

DUBLIN CITY UNIVERSITY

School of Communications

THE IRISH PRESS AND POPULISM IN IRELAND

Thesis submitted to Dublin City University  
in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Catherine Curran

December 1994

DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work

Signed Catherine Curran

Date 30/2/1995

Signed Joseph P. ...

Date 20/2/95

Signed \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following people, whose advice, support and encouragement were essential to the completion of this work

My supervisors, Dr Paschal Preston, whose endless patience, time and energy were much appreciated, and Dr Luke Gibbons, who provided valuable source material in the initial stages of the research

Professor Desmond Bell, University of Ulster, who stimulated my interest in political economy of the media and encouraged me to undertake further research in the area

My fellow postgraduates and colleagues, Jean O'Halloran, Des McGuinness, and Sharon Burke

The School of Communications, Dublin City University, which provided me with the necessary research funding and all the facilities I required

Tim Pat Coogan, Douglas Gageby, Dr Noel Browne and Michael Mills, who granted me interviews and Michael O'Toole and Sean Purcell at the Irish Press who provided many helpful suggestions

The staff of the circulation departments of the Irish Press and the Irish Times, who supplied essential statistical data

The staff of Dublin City University library, the National Library of Ireland, the National Manuscript library, and the British Newspaper Library, Colindale

Finally, thanks to my family and especially to my sister Mary

It goes without saying that the views put forward on the subject are those of the author unless otherwise specified, and in no way reflect the opinions of persons interviewed Likewise, any errors are the sole responsibility of the author

Catherine Curran  
D C U , December 1994

## ABSTRACT

This thesis draws on critical perspectives in media and development studies in order to explain the formation, evolution and decline of one of Ireland's national daily newspapers, the Irish Press

From the mid-1970's onward, media and development studies was dominated by the conceptual framework provided by Dependency theory. The crisis of dependency approaches in the mid-1980's led some writers towards a re-orientation of policy studies away from the question of external structural influences and towards a new consideration of class conflicts and the inter-relations between the state, industry and the media. In particular, the work of Latin American theorists Cardoso and Faletto was re-interpreted within media studies to provide a model for concrete studies of specific socio-historical formations and their interaction with the institutions of the mass media in late industrialising countries. This thesis proposes a critical reading of the model of Cardoso and Faletto with reference to "national-popular" phases of development and shows how some of the insights can be used to explain the rise and fall of the Irish Press in Ireland. Hence, it is possible to draw an analogy between populism in Latin America and the case of Ireland in the 1930's. The empirical section of the thesis seeks to demonstrate, at one end, the political circumstances underlying the foundation of the Irish Press in 1931 and, at another, the construction of a populist discourse of development in the Irish Press. It shows how this discourse sought to incorporate sections of the industrial bourgeoisie, the working class and marginalised rural groups within the Fianna Fail project of state-assisted industrialisation. Finally, the thesis considers how the multiple contradictions of this populist project shaped and influenced the development of the Irish Press from the 1930's to the present. In conclusion, the thesis seeks to show that the democratic expectation of the populist era and the radical challenge of the Irish Press were undermined not simply by economic dependency but by the tensions inherent within the populist project.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	I
Abstract	II
List of Figures	VII
List of Tables	VIII
List of Abbreviations	VIII
Introduction	1
<u>PART ONE THE THEORY OF POPULISM</u>	37
1 Populism and Underdevelopment	38
1 1 Populism as Agrarian Radicalism	39
1 1 1 Romantic Primitivism	40
1 1 2 The Critique of Monopoly Capital	42
1 1 3 Populism and Democracy	45
1 1 4 Populism and the State	48
1 2 Populism and Late Industrialisation	55
1 2 1 The Premature Emergence of Mass Society	55
1 2 2 Populism and Political Mobilisation	58
1 3 Populism and Hegemonic Strategies	64
1 3 1 Populism and Voter Manipulation	64
1 3 2 Popular-Democratic Interpellations	66
1 3 3 Populism and Charismatic leaders	69
1 4 Populism and National Development	70
1 4 1 Populism and Political Conflict	71
1 4 2 The Politics of ISI	72
2 Populism in Ireland	78
2 1 Political Divisions in Independent Ireland	79
2 1 1 Asynchronic Development	80
2 1 2 Political Mobilisation	81
2 1 3 Fianna Fail and Political Mobilisation	82
2 1 4 Alternatives Hypotheses	85
2 2 Modernisation and Parliamentary Democracy	89
2 2 1 The Legacy of British Democracy	90
2 2 2 Fianna Fail and Modernisation	92
2 3 Problems of Modernisation	95
2 3 1 The Latin American Paradigm	96
2 3 2 Dependency and Political Divisions	97
2 3 3 Cumann na nGaeil	99
2 3 4 Fianna Fail	102

<u>PART TWO THE IRISH PRESS</u> <u>AND RADICAL POPULISM</u>	111
3 <u>The Origins of the Irish Press</u>	113
3 1 <u>The Press in Ireland 1900-1930</u>	115
3 1 1 <u>The Commercial Press</u>	115
3 1 2 <u>The Republican Press</u>	118
3 1 3 <u>The Nation</u>	127
3 1 4 <u>The British Press</u>	129
3 2 <u>Financing the Irish Press</u>	134
3 2 1 <u>The Republican Bonds</u>	135
3 2 2 <u>The Appeal to Business</u>	138
3 2 3 <u>The Appeal to the People</u>	140
3 2 4 <u>Fianna Fail Support</u>	142
3 2 5 <u>The Irish Press As a Business</u>	143
3 3 <u>Ownership and Control</u>	147
3 3 1 <u>The People's Representative</u>	148
3 3 2 <u>The Board of Directors</u>	149
3 3 3 <u>The Powers of the Controlling Director</u>	150
3 4 <u>The Ethos of the Irish Press</u>	152
3 4 1 <u>The Influence of Radical Republicanism</u>	153
3 4 2 <u>The Aims and Objectives</u>	155
3 4 3 <u>The Style of the Irish Press</u>	156
4 <u>The Irish Press and the World Crisis 1931-32</u>	160
4 1 <u>The Campaign against Imperialism</u>	161
4 1 1 <u>Criticism of the League of Nations</u>	162
4 1 2 <u>Support for Indian Independence</u>	164
4 1 3 <u>The Crisis of International Trade</u>	167
4 1 4 <u>The Collapse of International Finance</u>	171
4 2 <u>The Response to the Economic Crisis</u>	176
4 2 1 <u>The Campaign Against Transport Monopolies</u>	176
4 2 2 <u>NAIDA and Irish Industry</u>	184
4 2 3 <u>The Campaign Against Dumping</u>	186
4 3 <u>The Needs of the People</u>	194
4 3 1 <u>The Crisis of Industrial Society</u>	195
4 3 2 <u>Combatting the Evil of the Slums</u>	197
4 3 3 <u>The Appeal to Women Readers</u>	199
4 3 4 <u>Monopoly Capitalism and Communism</u>	203
4 4 <u>The Response to the Irish Press</u>	208
4 4 1 <u>The Press Reaction</u>	209
4 4 2 <u>The Commercial Reaction</u>	211
4 4 3 <u>The Political Reaction</u>	215
4 4 4 <u>The Prosecution of the Irish Press</u>	217

5	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Radical Populism	222
5 1	The Triumph over Cumann na nGaedheal	222
5 1 1	The General Election Campaign Jan 1932	223
5 1 2	The <u>Irish Independent</u> and the Communist Threat	225
5 1 3	The Response of the <u>Irish Press</u>	229
5 2	De Valera and the Land Annuities	230
5 2 1	The Thomas Duties	231
5 2 2	The Lausanne Conference	235
5 2 3	Rallying Support for de Valera	236
5 2 4	The Ottawa Conference	241
5 3	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Protectionism	249
5 3 1	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Industry	249
5 3 2	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Ruralisation	252
5 4	The <u>Irish Press</u> and State Distributivism	257
5 4 1	The Problem of Unemployment	257
5 4 2	The Needs of the Poor	258
5 4 3	The Campaign against Profiteering	259
5 4 4	The Solution to the Housing Problem	262
	 <u>PART THREE THE IRISH PRESS AND CONSERVATIVE POPULISM</u>	 266
6	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Conservative Populism	268
6 1	The Decline of Radicalism in the <u>Irish Press</u>	268
6 1 1	The Commercial Imperative	270
6 1 2	The Resignation of Frank Gallagher	275
6 1 3	The New <u>Irish Press</u>	280
6 2	The Links With Irish Industry	287
6 2 1	Advertising New Irish Industry	288
6 2 2	The <u>IP</u> Ltd and Irish Business	289
6 2 3	New Irish Factories	290
6 3	The <u>Press</u> and the State	296
6 3 1	State and Industry the Conflict	297
6 3 2	The New Phase of Industrialisation	305
6 3 3	The Anglo-Irish Trade Pacts	307
6 3 4	The FIM response	310

7	The Identity Crisis of the <u>Irish Press</u>	318
7 1	The General Election Campaign, Jan 1948	320
7 1 1	The Threat of Clann na Poblachta	321
7 1 2	The <u>Irish Press</u> and the Communist Threat	325
7 2	The Conservative Turn	327
7 2 1	Economic Orthodoxy	328
7 2 2	The Retreat to Economic Nationalism	330
7 2 3	Fianna Fail in Crisis	332
7 3	The Issue of Foreign Capital	338
7 3 1	The <u>IP</u> and Foreign Investment	339
7 3 2	The <u>IP</u> and Tariff Reform	340
7 3 3	Divisions Within Fianna Fail	341
7 4	The <u>Press</u> And The End of Populism	346
7 4 1	The <u>Sunday Press</u> and the <u>Evening Press</u>	347
7 4 2	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Fianna Fail	349
7 4 3	De Valera's Control Challenged	350
7 4 4	The Fianna Fail Response	351
7 4 5	The American Corporation	352
8	The <u>Irish Press</u> After de Valera	357
8 1	Political Modernisation and the Media	359
8 1 1	The <u>Irish Press</u> and Fianna Fail	360
8 1 2	The Modernisation of the <u>Irish Press</u>	362
8 1 3	News Reporting	363
8 2	The Changing Newspaper Market	365
8 2 1	The View of Advertisers	367
8 2 2	The Press Response	369
8 3	The Crisis of the <u>Irish Press</u>	370
8 3 1	The Conflict Over Modernisation	371
8 3 2	The Effects on the <u>Irish Press</u>	372
8 3 3	The Resignation of Flinn and McHale	374
8 3 4	The de Valera Solution	376
8 4	The Ingersoll Affair	378
8 4 1	Ingersoll's Impact on the <u>Irish Press</u>	379
8 4 2	The Relaunch of the <u>Evening Press</u>	380
8 4 3	Ingersoll in Difficulty	381
8 4 4	The Decline of the <u>Irish Press</u>	384
9	Conclusions	389
	Appendix One	406
	Bibliography	407
	Section 1 Primary Sources cited	407
	Section 2 Secondary Sources cited	414



## List of Figures

### FIGURE

4 1	Vast Sums Spent on Foreign Imports ( <u>IP</u> 16 9 1931 p 7)	168
4 2	Imports and Unemployment ( <u>IP</u> 19 9 1931 p 1)	169
4 3	Safely Anchored to the Pound" ( <u>IP</u> 26 9 1931 p 1)	172
4 4	Advertisement-"An Irish-Made Shoe" ( <u>IP</u> 19 9 1931 p 9)	190
4 5	Advertisement -"Buy Irish Serges" ( <u>IP</u> 19 9 1931 p 3)	191
4 6	The Need For Welfare Centres ( <u>IP</u> 15 9 1931 p 3)	201
4 7	Irish Women in Industry Girls at work in a Dublin chocolate factory ( <u>IP</u> 5 9 1931 p 3)	202
4 8	Cant, Hypocrisy, Pretension (We've got them on the list) ( <u>IP</u> 5 9 1931 p 7)	207
5 1	Mr Thomas's Big Stick ( <u>IP</u> 5 7 1932 p 1)	234
5 2	Empire Unity at Ottawa ( <u>IP</u> 20 8 1932 p 1)	248
5 3	An Feirmeoir Beag (The Small Farmer) ( <u>IP</u> 16 9 1932 p 6)	254
5 4	John Bull - I wonder am I winning the Economic War? ( <u>IP</u> 5 7 1933 p 1)	256
5 5	"Ireland's not a bad place after all" ( <u>IP</u> 16 3 1933 p 1)	261
6 1	A Model Irish Factory ( <u>IP</u> 29 1 1937 p 3)	292
6 2	Mr Lemass opening Ennis Braid Mills ( <u>IP</u> 17 3 1937 p 1)	293
6 3	Another Irish Boot Factory ( <u>IP</u> 23 3 1937 p 11)	294
6 4	Mr Lemass opens Gorey Tannery ( <u>IP</u> 20 4 1937 p 6)	295
6 5	Inefficient factories not wanted ( <u>IP</u> 20 1 1937 p 1)	301
6 6	Minister Warns Tariff Exploiters ( <u>IP</u> 23 11 1937 p 1)	304
7 1	We Speak With One Voice ( <u>IP</u> 18 5 1954 p 1)	337
7 2	Foreign Capital Not the Answer-Lemass ( <u>IP</u> 19 1 1956 p 7)	345

## List of Tables

Table 3 1	Circulation of British Popular Sunday Newspapers in Ireland c 1927	130
Table 6 1	Circulation of <u>Irish Press</u> 1931-1938	286
Table 8 1	Import Penetration of British Newspapers in the Republic of Ireland, 1973-1985	366
Table 8 2	Circulation of <u>Irish Press</u> 1980-1991	378

## List of Abbreviations

### 1 Newspapers

<u>EP</u>	<u>Evening Press</u>
<u>CEX</u>	<u>Cork Examiner</u>
<u>IP</u>	<u>Irish Press</u>
<u>II</u>	<u>Irish Independent</u>
<u>IT</u>	<u>Irish Times</u>
<u>SP</u>	<u>Sunday Press</u>
<u>SI</u>	<u>Sunday Independent</u>
<u>ST</u>	<u>Sunday Tribune</u>
<u>SBP</u>	<u>Sunday Business Post</u>

### 2 Organisations

A A R I R	American Assoc for the Recognition of the Irish Republic
F S I	Federation of Saorstát Industries
F I M	Federation of Irish Manufacturers
G S R	Great Southern Railways
I I D A	Irish Industrial Development Assoc
I N T O	Irish National Teachers' Organisation
I R N A	Irish Retail Newsagent's Assoc
I W C C M A	Irish Wholesale Clothing and Cap Manufacturers Assoc
N A I D A	National Agricultural and Industrial Development Assoc
N U R	National Union of Railwaymen

## INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this thesis is to document the rise and fall of the Irish Press within the context of the Fianna Fail party's struggle for ideological hegemony in Ireland. The empirical research documents on the one hand the role of the paper in mediating the party's populist ideology, and on the other hand, the impact of this role on the evolution of the paper itself. Therefore the work counts as an historical study of the press and ideology in a newly-industrialising country. Within this historical study, a number of methodological and theoretical issues concerning the media must be dealt with at the outset.

Most importantly, the work must be situated in terms of the already existing body of literature on media and development, in which a central issue has been the relationship between media control and political power. In the first instance, however, we have to deal with the divergences between the political economy approach to media studies, in which emphasis has traditionally been placed on issues such as ownership and control, and culturalist perspectives which deal with media content primarily at the level of textual analysis.

## THE POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

In the words of one recent commentator, the politico-economic approach to the media rests on the axiom that the content of the media is principally determined by the economic structure of the organisations concerned (McNair, 1994: 39). This approach focuses on the ownership and control

of the media, which, in a capitalist society, rests in the hands of a small minority of wealthy entrepreneurs. Such monopoly power over the means of communication is held to accord to the owners a significant influence over the ideas expressed within the mass media. This view accords with the Marxist axiom that the ruling ideas in every epoch are the ideas of the ruling class. At its most fundamental, the primacy of ownership and control is expressed in Miliband's argument (1972: 205) that

Rather obviously, those who own and control the capitalist mass media are most likely to be men whose ideological dispositions run from soundly conservative to utterly reactionary, and in many instances, most notably in the case of newspapers, the impact of their views and prejudices is immediate and direct, in the straightforward sense that newspaper proprietors have often not only owned their newspapers but closely controlled their editorial and political lines as well, and turned them, by constant and even daily intervention, into vehicles of their personal views.

Such an assessment would appear to be vindicated by the increasing concentration of ownership and control in the press and in the broadcast media in general. The Irish newspaper industry is no exception, since two of the three national dailies have historically been controlled by individual families and have more recently been part of the global investment strategies of large corporations. Hence we might interpret the evolution and development of the Irish Press primarily in terms of the personal and political ambitions of the paper's founder, Eamon de Valera. In his capacity as Controlling Director, de Valera was in possession of extraordinary powers in regard to the organisation, staffing and content of the paper. In terms of the

investigation of the dynamics of the capitalist media industries, which makes such power possible, the political economy approach represented by Miliband, for example, would seem to offer a valuable starting point

Nevertheless, a number of criticisms may be levelled at this perspective. It may be argued that the role and functioning of ideology in capitalist society is a more complex process than anticipated within a perspective such as Miliband's. The functioning of the media depends at the very least on the establishment of a consensus in society over the interpretation of specific events. Unless we are to accept a narrowly "propagandist" model of the media, the process by which the ideas of the ruling class win acceptance in society must be examined. The difficulties of the propaganda model stem from the assumption that audiences and readers uncritically accept and readily identify with the interests of the ruling class, an assumption which is by no means proven. In addition, it seems that ideologies are in themselves lacking in contradictions and present a unified message reflecting the unanimous voice of the ruling class. This overlooks the capacity of individual media owners to present themselves as radical anti-establishment figures. For instance, the growth of the Penny Press in the United States was associated with its representation of the "ordinary people" against the political establishment (Nerone, 1986).

## CULTURALIST APPROACHES

Criticisms of the Political Economy perspective have formed the basis for an alternative approach, termed culturalist (McNair, 1994: 47), which emerged as a reaction to the alleged mechanistic materialism of politico-economic based work. Culturalist approaches have attempted to retain a materialist analysis while giving greater priority to the potential for dissent and subversion within the process of cultural production. The level of analysis is therefore given as the text, rather than the context of the media message.

Culturalist approaches recognise that while the media may be monopoly-owned, a variety of factors come to bear on the production and reception of the message which in turn may undermine the capacity of the ruling class to control ideas in society. The view of the media associated with, for example the Frankfurt School, i.e. that of a monolithic "consciousness industry", is rightly rejected. This entails a more complex representation of the way in which ideology is constructed and maintained in capitalist society. It also offers the possibility that subordinate groups may find avenues of cultural expression which gain representation in the mass media and exert a significant influence therein. Hence, in Curran's words (1989: 117)

Shifts within the power-structure, and in the field of contestation in which the media are situated, can lead to space being given to definitions that are opposed to those that are dominant.

This means that we can speak of the "relative autonomy" of both ideology and journalistic practices from the economic

4 .

basis of the media and the wider relations of production in society. Using such an approach, we might begin to inquire as to how and why, in the case of the Irish Press, the dominant ideology of populism came to be undermined and the hegemony of the Fianna Fail party entered into crisis in the mid-1950s, despite the continued control of the paper by the Fianna Fail leader and the continued support given to the party by the paper. We can identify contradictions and fractures within the party which were reflected and refracted in the paper, simultaneously throwing into question the paper's relationship with its established readership. In this light, one need not adopt an instrumentalist view of the press, but rather one is compelled to recognise that regardless of the intentions of the media owners, objective circumstances come into play which can undermine the authority of the most hierarchically-organised and rigidly controlled of media institutions.

Nevertheless, it seems that within the culturalist approach, there is a danger of drawing too rigid a demarcation line between the economic and political factors governing media production on the one hand, and the process of ideological production on the other. The term "relative autonomy", which is frequently used to establish the relationship between the two spheres, is itself unclear. Althusser's formulation of "determination in the last instance" seems to leave considerable scope for ambiguities.

The proposition that populist ideology spoke to and represented, in some distorted fashion, the culture of the

mass of the people is an attractive one Nevertheless, if we accept that populism was "overdetermined" by a variety of factors, including popular culture on the one hand and political exigency on the other, it is difficult to follow any definite line of argument in tracing the evolution of the Irish Press and its ideology

The view taken in this thesis is that both the approaches outlined above leave untouched the question of the intrinsic dynamic of change underpinning the mass media Both offer the possibility of a "snapshot" or "series of snapshots" describing the factors influencing media content at a given moment Even in terms of the culturalist perspective, which seems to offer the greatest possibility of explaining ideological change within the media, there are difficulties Even if we consider that the media text is relatively autonomous and dictated by a variety of contending powers, there is little indication of how or why a particular force should predominate at a given moment in time

The outcome of the hypothetical struggle may be read off from the balance of dominant/oppositional meanings (however these are interpreted), but the process by which such a balance is arrived at remains uncharted "Determination in the last instance" comes to signify indeterminacy On the other hand, if we adopt Miliband's view that the power of the media owners is almost monolithic, then the question of change, or the dynamic of change, is also relegated to the periphery of the discussion



This study reflects the view that the methods of classical historical materialism may be employed to explain the evolution of a specific media form. Nevertheless, the forms of materialism inherent in both the "politico-economic" and the "culturalist" approaches discussed above are considered inadequate. The former is rejected as it is too mechanistic, the latter on account of the vagueness of the formula of "determination in the last instance" of cultural and ideological forms by their political and economic circumstances. It seems that Lowy's formulation is relevant here (1979: 11), stating that

The decisive role of the economic infrastructure asserts itself with regard to ideological phenomena through a series of mediations, the most important of which is the field of class struggle.

This means that we can speak of various levels of analysis - the economic, the political and the ideological - the dynamics of each of which is conditioned by the objective material laws of capitalist development, but which are in turn conditioned by the actions and reactions of the contending social classes, whose forms of political organisation, levels of consciousness, and engagement in class struggle emerge from a given situation but also react upon that situation and effect change within the process of historical development.

Hence the discussion of populist ideology contained within this thesis describes the specific conditions of combined and uneven development which provided the material basis for the emergence of populism, but also shows the

importance of particular political organisations in developing and promoting populist ideology through the medium of the Irish Press in Ireland

The emphasis on political conflict has an important bearing on the writer's stance vis a vis the body of literature dealing with the media in late developing countries. This literature has been largely informed by various models of political economy of development which have had a significant impact on the perspectives adopted with regard to the role and functioning of the media. These models will be reviewed briefly below.

#### THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE IRISH MEDIA

In this study of the media in Ireland, the construction of an appropriate frame of reference is a prerequisite as it involves the mapping of previously uncharted territories. One of the greatest difficulties in tracing the evolution of an Irish newspaper in the twentieth century is the paucity of existing research on the subject. This is particularly true of the post-famine era, a period marked by the beginnings of industrial development and the rise of the commercial national press. In the main, the available work on the modern press is anecdotal and uninformed by reference to the wider political and historical processes which have shaped Irish society. Part of this difficulty may in fact relate to Ireland's status as a late industrialising country and the difficulty in theorising the media in such a context. Clearly, the models which have been used to chart the

evolution of the press in Britain have limited applicability. Although the press in Ireland can be shown to have been shaped and influenced by the British press, that influence was mediated by the political and economic conditions and practices of colonialism and by the subsequent struggle for national independence. Thus it seems that the appropriate framework for the study of the press in Ireland must be drawn from the body of literature devised with reference to the less developed nations within the world system. This raises the issue of the dominant paradigms within the field of media and development studies and their advantages and disadvantages.

#### THE MEDIA IN LATE INDUSTRIALISING COUNTRIES

Since the 1950's, the study of the media in late industrialising countries has been dominated by modernisation theory and by its antithesis, dependency theory. The aftermath of the Second World War witnessed the final disintegration of the old imperial order which had copperfastened vast regions of the world within the domain of colonial empires. Within academic studies, a new sociology of development emerged, with the aim of establishing the conditions on the basis of which full modernisation could be achieved within the newly-independent nation-states. In the early 1950's, modernisation theory emerged as the dominant paradigm within the new field of endeavour.

Modernisation theory rested on the principles and parameters of American structural-functionalism. This was in the main inspired by the work of Talcott Parsons, whose

theoretical premises could in turn be traced back to the writings of Max Weber (cf Larrain, 1989: 87). Within structural functionalism, a specific model of the transition from traditional to modern society was prescribed. Central to modernisation theory was the assumption that late industrialising countries could, and should, follow the pattern of development associated with the western industrial democracies. The main obstacles to development were conceived in terms of the persistence of traditional social structures. Nevertheless, it seemed that such obstacles could be overcome through the diffusion of technological innovations from the West to the late developing societies. In this view

The West (taken here as the Atlantic community of developed nations and their overseas outliers) diffuses knowledge, skills, organization, values, technology and capital to a poor nation, until over time, its society, culture and personnel become variants of that which made the Atlantic community successful (Taylor, 1979: 5).

The transition from traditional to modern society was thus presented in terms of the gradual replacement of traditional institutions, values and attributes by those associated with modern society. The ramifications of this process could be identified at every level of society - economic, social and psychological. In terms of economic development, the presumptions of modernisation theory found their main proponent in W. W. Rostow. In a dissertation on the stages of economic growth, Rostow indicated that the advanced capitalist countries offered the most appropriate model for rapid development in late industrialising

societies It was argued that the evidence clearly showed the less developed countries to be following the same path as the more advanced Hence

it is useful, as well as roughly accurate, to regard the process of development now going forward in Asia, the Middle East, Africa and Latin America as roughly analogous to the stages of preconditions and take-off of other societies in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (1960 139)

The process of modernization could also be viewed in terms of changes at the level of social institutions and in the psychological behaviour of individuals For example, theorists such as McClelland (1966) isolated factors such as the need for achievement among different social groups as the catalyst promoting social change Hence, the emergence of an entrepreneurial spirit was identified as a key phase in the transition from traditional to modern social behaviour

Modernisation theory' provided a clear set of prescriptions with regard to the role of the media in the development process Firstly, the press and other media could play a significant role in stimulating the change from traditional economic activities to modern ones By widening the reach of advertising, for example, the print media could help create consumer awareness and promote the development of the market economy (cf Sommerlad, 1966 74)

Secondly, the process of change could be enhanced by the introduction of new techniques of communication which would contribute to infrastructural development and facilitate the trickle-down of information from the more modern sectors to traditional ones In this way, less

developed countries could bypass some of the stages of development and benefit from the direct application of the most recent communication technologies in order to speed up the modernisation process (cf Schramm, 1964 269)

Thirdly, with regard to the democratic process the mass media could play an important part in consolidating political stability Hence, a key function of the mass media concerned the establishment of a democratic nation-state in which the media performs the function of a fourth estate comparable to that of the advanced western democracies (cf Pye, (ed ) 1963)

Modernisation theory assumed that the role and functioning of the media in late industrialising countries would emulate that of the more advanced nations The degree of modernisation could be estimated in terms of how closely the mass media assimilated to the western ideal Hence, deviations from the western "norm" were considered to reflect problems in the transitional phase between tradition and modernity

The modernization approach was in fact open to criticism in respect of the development process This approach assumed that the main obstacles to development were internal, that is, they consisted of structural attributes of traditional society Furthermore, it was believed that these structural problems could be overcome in the course of the development process Hence, the development of the mass media was expected to repeat the pattern which had been established

in the industrial democracies of western Europe in the nineteenth century. By propagating the values of modernity, the mass media could enhance the modernisation process at the economic and political levels. On this account, the modernisation approach was charged with failing to take into consideration the fact of colonialism and its capacity to drain crucial resources from a backward country. In regard to the mass media, specific criticism was forwarded against modernization theory. At a socio-economic level, the expansion of western media in the less developed regions of the world economy was more a function of American global imperial ambitions than a genuine concern to promote development. At a cultural level, traditional practices of various national cultures were being destroyed in the name of a world culture which was effectively based on American assumptions and values.

#### BEYOND MODERNISATION THEORY THE DEPENDENCY MODEL

Influenced by works such as Baran and Sweezy's Monopoly Capital (1968), radical critics attempted to demonstrate that the institutions of the mass media, which constituted the interface between the "core" and "periphery" in both cultural and economic terms, contributed overwhelmingly to the underdevelopment of the periphery. Work such as Schiller's Mass Media and American Empire (1971) and Information and the Crisis Economy (1984) attempted to show the relationship between unbalanced development in the periphery and the extension of monopoly capitalism through the mass media. Advertising on behalf of multinational corporations

introduced consumption patterns wholly inappropriate to the level of development. Technology transfers and professional practices contributed to a westernisation which intensified problems of development. The critique of media imperialism became the standard perspective on media in developing countries. The term media imperialism itself was defined by Boyd Barrett (1977: 117) as follows:

the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected.

The Media Imperialism hypothesis underpinned a considerable body of literature on media and development from the mid-1970's until the late 1980's (e.g. Varis, (1974), Tunstall, (1977), Schiller, (1979), Hamelink, (1983)). It played an important role in placing the question of international power relations and imperialism to the fore in the analysis of media in late developing countries. In the words of Roach:

The media imperialist school drew attention, in particular, to the relationship between the economic expansion of US-led capitalism in the Third World and the extensive exportation of American mass culture and communications technology (1990: 293).

For the adherents of the media imperialism hypothesis, the overwhelming focus on multinational capital could be justified on the grounds that the expansion of the American media and its penetration into peripheral areas of the world economy represented the key to the continued maintenance of US hegemony and the survival of the capitalist system itself.



Such a perspective is implicit in Schiller's influential work Information and the Crisis Economy, in which he argues that

Information and the communications process have become the pivots of present and future national and international power relationships (1984 48)

Schiller emphasises this point continuously, adding that

In sum, North American transnational capital, the new information technology and national mass media systems dependent on TNC advertising financing, are the pillars - along with the never absent armed forces - of the prevailing international economic and information order (1984 55)

Schiller's perspective is rooted in a particular view of monopoly capitalism which in this author's view is a misinterpretation of Baran and Sweezy's influential work Monopoly Capitalism. If we consider Schiller's early work, he argues that the penetration of peripheral economies is vital to the continued survival of capitalism

Nothing less than the viability of the American industrial economy itself is involved in the movement toward international commercial broadcasting. The private yet managed economy depends on advertising. Remove the excitation and manipulation of consumer demand and industrial slowdown threatens (1971 95)

This perception relies on Baran and Sweezy's argument that monopoly capitalism has lost its inherent dynamism in the advanced economies, a process reflected in the increased diversification into advertising, marketing and military spending. It seems that this perspective underpins much of the writing on the expansion of American media conglomerates. For example, Boyd Barrett refers to Baran and Sweezy's work in his definitive work on the subject of media imperialism

The study of the role of the media in the process of general economic imperialism must take into account attempts to identify changes in the relationship between capitalism and imperialism in accord with the changing circumstances of capitalism itself. Baran and Sweezy (1968) took one step in this direction when they proposed the concept of 'economic surplus' or the tendency of 'economic surplus to rise' to explain the continued necessity of economic imperialism (1977 131)

In the view of this writer, Boyd Barrett is incorrect simply because for Baran and Sweezy, economic imperialism was not necessary to the continued expansion of capitalism. For Baran and Sweezy, the expansion of advertising and communications, the growth of military spending, or the penetration of foreign markets could not resolve the problems of monopoly capitalism. Rather, these phenomena were symptomatic of the stagnation of American capitalism. Imperialism was a by-product of crisis, not a solution to it. The growth of advertising and the expansion of the American media abroad should strictly be interpreted as part of the wastage of capital inherent within the monopoly system, if Baran and Sweezy's thesis is followed. More importantly, in this writer's view, the focus on monopoly capitalism precluded consideration of the internal political and ideological factors governing the emergence of national media systems in post-colonial societies.

The view of an ever-expanding monopoly capitalism, which deviated from the analysis of Baran and Sweezy, took precedence simply because, contrary to the expectation of a stagnant and declining monopoly system, capitalism in the post-war era underwent a massive and global expansion. Accordingly, theorists of global media systems focused

primarily on the post-war era, in which the American transnational corporations rose to pre-eminence Schiller (1975), for example, describes the genesis and extension of the free flow of information concept in terms of the expansion of U S global hegemonic strategy since the Second World War The debate on the Free Flow of information has subsequently been carried through with surprising disregard for its historical origins

One of the principal motivations for my research on populism and the Irish Press has been to demonstrate that the arguments for delinkage, national self-sufficiency, cultural autonomy, and indeed grassroots "people power" have their origins in the populist discourse of the golden age of monopoly capitalism When Roach (1990 303) raises the question of "people power" as an oppositional force to both multinational capital and national elites, she echoes an argument that originated with the Russian Narodniks and American small farmers of the late 19th century It is a central aim of this thesis to show that the appeal to the people also constitutes part of an ideological project, which has been historically exemplified in the emergence of populism as a response to imperialism and monopoly capitalism Within the media imperialism school, it seems that there has been an uncritical acceptance of populist strategies of national development, combined with an avoidance of critical appraisal of such strategies in relation to the media

Underlying the critique of American mass media and their ideologies was the assumption that genuine national independence relied on media policies which protected indigenous culture industries. Frequently, such policies were associated with the economic strategy of import-substitution industrialisation. Accordingly, particular emphasis was placed on the campaign against cultural imperialism and the demand for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). In respect of late-developing societies, the main object of study focused on the correlation between foreign media penetration on the one hand and the lack of autochthonous industrial development on the other. This led to a number of difficulties in the theorisation of internal political dynamics, in particular of groups such as "national elites" in Third World countries (Roach, 1990: 297).

By the end of the 1980's, the failure of the movement for a New World Information and Communication Order gave grounds for a re-assessment of the dependency perspective (cf Media Culture & Society, Vol 12, 1990). A number of criticisms had been levelled at dependency theory in general (cf Lall, 1975, Limqueco & McFarlane, 1983). One such criticism related to the lack of theorisation of class formation and political struggle within the Late Developing Countries (cf Banaji, 1983). This criticism was eventually recognised by writers such as Roach who wrote

It was evident that a good part of the conceptual work behind the NWICO was based on Marxist principles of social analysis such as imperialism, core/periphery, and the interface between economics and ideology. However, a fundamental tenet of Marxist thinking was never sufficiently developed: class analysis. Had the thinkers and activists supporting this movement had a clearer "class framework" some of the contradictions of the new order would not have taken such a heavy toll (1990: 297).

Unfortunately, Roach then immediately dissolves the question of class structure into one of national elites and popular masses, an orientation which underlines my argument that the media imperialism school has more in common with its populist ancestors than with classical Marxism.

In spite of the numerous problems with dependency-based perspectives on media and development, some of the more recent perspectives based on the work of Cardoso and Faletto do provide a point of comparison for my work, if not an actual starting point.

#### DEPENDENCY THEORY REVISED

In the light of the criticism of early dependency theory and its ramifications in media and development studies, a new variety of dependency theory has emerged, based on the work of Cardoso and Faletto. In contrast to the structural determinism of earlier dependency theory, Cardoso and Faletto (1979) suggested that specific historical phases could be identified in which the outcome of various political struggles had a significant effect on the development process. For example, the 1930's and 1940's witnessed the rise of national-popular coalitions in Latin America and elsewhere, which, where successful, implemented programmes of industrialisation behind protective tariffs. Under these

circumstances, industrial development seems to have been accompanied by a widening of democracy as the masses of the people were incorporated within the political process for the first time

Within Cardoso and Faletto's approach, stress was placed on the role of political conflict in shaping the outcome of the development process. Accordingly, the evolution of the mass media could be understood in the context of the various political conflicts over the control of the state and the outcomes of such struggles. This represented a major advance on previous models of dependency in which external political forces were paramount. Within earlier dependency work, typical of the debate on NWICO, the local media were considered to be run by the comprador bourgeois classes in the interest of transnational capital. While the advantage of early dependency research was its focus on external influences over media and society in Latin America and elsewhere, this focus was also a major weakness. By concentrating heavily on the determining influence of multinational capital, the role of internal factors was overlooked. Hence the state became a mere reflection of transnational interests with no autonomy of its own. Cardoso and Faletto's historical and structural approach offers two major advantages. Firstly, the historically specific nature of the sociopolitical structures of each Latin American country are emphasised. Secondly, the state is not reduced to a mere instrument of transnational interests (cf Fejes, 1986: 247). Hence, it is possible to account for historical

changes in the dependent status of a particular state. In contrast to the inflexible model of dependency offered within earlier models (such as Frank (1979)) it seemed that the dependent countries did have some opportunities to negotiate or alter their dependent status. Thus, a certain degree of national development could be achieved within the framework of the world capitalist system. Depending on the nature and extent of the political struggle, some extension of democracy could be achieved.

In order to illustrate the theory in concrete terms, Cardoso and Faletto (1979: 138) used the example of Brazil. Prior to 1929, the state had expressed the interests of the agro-exporting bourgeoisie and the overseas corporations linked to sectors of the Brazilian economy. The disruption of trade patterns and the general crisis of the world market led to a realignment of internal political coalitions. The new class alliances which emerged had a significant impact on the character of the state, which began to promote industrial development through the process of import-substitution industrialisation. Depending on the strength of the national bourgeoisie, it was possible in some cases to incorporate groups hitherto excluded from the political process, such as the working classes and marginal sectors. This incorporation created the conditions for the development of a populist state. Hence Fejes states:

Greater democratization and economic expansion were experienced in many Latin American countries in the 1940's, 1950's and early 1960's as many of the Latin American governments followed a process of import-substitution industrialisation and tried to incorporate many of the previously marginal social groups within the political arena (1986 249)

As the limits of ISI were reached, however, the popular based democratic governments were overthrown in military coups and replaced by authoritarian governments. New ruling groups emerged, based on an alliance of technocrats and bureaucrats in industry, government and in the military. For the new groups, populist demands threatened the existing structures of class power and the interests of foreign capital. As ISI was abandoned, the new political elites turned to foreign capital as a source of investment. It seems clear that this analysis is useful to the extent that communications policies and state-media relationships can be situated in the context of the struggle among social groups and divergent interests. For example, Fejes (1986 250) points out that the political context in which the press developed in Latin America differed greatly from the context surrounding the emergence of radio and television. By focusing on specific phases of development and the political strategies associated with these phases, we can arrive at a more concrete analysis of the media in late developing countries.

#### IRELAND AND LATIN AMERICA IN THE 1930'S SOME PARALLELS

On this account, the case of Latin America, illustrated by Fejes, appears to have inherent congruences with the case of Ireland. Both Ireland and parts of Latin America had been



modernised through integration into the international economy. Although formal independence had been attained by the 1930's, both regions were dependent on agro-exports to a considerable extent. In both cases, manufacturing industries were dominated by overseas investors. The crisis of the 1930's witnessed the rise of "populist" parties with plans to develop industry behind protective tariffs. In Ireland as in Brazil, the dominant pro-metropolitan political establishment was successfully challenged by the populist parties. Relying mainly on working class and rural marginal groups, the populist parties promoted industrial development through active state intervention in industry and incorporated the masses through infrastructural development projects and expanding social welfare.

However, a reconsideration of Fejes's approach will be taken up in the light of two issues. Firstly, the maintenance of the concept of dependency imposes a fixed interpretation on the outcome of the political struggle. It seems that the possibility of expanded democracy in the case of the populist state was constrained primarily by the limitations on economic independence. Hence Fejes' assertion that

the limits of both the political and economic processes were reached in the mid 1960's as a number of the major Latin American countries experienced serious economic difficulties (1986: 249)

It seemed that economic dependency was the main determinant in the downfall of populism and that other factors conditioning the outcome of development strategies were secondary. Hence, there is a tendency to be rather uncritical

of some assumptions concerning the "populist" phase of development

Secondly, the idea of a greater democratization as greater economic independence was achieved should be carefully scrutinised. Populism drew many previously marginalised groups into the political process - the working classes, the rural poor etc., but these groups were not equal to the representatives of industrial capital in terms of their influence over the development process. While the state acted as a mediator between industrialists and the masses, the main interest of the state was industrial development, not the greater participation of the masses in the political process. Hence, the ideology of populism placed great emphasis on the subordination of class interests to the national interest. Although the discourse of populism was radical and anti-imperialist, challenging the dominance of the agro-exporting classes in the name of the mass of the people, the agenda of populism sought to win the support of the masses for the project of capitalist industrial development. Hence, the other side of populism's radicalism was its opposition to independent working-class struggle and its postulation of an all class alliance of "the people" against the political elite in society.

Therefore, it is worthwhile to study the ideology of populism as a separate and distinct category from the national-popular phase of development postulated by Cardoso and Faletto. While these authors hint at the class conflicts

inherent within populism, their analysis lends greater weight to the impact of groupings favourable to foreign capital within the state in accounting for the demise of populism. The question of a potential conflict between industrialisation and democracy per se is overlooked. In view of the potential class interests at stake within any strategy of national development, it is necessary to draw a distinction between strategies of development on the one hand, and the political and ideological forms which accompany these strategies. Otherwise there is a danger of characterising the populist era as a "golden age of democracy", overthrown by foreign capital allied to indigenous commercial interests. While it is certainly the case that populist strategies were abandoned in the post-war era in favour of foreign investment and the open economy, economic considerations were by no means the only factor underlying the demise of populism. Populism as a radical democratic ideology was limited by the industrial classes' need for political stability, and by the fact that the state's challenge to international imperialism was limited to the demand for a better position for national capital within the world economy.

In the light of Fejes's general observations on the relevance of Cardoso and Faletto's work to the study of the mass media, it is proposed to examine the formation and development of the Irish Press in the context of the populist experience in Ireland. In this study emphasis is placed on the role of the Irish Press as an agency through which a

populist discourse of development was promulgated from the early 1930's to the late 1950's. Thus populism will be considered primarily as an ideology of development through which specific economic and social policies were related to the wider needs of the mass of the people.

The aim of the thesis is to provide a schematised overview of the ideology of the Irish Press during the protectionist era in Ireland, broadly speaking, the period between 1931 and 1956, during which the paper was central to the hegemonic strategy of the Fianna Fail party. Within this framework, it will trace two contrasting phases of populism in the Irish Press. On the one hand, it seeks to account for the success of the paper via its adoption of a radical populist ideology in the early 1930's (i.e. the rise of populism). On the other hand, the thesis examines the contradictions of this populist project, which both undermined the radical phase and gave rise to the conservative phase of populism in the Irish Press (i.e. the fall of populism). Following this the thesis will also deal with both the ideological crisis of the Irish Press and the question of modernisation.

#### OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The thesis falls into three main parts. PART ONE, which comprises Chapters One and Two, deals with the question of populism within late developing countries and especially the case of populism in Ireland. PART TWO, which includes Chapters Three, Four and Five, examines the Irish Press and

the rise of populism during the protectionist era of the 1930's. PART THREE, comprising Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine, describes the contradictions of populism in the Irish Press, the decline of populism and the identity crisis of the Irish Press, and the various (unsuccessful) attempts to modernise the paper from the 1960's to the present.

In PART ONE of this thesis, Chapter One focuses on the question of populism and underdevelopment. It begins with a review of those theories which identify populism as a grassroots reaction against modernisation. This enables some consideration of the principal features attributed to populist discourse, touching on the view of populism as romantic primitivism and raising the issue of whether populism was in fact hostile to material progress and industrial development. This leads to a discussion of the contexts in which populism tended to emerge historically, drawing on a number of studies of the contradictions of late development and the type of political mobilisations associated with late industrialisation. The discussion moves from a consideration of the material factors which might give rise to populism to the question of how populism as a political ideology could win the allegiance of the mass of the people. This gives rise to a subsequent examination of the interaction between objective material conditions and the intervention of political organisations in concrete historical situations, a scenario which is investigated through Cardoso and Faletto's (1979) account of the rise of populism in Latin America. This leads to some conclusions on

the nature of populist ideology which will subsequently be applied to the analysis of populism and the Irish Press

Chapter Two deals with the case of populism in Ireland and the rise of the Fianna Fail party. It considers whether populism could be said to have emerged in Ireland in the 1930's - a matter surrounded by some controversy - and traces the evolution of this debate. In the first section, Garvin's thesis on the nature of political divisions in independent Ireland will be examined. The question of political mobilisation, the model of the "Green Uprising" of Eastern Europe, and the theory of the periphery-dominated centre will be reviewed in the light of Garvin's (1974) speculations on the roots of Fianna Fail hegemony. Next, the counterargument proposed by Lee (1989) and Garvin (1984) will be examined, with regard to the level of modernisation of civil society and institutional structures and the inappropriateness of a model of agrarian radicalism to explain divisions in Irish politics. In the third section of the chapter, the question of economic dependency will be raised in view of its impact on the political formation of independent Ireland. Orridge's (1983) use of Cardoso and Faletto's model in the Irish context will be used as the basis for an investigation of Fianna Fail's policies and their ideological legitimisation. The aim of the chapter is to show how the term populism may be used in the context of Irish politics between 1931 and 1956. Thus in PART ONE we review the theoretical premisses underlying the subsequent study of the Irish Press

In PART TWO, which begins the empirical research for this thesis, Chapter Three commences with the background to the Fianna Fail campaign for a national daily newspaper in the aftermath of the Civil War defeat. It describes the development of the press in Ireland between 1900 and 1922, following the rise of the commercial press and the changing fortunes of the radical republican press. The campaign against the British Press, and the first attempt at a Fianna Fail paper, The Nation are also discussed. The next section deals with the campaign to establish the Irish Press. An account is given of the various fundraising projects undertaken by the committee in charge of the venture, which includes the appeal to commercial interests and the appeal to the mass of the people in the name of a national daily newspaper. This leads to a consideration of the ownership and control structures of the paper and the means by which de Valera consolidated his position as Controlling Director. Turning from ownership and control to the content of the paper, the radical populist tendencies of the first editor and the general influence of the republican press are considered. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the role accorded to the Irish Press within the hegemonic project of Fianna Fail.

