occultation de l'Holodomor en Occident, tout en qualifiant la famine irlandaise de crime britannique. Ces deux événements possèdent pourtant de nombreuses similitudes.

2) La mort de faim, et la mort de masse laissèrent dans ces deux pays des effets similaires. Ainsi, les traumatismes que cette forme particulière de violence de masse a pu laisser se retrouvent aussi à échelle nationale. La faim eut en effet une ampleur tout à fait spectaculaire. La mémoire traduit une rancœur similaire envers un régime oppressif qui a laissé, voir a fait, mourir de faim des gens sur une terre pourtant fertile, régime qui entretenait dans le même temps une politique répressive à leur égard. Elles occupent donc toujours une place importante dans l'antagonisme que ces peuples entretiennent avec leurs voisins. Ces deux famines furent tant considérées comme une tragédie majeure qu'elles furent parfois considérées comme "leur holocauste" sans que celles-ci n'impliquent pas nécessairement de comparaisons avec l'Holocauste des Juifs et Tziganes. Le mot étant connoté, et celles-ci ayant eu un impact encore bien plus destructeur sur les populations visées, cette comparaison est très controversée. Cependant, on note quelques différences dans ces représentations : le cannibalisme n'a pas laissé une trace aussi forte dans la mémoire irlandaise, tout en étant assez omniprésente dans la mémoire ukrainienne pour en être une particularité. L'espérance de vie lors de l'Holodomor était également deux fois moins élevée que lors d'An Gorta Mor. De plus, presque un siècle les séparent. Les traumatismes laissés par l'Holodomor, surtout dans le rapport qu'entretiennent les survivants avec la nourriture, sont donc bien plus vivaces.

3) En 1939, quel épilogue? Entre 1933 et 1939, si c'est durant cette période que l'Irlande accède au statut de République, la situation se dégrade pour les Ukrainiens et surtout les Polonais. Ceux-ci sont visés par les purges staliniennes, mais cette spécificité ne semble pas être mentionnée dans la presse irlandaise. Cependant, l'Irlande n'oubliait pas totalement ses sœurs à l'est. En 1935, le *Evening Herald* alerte sur le sort des Ukrainiens dans "Irish Parallel in the Ukraine", et l'irlandais Sean Lester, haut commissaire de la Société des Nations à Gdansk entre 1933 et 1936, fut l'un des premiers à avoir tenté de prévenir du danger que représentait le nazisme.

Cependant, l'impact de cette période est visible bien au-delà de 1939 et de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale en dépit de la séparation que le rideau de fer a opéré entre l'Irlande, et la Pologne et l'Ukraine. **Peut-on assister, de 1939 à nos jours,**

- **à une convergence, ou à une séparation des mémoires?**

1) L'importance de la diaspora dans la mémoire des drames connus par ces trois peuples de 1939 à 1995 est un point important. En effet, le silence autour de la grande famine qui se reflétait dans l'historiographie de celle-ci est en fait contemporain d'une construction d'une

mémoire conjointe en diaspora. Lemkin, le juriste juif polonais et cité par Liam Kennedy sur la question du “génocide irlandais”, a déclaré, lors d’un discours ayant eu lieu en 1953 à New York par la communauté ukrainienne, que ce “haut crime” avait été commis un siècle plutôt contre les Irlandais⁵². En 1945, le centenaire de la famine irlandaise n’est pas commémoré, alors qu’en 1966 les 50 ans de l’Easter Rising voient des commémorations importantes.

Cependant, des relations entre les métropoles subsistent, mais pas au niveau national. En effet, si la Pologne avait toujours un gouvernement en exil pendant la période de la RPP, celui-ci avait du mal à maintenir ses relations avec l’Irlande. La tradition de solidarité polono-irlandaise, en revanche, semblait perdurer. Créée en 1979 à l’occasion de la venue du pape Jean Paul II en Irlande, celle-ci a apporté une aide financière importante à la Pologne lorsque celle-ci s’est retrouvée en état de guerre, parvenant à réunir 250.000 livres. Parmi les figures importantes pour cette association, on trouve sans surprise Constance Markievicz. Mais outre le simple cadre des relations polono-irlandaises, quelle marque a-t-elle laissé?

2) Quel héritage laissé par Constance Markievicz?

Elle reste l’une des femmes les plus admirées d’Irlande. Mais qu’en est-il de la complexité de son héritage transnational et intersectionnel? En 2008, une tentative de construction d’un musée lui étant dédié à Zhyvotivka ainsi qu’un jumelage avec Lissadell fut sérieusement envisagée. Cependant, il n’a jamais reçu les financements nécessaires de la part de l’Ukraine pour être construit, montrant les différences importantes entre l’Irlande et l’Ukraine actuelle: cette dernière est loin d’être sortie de la pauvreté. Les féministes ukrainiennes et polonaises ne semblent pas s’être appropriées, même si on peut noter à l’échelle de la Pologne l’existence d’une école Constance Markievicz à Varsovie, même en connaissant son combat pour le droit des femmes.