Chapter Four focuses on the response to the world economic crisis of 1931-32. The discussion begins with the issue of anti-imperialism in the Irish Press and how this was used to create a polarisation between the pro-imperialist government and the "popular masses". References are drawn

from news reports, feature articles and editorials in order to illustrate the opposition to both British imperialism and the Free State government. Then, the reaction to the economic crisis precipitated by the collapse of sterling is shown to have radical populist overtones. Having dealt with the populist response to the economic crisis, the role of the paper in identifying Fianna Fail with the masses is introduced. This is carried out through a close investigation into the issues of unemployment, emigration, housing and welfare, in terms of their treatment in the Irish Press. Finally, the challenge represented by the Irish Press is described in terms of official and unofficial attempts to undermine the paper, which culminated in the charges of seditious libel brought against the newspaper and its editor in January 1932.

In Chapter Five, the discussion focuses on the radical populism of the Irish Press during the first years of Fianna Fail rule. It begins with an account of the Irish Press in the general election campaign which brought the party to power in February 1932. The Irish Independent's support for the government and its attempts to raise the threat of Communism will be discussed in the context of Cumann na nGaedheal's stance on law and order issues. Conversely, the charges of unionist support for Cosgrave's party, which formed part of the Irish Press's counter-propaganda, are also discussed in the context of the struggle between the two parties.



Next, the discussion moves on to Fianna Fail in power. The key issue is the role of the Irish Press at the onset of the Economic War with Britain. This is dealt with from a number of perspectives, the publicisation of de Valera's case for retention of the Land Annuities and its legitimisation in the Fianna Fail newspaper, the characterisation of the British response, the campaign to rally mass support for de Valera and the role of the paper in giving expression to groups in favour of the stance against Britain. The discussion then deals with the ideological mediation of economic nationalism both in terms of the needs of Irish industry and the needs of the people. The purpose of this chapter is to show how the Irish Press was instrumental in winning support for Fianna Fail and its policies during the radical phase of populist nationalism.

In PART THREE, Chapter Six deals with the conservative turn taken by the Irish Press after 1934. It begins with an account of how latent conflicts came to the surface as the pressure for commercial success intensified. Consideration is also given to Fianna Fail's new concern with political stability and the effects this had on the paper. Following an account of the events which led to the resignation of the first editor, the discussion turns to the changes carried out by the management in 1935-1936, which re-oriented the paper towards the needs of the new Irish industries that had grown up under protectionism. The next section discusses the changing relationship between State and Industry as the phase of import substitution industrialisation drew to a close. It

focuses on the emerging conflict between the two and how this affected the Irish Press. The chapter concludes with an account of the newspaper's growing identification with the state as the economic war ended.

Chapter Seven deals with the growing crisis within Fianna Fail and the Irish Press as the party faced the new situation of the post-war economy. It begins with the conservative response to the emergence of radical populist tendencies (i.e. Clann na Poblachta) in the late 1940's. The increasing difficulty of the Fianna Fail position is shown through the Irish Press denunciation of Clann na Poblachta, which espoused policies almost identical to those of Fianna Fail in the 1930's. The first section of the discussion therefore examines the Press in the light of the reaction against radical populism.

The second section, by contrast, discusses the retreat to economic nationalism in the course of the general election campaign of 1954, in which the Irish Press was used to attack any suggestion that tariff barriers would be lifted. At this point the key issue is Fianna Fail's retreat to traditional rhetoric. Next, the question of the Irish Press's ambiguous attitude to foreign investment in industry is raised. The discussion examines some of the contradictions within Fianna Fail rhetoric, reflected in the Irish Press, with regard to future economic development and the question of foreign capital. The chapter also describes how the problem of modernisation was resolved within the Irish Press Ltd, with

the establishment of the modern, urban-oriented Evening Press and the politically liberal Sunday Press. The chapter describes how the Irish Press, by contrast, was kept as the organ of the traditional party support, and stagnated as a result. The chapter concludes with an account of the challenge to de Valera's control of the Irish Press which was raised in the Dail in January 1959. These events serve to underline the weakening political role of the paper and the changing public perception of its place in Irish society, reflected in the downward slide of circulation figures. Chapter Eight deals with the Irish Press after Eamon de Valera's resignation as leader of the Fianna Fail party in 1959. It describes the attempts to modernise the Irish Press and explains why these were not successful. The first section deals with the modernisation of the media in the context of rapid change in Irish society from the 1960's onward, and deals with the Irish Press's increasing distance from the Fianna Fail in the 1960's. Next, the changing situation of the Irish newspaper market which resulted from trade liberalisation and entry to the EEC are discussed. This provides the background to an account of the various ways in which the management at the Irish Press attempted to modernise the paper, and the obstacles to modernisation which stemmed partly from the traditional control structures which represented the legacy of the populist era, and partly from a great uncertainty about the actual readership towards which the paper should be oriented. Touching briefly on the more recent liaison with Ingersoll publications and the failure of

2

this attempt to bring the Irish Press Group into line with modern newspaper management practices, the chapter concludes with an assessment of the problems facing the Group at the present time

#### METHODOLOGY

In the empirical research for this dissertation, a number of methods were employed. Due to the lack of secondary reference works on the press in modern Ireland (which contrasts with the scholarly works on the 17th and 18th century press), most of the information was drawn from archival sources. Firstly, an examination of documents held in the National Manuscript Library provided insights into the political rationale behind the paper and the personal viewpoints of some of the staff involved in the enterprise. Secondly, legal documents relating to ownership and control were drawn from the Public Records Office and various other archival sources.

For the main body of the empirical research, material was taken from the newspaper itself. The problem of dealing with the ideology of any newspaper is that while the principles and parameters of the ideology may be specified in the abstract (the main purpose of part one of the thesis), the concrete manifestations of the ideology are mediated through the reportage of day-to-day events which forms the basis of the newspaper's public function that is, to inform and entertain the reading public. Thus the empirical investigation of ideology in the media is a question of how a

i  
PA

particular world-view is presented with which the reader may identify or not (in Laclau's (1977) terminology, the interpellation of the subject)

The empirical sections of this work are organised around the Irish Press's mediation of key events and situations. Thus we consider the specifics of the paper's ideology in terms of the response to a number of economic, political and social issues in the period between 1931 and 1956. Issues range from the international crisis of 1931 and the collapse of sterling to the question of introducing foreign capital to promote industry in 1956. Nevertheless, the research is motivated by the underlying focus on the newspaper's relationship with the three main groupings within the populist alliance, namely, the industrial bourgeoisie, the popular masses, and the state. Therefore, each issue, such as the response to the international crisis in 1931, is considered in terms of how the Fianna Fail position was related to the needs of both the "masses" (i.e. the small farmers, rural poor and the working class) and the smaller industrialists and manufacturers.

Within this schema, however, it is clear that the newspaper was, in different phases, more oriented to one group than to another. Hence, in the radical phase of populism, we find a greater attention to the concerns of the masses - unemployment, housing and the crisis of rural society. As the development process got under way, the concerns of the paper shifted more towards the needs of industrialists and the new Irish manufacturers. Finally, as

the phase of import-substitution drew to a close, we find a greater identification between the Irish Press and the state as the paper became increasingly an instrument of Fianna Fail in power. The shifting balance of forces within the populist developmentalist alliance is therefore reflected in the issues which took priority in the Irish Press.

As populism declined in the 1950's, attention is focused on how the paper dealt with the conflicts within the party over the future path of development. All of these phases are traced through an analysis of news reports, features, and articles - in short, how the paper represented the issues of the day. In recognition of the agenda-setting nature of the paper, i.e. its propagandist function in the heyday of populism, attention is specifically focused on those issues in which the Irish Press took the initiative in bringing matters to public awareness and in mobilising public opinion. For the final chapters, which give an account of the decline of the Irish Press, we turn to the evidence provided in newspapers and journals, Dail debates and the testimony of those involved with the paper. Further information is drawn from readership data produced by Joint National Media Research surveys and ABC circulation statistics.

## PART ONE THE THEORY OF POPULISM

In Part One, which comprises Chapters One and Two, some theories on the relationship between populism and late industrialisation are explored. Chapter One provides an overview of a number of approaches to the difficult question of populism. In seeking to arrive at a working definition of populism, it focuses on the relationship between the emergence of populism on the one hand, and the onset of industrialisation in late developing areas on the other hand. Chapter Two considers the question of populism in Ireland in the inter-war years. It reviews a number of theories on the nature of the Fianna Fail party and the reasons for its success in winning political hegemony. Part One therefore provides the background to the subsequent investigation of populist discourse in the Irish Press.

## CHAPTER ONE

### POPULISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

#### INTRODUCTION

Within the sociology of development, the question of populism has been notoriously controversial. Most theorists agree, and this is perhaps the only point of consensus as far as the literature is concerned, that a satisfactory definition of the concept has not yet been established (cf. Ionescu and Gellner, (1969:1), Laclau, (1977:143), Alawi, (1983:182). For some theorists, the concept's vagueness renders it useless as an analytical category and therefore it should be abandoned in favour of the concrete examination of the social basis of the disparate movements described as populist. Others (cf. Worsley, 1969:219ff) recognise the difficulty of speaking of populism as a genus of political behaviour, but conclude that since the word has been used, the existence of verbal smoke might well indicate a fire somewhere. At its most general, the term has been used to describe any movement invoking the name of "the people", appealing to the "small man" rather than to any particular social class.

This chapter provides a critical review of the main theories of populism which have emerged within the sociology of development. Section one deals with the conception of populism as a form of agrarian radicalism inherently opposed to modernisation and industrialisation. Section Two examines some arguments concerning the rise of populism in late



industrialising societies and the purported relationship between populism, underdevelopment, and political mobilisation in the peripheral regions of the world economy. Section Three raises the question of populism and the hegemonic strategies of political parties, touching on both instrumentalist and ideological analysis. In Section Four the structural-historical approach of Cardoso and Faletto (1979) is discussed as a model on the basis of which wider generalisations may be drawn with regard to the relationship between populism and underdevelopment.

#### 1.1 Populism as Agrarian Radicalism

Populism originated in the latter half of the nineteenth century in a number of regions touched by the increasing development of monopoly capitalism. The process by which monopoly capitalism drew vast regions into a new and ever-widening world economy prompted resistance on the part of various groups, mainly agricultural, which found themselves increasingly dependent on the vagaries of the world market. One of the ideological expressions of this resistance came to be known as populism. Populist movements and philosophies emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in widely disparate contexts, ranging from Tsarist Russia to the mid-western regions of the United States. A common factor underlying the appearance of populism seemed to be the onset of economic and political crisis, of which populism was but one manifestation.

### 1 1 1 Romantic Primitivism

For some theorists, the defining feature of populism was its inherent opposition to the process of modernisation. Thus populism is believed to have emerged primarily as a reaction against industrialisation. For MacRae (1969: 156), the populist ethos can be traced to Herder and the romantic critique of Enlightenment discourse. Such an analysis is reflected in Berlin's contention that what came to be called populism represented the true inheritance of Herder's critique of political centralisation and cultural synchronisation.

this movement, whether in Europe or outside it, seems to me the nearest approximation of Herder's ideal. It is, as a rule, pluralistic, looks on government as an evil, tends, following Rousseau, to identify 'the people' with the poor, the peasants, the common folk, the plebeian masses, uncorrupted by wealth or city life, (1980: 184)

Populism, in the words of Berlin, is simply the belief in the value of belonging to a group or a culture. Furthermore, populism is considered to be the antithesis of the central moral, historical and aesthetic doctrines of the Enlightenment (1980: 153). In contrast to the Enlightenment belief in the linear progression of historical forms of society, and the subsequent preference for more advanced societies over those considered backward, populism emphasised community, wholeness and the validity of each and every form of cultural expression. That is, each and every culture is considered to have a unique value, irrespective of its place on a historical evolutionary scale. In fact, cultures could



not and should not be assessed in terms of their progression on a historical or evolutionary scale

Within this philosophy, which rejects the application of scientific methods to human culture, it is believed that cultural assimilation to a single universal pattern of laws, language or social structure entails the destruction of the most valuable elements of life and art (1980 155) Hence it seems that populism was associated with a resistance to the project of modernity, stressing the essential human component of individual cultures against the Enlightenment tendency towards rationalisation, centralisation and assimilation of cultures

On the basis of the populist link with romanticism, some commentators, notably MacRae, have identified populism with the ideals of "romantic primitivism" In the opinion of MacRae, the essence of populism is a romantic utopianism which arises when agrarian populations are faced with the threat of modernization Hence populism is characterised as a reaction against modern society

We will automatically and correctly use the term populism when, under the threat of some kind of modernisation, industrialism, call it what you will, a predominantly agricultural segment of society asserts as its charter of political action a belief in a community and (usually) a Volk as uniquely virtuous, is egalitarian and against all and any elite, looks to a mythical past to regenerate the present and confound usurpation and alien conspiracy, refuses to accept any doctrine of social, political or historical inevitability and, in consequence, turns to a belief in an instant, imminent apocalypse mediated by the charisma of heroic leaders and legislative - a kind of new Lycurgus (1969 162)

In MacRae's assessment we can identify a number of the attributes which are widely held to constitute populism as an ideology - ruralism, egalitarianism and anti-elitism, xenophobia and the presence of a charismatic leader. This estimation gives the impression that populism was, and is, essentially an irrational reaction to the "threat of modernisation". The belief that populism is somehow an irrational turn to the mythological past has been explored in a number of dimensions, although most theorists are less dismissive of populism than is MacRae, who states that

it would be idle for me to pretend that I do not find agrarian utopias repulsive (1969 162)

Other writers have focused on the populist critique of large-scale industrialisation and of mass society, exemplified in the ideology of the American and Russian populists in particular

### 1 1 2 The Critique of Monopoly Capitalism

A common feature of populist ideology can be seen in the criticism of monopoly capitalism advanced by a number of populist movements, particularly in the United States where populism emerged at the onset of the era of monopoly capitalism. Typical populist writings of the epoch included the polemic written by Henry Demarest Lloyd entitled "Wealth against Commonwealth", which comprised a muckraking account of the "evil practices" of monopolist corporations, especially Standard Oil (cf Canovan, 1981 56). Such a critique has led some theorists to believe that populism represented an alternative to capitalism based on the ideal

of small-scale production

This trend is particularly evident in the work of Marxist theorist Kitching (1982), who has identified populism with the belief that social progress can come about without the intrinsic problems of mass society and mass industrialisation. For Kitching, populism consists of a strategy of economic development which rests on small-scale production within an economy dominated by the peasant and artisanal classes. Within this schema, populism can be traced to nineteenth century philosophies which stressed the inequalities in income distribution resulting from mass production. Populism represented the belief that a more equitable and just social order could be established on the principle of a balanced economy in which production and consumption developed in equilibrium. For Kitching (1982: 19), the term populism is used to encompass all philosophies which have, since the beginnings of industrialisation, offered the alternative of small-scale individual enterprise. Hence we can account for the populist symbolism of the mythical past in which rural society is untainted by the penetration of large-scale capitalism.

Within this analysis, populism is characterised as an attempt to resist the evils of modernisation. As such the populist movement can only be a temporary, transient movement, doomed to failure in the long term. In this context, populism could not be considered to have any lasting impact on the form of modern society. Hence Kitching,

§

although writing from a Marxist perspective, arrives at essentially the same conclusions as those derived within MacRae's functionalist schema

industrialisation cannot be avoided or run away from, either in theory or in practice. Those who try to do so, in the name of loyalty to the peasantry and the poor, are likely to end up offering no help to 'the people', and seeing the process of industrialization occur in any case, under the anarchic sway of international capital (1982 181)

Kitching is rightly critical of the assumption that "national" strategies of development can resolve the problems of inequality which are permanent features of capitalism in both the advanced and less developed countries. Nevertheless, in rejecting populism as a theory of development, Kitching overlooks the reasons why populism was successful at particular historical moments. I will argue that populism cannot be identified simply as a form of agrarian utopianism, and that the appeal of populism does not derive in the main from romantic images of precapitalist society. While these factors were present as elements in populist discourse, we can also find other elements, which were possibly of greater significance, such as the idea that the state should intervene in the economy in order to bring about a balanced and regulated form of development.

The idea of state regulation of economic development gained in popularity during the crisis of the 1930's and became manifest in the policies of a number of developed countries - for example, Roosevelt's New Deal and Keynesianism in Britain. The adoption of such policies was

consistent with the belief that monopoly capitalism and the free market could no longer guarantee economic growth. Kitching, in criticising the adoption of populism within radical nationalist development theory, is in danger of placing overmuch emphasis on "grassroots" populism and its overtones of rural utopianism and overlooking a more significant constellation of ideas within populist discourse - the critique of monopoly capitalism and the belief that the state was the only agency strong enough to resolve the problems of economic development which beset both advanced and less developed nations. Kitching is wrong to assume that populism was bound up with the idea of small-scale production and the rejection of mass production, a point which will be further developed below.

### 1 1 3 Populism and Democracy

The view of populism as romantic, backward-looking and retrogressive has been challenged by a number of theorists. Citing the example of the American populist movement, Pollack has argued that by placing populism in conflict with industrialisation per se, the movement has been given an irrational basis. That is, populism is associated with emotionalism, xenophobia, and a generally retrogressive stance on the question of modernisation. Hence

The over-all consequence of this image is that populism has been denied its traditional place as a democratic social force" (1962: 6)

Pollack argues that the populist movement in America formulated a deep and penetrating criticism of industrial

4

society Rather than opposing industrialisation, populism criticised the social context of capitalist development, making a necessary distinction between technology and social context While accepting industrialisation, populist movements opposed its capitalistic form In contrast to the discourse of bourgeois liberalism, which uncritically accepted the idea of a universally beneficent social progress through industrial development, Pollack suggests that populist thought stressed the human costs of progress (1962 10) Populism was associated with the critique of alienation and fragmentation which accompanied the growing division of labour and the increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of a few producers In this sense, we can say that populism was in fact more democratic than bourgeois liberalism, in that it refused to uncritically accept the doctrine of modernisation

On the other hand, the solution proposed within populist discourse was a return to pre-capitalist forms of society in which, it seemed, alienation from natural methods of production could be avoided On the question of Russian populism, (i e Narodnichestvo), Lenin wrote that populism had made a big step forward in comparison with the heritage of the "enlighteners" It represented a progressive step in posing for the attention of society the problems of capitalist development which the classical "modernisers" had been unable to pose due to the narrowness of their outlook Therefore, he wrote



In posing these problems the populists performed a great historical service, and it is quite natural that, having offered a solution (whatever it may be worth) for these problems, Populism thereby occupied a foremost place among the progressive trends of Russian Social Thought (cited in Walicki, (1969 21))

Lenin's approval of populism was nevertheless qualified by his recognition that populism was a contradictory phenomenon. A number of writers (cf Canovan, (1981 105)) have pointed to the fact that populism has always been Janus-faced, on the one hand criticising from a progressive viewpoint the human costs of progress, on the other hand, retreating to a utopian vision of the past as a solution to the problems of development. Hence we can find in the Russian and Polish populist movements the glorification of traditional peasant forms of society, the *obschina* and the *gmina* respectively (cf Wortman, (1967 19), Brock, (1977 13)). In this sense, populism tends to produce a 'mythology of the rural past'.

The problem with analyses such as those of Kitching and MacRae is that they fail to comprehend the contradictory nature of populism and hence emphasise its utopian and romantic character. They de-emphasise the extent to which populism was a political response to real problems of development. Populism was not in any sense a pre-capitalist ideology, but rather emerged in regions which were in the process of modernisation through the penetration of the world market system. Hence Canovan remarks of the American populists:

4

They grew staples- wheat or cotton - for international markets, and their dependence upon a market over which they had no control perfectly explains their intense concern with monetary systems, transport, and government regulation. Inextricably involved in a vast commercial network, they thought of a people's government as the only agency strong enough to defend their interests (1981: 56)

Therefore we can conclude that populism was not a reaction against industrialisation or integration into the world economy. Rather, it was an attempt to protect the smaller producers from the vagaries of dependence upon the world market in the era of monopoly capitalism and imperialism.