3) Il est intéressant de noter qu’une petite révolution historiographique et mémorielle s’est opérée en Irlande, à l’occasion des 150 ans de la famine. Que ce soit les Irlandais ou les Ukrainiens, ils s’aperçurent au moment de ces commémorations qu’après tout ce temps, aucun monument n’était là. En 1997, Rowan Gillespie crée les six figures affamées qui constituent actuellement le Famine Memorial de Dublin, situé sur les docks, près du musée de l’immigration irlandaise. Le visage de la fillette ukrainienne aux grands yeux vides de *Bitter Memory of Childhood* est tout aussi émacié. La sculpture date de 2008 et rend hommage aux victimes les plus vulnérables, les enfants. La petite fille tient entre ses mains les sept épis de la loi éponyme, qui punit de dix ans de déportation, voire de la peine de mort, « tout vol ou dilapidation de la propriété socialiste », y compris le simple vol de quelques épis dans un champ. Ce motif la rapproche de la chanson *Fields of Athenry*, écrite en 1979, racontant la déportation d’un homme du comté de Galway dont le seul crime fut d’avoir volé du maïs pour nourrir sa femme enceinte, chanson qui est devenue un chant de stade ainsi que des dizaines de réinterprétations.

⁵² LEMKIN Rafał, *Soviet Genocide in Ukraine*, Kyiv, Mainsternia Knyhy, 2009 (1953), p.208
Ukrainians March in Protest Parade. 10,000 Here Mark Anniversary of the 1933 Famine –Clergy Join in the Procession,”The New York Times, 21/09/1953

Depuis 1995, les liens entre ces trois pays se resserrent également, nous l'avons vu au travers de l'historiographie, mais c'est loin d'être le seul média permettant ce rapprochement. Depuis 2016, il existe à travers toute l'Irlande le Polska-Eire festival, qui promeut un rapprochement des cultures. L'Irish Polish Society est toujours très active, et la communauté polonaise en Irlande ne cesse de s'accroître, ce qui renforce ces liens.

Les Ukrainiens et les Irlandais continuent d'explorer leurs ressemblances, mais cependant, cela ne se limite pas à l'histoire des famines. En 2013, lors d'une interview donnée au magazine en ligne Perspectives Ukrainiennes, l'écrivain Sorj Chalandon écrit au sujet de la traduction de *“Retour à Killybegs”*, qui se passe pendant les “Troubles”, en ukrainien : *“Je trouve que la bataille de la langue, le combat pour la nation et la famine entretenue sont trois choses qui sont extrêmement rares dans les pays européens. Je ne savais pas que des parallèles historiques pouvaient exister. J'avais entendu parler de la famine en Ukraine. Mais j'ai trouvé intéressant de dire aussi que ce livre n'est pas traduit en ukrainien pour rien.”* La journaliste insiste : *“L'Irlande a perdu sa bataille, mais ce n'est pas le cas de l'Ukraine. Pourquoi, à votre avis, est-ce important de préserver sa langue nationale?”*, ce à quoi Chalandon répond : *Une langue c'est fondamental. Je pense que la langue c'est l'épiderme d'une Nation.”*⁵³

. L'interview date de moins d'une semaine avant l'éclatement des révoltes de Maïdan dont l'issue a mené à l'annexion de la Crimée et à la guerre du Donbass, qui cristallisent depuis des années les tensions internationales, et qui feront de l'ukrainien un enjeu politique très important, comme en Irlande.

En conclusion,

On peut considérer que l'Irlande entretient des parallèles particuliers avec l'Ukraine et la Pologne. Avec cette dernière, les parallèles historiques peuvent être davantage considérés comme “construits”. En effet, c'est au XIX^{ème} siècle et ils avaient une culture catholique très similaire, en dépit d'un soutien de l'Eglise plutôt tiède.

En 2021, à l'heure où ce mémoire se finit, il est intéressant de noter que des enjeux de société continuent de porter les regards polonais et ukrainiens vers l'Irlande. Cela d'autant plus que ces enjeux sont étrangement similaires à ceux qui ont rassemblé ces peuples vers le milieu du XIX^{ème} siècle. Dans le cas de l'Ukraine, s'il y a bien sûr de plus en plus une reconnaissance d'un traumatisme commun par la faim, ce sont bien sur les questions de la langue, et la crainte d'une sécession du pays, qui poussent les regards ukrainiens à se tourner vers l'Irlande. Et donc, la question du droit des femmes et des minorités est toujours aussi brûlante, alors que les Polonaises et les Irlandaises ne sont plus des minorités nationales sur leur propre territoire. Plusieurs articles se sont posés la question : la Pologne va-t-elle suivre le chemin de l'Irlande vers la sécularisation?⁵⁴. Les deux pays se séparent sur des questions de sociétés où l'Eglise catholique a toujours un fort pouvoir décisionnel, questions qui concernent en particulier les femmes, les minorités sexuelles et de genre. En effet, alors qu'en Pologne l'interdiction de l'IVG a davantage été durcie le 22 Octobre 2020, l'amendement voté par la population le 25 mai 2018 supprime l'interdiction de l'avortement de la

⁵³ “Sorj Chalandon: la langue, c'est l'épiderme d'une nation”, *Perspectives Ukrainiennes*, 15/11/2013

⁵⁴ ZALEWSKA Katarzyna, “Poles losing faith in once mighty Catholic church” *France 24*, 28/12/2020

constitution irlandaise. Deux cents ans après, ces questions identitaires demeurent donc toujours aussi fondamentales, et les regards des Irlandais(e)s, Polonais(e)s, Ukrainien(ne)s, continuent donc de se croiser.