#### 1.1.4 Populism and the State

Within populist thought, some attempts were made to resolve the contradiction between tradition and progress. As capitalist development seemed increasingly inevitable, populist philosophers looked to the intervention of the state in the process of development. It was believed that the process of development could be regulated by means of state policies which would eliminate inequalities in the distribution of wealth. Hence, a balanced system of production and exchange would prevail, in which none was rich but none was deprived of an honest competence. The role of the state within populist thought was to protect the small producer but not to replace him with any large-scale enterprise or collective system of production. Hence, populism stressed the possibility of building a third path between advanced capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. Walicki's (1969) thesis points, therefore to the

significance of the state as an agency of development even within early populist thought Russian intellectuals in particular were preoccupied with the lack of any strong national bourgeoisie which could undertake the process of national development In the absence of such a social class, the state appeared as the main agency by means of which development could be assured Walicki emphasises that populism was not constituted solely by romantic primitivism, it also contained a strong modernizing element Hence populism seemed to amalgamate a variety of heterogeneous and often contradictory ideas

the idealization of the peasant commune and of the archaic 'popular industry' was combined in their ideology with a programme for industrialization, a high appreciation of the 'independence' of small producers went along with the postulate of 'socialization' of labour (1969a 88)

The 'romantic primitivist' approach to populism, with its attendant focus on grassroots democracy, neglects those aspects of populist discourse which have been concerned with the position of the backward nation in the world economy

In the view of Walicki (1969b 26), Russian populism represented the position of the small producer it was defined by the class position of the petty-bourgeoisie within Russia, but also by the fact of Russia's backwardness in relation to the advanced Western economies Thus it expressed the position of the small producer confronted with the threat of proletarianization, but was also the expression of a backward nation confronted with the threat of "proletarianization" within the modern world system This

position embodied a number of contradictions. On the one hand sympathy with the small producer pointed to a form of democracy based on small-scale property ownership. On the other, the international position pointed to the use of the state as an agent of industrial development which could theoretically ensure balanced development as well as international competitiveness. Hence populism in Russia, as an example, was in Walicki's words

not only an ideology of small producers, but also the first ideological reflection of the specific features of economic and social development of the latecomers, of the backward agrarian countries carrying out the process of modernization in conditions created by the co-existence with highly industrialized countries (1969a 129)

The turn to the state as an agency of economic development was viewed as the solution to both the problem of extending internal democracy and promoting balanced growth and reducing international dependency. In this regard, the theories of the early populists can be seen to have pre-empted much of the socioeconomic analysis of modern Dependency Theory. Yet there were a number of contradictions implicit in the project of state-directed development projected within populist thought. It expected that industrial development could be achieved in a balanced and harmonious way through state intervention. This assumption ignored the problem of the competitive pressures of the world economy and the tendency inherent within capitalism to produce concentration and monopolies. In this sense, state monopolies in competition with other capitalist states simply

reproduced the behaviour of private monopolies within the state, but at an international level Marx's criticism of Proudhon are in this case entirely applicable to the populist view of capitalist development,

He [Proudhon] does what all the good bourgeois do They all tell you that in principle, that is, considered as abstract ideas, competition, monopoly etc are the only basis of life but that in practice they leave much to be desired They all want competition without the lethal effects of competition They all want the impossible, namely the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions (Marx (1846 15))

To a certain extent, the particular characteristics of a given populist movement were dictated by the extent to which industrialisation had already occurred In regions where incorporation into the world market had reinforced quasi-feudal structures, populist movements tended to be based primarily among the peasantry and tended to place greater emphasis on small-scale production based on the small family property, agricultural co-operation, and respect for traditional values This was the case, for example, in the Eastern European populist movements which emerged in the 1930's (Ionescu, 1969) In Eastern Europe, populism's dominant emphasis did tend to focus on the ideal agrarian society This tendency gave rise to a pronounced hostility to industrialisation and to organised labour in particular

The Green Uprising in Eastern Europe after the First World War gave rise to the Green International, which aimed to organise the peasantry and to counteract the expansion of the Communist International In Bulgaria, the Agrarian Union

which came to power in 1919 instituted a programme of Compulsory Labor Service, suppressed communists and introduced a paramilitary force, the Orange Guard, to break strikes by force (cf Canovan, (1981 119)) The Green International displayed an emphatic anti-urban bias, considering the towns to be parasitic on the countryside and counterposing the ideal of a society of independent producers linked not by a bureaucratic state but by voluntary collectivism

What is significant here is that populist rhetoric was in fact conditioned by the degree to which industrialisation had actually occurred For the Bulgarian leader Stamboliski, only those secondary industries which were of use should be permitted to develop (cf Ionescu, 1969 109) By contrast, the Czechoslovakian populist leader Milan Hodza emphasised that "Central European countries neither will nor can even renounce industrialisation " (1969 111) Hodza stressed that state planning could eliminate the growth of haphazard or profiteering industrialisation The higher level of industrial development assisted in the development of agricultural co-operatives in Czechoslovakia, which entailed the concentration of agricultural capital and extensive mechanization of production Hodza made a distinction between "agrarian autocracy", which was bound up with profiteering capitalism, and "agrarian democracy" which was based on a measure of state intervention to ensure an ordered economy It seemed that the higher the level of industrialisation and the more complex the division of labour in society, the more

populism tended towards forms of state intervention to ensure a balanced distribution of goods between town and countryside. However, the role of the state was clearly intended to reinforce individual private property. As Hodza wrote

Any marketing regulation implies a sort of economic dirigee. I would call it an Ordered Economy. At the same time however it maintains and institutionally intensifies individual property. A combination of these principles reinforcing individual property and inducing all those interested to co-operate marks a new system of democratic economy (cited in Ionescu, (1969 111))

It should be emphasised that the relative importance of state involvement was not simply a function of industrial development. It could also be argued that where organised labour was a significant political force, populist movements wishing to recruit from the working classes gave greater emphasis to the need for state involvement in the distribution of income and the maintenance of the urban population. In fact, while populism was primarily rural-based in Eastern Europe, the example of the United States in the late 19th century shows how populist movements attempted to link their grievances to the struggles of industrial workers (cf Pollack, 1962 8). It seems that the idea of populism as an ideology of agrarian utopianism should be rejected. While certain populist movements clearly emphasised the "romantic" and "primitivist" aspects of populist discourse, others were to emphasise more "progressive" aspects such as the need for state regulation of unbridled commercialism. In general, both elements could co-exist within the populist discourse.

Populism was not the ideology of a pre-capitalist peasantry, but was linked to both the newly emerging rural middle class of smallholders and the lower middle classes in the towns. Hence, for Hofstadter (1969), American populism derived its character not from the peasantry, but from radical entrepreneurs in the smaller towns. Hence populism's claim to democracy and egalitarianism, its criticism of vested interests and monopolies, and its suspicion of concentrated wealth and power. Hofstadter rejects the common perception of the populist farmer as close to the land and dedicated to farming as a way of life. He emphasises the impact of the international revolution in transport and communications in the late nineteenth century, which opened the Suez canal, for example. This had the effect of exposing smaller farmers to competition from world markets. Henceforth, American farmers were compelled to compete with Australia, Canada, Argentina, India and Egypt. The increased mechanisation of farming made agriculture difficult to finance and increased even the smaller commercial farmers' reliance on the banks. Hence the demands for easing of credit restrictions and the overriding concern with reflationary monetary policy. The impact of competition ensured that the small "yeoman farmer" was increasingly replaced by commercial farming.

Therefore the populist movement was capable of developing a penetrating critique of international capitalism, but did so on the basis of reforming the system in the interests of the smaller producers. The main division



in society was not considered to rest on class power. Rather, the main conflict was perceived as that between the people, on the one hand, who worked for a living, and the vested interests and monopolies on the other, which based their wealth on deductions- rent, interest, etc., from the product of the people's labour (Hofstadter, (1969 15))

## 1 2 Populism and Late Industrialisation

Perhaps the most conclusive argument against the conception of populism simply as a form of agrarian radicalism is the fact that some of the most powerful populist movements and parties emerged in situations where industrialisation and urbanisation had already become highly developed. Not only did populist movements appear in Eastern Europe in the Inter-war era, they also had a significant presence in Latin America where the social context was vastly different. The experience of Latin America gave rise to what has been called Urban Populism, a phenomenon which has been overlooked within the conceptual framework of MacRae, Kitching and other adherents of the utopian view of populism. In Latin America, populism was exclusively and decidedly a phenomenon of urbanisation and industrialisation.

### 1 2 1 The Premature Emergence of Mass Society

For a number of theorists, the question of populism is related to the rapid and uneven transition to modern society experienced by some countries (cf Stewart, 1969 180)). Within this schema, the study of populism as a doctrine is rejected in favour of the analysis of the social situation

underlying the appearance of populism. For example, Shils has argued (1960: 329) that populism can be understood as a tension between metropolis and province. Populism derives from two interacting sets of conflicts: the tension between backward countries and more advanced ones, and the tension between developed and backward parts of the same country (cf. Stewart, 1969: 181). Within the Latin American context, Germani (1967) has explored the question of the conflict between tradition and modernity which appears in societies in the course of rapid, but uneven development. In this framework, populism as an ideology reflects the fusion and interaction of tradition and modernity which is associated with the phenomenon of asynchronous development. For Germani, populism emerges as a set of contradictions which can be established at the economic, political and ideological levels of analysis. Late developing countries frequently experience that some geographical regions, social institutions and individual values develop, or modernise more rapidly than others. That is, development does not occur at the same pace with regard to all aspects of a given social formation. Hence we can find attributes of both traditional and modern society in coexistence. Frequently, the traditional does not evolve harmoniously into the modern, as was the case with the more advanced industrial societies. Instead, there may be a fusion of traditional and modern attributes which give rise to distinctive political institutions and ideological values (1967: 175). Thus one can speak of a "fusion effect" in terms

of the integration of traditional and modern societies. The concepts of the "demonstration effect" and the "fusion effect" are central to Germani's explanation of the emergence of mass society in peripheral regions of the world economy. Late developing countries do not evolve in isolation but are subject to the influences of the modern societies which precede them. Hence, the values of modernity may be assimilated by certain groups and opinion leaders within late industrialising countries. On the other hand, industrial development may not have sufficiently progressed to satisfy the needs and aspirations stimulated by the demonstration effect. The conflict between aspiration and the means to satisfy this aspiration is experienced as a crisis within society.

At an institutional level, the effects of urbanisation and the break-up of traditional society give rise to an urban population which is motivated by the demonstration effect to demand political change. At the same time, the traditional institutions of political integration may not be sufficiently evolved to incorporate the newly-mobilised masses of the people. Hence the people are available as a "disposable mass" to be mobilised by a variety of political organisations or charismatic leaders. The Latin American experience of populism is therefore conditioned by the aspiration towards mass consumer society without the necessary levels of industrialisation, and the aspiration towards political mobilisation without the incorporating institutions of representative democracy. Germani suggests that this type of

pre-institutional mobilisation explains the lack of any left-right polarisation at the level of political representation national-popular movements represent a hybrid ideology, neither of the left nor of the right, but which

seem to represent the peculiar form of intervention into political life of those strata in the course of rapid mobilisation in countries with delayed industrialization" (cited in Laclau, 1977 150)

Clearly, therefore, what characterises politics in developed societies is the gradual and systematic occurrence of social integration and its tendency to follow and not precede economic development. In developing societies, social integration may not correlate with economic development, or may proceed within an entirely different schema (cf Germani, 1967 180)

#### 1.2.2 Populism and Political Mobilisation

While Germani (1967) has focused on the structural conditions underlying populist mobilization in the context of late development, di Tella (1966), has contributed, within the same framework, a more developed analysis of the political factors underlying populist mobilisation. di Tella develops the theme of the demonstration effect and the structural rigidities of traditional society. Uneven development may be associated with the emergence of a sector of the lower middle classes, whose education and status aspirations are incompatible with the hierarchical institutions of traditional society. Lack of opportunity for upward mobility may ensure that a group appears which is

motivated to attempt some form of social change. Attendant upon the 'revolution of rising expectations' is the emergence of a strata termed the national elite which aspires to state power. The ambitions of the national elite are facilitated by the lack of independent organization of the masses. The instability of the newly-emergent mass society precludes the development of, for example, a stable trade union movement which might constitute a separate pole of attraction for the masses. The sources of populist strength, suggests di Tella (1966: 52) are

- 1) An elite placed at the middle or upper middle levels of stratification, impregnated with an anti status quo ideology
- 2) A mobilised mass formed as a result of the 'revolution of rising expectations'
- 3) an ideology or a widespread emotional state to assist communication between leaders and masses and which creates collective enthusiasm

On this basis, populism may represent a radical attempt to overcome the stagnation resulting from the absence of a dynamic middle class and a fully-fledged industrial development. di Tella (1966: 51) observes that traditional bourgeois liberalism has lost any radical connotations within less developed countries. It cannot therefore be appropriated by reforming movements, being associated with economic domination and foreign control. Di Tella suggests that populism may be defined as

a political movement which enjoys the support of the mass of the working class and/or peasantry but which does not result from the autonomous organizational power of either of these two sectors. It is also supported by non working-class sectors upholding an anti-status quo ideology" (1966 45)

d1 Tella's argument shows that while the working class and peasantry might support populist movements, they are not present as classes within the populist alliance. In fact, this thesis will argue that populism is presented as an alternative to the independent political organisations of the working class or the rural poor. Thus the appearance of populism is conditioned in part by the weakness of independent working class organisations.

Populism appealed to workers and peasants on the basis of a common nationhood, and specifically rejected the idea of class conflict in society. Within populist ideology, the key divisions in society were between "the masses" and "the elite", not between capital and labour. It seems that populism tends to appear in situations where one would expect, in Marxist terminology, a bourgeois revolution, but where significant sections of the bourgeoisie are bound up with the existing status quo. Hence the tasks of modernisation fall upon sectors led by the petty-bourgeoisie, and the intelligentsia, which seek to secure state power in order to promote industrialisation. From this point of view, populist movements can be classified as reformist in tendency, to the extent that they are hostile to the status quo and seek to promote economic and social development.

Thus, the factors conditioning the emergence of populism listed by Hennessy as follows (1969 30)

1 The inability of the middle classes to fulfil a historical role as the carriers of a bourgeois revolution generating its own values and stimulating economic development

2 The ability of landowning elites to accommodate themselves to change, to admit "nouveaux riches" to their ranks and to continue to provide a model of behaviour for a mimetic middle class

3 The inability of the urban working class to develop independent organizations and the delayed emergence of an identifiable working-class culture

4 An accelerating flow of migrants to the cities and the accumulation there of large unassimilated marginal groups

5 The persistence in rural areas of a network of dependency relationships which hinders the emergence of independent peasant organisations, and which at the same time conditions the behaviour of the ex-rural marginal urban groups

For Hennessy, populism is not a reforming tendency but simply represents the attempts by the middle classes to deal with the negative consequences of rapid urbanization. The appearance of populism results from a situation where the mass of unorganized and newly-urbanized electors are available to be manipulated by politicians (1969 32). With regard to the situation of Latin America, it is suggested that populist politicians have traditionally been more successful at harnessing the "disposable mass" than have labour and trade union organizations. It appears that the low

level of industrialization and the slow pace of development preclude the consolidation of a working class with an independent culture. Rather, chronic under-employment assists in the perpetuation of clientelism and patronage-style politics. Rural migrants may be enticed on this basis to support populist leaders, who may then use such support to overcome the opposition of traditional labour organizations (for example, the case of Peron in Argentina). A further consequence of low-level industrialization is that politics remain personalist - basic facilities may be acquired only by appealing to a rural patron, who may assist in return for votes.

Hennessy also points out (1969: 33) that the success of the populist leader depends on success at manipulating the mass media, citing Peron as a case in point. It is concluded that populism is merely a device to enable the middle classes to deal with the consequences of urbanization in the absence of any significant industrial development.

One of the most frequently recurring concepts to appear in discussions of "political populism", i.e. populism conceived as a form of political mobilisation, has been the notion of 'colonisation in reverse', or the case of the periphery-dominated centre. This refers to a situation where political forces based on peripheral or rural areas come to dominate politics in urban areas (cf. Morse, cited in Hennessy, 1969). Rather than the countryside being modernized by the extension of urban values, the city is 'ruralised' by



the predominance of rural values in the city. This approach is characteristic of Garvin's (1974) assessment of the Fianna Fail phenomenon in Ireland (cf. section 2.1.1. below).

While the work of Germani, di Tella and others is crucial in pinpointing the contradictions of late development, thereby explaining why populism tends to emerge in situations of uneven developments, there are nevertheless some problems with the analysis. The content of populist ideology is determined by the need for the elite to present an ideology with widespread emotional appeal. The populist discourse is taken to simply reflect the fusion of ideologies of left and right, a reflection of asynchronic development, without any attempt to relate the content of the ideology to the interests of populist supporters. Hence Germani speaks of the ideologies of industrialisation

whose essential characteristics seem to be authoritarianism, nationalism and one or another form of socialism, collectivism or state capitalism, that is to say, movements which combine in various ways ideological contents corresponding to opposed political traditions. The result was authoritarianism of the left, nationalism of the left, socialism of the right and a multiplicity of hybrid, even paradoxical, formulas from the point of view of the left-right dichotomy (or continuum) it is precisely these forms, despite their diverse and in many ways opposed variants, that we can subsume beneath the generic label of "national-popular" movements.. (cited in Laclau, (1977:150)).

Once again, we find that populism appears as an irrational social force, precipitated by the contradictions of uneven development but nonetheless an aberration. The sole requirement of populist ideology is that it should have a widespread emotional appeal. Thus it seems that those who support populist leaders in late industrialising countries

are politically immature and easily manipulated, the gullible dupes of demagogic politicians. We can find a similar attitude in Garvin's (1987) characterisation of romanticism in Ireland as a "disease of development". Precisely because of the limitations of such structural-functionalist approaches, some theorists have turned to the question of how populism wins the support of divergent groups in society.

### 1.3 Populism and Hegemonic Strategies

Where populism is considered simply as the outcome of a particular situation of underdevelopment, its role as an ideology, that is, its function in unifying a diversity of social classes, is overlooked. In order to fully understand the phenomenon of populism it is necessary to go beyond the question of levels of development and the social forces mobilised in the process of modernisation. The idea of populism as an ideology with a widespread emotional appeal is simply inadequate. For some theorists, the appeal of populism can be accounted for in instrumentalist terms, that is, in terms of the concrete benefits to supporters provided by particular parties or leaders. For others, the success of populism lies in its symbolisation of the inherent conflict between the people and the power bloc in any society.

### 1.3.1 Populism and Voter Manipulation

In an attempt to reconcile the apparent contradiction between so-called urban populism and rural, or agrarian populism, Canovan (1981), has suggested that populist

§

movements may be categorised in terms of two broad categories, that is, "grassroots populism" and "political populism" Examples of grassroots populism include the American People's Party and the peasant movements associated with the Green Uprising in Eastern Europe - Stambolisky's Agrarian Union in Bulgaria, the Czechoslovak Party of Farmers and Small Peasants, the Serbian Peasant Union and the Polish Peasant Party (cf Ionescu, 1969)

The category of Political Populism, on the other hand, refers to the movements in which populism was an element of the wider political strategies of a variety of parties and individual leaders - Peronism in Argentina, Vargasismo in Brazil, or, in the United States, Huey Long in Louisiana In the case of a typical "machine politician" such as Huey Long, Canovan remarks that

[he] promised the poor farmers roads and free school-books and he kept his promises rational pursuit of their interests as a class is enough to explain their support for him (1981 166)

Such an instrumentalist view of the rationale behind populism is a welcome counterpoint to the "irrationalist" explanations underlying numerous accounts of populism To explain the appeal of populism purely in instrumentalist terms, however, would lead to an overwhelming emphasis on issues such as party machines, clientelism, political brokerage and patronage This approach fits with perspectives in which the party machinery is viewed as a mediating force between traditionalist groups such as the peasantry, and the more modern apparatus of the state It suggests that the peasantry

reject the form of "modern" politics, with its emphasis on universal values, centralisation and bureaucracy. In this view, the appearance of populism is once more identified with antipathy on the part of rural groups to the values and practices of "modern" society. It seems that the mass of the people are passive receptors of the patronage of populist leaders, hence little attention is paid to populism's political discourse, or to the manner in which it seeks to win the allegiance of social classes rather than individuals. In this context, an attempt has been made to show how populist discourse incorporates "the people" and wins their support for the projects of contending political parties.

### 1.3.2 Populism and Popular-Democratic Interpellations

One of the more sophisticated analyses of populism is to be found in the work of Laclau (1977). Within this analysis, populism is conceived in terms of the hegemonic struggle of various classes and class fractions. The focus on the question of hegemony throws into relief the relationship between ideology and class struggle, and it is with regard to this relationship that Laclau's work seems most useful.

Since the support bases of populist movements vary widely in social composition, it is argued that the specificity of populism lies not in its class base, but in its symbolic discourse, which appeals to "the people" over and above class contradictions. For theorists such as Laclau, this symbolic discourse cannot constitute an ideology in

itself, but is given its class character by incorporation into the wider discourses of the contending social classes

it is not in the presence of determinate contents of a discourse but in the articulating principle which unifies them that we must seek the class character of politics and ideology (1977 162)

In Laclau's anti-reductionist schema, populist elements are essentially neutral and wholly assimilable to the ideological discourse of either dominant or subordinate classes. In contrast to classical marxist approaches which seek to identify populism as the reflection of a particular class interest, Laclau asserts that populist elements of political discourse have no direct correlation with class divisions. Instead, the symbolism of populism is deemed to reflect a contradiction which exists prior to the dominant class contradictions, that is, the people/power bloc contradiction. Furthermore, the articulation of this contradiction is a necessary prerequisite to the achievement of hegemonic status.

classes cannot assert their hegemony without articulating the people in their discourse, and the specific form of this articulation in the case of a class which seeks to confront the power bloc as a whole, in order to assert its hegemony, will be populism (1977 196)

Although the people/power bloc contradiction has a material basis, according to Laclau's interpretation, it can only find symbolic representation within the discourses of the contending social classes - capital and labour. For Laclau, therefore, populism is the articulation of popular interpellations which constitute subjects in terms of the

people/power bloc opposition. While these interpellations are separate and distinct from class interpellations, they become manifest within the discourses of various social classes. Hence, populism is the articulation of popular interpellations/themes in opposition to the power bloc in political discourse (1977: 166). In seeking to explain why, for example, the working classes might support ruling class parties and adhere to the discourses of those parties, Laclau has highlighted the use of popular-democratic symbolism within the discourse of parties which are hostile to the political status quo. The symbols of populism have no class associations themselves and may therefore be used within the discourse of any class.

The problem with this type of analysis is that it dissociates populism from the interests of any class in society. Populism becomes a set of empty formulae, ready to be appropriated by any group hostile to the status quo and wishing to win the support of the mass of the people. The link between populism as an element of political discourse and populism as a response to problems of development is severed. Hence we cannot explain why populism tends to emerge in late-industrialising countries in the course of political and economic crisis. While Laclau would reject the thesis that populism tends to appear in less developed rather than advanced countries, it cannot be denied that populist movements have had more of an impact in less developed regions. Laclau's formula, which focuses on the appeal to the people against the status quo, permits no distinction between

a variety of political movements including Anarchism and Nazism

### 1 3 3 Populism and Charismatic Leaders

For some critics, Laclau's definition fails to pinpoint the precise features populism as a social movement (cf Worsley, (1969), Mouzelis, (1986)) Both the appeal to the people and the hostility to the status quo constitute elements of the discourses of a vast array of very different political parties Nazism and some variants of Communism are cited as cases in point For Laclau this objection does not constitute a difficulty, since populism in his view can only exist as part of the discourse of the contending social classes - it is not an ideology in its own right

For others, who wish to specify populism as an ideology, the problem may be resolved by constituting a third element - that of the specific relationship between the leader and the masses within populist discourse In the view of Mouzelis (1986 89) populist movements portray a direct and unmediated rapport between the leadership of the movement and the rank and file This formulation has also been used by Shils (1963) for whom populism involves subscription to two cardinal principles, firstly, the supremacy of the will of the people, over traditional institutions and over other social strata Secondly, the desirability of a direct relationship between the people and their leadership, unmediated by social institutions With regard to the question of the charismatic leader, we are once again

confronted with an "irrationalist" explanation of populism. It seems that masses of people are simply compelled by the appeal of a particular individual. It seems necessary to point out that charismatic leaders are by no means unique to less developed countries. If however, we consider populism as a variant of petty-bourgeois ideology, it can be suggested that this class, lacking independent organisational capacity (in contrast with the working class), tends to look towards "strong" leaders to compensate for this weakness.

#### 1.4 Populism and National Development

Within the broad framework offered by Dependency theory, the question of populism was raised initially by Ianni (1970) and later by Cardoso and Faletto (1979). For these authors, populism was associated with a form of state-directed industrialization. In 1970 Ianni published a study of the phase of import-substitution industrialization in Brazil, describing the emergence of a national popular developmentalist alliance which was opposed to agro-exporting interests of the liberal oligarchy. The work stressed that a state directed programme for national development could involve the mobilisation of the masses and expand the sphere of democracy by reducing economic dependency and following redistributionist policies.



#### 1 4 1 Populism and Political Conflict

Cardoso and Faletto (1979) developed Ianni's original (1970) thesis by broadening the frame of reference to include a variety of Latin American countries. They pointed out that the 1930's was a period of crisis for the ruling oligarchies of Latin America. In the early twentieth century, participation in international trade had in some cases created a differentiated layer of middle classes, these classes now encountered internal disagreement over the course of economic policy. In certain instances it was possible for a "developmentalist alliance" of popular sectors and middle classes to use state power to promote the development of the home market through distributivist policies which gave expression to the needs of the popular sectors while enabling the development of indigenous industries through policies of import substitution.

Hence, Cardoso and Faletto (1979: 129) emphasised the question of populist mobilisations arising out of political crisis, pointing to a crisis of hegemony for the ruling groups which had previously dominated political life. The outcome of the populist alliance was dictated by a number of factors, especially by the relative power of the industrial bourgeoisie, the resistance offered by agro-exporting oligarchies, and by the capacity of the state to incorporate mass support as a countervailing force to the established status quo. In cases such as Argentina, the internal structure of the social formation was characterised by a relatively strong agro-exporting sector which was linked

to the domestic market. Political processes had previously excluded the masses from any participation. Populist mobilisation in this case ensured that (a) a more stable political environment obtained and (b) the expansion of the domestic market might be assisted by state redistributivist policies. In situations such as that of Brazil, where entrepreneurial sectors were not hegemonic, populist mobilisation came about as part of an attempt to integrate the masses to enable the state to assume a more dominant role in industrial development. In an enclave economy such as that of Mexico, characterised by the dominance of foreign companies, the state attempted to compensate for the absence of an industrial sector by undertaking a programme of development using redistributivist policies and tax incentives to channel investment towards the domestic market.

#### 1 4 2 The Politics of ISI

Within this framework populism could be identified with attempts to develop an industrialised economy on the basis of expanding the domestic market and increasing consumption levels while protecting native enterprises from foreign competition. A correlation therefore existed between the political decision to embark on a strategy of import-substitution industrialisation (ISI) and the appeal for mass support through populist mobilisation.

The masses, already important in this period, were needed for the process of industrialisation, as a labour force but also as an integral part of the consumer market. They had to be taken into account by the groups in power to the extent that they ensured or rejected the latter's hegemony (1979 132)

Clearly, therefore, policies in the national-popular phase of development tended to balance between redistribution of income in order to promote the domestic market and win the support of the masses, and on the other hand to increase the investment process and enhance production. This dichotomy ultimately resulted in a conflict of interest between the various sectors of the developmentalist alliance. The success of Peron, for instance, relied on his ability to reconcile the interests of the economically dominant sectors with the participation interests of the masses. In the opinion of Cardoso and Faletto

This development was limited by the progressive exhaustion of the economic process of rapid import-substitution of nondurable and durable consumer goods. It was also limited by the contradiction in giving the masses greater participation in the distribution of national revenues while accelerating capital formation and trying to maintain the incomes of other social groups, and, especially, of the agro-exporting sectors (1979 135)

Cardoso and Faletto's work is useful in highlighting the use of a populist strategy by the state in order to promote national development. As argued above, the emphasis on state direction of the economy has been a traditional element of populist thought. The approach offers a useful means of conceptualising the relationship between the industrial bourgeoisie, the masses, and the state within the developmentalist alliance. It is clear that populism was not

simply an aberrational form of political development, but a conscious strategy adopted by the state for two main reasons. Firstly, to win the support of the masses in the political conflict with the agro-export sectors, and secondly, to maintain support for a strategy of development of indigenous industries. Far from being backward or retrogressive, populism was a real response to the economic crisis of the 1920's and 1930's. Nevertheless, the masses of the people are seen to be incorporated into the developmentalist alliance in a manner which subordinates their interests to the project of industrial development. Cardoso and Faletto are somewhat ambivalent on this point. They stress the economic limitations on the populist strategy rather than the political factors which tended towards the constraint of the "popular" groups (1979: 137). This is a weakness in comparison with di Tella's understanding of the subordinate position of the masses, the working classes and other marginal groups which are drawn into the populist alliance, but are not represented as classes with specific class interests. The movement is controlled by representatives of the lower middle classes, the intelligentsia and the industrial bourgeoisie. By focusing on the economics of populism, Cardoso and Faletto fail to give adequate consideration to the ideology of populism and its role in constructing a discourse of development which prioritises the interests of the state and the industrial bourgeoisie.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the above discussion has attempted to review some of the literature which describe the origins of populist discourse in the problems of uneven development encountered in less developed areas of the world economy. The first approach, standard modernization theory, focuses on some attributes of populist ideology and concludes that it represents a form of agrarian radicalism. This approach, epitomised in early writings such as McRae (1969), defines populism as a form of romantic primitivism characteristic of rural societies. This line of argument has some similarities with that advanced by Kitching (1982), for whom populism represented a form of rural utopianism.

The second approach focuses on the structural conditions underlying the appearance of populist movements and ideologies. It points to the coexistence of traditional and modern elements within particular societies undergoing rapid transformation, and suggests that populism represents the premature emergence of mass society, giving rise to deviational forms of political mobilisation which should be eliminated in the course of modernisation. Thirdly, the conception of populism as a representation of the people within the discourse of classes opposed to the existing political order is considered in a review of Laclau's (1977) work. This conception is criticised on the grounds that it denies any link between populism as an ideology and crises of development which appear in late industrialising societies.

In particular, it appears overly anxious to dissociate populism as an ideology from the interests of any social class

A fourth approach focuses on the particular situation of Latin America, where the struggle between different sections of the dominant classes led to the integration of the masses into the political sphere in an attempt to develop the internal market. This gave rise to a phase of development termed "national-popular", in which the extension of democracy was associated with advances in industrial development and the temporary overthrow of traditional and pro-metropolitan sectors

From the above discussion a number of conclusions may be drawn as to the nature of populism. Firstly, populism tends to emerge as a political movement or ideology in regions or countries where the impact of monopoly capital or the process of integration into the world economy results in crisis and social conflict. Populism, however, cannot be understood simply as a reaction to modernisation. It constitutes, rather, a specific political programme which seeks to modify or alter the course of economic and social development in order to protect the interests of smaller producers and manufacturers. On a national level, populism may appear in late-industrialising countries as the political legitimisation of a project of national development introduced by the state. In order to win the support of the popular classes, populism adopts a radical rhetoric while consolidating support by providing material benefits to the

29

3

"masses" Nevertheless, the radicalism of the populist project is constrained by the real and potential conflicts inherent within such a cross-class alliance Hence, the populist alliance requires an ideology which can generalise or universalise the interests of the dominant class within that alliance to incorporate other classes (cf Laclau, (1977))

Therefore, it seems that greater attention should be devoted to the question of how populist ideology related the developmentalist aims of the state to the needs and aspirations of the "popular masses" from whom the state drew support We need to understand how populism "universalised" the interests of the state and industrial capital in order to win support We need to investigate how the interests of the dominant groups within the developmentalist alliance were promoted and how the agenda of national development was advanced Finally, we need to explore the emergence of contradictions within the populist discourse and the reasons for the ultimate decline of populism as an ideology These issues will be dealt with in the context of the study of the Irish Press and populism in Ireland, which is the subject matter of this dissertation

## CHAPTER TWO

### POPULISM IN IRELAND

#### INTRODUCTION

Chapter One discussed the question of populism as both a movement and an ideology particular to late industrialising countries. It was suggested that populism can be viewed as an ideology of late industrialisation articulated by lower middle class or petty bourgeois sectors of society, and which could be invoked in order to win mass support for a project of state-assisted development. This chapter seeks to review the debate on populism in Ireland, and to show how the conclusions arrived at in Chapter One may be applied to the Irish case. Therefore, Chapter Two considers some aspects of populism in Ireland from the late 1920's to the late 1950's. Section One considers Garvin's (1974) characterisation of Irish politics as a case of the periphery-dominated centre, relating this hypothesis to German's conceptualisation of populism discussed above. Section Two deals with Lee's (1989) counterargument to Garvin, which argues that Ireland had sufficiently modernised to eliminate any question of populism. Lee's case will be discussed in terms of the view of populism as "Agrarian Radicalism" raised in section 1.1 above. Alternatives based on instrumentalist views of populism, with their attendant focus on clientelist politics will be dealt with in the light of the arguments presented in section 1.3 above. Section Three seeks to draw some parallels between the case of Latin America in the 1930's and 1940's



and that of Ireland, considering the pertinence of the dependency analysis of Cardoso and Faletto (1979) and Orridge's (1983) interpretation of their work

### 2.1 Political Divisions in Independent Ireland

Considerable controversy has surrounded the question of the form taken by political divisions in independent Ireland. The dominant political parties to emerge in the aftermath of the civil war did not reflect the West European norm of a left-right polarisation, but rather seemed to reflect a division between the conflicting sides in the civil war. For some theorists, Ireland's seeming deviation from the pattern of Western European democracies can be explained by reference to models of political development in late industrialising countries in the third world and elsewhere.

One of the most coherent attempts to explain the form taken by political divisions in post-independence Ireland is to be found in the work of Garvin. Seeking to locate the Irish case within the more general experience of post-colonial politics, Garvin has developed Huntington's (1968) theory of the "Green Uprising". In Garvin's view, Ireland's divergence from the traditional left-right pattern of political formation typical of Western European society suggests that it should be understood in terms of decolonising political systems. Similar types of political mobilisation could be found, it is argued, within Eastern Europe in the inter-war period.

### 2 1 1 Asynchronic Development

The origins of the Irish political divisions can be traced to certain asynchronisms of development which found political expression in the populist nationalism of Fianna Fail. For Garvin, the process of capitalist development in late 1920's Ireland was at an intermediate stage. On the one hand, capitalism had drawn various regions into the international economy, but on the other hand a number of the problems inherent in the transition remained unsolved. Hence a number of asynchronisms in the development process were still apparent. While the political system was post-British, Dublin based and middle class, it had emerged in the midst of a rural-based, agrarian, anti-urban and populist society.

According to Garvin (1977: 172) the farming community represented the key to political power in the new state. Irish politicians were forced to orient to a populist and conservative owner-occupied farming community, they were faced with the task of persuading this community to accord with schemes of modernisation and industrialisation which appeared of little or no immediate benefit to them (1977: 172). Within this framework, it seems that the origins of populism lay in the rural community and that Fianna Fail's political rhetoric was largely dictated by the need to win the support of this constituency. This argument is dubious, since it seems to suggest that political parties merely

repeat what their supporters wish to hear. In a sense, Garvin's argument reflects the view of populism as a form of manipulative politics in which the attainment of political power is the only goal of a party.

### 2 1 2 Political Mobilisation

Within Garvin's schema, great emphasis is placed on the impact of new voters from peripheral regions which had previously been excluded from the political process. As Hennessy suggests (cf section 1 2 2 above), where decolonisation coincided with the enfranchisement of a mass electorate for the first time, a common outcome was the entry of rural populations into a political arena dominated by urban revolutionaries. Decolonisation, therefore entailed a decosmopolitanisation of urban politics. By this it was understood that the appearance of a rural electorate could lead to an alliance between fractions of the national elite and rural sectors, with the outcome that a centre-periphery fracture of political lines was established. While the revolutionary elite might have modernizing ambitions, the weight of the rural periphery could consolidate a form of politics which stressed rural and traditional values. As with Germani's analysis, Garvin's hypothesis suggests that populism was the outcome of a constellation of objective socio-economic factors. The role of populist ideology in setting a particular political agenda is therefore downplayed.

### 2 1 3 Fianna Fail and Political Mobilisation

It is suggested that the majority of the new voters in the 1920's were from a poor and non-urban background. The period of 1923-1933 witnessed the mobilisation of the small farm communities, the rural proletariat and to a lesser extent the poorer classes of the towns, while urban turnout rates fell behind rural ones. According to Garvin (1977: 178) the populist, autarkic and anti-urban programme of Fianna Fail reflected the Western support base of the party at the time. Fianna Fail was rooted in the depressed western rural communities, and had little appeal to eastern agricultural or urban communities.

In this view, the populism of Fianna Fail reflected the thinking of de Valera but did not fully reflect the modernizing tendencies of other members of his cabinet, who nevertheless remained subordinate to him until the 1950's. In general, Garvin estimates that Fianna Fail managed to harness the traditional peripheralism of Ireland within the British Isles as well as the peripheralist populism of the West (1977: 177). The core strength of the Fianna Fail party lay in regions that were both geographically and economically peripheral to the emergent modern, cosmopolitan culture of the more commercialised areas and the East coast. While the support base of Fianna Fail lay in the youth of the rural and small-town areas, the party in power, Cumann na nGaedheal, was based on local business leaders, the priests, and the more prosperous farmers (cf. Moss, 1933: 135-6).

A large part of the Fianna Fail party's intensive organization in the period 1923-33 was directed towards the mobilisation of the western periphery. Thus by 1933, the politics of the periphery had effectively "invaded" the centre. Mair (1979: 452) appears to concur with this thesis, suggesting that while Fianna Fail in the 1920's and early 1930's could be characterised as a party of the periphery, less than a decade later it could be said to have invaded the centre.

Garvin refers to the thesis of Lipset and Rokkan (1968) to explain the apparent stability of the ensuing political divisions. This thesis postulates that party divisions tend to remain "frozen" in the form they had taken at the point of completion of mass suffrage.

The most important of the party alternatives got set for each national citizenry during the phases of mobilisation just before or just after the final extension of the suffrage and have remained roughly the same through subsequent changes in the structural conditions of partisan choice (cf. Garvin, 1974: 310).

This argument gives no explanation of how political conflicts, changes in party allegiance, or contradictions within party ideologies might be worked out. It represents an essentially static view of politics which offers no explanation of how Fianna Fail, for example, maintained its hegemony. Neither can we understand how the party's populist ideology was ultimately undermined. In order to reinforce the Lipset-Rokkan hypothesis, Garvin repeatedly refers to the peripheral nature of rural Ireland.

Although the British administration of the late nineteenth century had tended towards both reform and modernization, and had bequeathed a particularly centralized administration which was transferred to nationalist control more or less intact, the rural polity which gained political expression through the full extension of the franchise was part of a tradition that was peripheral to both the metropolis and to the urban and centralised Dublin administration. Subsequently, however, Fianna Fail was able to adapt the style of organisation of the rural areas to the urban context, Hence Fianna Fail's success in eastern Ireland owed much to its character as a subculture possessing a western ethos and organizational styles stemming from a rural, particularistic society, foreign in character to the typical West European society (1974 317)

As urbanization proceeded, a large number of rural migrants appeared in the city, so that it was possible for Fianna Fail to replicate the rural style of clientelist politics. Garvin (1978 333) assesses the success of Fianna Fail in terms of its articulation of the "double periphery" situation. Fianna Fail took advantage of the tradition of Ireland as a periphery of the United Kingdom and of the socioeconomic and regional tensions and variations within the new state itself. Therefore, political forces based on the poorer, less anglicised and most peripheral sections of the state took political power at the expense of those forces based on the better off, more urban and more anglo-centric

and modern sectors Thus it seems that Irish politics has been constantly determined by the impact of the marginal areas

#### 2 1 4 Alternatives to Garvin's Hypothesis

The positing of an urban/rural or centre/periphery divide has also been used to explain the cultural characteristics of Irish society On the basis of the precepts of modernization theory, Barry (1987) has described the cultural evolution of Irish society in terms of the emergence of modern and universalistic values from within the traditionalist structures of peasant society Chubb has also referred to the way in which the modern political and administrative functions inherited from the British administration were modified by the clash with peasant culture Barry adds that

from the rootedness of communities and the narrowness of horizons comes localism, patronage and brokerage are products of the system of loyalty and obligation which pervades traditional rural society before its supersession by role relationships, personalism, under which people are valued for whom they are and whom they know, replaces the efficiency principle, and anti-intellectualism is a signal of a society that values coherence above innovation (1987 10)

The theme of an agrarian class division in early Irish politics has been suggested in Rumpf (1977) Although this may have been an element of early political division, it seems that correlations between socioeconomic indicators and party vote are not usually very close in Ireland (Garvin, (1978 334)) Hence, it did not seem that there was a distinct class basis to Fianna Fail support

Alternatively, the theme of a rural sub-culture has been suggested. Garvin accepts that this would tie in with a centre-periphery interpretation, and would take as the basic fault line the division between those who clung to, or attempted to revive, Gaelic, peasant and Catholic traditions, and those elements which had abandoned these native and nativist modes for the "English" modes of post-Cromwellian Ireland. An alternative model, typified in the work of Sacks and Max Bart, emphasises the clientelistic, familial and localist style of political action similar to 19th century America or regions of the Third World. Sacks also refers to the difference in political styles at the centre and periphery.

At the capital, universalistic values are far more prevalent, values which permeate the centralized apparatus of the distributional bureaucracy. But at the periphery, older peasant values and perceptions prevail (1976: 7).

Peasant values included a hostility to the centralized state apparatus and a preference for localized politics, this hostility is aggravated by the memory of British colonial rule and its formal bureaucracies. Sacks therefore concludes that the rural political organizations that evolved in the postindependence period bear considerable responsibility for the success of Fianna Fail. Gallagher has also emphasised the rural nature of Fianna Fail.

Fianna Fail was a movement from the rural hinterland which sought to capture power at the centre with a populist campaign founded on agrarian radicalism, egalitarianism, and a flinty nationalism (1981: 60).

Gallagher highlights the Fianna Fail party's understanding



of localism in particular (1981 57) Populism in this instance is a function of the party's flexibility in this sense populism as an ideological formation is secondary to its adaptability to machine-style politics Machine-style politics are therefore primary and ideology is secondary Gallagher suggests that the professionalism of the party's national organization, its ability to reflect grassroots opinion, and the strength of the electoral machine are the primary factors in explaining Fianna Fail's success (1981 57) The situation in Ireland is therefore compared to that of the United States following its civil war

De Valera strongly resembled Jackson, Bryan and other populists in his appeal to Christian values, his identification with the soil, his homespun social philosophy appealing to the masses not the classes, and by the creeping conservatism which marked his time in office (1981 60)

Gallagher places great emphasis on the political organization of the Fianna Fail party Thus populism is understood as a particular style of machine politics Family connections, participation in the anti-Treaty struggle, involvement in the GAA, or having a proven record of service at a local level are strong indicators of success within the party (cf Cohan, 1972) Emphasis on the party machine suggests that ideology is a mere expedient The party reflects the views of its mass following, since what counts is electoral success This is reflected in Sacks' comment that the rural political organizations bore considerable responsibility for Fianna Fail party policy Here we find the implicit presupposition that populist ideology represents an emotive appeal to the

people using traditional symbolism .

The approaches considered above, whether premised on centre/periphery, urban/rural or agrarian class divisions, clearly accord with the type of 'modernization theory adopted by Germani. While suggesting that modernization was proceeding apace in the new Irish state, the political formation was influenced by the mass enfranchisement of the rural poor, which contributed a support base for a section of the national elite. The price for this alliance, was however the domination of the urban political culture by a rural style of populist politics. Hence Garvin's assessment that Fianna Fail's ideology reflected its character as a party with a modernizing, nation-building elite of increasingly bourgeois character and with a traditionalist and sometimes anti-modern support base in its party organization and in the electorate. In Garvin's opinion, the often ambiguous public posture of the party reflected its need to mediate between two ideological tendencies, a modernizing, urban elite and a rural populist support base (1978:347).

The approach suggested by modernisation theory has been that populism represented the influence of a rural population which is drawn into urban centres, giving rise to aberrational types of political institutions. While presenting a number of valid reasons as to why populism might have been an element of Irish political life in the 1920's and 1930's, there are some problems with modernisation approaches to populism. It seems that populism simply appeared as a result of the asynchronisms of development and

¶

the mass enfranchisement of rural and lower-class voters Little attention is paid to how populism may have appealed to these voters beyond its assertion of traditional values This ignores the "progressive" aspects of populist rhetoric, such as Fianna Fail's commitment to extending unemployment benefit, the promise of employment through "ruralisation of industry" and the radical anti-imperialism which promised to end British domination of the Irish economy Also, there are some difficulties in comparing Ireland with Eastern Europe in the 1930's, an aspect of Garvin's thesis which has been criticised by Lee (1989) and Girvin (1984)

## 2.2 Modernisation and Parliamentary Democracy

Within the framework of this debate, some theorists have suggested that Ireland had been sufficiently modernised under the influence of British reforms to warrant rejection of the populist paradigm On the basis of MacRae's (1969) interpretation of populism as a form of agrarian radicalism, Lee (1989) argues against Garvin's use of the Eastern European analogy Instead, he seeks to locate the Irish political system within the general framework of West European Democracy Within Lee's perspective, continuity with the reforming administrations of the late 19th century British rule constituted the key factor shaping politics in the modern Irish state

## 2 2 1 The Legacy of British Democracy

For Lee, the stability ensured by the consolidation of modern democratic political processes and the institution of a western-style bureaucracy and independent civil service precluded the emergence of populist type mobilisations. Garvin's use of Huntingdon's concept of a Green Uprising is questioned. The issue of a comparison with Eastern Europe is flatly rejected on a number of grounds.

The occupational structure of the Free State, while relatively simple by West European standards, was considerably more diversified and complex than that of Eastern Europe (1989 70). Approximately fifty per cent of the Free State population was involved in agriculture, which compared with a figure of 60% for Poland, Latvia and Estonia, while the proportion for Lithuania, Romania, Yugoslavia, Latvia and Albania was over 70%. Of the Eastern European States, only Czechoslovakia had a lower proportion of persons employed in agriculture than the Irish Free State in 1921 (40%).

In relation to the penetration of the market economy, a significant indicator of modernization, two thirds of gross output in 1926/27 was sold off the farms, pointing to a rural economy that was already predominantly market oriented (1989 70). Even small farmers were extraordinarily sensitive as producers and consumers to market movements, and were accustomed to calculate by market criteria (1989 71).

There were no surging population pressures to create a

new basis for agrarian radicalism, the low population contributed significantly to political stability. Lee also suggests that stability was enhanced by the fact that most Irish farmers became owners of their holdings before 1921. The proportion of agricultural labourers had declined from over half the male population in 1841 to less than one third in 1911. The tensions between the larger and smaller farmers were less significant, it is argued, than their mutual hostility towards the landless agricultural labourers. Lee is skeptical about the existence of a cultural divide between town and country.

Both were so inextricably linked in the fine mesh of commercial transactions, often linked too by kinship contracts, that the town-country contrast had far less analytical validity than in many other societies (1989: 70).

It is suggested that the absence of any sizeable agrarian party invalidates the comparison with Eastern Europe. This absence, it is suggested, was an indicator of the relative political maturity of rural Ireland. Lee asserts that there was little significant difference between urban and rural mentalities. Rural society was not peripheral or excluded from centres of power, privilege and education, this undermined the basis for any national peasant party. While elements of populism could be detected, in both Fianna Fail and in the Unionist party, neither ever became primarily populist parties.

A final point on the role of the national elite was that the level of education was sufficiently high and widespread to ensure that university students and

intellectuals did not coalesce into a political caste Lee's conclusion with regard to Fianna Fail is that the party's commitment to industrialization and modernization precluded it from ever constituting a populist party (1989 182) Hence Lee (1989) concurs with MacRae's assertion that Ireland did not experience a populist mobilisation in the 1930's

Lee's (1989) criticisms of Garvin seem justified in the sense that there were significant differences between the Irish and the Eastern European context Hence, if we define populism as a variety of agrarian radicalism then it seems clear that Ireland should be excluded from consideration

### 2 2 2 Fianna Fail and Modernisation

Girvin (1984) has also questioned the location of Irish politics within a post-colonial framework, suggesting that one of the main features of post-colonial states is their instability and the frequent absence of parliamentary democracy Girvin argues that the evolution of Irish politics can be analysed within the traditional liberal democratic framework, with more appropriate reference to the case of the United States or Finland rather than the third world The main reason for political stability, it is argued, is that Ireland participated directly in the evolution of British democracy in the 19th century The Irish independence movement was narrowly focused on the issues of sovereignty and religion In spite of the intensity of the secessionist movement, the independent state was not radically different from what preceded it

Girvin rejects the thesis of the periphery-dominated centre, arguing that in order to survive, Fianna Fail had to go beyond the issue of national sovereignty. Even in 1927 it could not be seen as a strictly rural party. A programme of development was established which incorporated the aims of both industrialization and urbanization. Both de Valera and Sean Lemass had argued that rural interests would have to contribute to the industrial process. Social and economic policy was framed by urban politicians. Girvin also notes that the two most important government departments, Finance and Industry and Commerce, were for different reasons opposed to a rural bias in policy. While there was a considerable rhetoric concerning the rural small farmer, policy was not significantly influenced by this rhetoric.

It is also pointed out that Fianna Fail began from June 1927 to consolidate its strength in urban areas, pointing to an urban constituency favourable to constitutional republicanism. The link between political and economic sovereignty was established when rapid industrial growth was generated through the imposition of tariffs. Fianna Fail could attenuate its electoral popularity by extending social welfare, attracting working class support for the party. Fianna Fail replaced the explicitly bourgeois Cumann na nGaedheal policies with a commitment to egalitarianism and extended social welfare.

Girvin also rejects the characterisation of de Valera as a charismatic populist leader. While O'Carroll (1983) has

made the case that de Valera indeed represented such a charismatic leader, emerging in a situation where the weak post-colonial state prompted national elites to seek other means of legitimacy, Girvin points to the commitment to democracy within the Fianna Fail party, evidence of which was the successful transition from Cumann na nGaeheal rule in 1932.

It is doubtful whether Fianna Fail would have been successful if its commitment to democracy had been in question. De Valera certainly had a commanding presence within his party, but his style of leadership was not charismatic. The party leadership was a collective body in the normal democratic fashion, with de Valera frequently acting as a referee. (1984:464)

Girvin's assessment suggests that Fianna Fail support lay in its welfarist policies and its association with economic growth and industrialization. Support might therefore be conceived as instrumentalist rather than based on ideological attributes. This work is useful in showing how Fianna Fail won support through its actual policies - welfarism, redistribution of income, national development, and so forth. The main thrust of Lee's (1989) and Girvin's (1984) argument is that Fianna Fail and Irish society were part of a modernising state and that the commitment to industrialisation and modernity excludes a characterisation of Fianna Fail as a rural-based populist party. Any ideological manifestations of populism are therefore purely residual and seem to have little bearing on the party's politics.

Yet there seems to be a problem with the level at which this debate is conducted. In particular, it seems that the



key question is the level of "modernisation" of society, as though political formations can be read off a given level of development. As pointed out in Chapter One above, populism need not be defined as a rural-based movement and did not disappear with the onset of industrialisation. In situations of political and economic crisis, sections of the lower middle classes and intelligentsia could attempt to win popular support in order to overcome some of the obstacles to industrialisation. In order to explore this argument further, we need to consider some of the problems of the modernisation process in early twentieth century Ireland on the one hand, and the political and ideological responses to these problems on the other hand.

### 2.3 Problems of Modernisation

A consideration of the economic and social problems of the Free State in the late 1920's suggests some parallels with the case of Latin America described in Cardoso and Faletto (cf 1.4 above). The Irish economy was primarily agricultural and was facing problems of modernisation induced by greater competition on the British market and the general crisis of world trade. The party in Government, Cumann na nGaedheal represented the interests of those ruling groups concerned to maintain free trade with Britain - the larger farmers and industries concerned with the export market. Fianna Fail emerged in 1926 from the remnants of the anti-Treaty side of the civil war dispute. The new party proposed a new programme of economic and social reform on the basis of

developing the home market for Irish industrial and agricultural products. Hence Fianna Fail, as with the Latin American populist parties, sought to win the support of the lower classes in a bid to challenge the hegemony of the ruling agro-exporting interests.

### 2 3 1 The Latin American Paradigm

Ireland's integration into the world economy followed a pattern rather similar to regions of Latin America where trade with Britain had produced some form of internal diversification of the class structure. Hence it may reasonably be argued that Ireland was more economically advanced than most regions of Eastern Europe in the 1930's. Nevertheless, integration into the modern world economy and subsequent modernization were in no circumstances indicators of social stability.

By the late 1920's, the form of integration meant that rural Ireland was in considerable crisis. The very fact of integration in the world economy had exposed Irish agriculture to competition from a variety of sources. Although the First World War had been a boom period for Irish agriculture, the captive British market had encouraged a tendency towards falling standards which was in any case aggravated by the lack of technical innovation. Ireland was an agricultural country where levels of productivity were remarkably low. Advances in refrigeration and transport had intensified competition from countries like Denmark and Argentina (cf. Strauss, 1951: 197), while Irish agriculture

failed to modernize. Although agriculture was in crisis, industry in independent Ireland had not been promoted. Interest groups had emerged with the aim of protecting Irish Industry, but these had failed to persuade the Free State government of the need for protection. Hence the Irish bourgeoisie was divided between those who favoured protection and those who had an interest in the continuation of the existing economic relations with Britain.

### 2.3.2 Dependency and Political Divisions

Strauss indicates that this division reflected the conflict between larger and smaller producers in both industry and agriculture which had developed in the late 19th century.

There still remained, even outside Ulster, influential sections whose position and well-being was largely dependent on the English connection, like the graziers of Munster and the few large capitalists of Dublin and Cork - bankers, merchants, brewers, distillers and biscuit manufacturers. But the large majority of the small farmers and local business men in control of official Irish politics were decidedly anti-British in their economic attitude not less than in their political sympathies (1951:205).

A number of organisations emerged at the turn of the century which proposed to develop Irish industry independently of Britain. The aim of industrial development was supported in the early 20th century by a number of nationalist journals, notably The Leader, founded in 1900 (cf. section 3.1.2 below). It was the opinion of a number of Irish manufacturers that trade relations with Britain would have to be drastically altered if Irish industry were to

prosper The Irish Industrial Development Association (IIDA) was founded in 1903 by members of the Cork branch of the Celtic literary Society, with the aim of promoting native Irish industry Organisations such as the IIDA and its successor, the National Agricultural and Industrial Development Association (NAIDA) were to draw together smaller Irish manufacturers who wished to see protectionism instituted Fianna Fail was to establish close ties with NAIDA through the Irish Press and other organisational links (cf section 4 2 2 below)

The main function of the IIDA was to promote the development of industry in Ireland It was not exclusively hostile to foreign investment, having succeeded in bringing Ford to Cork in the early years of the century In the main its work concentrated on attempting to ensure that foreign goods were not being sold as Irish To this end it introduced, for example, the "Made in Ireland" trademark The organisation established conferences of Irish manufacturers and promoted special "Irish Week" displays of Irish goods in the shops In 1920, the Secretary of the IIDA, Mr E J Riordan, published a report entitled "Modern Irish Trade and Industry" This report pointed to the detrimental influence of British policy on Irish industry, suggesting that under the fiscal and other conditions of the past 60 years Irish industries had, like Irish agriculture, suffered severely (1920 270)

The IIDA pointed to competition from British combines,

increases in mechanisation and the decline of cottage industries as contributory factors in the decline of Irish industry. It also suggested that the British had used restrictive practices in order to prevent Irish industry from developing. O Riordan (1920) recalled that during the first world war, a delegation had travelled to Britain to inquire whether Irish industries could secure a share of the production of military supplies. The British government, however, rejected such proposals. Therefore, while British industry underwent a considerable expansion in areas such as light engineering, which replaced to an extent the heavy engineering industries that were beginning to decline, there was little transfer of this type of production to Ireland (cf O'Malley, 1989). The difficulties of industrial development were compounded by the fact that a number of the larger enterprises were significantly involved in trade with Britain. Therefore it appeared that unity on the question of protection could not be obtained within industry as a whole. The irony of the newly independent Irish state was that the larger commercial interests had secured political power and were wholly in favour of the status quo ante.

### 2 3 3 Cumann na nGaedheal

The main aim of the Cumann na nGaedheal government was to develop an efficient, export-oriented agriculture. Hence, the Dairy Produce Act of 1924, for example, set minimum standards for farm exports (cf Meenan, 1970: 93). A policy of free trade with Britain was maintained (cf Mansergh,

(1934 285)) In the 1920's trade was almost exclusively dependent on the British market, which absorbed 90% of Irish exports. The government's identification with the larger cattle exporting interests was such that James Hogan, the minister for agriculture, became known as "the minister for grass" (Bew et al, 1989 27). Along with the democratic institutions of British democracy the Free State had inherited a set of extremely conservative fiscal policies, to the extent that the Cumann na nGaedheal administration were described as some of the most conservative revolutionaries in history. One of the more notorious policy decisions was the reduction of the old age pension by a shilling a week in 1924. The expressed policy of the Cosgrave administration was that wealth relied on the wealth of the farmers. Although there was a slight improvement in trade between 1926 and 1930, there was little evidence of a trickle-down in wealth. During the 1920's emigration reached record levels, averaging 25-30,000 persons each year. It appeared that independence had not stemmed the diaspora, which had by 1921 ensured that 43 per cent of Irish -born men and women were living abroad (cf Brown (1981 211)). Urbanization in the Irish context had come to mean the integration of the rural population as a reserve army of labour within the industrial regions of the North Atlantic economy.

Housing conditions in Dublin were widely believed to be the worst in Europe. By 1911, 35 per cent of the population of Dublin was living at a density of more than two persons per room, in the Mountjoy ward alone, around fifty per cent

of the population was living at a density of more than four people per room (Brown, 1981) Thus, Fianna Fail, through the Irish Press, would be able to win political support by campaigning against the slums (cf Sections 4 3 2 and 5 4 4 below) At the same time, Fianna Fail could point to the presence of the slums as an example of the evils of industrial society and add weight to its arguments for an alternative path of development which promised to regulate and effectively "ruralise" industrial growth

The position of the Cosgrave administration was that no general policy of industrial protection would be applied Rather, specific industries seeking protection would be obliged to submit an application to the Fiscal Inquiry Committee The main applicants represented smaller industries dependent on the home market - including areas such as confectionery and clothing, boot and shoe manufacturers, coach-builders, furniture makers, and those involved in the production of glass bottles and pottery (Meenan, 1970 133)

These were industries whose existence was due to a resurgence of interest in Irish-made produce at the beginning of the century Their hopes of survival depended largely on some measure of state assistance Many industries with a high agricultural content, on the other hand, did not appear before the commission (bacon-curing, butter-making) Hence a conflict clearly existed between those industries which were oriented towards the export market and those which, in the circumstances of the time, were thankful to hold what they

could of the home market. In the event, selective tariffs were applied to specific industries. Clearly the government was determined to maintain as far as possible the policy of open trade.

#### 2.3.4 Fianna Fail.

In the light of the conflict of interests between the smaller Irish manufacturers who looked to Fianna Fail for representation, and the agro-exporting interests behind Cumann na nGaedheal, Orridge (1983) has drawn on perspectives from within Dependency theory to explain the form taken by political divisions in independent Ireland. Orridge (1983:366) suggests that the Free State could be characterised as an economic dependency of Britain. Pro-British interests were solidly behind the Cumann na nGaedheal party, so that a division could be established on the basis of attitudes towards the metropolitan link and to the maintenance or rejection of an agro-export oriented economy.

Although imbued with a modernized infrastructure and having developed the institutions of western democracy, Ireland manifested a number of problems characteristic of late industrializing countries. Stability could be attributed not so much to the presence of British-style institutions as to the steady loss of the economically active population through emigration. The main problem facing the newly-independent capitalist state was to establish industries which could compete with British monopolies.

The weakness of the industrial bourgeoisie was a factor prompting the national elite to look to the state as an



instrument of economic development Fianna Fail election propaganda in 1932, for instance, carried the message that Irish capitalists had sold out to foreigners It appeared that a growing section of the lower middle classes which coalesced in the leadership of the Fianna Fail party viewed the state as the main agency of economic development In order to win popular support for national development, however, the party had to relate to the real social and economic problems of the lower classes

While the party Coru or Constitution established the traditional republican aims of securing a united and independent republic and restoring the Irish language, specific details of the party's social and economic aspirations were also laid out These were (cf Rumpf and Hepburn, 1977 100)

1 To make Ireland as far as possible economically self-sufficient

2 To put the resources and wealth of Ireland to the service of the Irish people

3 To promote the "ruralisation of industry" to counteract the drift to the cities

4 As many families as practicable to be established on the land

(Although Rumpf and Hepburn (1977 101) suggest that the reference to economic independence was merely an appeal to national feeling, Lee's (1989 70) comparison of the Fianna Fail election programme of 1932 with that of Cumann na nGaedheal shows that the Republican party fought the campaign

on specific socio-economic issues The decline of Sinn Fein suggested that "appeals to national feeling" had little impact on the electorate ) Fianna Fail's appeal to the people, therefore, rested on a programme of social and economic reform, a point illustrated by the plans of Eamonn de Valera in 1924

We must stand for fair play and justice between all classes, and push co-operation and such enterprises as will be advantageous to all

the more we lean to the economic side the better it will be for the political objective but it must be a national programme for the common good not a class programme (letter to P J Rutledge, cited in Ryle Dwyer, (1991 134))

The new Fianna Fail party was founded in 1926 De Valera wrote to American Republican Joseph McGarrity, pointing out that the foundation of the new party had been imperative The increasing conservatism of Cumann na nGaedheal made it increasingly possible that class politics could erupt as the divisions between the rich and poor widened Between 1927 and 1932 there was a distinct move to the right on the part of the Cumann na nGaeheal government (Mansergh, 1934 284)

Hence, de Valera explained his urgency to found a new party

you will perhaps wonder why I did not wait any longer It is vital that the Free State be shaken at the next general election, for if an opportunity be given it to consolidate itself further as an institution - if the present Free State members are replaced by farmers and labourers and other class interests, the national interest as a whole will be submerged in the clashing of rival economic groups (letter to Jos McGarrity, d 13 3 1926 (NLI Ms 17441))

It seems that de Valera was seriously concerned that class conflict would rapidly surface unless a decided political intervention was initiated. Fianna Fail emerged to champion small-scale industrialisation and a comprehensive programme of social reform, which would, if successful, achieve the twin objectives of promoting economic development and preventing the emergence of a left-right division in Irish politics.

The populist ideology espoused by Fianna Fail reflected the position of small producers and manufacturers confronted with the threat of proletarianization and economic ruin. Populist ideology expressed not merely a critique of large-scale industrialization but presented an alternative which proposed a more radical form of democracy based on small-scale property-ownership and state intervention to promote and regulate balanced industrial development. Thus Mansergh wrote in 1934 that

Unregulated industrialism is irreconcilable with the doctrine of equality. To Fianna Fail, as to the English Socialists, it is an evil that must be eradicated. Unlike the Socialists, the party does not disturb the fundamental thesis that ownership of economic power must remain in private hands. It does not wish to destroy that basis of the old economic order, but rather by State regulation and State Control to modify it in order to secure a substantial measure of economic equality (1934: 289)

This broad ideological framework gave ample expression to the more romantically inclined as well as the pragmatists among Fianna Fail support. It seems clear that Fianna Fail did not simply win success on the basis of the manipulation of voters.

or the provision of benefits to supporters. The party articulated a strong ideology which represented a radical alternative to the orthodoxies of the day. Hence, populist ideology should be considered an important factor in the study of strategies of national development. While Cardoso and Faletto suggest the importance of developmentalist alliances in giving expression to democracy, it is important to consider the ideological expression of such purported alliances. In Ireland, it appears that the success of the Fianna Fail project relied on the articulation of an ideology which universalised the values of a particular kind of industrial development while opposing the traditional bourgeois-liberal discourse of Cumann na nGaedheal. For this reason greater emphasis should be placed on the role of internal political conflict and the role of ideology in expressing the strategies for development of the various protagonists.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It seems that populist discourse was not simply an appeal to the traditionalist elements of Fianna Fail support. The success of Fianna Fail populism resided in its representation of the problems of development, and the postulation of solutions which appealed to the small manufacturers, the rural poor and the working class. In posing the problem of development in populist terms, Fianna Fail was able to gain popular support for the project of industrialisation. The project of "ruralisation of industry"

made it possible to reconcile the more ideologically committed republicans with the more pragmatic of party members. Furthermore, it enabled the party to pose an effective alternative vision to that of Cumann na nGaedheal while simultaneously presenting an alternative to Labour and to working-class politics.

The policy of a balanced home market in which small producers exchanged their products was an attractive option for those smaller manufacturers whose income relied on the purchasing power of the Irish population. It promised relief from the domination British and other internationally-based combines which exported lower-cost goods to the Irish market. The idea of protecting the home market could be combined with redistributivist policies which would boost the consumer power of the masses. It would also help alleviate the ravages of unemployment.

The more traditionalist aspects of the ideology promised a regeneration of rural life and the possibility of avoiding the horrors of an industrialized and proletarianized society. Populist ideology therefore represented a means of universalising the interests of that fraction of the ruling class whose plans for development involved the expansion of industry within a protected home market. The ideology found a material basis in that genuine economic growth was obtained for a short period, expanding employment in industry, alleviating unemployment and subsidizing the declining rural areas.

On the other hand, the processes of economic

development were to expose some of the contradictions within the ideology. As indicated in Chapter One, populism represented the position of a radical intelligentsia confronted with problems of underdevelopment and the lack of a strong bourgeoisie at home, but also forced to deal with the threatened marginalisation of the nation within the world economy. While protection could provide a basis for some industrial development, the problems of inefficiency and lack of competitiveness would eventually come to the fore. A strong national economy required in the long run industries that were internationally competitive. Therefore tension between the national project of industrial development and the regional project of ruralisation of industry represented one major aspect of the populist problematic.

A second, but related tension arose between the project of radical democracy and the issue of industrial development. This is a key element of the present study of the Irish Press. While a radical campaigning press was obliged to criticize the state, industry and the existing power structures, this was not always consistent with the interests of the new ruling groups in Irish society. In regard to the Irish Press, there was a latent contradiction between its role as a modern commercial newspaper and its practice as a radical campaigning newspaper. The radical period of the Irish Press did not outlast Fianna Fail's second term in office. These tensions would surface in the course of the 1930's as the problems engendered by the Economic War came to the fore. The

Fianna Fail government became increasingly conservative (cf Rumpf and Hepburn), a tendency which had significant implications for the Irish Press

In conclusion, it seems that while the concept of populism has frequently been used in order to explain the form of political divisions in independent Ireland, the debate has largely focused on whether the level of economic development justifies the use of the term or not. This debate points to the prevalent conceptions of populism either as a form of agrarian radicalism, or as a manifestation of the transition from traditional to modern society. Relatively little attention has been devoted to the role of populism in creating a political discourse in terms of which the project of industrial development could be mediated. While Orridge's (1983) use of Cardoso and Faletto's (1979) model is useful, the discussion therein falls short of an explanation of the ideological rationale of the Fianna Fail party or of the mechanisms by which this ideology was propagated.

The conclusions from this review of debates on the political formation of modern Ireland point to the need for a closer investigation of the relationship between political conflict and ideologies of development in late industrializing countries. An overly structuralist approach is rejected on the grounds that this creates a tendency to "read off" ideology from particular levels of industrialization rather than focusing on tensions and contradictions of industrialization and the political struggles which subsequently arise. This demands a new

approach to the interaction of subjective and objective  
factors in the process of development



PART TWOTHE IRISH PRESS AND RADICAL POPULISM

In Part One of this dissertation, the question of populism and late development was dealt with, firstly in general terms and secondly in relation to Ireland in the 1930's. It was suggested that the success of the Fianna Fail party at the time could be accounted for by its anti-imperialist stance and policy of national development. It was concluded that a particular form of populism was developed by the Fianna Fail party in order to gain widespread acceptance for this project. It was also indicated that in order to explore the development of the Irish Press, an examination of the discourse of populism was in order.

In Part Two, i.e. Chapters Three, Four and Five, the radical era of populism in the IP is considered. Chapter Three describes the struggle to found the IP. It reviews the evolution of the press in Ireland between 1900 and 1930 and explains the political rationale behind the foundation of the paper. Furthermore, it examines the strategies adopted by Eamon de Valera in order to establish and control the paper, and the ideological legitimisation of the venture in terms of the need for a national daily newspaper. Chapter Four deals with the intervention of the IP in the international crisis of 1931-32, and shows how the newspaper attempted to polarise public opinion on the question of imperialism and monopoly capitalism. Chapter Five deals with the IP in the early years of Fianna Fail rule, focusing on the role of the paper at the

onset of the Economic War and the attempt to incorporate the "mass of the people" within the project of Fianna Fail Part Two therefore provides an empirical survey of how the IP mediated between Fianna Fail and "the people" during the radical phase of populism in Ireland

### CHAPTER THREE

#### THE ORIGINS OF THE IRISH PRESS

##### INTRODUCTION

In order to win political support for its programme of economic self-sufficiency, Fianna Fail appealed to a number of constituencies - Irish manufacturers, the smaller farmers, and the urban working class. The success of this appeal depended on a number of factors, the principal one being that an effective means of communication should be established. The Irish Press was founded for a number of reasons, but the most immediate and pressing need was for a mass circulation daily to assist in Fianna Fail's struggle for hegemony against the ideas of the ruling party, Cumann na nGaedheal. To develop as a political party, Fianna Fail would have to find a means of ensuring internal party cohesion and also to communicate their aims to the general public. Manning (1972: 42) remarks that the significance of the Press could hardly be over-estimated, in view of the hostility of the existing daily papers towards Fianna Fail. The role of the newspaper in organizing the party and winning new supporters for Fianna Fail is emphasised by Cairty in his study of clientelist politics in Ireland. In his view, the constant anti-Fianna Fail propaganda of both the Catholic clergy and the existing national press had to be countered for two reasons. Firstly, Fianna Fail supporters had no organisational linkages other than those of the electorally oriented party machine.

A continuing stream of information and propaganda was therefore necessary to reinforce their political convictions in the face of determined attempts to discredit Fianna Fail (Carty, 1981 103)

Secondly, new supporters could only be attracted by a consistent ideological campaign. The Irish Press was therefore central to Fianna Fail's struggle for hegemony in the early 1930's

This chapter will provide an account of the influences shaping the emergence of the Irish Press as a national daily newspaper. It will cover the historical and political circumstances surrounding the development of the press in early twentieth century Ireland, discussing the modernisation of the commercial press on the one hand, and the traditions of the radical separatist press on the other hand. An account will also be given of the campaign against the British popular press in the late 1920's which created a climate favourable to the establishment of a national daily newspaper.

The discussion then gives an account of the campaign to establish the Irish Press in the aftermath of the Civil War. Attention is focused on the various strategies employed by de Valera in order to finance the newspaper, the bid to gain control of the Republican Bonds in America, the appeal for commercial backing, and finally, the appeal to ordinary people who sympathised with the republican cause in Ireland and abroad. Next, the ownership and control structures which vested full control of the paper in the hands of de Valera

are investigated. The chapter concludes with a review of the ideology of the early Irish Press and examines the role of the newspaper within Fianna Fail's struggle for hegemony.

### 3.1 The Press in Ireland, 1900-1930

The Irish newspapers of the early 20th century reflected a number of competing political and ideological tendencies. The nineteenth century mainstream press was undergoing modernisation under the impact of both political changes and the advent of the Northcliffe revolution in newspaper production. The radical republican press of the independence struggle was in decline. Although the political establishment was in general hostile to the idea of a republican daily newspaper, a campaign had been launched by the Catholic intelligentsia to restrict the circulation of the British popular dailies and to promote an independent native press. This campaign gave added weight to Fianna Fail's arguments in favour of a national daily newspaper.

#### 3.1.1 The Commercial Press

The Irish Times had been the voice of Anglo-Irish opinion since its foundation in 1859. As a newspaper, the Times reflected the opinion of the Protestant professional and upper-middle classes. In style and mode of address the newspaper sought to emulate its namesake, the London Times. Since its establishment the Irish Times had consistently stood apart from the multifarious organs of Catholic opinion as the constant defender of Unionism. Nevertheless, the Irish

Times spoke to and for the professional classes rather than the landowners, and was ultimately able to establish a readership among the Catholic professional classes. This ensured its survival in the transition to an independent Ireland. Although the circulation of the Irish Times was relatively low, being less than 30,000 copies daily, the publication benefitted from advertising by the British manufacturers whose products were distributed in Ireland. After Independence, the Times adopted a cautious acceptance of the Free State Government and showed considerable skill in adapting itself to changed circumstances.

The growing political significance of the Catholic middle classes was underlined by the phenomenal success of the Irish Independent. In 1905 the Irish Daily Independent, one of the ailing journals of constitutional nationalism, was purchased by transport entrepreneur William Martin Murphy. Quick to realise the possibilities of a commercial mass-circulation daily on the lines of Northcliffe's Daily Mail, Murphy transformed the Irish Daily Independent into Ireland's most successful commercial newspaper. The appearance of the Irish Independent would revolutionise the Irish newspaper market. Declaring itself independent of any political interest, the newspaper sought to capture the advertising market by means of technical and journalistic innovations which could present a mass audience to the advertisers.

A market clearly existed for a low-price, mass circulation paper primarily oriented to the needs of advertisers. Retailing at half a penny, the paper offered a

variety of innovative formats to the advertiser, giving more and better space to advertisements and in consequence receiving higher rates for copy than other newspapers. Bold headlining, short editorials and an effective news-gathering service gave the Independent a popular appeal and wide circulation which enhanced its value to advertisers. By 1909, Murphy was in a position to declare that the new venture was a profitable one. The paper established a reputation for being first with news stories, such as the sinking of the Russian fleet at Tsushima and the story of gun-running at Howth. The Independent was also first with the list of Irish deaths in the San Francisco earthquake and first with full obituaries on the death of Pope Pius X (O'Donnell, 1945: 391). Sales of the Independent also benefitted from the energetic activities of its publicity department. Hence, the leading Allied Generals of World War One received from Independent Newspapers Ltd a gift in the form of a box of shamrock and an Irish blackthorn stick.

The Independent's claim to stand above political propaganda was nevertheless a dubious one. In the course of the Dublin Lockout of 1913, the paper was unquestionably the voice of William Martin Murphy, President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and owner of the Dublin United Tramway Company. The newspaper's hostility to the tramway strikers and Larkin and Connolly as leaders of the ITGWU was a small but significant contribution to the Union's defeat. Following the Easter Rising of 1916, Independent editorials called for

the execution of James Connolly and other leaders of the rising. Such events were to lend weight to the argument that the Independent was in fact the "non-party organ of business interests in the country" (Brown, 1937, 1971: 49). After independence, the newspaper was closely identified with the Cumann na nGaedheal administration, to the extent that it was described as the "semi-official organ of the Cosgrave party" (Brown, 1971: 49). Whereas the Irish Times was liberal in outlook, the Independent sought to align itself with the views of the Catholic Hierarchy. Hence the Independent was restrained from adopting some of the more vulgar circulation-building tactics of the popular press elsewhere. For instance, 'objectionable' material was expressly forbidden as the subject matter of book reviews (O'Donnell, 1945: 388). The Irish Independent established a tradition of obedience to the clergy which consolidated its position as the voice of conservative nationalism in Ireland.

### 3.1.2 The Republican Press

The early twentieth century also witnessed an upsurge of radical nationalist journals, called forth by the activities of the Gaelic League. These journals could not pretend to rival the mass circulation dailies in terms of readership, but provided a focus point for those who pledged allegiance to the cause of separatist nationalism and the ideals of Irish Ireland. Between 1896 and 1903, a number of small-scale publications appeared which shared to some extent the ethos of Irish Ireland. These publications included An



Claidheamh Soluis, published by the Gaelic League, The Leader, edited by D P Moran, the Shan Van Vocht, the United Irishman and the Irish Peasant

An Claidheamh Soluis (The Sword of Light) was originally edited by Eoin MacNeill, founder of the Irish Volunteers. Later, Padraic Pearse and Piaras Beaslai were to have a significant influence over the journal. The paper was committed to the Irish language to the extent of campaigning to have Irish made a compulsory subject for matriculation to the National University of Ireland. Although formally non-political, the journal was later to adopt the militant separatism of the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB).

The Leader, edited by D P Moran, was to raise some of the issues which would later become standard policy in the Irish Press. In particular, the issue of developing native Irish industry and agriculture was placed to the fore. Moran was critical of several aspects of the Gaelic League and satirised the League's "fear of mobs and newspapers". The "shoneenism" (i.e. subservience to British authority) of the Catholic upper middle classes was also cause for critical comment. As was the case in the later Irish Press, the Leader drew attention to the issue of excessive railroad rates and the monopoly practices which sustained them. Like the future Irish Press, Moran called for nationalisation of the railroads as a means of eliminating the private monopoly of the Great Southern Railway Company (GSR). In relation to industrial development however, tariff reform was rejected on grounds that artificially high prices would be forced upon

the people who relied on the home market. In this sense, Moran's Leader deviated from the main tendency of the Irish Ireland movement, which was toward protection of industry.

The tendency towards protectionism was underlined in the United Irishman, which appeared in 1899 under the editorship of Arthur Griffith. The United Irishman represented the aspiration to create a genuinely national newspaper which could offset the dominance of constitutional nationalism in the commercial catholic press, in particular in the Freeman's Journal.

In the United Irishman, Griffith proposed plans for the development of industry behind tariff barriers, referring to the ideas of both Jonathan Swift and Friedrich List. The United Irishman also made common cause with the Indian Independence movement, a practice which was to be continued in the early Irish Press. Following the demise of the United Irishman, a new journal was produced under the title of The Sinn Fein Daily. This journal, which began circulation on 23rd August 1909, described itself as "the organ of industrial Ireland", and stated as its goal the establishment of a truly national press. The Sinn Fein Daily was produced by Arthur Griffith with the assistance of Sean T. O'Ceallaigh, who was later to found Fianna Fail's first newspaper, The Nation.

The failure of such early attempts to produce a national daily newspaper reflected a number of issues which remained unresolved. Firstly, the continued dominance of

constitutional nationalism and the acceptance of Home Rule as the legitimate goal of nationalists. Secondly, the absence of a social policy on the part of Sinn Fein. Griffith rejected the idea of a social policy on grounds that this necessarily entailed a class policy. Hence, support for Irish industrialists was not counterbalanced by an effective appeal to the interests of the mass of the people. Later, when the Irish Press publicised Irish industry, through support for events such as the Christmas Trade Fair, this was counterbalanced by a radical commitment to welfare reform, redistribution of income, and social justice. In spite of the failure of early attempts at a national daily paper, the experience was to provide a valuable training ground for those who were to fight for the Irish Press in the 1920's. This training would prove invaluable to Eamon de Valera in his mission to produce a popular mass circulation daily which would publicise the republican cause.

As the struggle for independence developed from 1914 onwards, a complex network of underground presses was to emerge. The successes and failures of this network would bring home the importance of publicity and propaganda to the revolutionary leadership. Where the commercial dailies were by and large hostile to separatist nationalism, some of the provincial papers provided valuable resources to the militants. For example, in February 1914, the Irish Volunteer began circulation. This journal, the official organ of the Irish Volunteers, was published by the Enniscorthy Echo in Wexford. The Enniscorthy Echo provided early newspaper

experience for Robert Brennan, who became a central link in the republican propaganda machine during and after the civil war, and later was a key figure in establishing the Irish Press

Publication of radical nationalist papers was a considerable risk for the local newspaper proprietors. The Irish Volunteer, for example, provided readers with information on the use of rifles, how to demolish railways without explosives, and other items of military and strategic interest.

With the onset of the Great War, the British acted against such publications and a number were suppressed. General censorship was imposed under the Defence of the Realm Act in 1914. The authorities were vigorous in their pursuit of seditious material, issuing warnings to the printers of journals such as Irish Freedom, Eire (Ireland), Fianna Fail, The Leader and The Irish Worker. Later, copies of these papers were seized on grounds of objectionable content (cf Glandon, 1985 147).

The issue of the war was to draw a clear distinction between the organs of separatist nationalism and those favouring the Irish Party and Home Rule. Separatist and Labour newspapers such as Sinn Fein, The Worker's Republic, Bean na hEireann, The Irish Worker, Irish Freedom and the Irish Volunteer were vigorously opposed to Irish enlistment in the British Army. On the other hand, the Freeman's Journal and the National Volunteer, (which was published from the

Freeman's offices) supported recruitment

By March 1915, the Chief Secretary in Ireland, with the support of Irish Party leader John Redmond, acted against Griffith's publication Scissors and Paste. The result was an almost total blackout of all separatist journals, until the appearance of Nationality in June 1915. Nationality was published by the IRB under Griffith's editorship.

Following the events of the Easter Rising, public opinion became more favourable to the separatist cause. The threat of conscription in 1918 provided an opportunity for wholesale mobilisation against the British and weakened the position of the Home Rule tendency, which had supported enlistment but was forced to oppose conscription. The general elections of December 1918 provided an overwhelming victory for Sinn Fein. The decline of the Irish Party was underlined by the collapse of the Freeman's Journal in 1919.

The Sinn Fein election campaign had been directed by Robert Brennan until his arrest three weeks before polling day. Brennan was replaced by James O'Mara, a Limerick businessman whose family was later involved in the foundation of the Irish Press. On January 21st, 1919, 28 of the 73 Sinn Fein MPs met in Dublin and declared Ireland's Independence. Under the presidency of Cathal Brugha, they ratified the establishment of the Irish Republic, and constituted Dail Eireann. Thirty-six of the Sinn Fein MPs were still in jail.

Following the British proscription of the Dail and all journals supporting it, the Dail began to publish its own organ, the Irish Bulletin. Under the direction of Robert

Brennan, and edited by, among others, Desmond Fitzgerald and Erskine Childers, with the assistance of Frank Gallagher, the Irish Bulletin became a daily publication. The Bulletin was an underground publication in the form of a typewritten mimeographed journal. Its main functions were to publicise the Irish case abroad and to make propaganda against the British. Copies of the Bulletin were dispatched to newspapers in Britain, the United States and Continental Europe. Press bureaux were established in various countries to promote the case of the Dail and circulate the Bulletin. Under constant pressure from the British authorities, Gallagher carried on the work of writing for the Bulletin until his arrest in March 1920. The Bulletin frequently moved office, being printed at various locations throughout Dublin. These included Robert Brennan's home in Belgrave Square, the Farm Products Shop in Baggot Street, which was the secret office of Padraig O' Caoimh, director of the Dail Loan, and offices in Molesworth Street whose door plates bore the title "International Oil Importers". Following British discovery of this office in March 1921, the paper was produced by means of a hand operated duplicating machine and typewriter. For a time afterwards the British authorities produced a forged issue of the Bulletin, until the Irish Republican Army demolished the Auxiliary headquarters at the North Wall Hotel where the confiscated equipment was kept. By the time the truce was signed in July 1921, the Irish Bulletin had established a mail circulation of 2,000 copies a

day to 1,900 newspapers, heads of state and politicians and writers throughout the world. The Bulletin was the outcome of a united effort by all factions of separatist republicanism in the interests of establishing independence. This fragile unity would be shattered in the aftermath of the Treaty negotiations.

After the Treaty split and the onset of the civil war, the anti-Treaty side led by de Valera began to publish a journal entitled The Republic of Ireland (Phoblacht na hEireann). While a few small publications also supported the irregular army, the Republic of Ireland was the main propaganda weapon from January 1922 onwards. The committee of the paper consisted of some of the most prominent figures of the war of Independence, including Cathal Brugha, Austin Stack, Mary McSwiney, Countess Markievicz and Erskine Childers. In February 1922, the provisional government responded with the publication of a pro-Treaty organ, entitled The Free State, Articles penned by prominent government members, including Ernest Blythe, Kevin O'Higgins, Eoin MacNeill, Darrell Figgis and Desmond Fitzgerald appeared in The Free State. Ultimately, the provisional government used the weapon of press censorship against the rebel Republicans. In June 1922 press controls were imposed and printers were informed that any material referring to the conflict would have to be submitted for prior ratification.

When the Republicans, including de Valera and Robert Brennan, retreated to Clonmel following the capture of the Four Courts, a Southern edition of The Republic of Ireland

was issued This was produced under the editorship of Erskine Childers, assisted by Frank Gallagher In the grim period before the end of the war, just before the Free State government executed Childers, the Republican Director of Publicity wrote to de Valera stressing the need for a national daily newspaper (Longford and O'Neill, 1971 271) If they could only break down the conspiracy of silence in the press, he wrote, it would be worth ten times all they could do in handbills (Longford and O'Neill, 1971 269) The defeat of the Republican forces in the civil war merely reinforced de Valera's conviction that propaganda was the key to political success He believed that the Free State government knew nothing of the psychology of the people, and had no publicity department worth talking about In the opinion of de Valera, any government that desired to hold power in Ireland should put "publicity before all" (Ryle Dwyer, 1991 133)

There is some evidence that Cumann na nGaedheal attempted to respond to Fianna Fail by producing its own weekly papers (cf Moss, 1933 67) Rather than attempting to gain popular support, Cumann na nGaedheal concentrated its propaganda on local opinion leaders The party produced a weekly paper called the Freeman, whose name was later changed to the Star The Star was aimed at a readership of the middle-and professional classes, i e teachers, professional men, business people and farmers However, The Star proved financially unviable and was transformed into a monthly



organ In May 1932, it reappeared as a weekly paper, the United Irishman It seems that the role of the United Irishman was to propagandize the editors of the provincial press, who showed some signs of leaning towards Fianna Fail (Moss, 1933 67)

Although Cumann na nGaedheal did not seem particularly adept at organising its own propaganda machine it was under considerably less pressure to do so than de Valera's supporters After independence, both the Irish Times and the Independent offered implicit if not explicit support to the government This support increased the pressure on the republican side to produce a mass circulation paper of its own In 1924, republican groups attempted to purchase the Freeman's Journal, the bid was defeated by the intervention of William Martin Murphy While Murphy may have been hostile to the idea of a Republican paper for political as well as commercial reasons, Republican supporters were not wholeheartedly behind the move in any case Irish-American supporters felt that if the Freeman's Journal was not a paying proposition, it would simply burden the organisation and consume its slender resources (McGarrity to de Valera, Jan 10th 1928, NLI Ms NO 17441) The establishment of the Fianna Fail party in May 1926 further intensified the need for an adequate means of publicity

### 3 1 3 The Nation

In March 1927, Fianna Fail launched a weekly paper, The Nation This paper was established by Sean T O Ceallaigh, a close associate of de Valera The Nation served as a

precursor to the Irish Press wherein Fianna Fail developed its populist programme. It provided a space for the editor, Frank Gallagher to develop the populist style which would later set the tone of the Irish Press. From the outset, The Nation made a strong bid to win the support of the lower classes and rural poor. In the first issue, the paper asserted that the Irish people were suffering from the worst economic depression since the famine. The paper branded the Free State government as allies of Britain, asking whether it was "not more than a coincidence that this deplorable depression and misery and emigration occurs during the present day government of the imperialists" (The Nation, March 1927)

Although central to Fianna Fail's propaganda of populist anti-imperialism, The Nation was, in itself, insufficient for the party's needs. Its circulation peaked at 6,000 copies weekly. Popular support for the more radical republican papers was declining rapidly. In 1930, Frank Ryan, editor of An Phoblacht, indicated that circulation had fallen from 18,000 to a mere 4,000 in the space of four years (Cronin, 1972: 150). Although The Nation was the direct predecessor of the Irish Press, it did not achieve a sufficiently wide readership to suit the needs of Fianna Fail. It seemed clear that the days of the small-scale republican press were over. For Fianna Fail, The Nation was merely a stop-gap measure. Nevertheless, the paper played an important role in establishing the local party cumann which

were to prove effective in raising funds for the Irish Press in rural Ireland

In June 1927, de Valera wrote to McGarrity of the problems facing the new party and the urgent need for a national paper

The newspapers here make it almost impossible to make any progress We must get an Irish national newspaper before we can hope to win (NLI Ms No 17441)

The established daily newspapers were indeed hostile to Fianna Fail In this they reflected the concern of both the establishment and the Catholic church to maintain political stability and the existing economic relations with Britain

One aspect of Church thinking, however, was favourable to the aims of Fianna Fail The Church was concerned about the extensive circulation of British popular dailies, with their perceived low moral standards, in the Free State Hence, Fianna Fail sought to use the Church campaign against imported popular newspapers in order to promote the cause of a national daily newspaper

#### 3 1 4 The British Press

In 1926, the Free State Minister for Justice established a Committee of Enquiry on Evil Literature, in order to prepare for the Censorship of Publications Act which would be passed in 1929 The public debate on the issue was led by a number of Catholic organisations, notably the Catholic Truth Society and various Irish Vigilance societies (Brown, 1981 69) The campaign was directed primarily against the imported popular newspapers and magazines These popular publications were considered a threat to moral standards not

least because they might carry information on topics such as birth control

According to a report presented to the Evil Literature Committee by the Catholic Truth Society, circulation figures for the British Sunday papers were as follows

-----

TABLE 3 1 CIRCULATION OF BRITISH POPULAR SUNDAY  
NEWSPAPERS IN IRELAND c 1927

<u>News of The World</u>	132,444
<u>Empire News</u>	76,698
<u>Sunday Chronicle</u>	46,188
<u>The People</u>	30,600
<u>Reynold's News</u>	28,772
<u>Sunday News</u>	22,918
<u>Sunday Herald</u>	<u>15,842</u>
Total	352,803

Source Devane, (1927 546)

---

The Catholic Truth Society indicated that these newspapers represented only the "morally objectionable" papers. In addition, the circulation of the Daily Mail alone was estimated at somewhere between 70,000 - 100,000 copies daily. This compared with the Irish Independent's circulation of around 100,000 copies daily. The combined circulation of four other English dailies was estimated at 65,000 copies. Easons, the main stationery distributors in Ireland, had indicated that 53 different magazines for the young were imported from England each week. By contrast, no such papers or magazines

were published in Ireland

While the Commission on Evil Literature, in keeping with the free trade policies of the Cumann na nGaedheal government, had no interest in imposing tariffs on imported publications, some sectors of the campaign actively endorsed protectionism and highlighted the economic rationale against imported publications. This tendency was clearly manifest in the arguments presented in the Jesuit Journal, Studies, one of the foremost organs of Catholic opinion in the Free State. The Jesuits were to play an important role in theorising the case against the British Press in Ireland. The campaign was dominated by Fr Devane, who presented a forceful argument against "the enace of the British press combines"

Although Devane called for a ban on "indecent or sordid material", he concentrated on the economic case for the restriction of the British popular press. He contended that

like many other industries, our national press is struggling under the weight of an overpowering competition (1927 545-554)

He pointed to the fact that newspapers produced by large corporations could easily be 'dumped' on the Irish market

The Irish circulation of these magazines forms a very small proportion of their total circulation. They can, therefore, be sold at a price at which no Irish magazine can be sold, unless its proprietors are prepared to run it at a loss (1927 547)

By contrast, an Irish monopoly was quite acceptable

Our dailies, whatever their shortcomings, have the good of Ireland and its people as their main interest. Also, they are produced in Ireland and thereby give much employment, and their profits go wholly or largely to Irish shareholders (Devane, 1927 547)

4

The case of Canada was shown to have significant parallels with that of Ireland. Devane pointed to the decision of the Montreal Chamber of Commerce to impose tariffs on US Media entering Canada. Discussion in the Montreal case had expressed indignation at the avalanche of cheap, sordid and pornographic literature from the United States. Canadian publishers had urged high duties against the American publications, since these were "filled with advertisements of United States products, to the detriment of Canadian industry". Devane proposed that two categories of periodical should be established - the "cultural", which should be duty free, and the "popular", which was to be dutiable (1927 550)

His arguments were echoed by Rev M H McInerney, editor of the Irish Rosary and a member of the Irish Vigilance Society. Rev McInerney demanded that the Oireachtas should "for economic, national and cultural reasons of the highest moment" pass a resolution imposing a tariff on the popular classes of imported newspaper (1927 556). Professor Tierney, Cumann na nGaedheal T D, criticised the negative impact of the British popular press on Irish papers. A tax on English papers, he believed, would remove some of the pressure on Irish papers to compete with "mass-production papers" and pave the way for a "more intelligent and less sensational native press" (1927 558). Fianna Fail was to win political support through similar criticism of mass production and industrial society. The fact that Fianna Fail's aim was to produce precisely such a mass-circulation paper, modelled on

45

the form of the Daily Mail if not its content, was of secondary consideration

Fianna Fail's case was also enhanced by demands for newspaper tariffs within the teacher's union, INTO. A resolution passed by the Dublin branch of the INTO on February 25th, 1926, stated the position of Irish writers thus

With a view to preserving some portion of the Irish market for Irish writers, we further suggest that all printed matter admitted from outside sources and not passed as first-class be heavily taxed  
(Devane, 1927 548)

Fianna Fail took up such arguments with enthusiasm. If the project of a national daily newspaper could be linked to the church campaign against sordid British publications, so much the better. The campaign against the British Press dovetailed neatly with Fianna Fail's campaign against dumping and monopoly domination of the Irish market (cf section 4 2 3 below). The church campaign also presented an opportunity for Fianna Fail to present itself as the most genuinely Catholic of the political parties. Cumann na nGaedheal's reluctance to impose tariffs on British newspapers could be used to win the support of the Catholic intelligentsia. The opinion of Professor Thomas O'Rahilly, that "in matters of the spirit we are becoming more and more England's slaves", (1927 561) seemed more in keeping with Fianna Fail rhetoric than that of Cumann na nGaedheal.

In summary, two main influences were to condition the form of the new national daily which de Valera planned

Firstly, it was clear that the new paper must be a commercial daily paper. This would enable it to compete effectively with the pro-government Irish Independent. William Martin Murphy had paved the way by importing the model of the Northcliffe Daily Mail and successfully adapting it to Irish circumstances. Secondly, the experience of the Republican press in the course of the independence struggle had produced a number of committed journalists and able propagandists. De Valera's genius lay in harnessing the concept of the modern newspaper to the traditions and ideals of the republican press. Although populist politics is frequently associated with the rejection of modernity (cf MacRae, section 1.1.1 above), the formation of the Irish Press indicates a skilful exploitation of the most modern organisational techniques in the service of populist nationalism. While de Valera and his associates were prepared to invoke religious disapproval of the British popular press, they fully intended to organise the Irish Press on the model of the popular daily papers in order to reach a mass audience. In the circumstances of the world depression, populist rhetoric communicated by means of a mass-circulation daily newspaper was to have an explosive impact on Irish society.

### 3.2 Financing the Irish Press

Financing the new paper was to prove a major obstacle for de Valera. The original intention had been to gain control of what remained of the first Dail loan, the infamous "Republican Bonds", and to use these funds to establish a



Fianna Fail paper On failing to achieve this, de Valera began to seek support from businesses and commercial interests in the United States Again, this attempt was not a success Finally, the committee in charge of fundraising realised that it would be necessary to rely on support among the lower classes, both at home and abroad Paradoxically, the predominance of small shareholders made it easier for De Valera to gain control of the paper than would have been the case had it been financed in the main by commercial interests

### 3 2 1 The Republican Bonds

In 1919, de Valera and two other members of the first Sinn Fein party had been made trustees of a loan raised in the United States to finance the struggle for independence De Valera intended to secure what remained of this loan for the purpose of founding the newspaper The original fund amounted to \$5,800,000 Over half of this sum had already been remitted to Ireland By the time of the Treaty split, the unspent remainder amounted to \$2,500,000, held on deposit in New York banks Collins and de Valera as leaders of the opposing factions had agreed not to use the funds for party purposes Towards the end of the Civil War, however, de Valera made clear his intention to seek control of the bonds This move was immediately contested by the Free State government

In August 1922, the Cosgrave government applied to the American courts seeking an injunction to restrain the banks from handing over the funds to de Valera, or to Stephen O'

Mara, the original trustees, or any of their agents. The application was supported by Dr Fogarty, the third trustee named. The matter was raised in the Dail (cf Dail Debates, 13 Sept 1922) where the Government announced that new trustees would be appointed. The new trustees were Dr Fogarty, Bishop of Killaloe, Dr Richard Hayes, T D and General Richard Mulcahy, Minister for Defence. T D Gavan Duffy gave the opinion that O'Mara was not a suitable person to act as trustee as he had "made very considerable difficulty in America for our delegates there"

Mr Cosgrave declared that

it is the intention of the ministry, from many important conversations we have had, to take over and to safeguard and to preserve these funds for this Dail, and an action has already been instituted in America with a view to safeguarding these funds" (PDDE, Sept 13th 1922)

In May 1927, the New York Supreme Court declared that neither side was entitled to the funds and ordered that the monies be returned to the original bondholders (Cronin, 1972 146). The outcome was clearly a triumph for Cosgrave and Cumann na nGaedheal. De Valera, as trustee, had no title as owner of the funds, and had been denied his demand to be left in possession. The Fianna Fail leader, however, was not easily deterred.

Having failed to secure control of the funds, he urged subscribers to invest their bonds to in another great national project - the establishment of a daily paper whose principles were those of Irish Ireland. Republican sympathisers began a sustained campaign to convince

bondholders to transfer their holdings to de Valera This campaign became the subject of acrimonious debate in the Dail after Fianna Fail came to power (cf IP 28 6 1933 p 1 & 7 7 1933 p 1)

From the opposition benches, Cumann na nGaedheal deputies alleged that unscrupulous methods had been used to convince would-be investors It was asserted in the Dail that republican fund-raisers had assured the American-Irish community that President Cosgrave was fully behind the new venture Whether the charges had any substance or not, de Valera was faced with the problem that most of the Irish-Americans who had given support to the original republican loan had subsequently supported Cosgrave and the Free State government during the civil war Support for de Valera was on the wane in the aftermath of the civil war (cf Sarbaugh, 1985 18) The difficulty of raising funds from republican supporters was compounded by the onset of the Great Depression Perhaps for this reason, de Valera declared that the paper was to be politically independent When the new paper was announced in the Wicklow People on December 31st, 1927, it was publicly stated that the paper would not have any party allegiance The board of directors would contain one Cumann na nGaedheal member, two Fianna Fail members, and four members "of no party" ( Moss, 1933 69) (This promise was not borne out, the directors were unanimously in favour of protectionism and supported Fianna Fail Some, such as Dowdall and Connolly, were Fianna Fail Senators and prominent

Irish businessmen Others, such as Pierce and Gallagher, were public supporters of Fianna Fail policy )

### 3 2 2 The Appeal to Business

In December 1927, De Valera travelled to the United States to establish support for the paper among business circles On December 28th 1927, de Valera wrote to Joseph McGarrity stating that the total capital required would be 250,000 pounds, (of which 100,000 was expected to be raised in Ireland) In the United States, subscriptions would be for blocks of value \$500 and over (NLI Ms No 17441) De Valera wished to contact at least one thousand people in the United States who would invest at least \$500 in the enterprise He expressed optimism at the prospect of raising the funds, commenting that "as the proposition is purely a business one, I expect that it should not be difficult to get them" (NLI Ms No 17441)

McGarrity replied to de Valera in January 1928, giving his opinion that substantial business support would be required and that it might be worthwhile to seek the backing of an entrepreneur such as Hearst

My own thought is that under present conditions you must get men of means to subscribe for large blocks of stock I think this method essential even if all organisations here were working together (Letter d Jan 10th 1928, McGarrity to de Valera NLI Ms no 17441)

It seemed clear that the financial and distributional problems which had afflicted the Republican Press could only be overcome by a fully-fledged commercial venture Yet raising the required capital was no easy matter Even with extensive organisation, the fund-raising drive would not be

easy De Valera was fortunate that some of the organisations which he had established during his 1919 fund-raising tour were still in operation It was to organisations such as these that he turned for support Hence, the newspaper was to be named the Irish Press after Joseph McGarrity's Irish Press which was founded in Philadelphia in 1918

In America, de Valera set up an umbrella organisation called the American Promotion Committee Members of this organisation were responsible for drawing up lists of people whom the group might approach for subscriptions The Committee members were instructed on how to conduct business and how to find the people who had at least \$500 to invest in shares Members were to work closely with the Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic (AARIR) All funds collected were lodged with the Harriman Bank of New York City

The problem of finding subscribers was greater than de Valera had anticipated Even in California, one of the few remaining strongholds of de Valera support, the response was weak The first meeting organised by the AARIR in San Francisco was poorly attended Only thirty people showed up This was partly due to the short notice at which the meeting was organised, but also reflected the underlying weakness of de Valera's position It was quickly recognised that the response in business circles was poor The onset of the Depression severely restricted the availability of capital for investment in a venture such as the Irish Press

### 3 2 3 The Appeal to the People

Within a few months, the Promotions Committee announced that the \$500 minimum investment had been reduced to \$50 (cf The San Francisco Leader 12 5 1928, p 6 and 14 8 1928 p 4) In September 1928, when the prospectus of the Irish Press was published in the AARIR papers, McGarrity wrote to de Valera, expressing his pessimism about business support

Things in a business way are bad in the country at present Many of those who would give are not making and avoid gatherings where subscriptions are likely to be asked (NLI Ms No 17441, letter d 25 9 1928)

Efforts were redoubled to raise the money in the United States In October 1928, Frank Aiken arrived to promote fund-raising In California he established Irish Press Committees in San Francisco, Sacramento, Stockton and Los Angeles Since business support was weak, the organisers began to organise door-to-door collections in an attempt to meet the quota The organising committee began to stress the need for a paper of the people, one that would provide them with the truth about affairs in Ireland The newspaper would be committed to providing the necessary leadership for social and political development in Ireland In an article published in the San Francisco Leader, entitled "OUR CENTRAL PURPOSE" de Valera wrote

The only reason in fact why I am engaged in this enterprise is to provide the Irish with a paper which will give them the truth in news, without attempting to colour it for party purposes - also to supply the leadership for the necessary economic, political and social reconstruction in Ireland today  
(SFL 19 4 1930 p 1)

Conscious of the strategic interests of the United States, De Valera implied that an independent Ireland would give allegiance to the United States rather than to Britain

We want Ireland to look West - to America, rather than look to the east - to England We want an Irish paper that will be as Irish as the London Daily Mail is English (SFL, 28 1 1928 p 1)

De Valera appears to have wanted greater autonomy from British capital, but was not necessarily averse to encouraging the support of American capital It seemed that he was prepared to modify the rhetoric of populism depending on the constituency whose support he sought

The position taken by the San Francisco Leader was to suggest that America's rival, British Imperialism, could only be strengthened by the failure to build an independent press in Ireland This was at a time when inter-imperialist tensions were increasing as the Depression began to deepen One item in the Leader warned of the dangers of the British publications circulating in Ireland

the tendency of these papers and magazines is to turn the minds of Irish boys and girls definitely away from Irish ideals, to make them despise national traditions the papers are recruiting agencies for the British boy scouts, which, in turn are recruiting organisations for the British Army and Navy  
(SFL 3 5 1930 p 1)

The rhetoric used in America hinted that Ireland's independence was not unrelated to American military and imperial ambitions This contrasts considerably with the rhetoric of independence used at home In any event, there

✱ ✱ ✱

seemed to be a greater keenness for this type of co-operation on the part of the Irish than the Americans, as the campaign closed finally in October 1930, having collected a total of \$30,000, far short of the original goal. A Corporation had allegedly been registered in America to deal with the original bondholders' subscriptions to the Irish Press and to invest the money in the Irish Press Ltd in Dublin (IP 5 9 1981 p II). The alleged existence of this corporation remains one of the unsolved mysteries of the Irish Press, since no records whatsoever are available on the subject (cf section 7 5 below)

#### 3 2 4 Fianna Fail Support

The campaign in Ireland provided an early example of the organisational proficiency of the local Fianna Fail party. Cumann Fianna Fail Ard Fheiseanna were used to publicise the Irish Press among party supporters. At the third party Ard Fheis in 1928, a resolution was passed which called on all local party branches to become involved in the project. Each branch was assigned to canvass its local area for subscriptions, while a key party member was put in charge of fund-raising in each constituency or district. While canvassers sought out individuals who could subscribe for blocks of at least 100 shares, it seems that the majority of 1 pound shares were sold on an instalment basis. This indicates that in Ireland, as in the United States, the majority of shares were sold to the poorer sectors of society. The one pound units were payable as follows,



-----

2- per share on application  
5- " " " allotment  
5- " " two months after allotment  
4- " " six " " "  
4- " " nine " " "

SOURCE (Circular, n d , printed Headed "Private and Confidential", FG papers, NLI Ms No 18361)

-----

On his return from America in February 1928, De Valera toured Ireland to rally support for the Irish Press Robert Brennan was placed in charge of the fundraising campaign, a position which called upon all his previous experience as director of publicity for Sinn Fein De Valera was evidently in great haste to incorporate the company, in spite of the shortage of funds

### 3 2 5 The Irish Press as a Business Venture

In September 1928 the company was incorporated and a prospectus was published in The Nation, setting out the share capital as 200,000 in 1 pound shares The solicitors were listed as Messrs Little, O' hUadaigh and Proud, of 12, Dawson St, Dublin On the 19th of February 1929, the first statutory meeting of the Irish Press Ltd was held at 11 a m at the Rotunda in Dublin The first company report indicated that the total number of shares allotted amounted to 124,679 This seems to bear out claims that the share issue in Ireland had been over-subscribed On the other hand, the cash received by the company in respect of such shares was almost

half of that figure The total amount received was 64,846 pounds, 10 shillings and sixpence It seems that this amount related only to the shares sold in Ireland, since a separate company was incorporated in the United States

What seems clear is that even with business support and popular share-ownership, the company was extremely short of capital De Valera was in the difficult position of having to maintain to a business constituency that the paper would be purely a commercial concern, while simultaneously being forced to look to popular support and to promise a radical nationalist paper The publicity material produced by Frank Gallagher shows this contradiction quite clearly On the one hand, Gallagher wrote material which was clearly destined for circulation among business sectors Subscribers were assured that "guarantees of considerable financial support in Irish business circles" were already forthcoming Publicity material also stressed that the company wished for subscriptions of at least one hundred shares Gallagher cited the Irish correspondent of the Sunday Times Sir John Keane, whose opinion was given as follows

With a good management, the project has every prospect of success, and if the circulation bears any relation to the party vote, it ought to be considerable There is ample scope for three daily papers, and the project ought to be generally welcome  
(NLI Ms No 18361 "The Need for an Irish National Daily Newspaper", Dec 11th 1928)

The financial estimates put forward suggested that the paper would be profitable at a circulation of even 50,000 Gallagher argued that the Irish Times and Cork Examiner had

†

circulations of less than 50,000, yet still managed to yield substantial dividends to their shareholders. The extent of Fianna Fail support would surely yield a wider readership than 50,000. Gallagher anticipated a circulation of at least 100,000, on the basis that Fianna Fail had attracted over 400,000 votes in the 1927 general election. The board of directors of the Irish Press was vaunted as containing some of Ireland's foremost businessmen. By establishing a successful business venture, it was argued, investment in Irish industry would be stimulated.

The 200,000,000 pounds of Irish capital now invested abroad can, if the right steps are taken, be attracted back to Irish industry. Americans of our race who will have participated in founding this newspaper, on receiving a fair return for their money will not be slow to participate in other enterprises designed to give Ireland the industries she needs to be self-supporting economically.

(NLI Ms No 18361 "The Need for an Irish National Daily Newspaper", Dec 11th 1928)

On the other hand, the promotional literature stressed that the paper would represent the genuine interests of the people of Ireland. Gallagher wrote that the people longed for a national paper that would express their own sentiments and feelings. For too long, the republican electorate had been compelled to subscribe to newspapers whose outlook was pro-imperialist. This electorate would turn immediately to a paper expressing the true national point of view (NLI Ms No 18361)

The common theme which could unite business classes and the popular masses, whose support was necessary to Fianna Fail and the Irish Press was that of anti-imperialism.

4

Gallagher referred to Father Devane's article in Studies and to the figures presented by the Catholic Truth Society in relation to British newspaper circulation in Ireland. In his publicity material, he announced the project to establish in Ireland a daily newspaper that would be truly Irish in purpose and in character. The newspaper would accurately reflect the traditions and sentiments of the Irish people, and would inspire and assist them in the project of national regeneration and development. "We are", he wrote "in the strangle-hold of an alien press". The Irish people were in a condition of mental bondage, purchasing from their British former masters practically all the material which sustained their minds. The number of national dailies had fallen from seven to three, while the English dailies were increasing their circulation with "astonishing rapidity". Gallagher reiterated the arguments put forward in Studies, echoing the opinion that national culture and language could not be revived without the existence of a "cheap, healthy and independent native press". The imported British press was hostile to Irish sentiment, but the existing Irish press was little better. It was, in Gallagher's opinion,

British in sympathy and outlook, colouring both home and foreign news to suit British imperial policy  
(NLI Ms No 18361)

The real solution was the establishment of a truly Irish paper.

The publicity material produced by Gallagher shows a clever combination of anti-imperialist rhetoric and sympathy

147

for the masses on the one hand, exemplified by the declaration that "the people long for a paper that will express their own thoughts and portray their own feelings" (NLI Ms No 18361) On the other hand, it was asserted that the paper would be commercial from start to finish, and would be independent of party politics Any doubt as to the compatibility of these twin objectives was put to rest by the assurance that the policy of the paper would be under the control of Mr de Valera By placing the "national interest" above party politics or even commercial gain, de Valera was able to gain control of what would become one of Ireland's most successful modern newspapers His control was taken as a guarantee that the paper would be independent of party politics, which underlines the manner in which he and the Fianna Fail party identified themselves with the Irish nation, as the authentic heirs to the republican tradition Gallagher's publicity material shows clear evidence of how de Valera was linked with the nation rather than with the party

The new daily will not be a propagandist sheet or a mere party organ It will be an Irish national newspaper in the broadest sense, championing the full rights of all the people of Ireland The policy of the paper will be under the control of Mr de Valera (NLI Ms No 18361)

### 3 3 Ownership and Control

While de Valera's control of the paper seemed to be taken for granted by the majority of Fianna Fail support, the party leader nevertheless took steps to ensure that this control was legally enshrined in the Articles of Association of the paper Hence his control was not contingent upon his

continued success as leader of the party, but was permanently established in legal terms. While de Valera's populist rhetoric created an impression of other-worldly asceticism, the means by which he gained control of the Irish Press provides ample evidence of his shrewd business sense.

### 3 3 1 The People's Representative

When promoting the Irish Press in the United States, de Valera had taken the opportunity to investigate the workings of various press establishments. His main interest appeared to relate to the mechanisms of control and the means whereby control could be maintained. The result of his investigations was the production of a set of Articles of Association enshrining him alone as Controlling Director, Managing Director, and Editor in Chief. From the outset, it was made clear that de Valera intended to maintain a firm hold on the new venture. At the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis in 1927 when the new paper was first announced, the party leader stated that the paper was not going to be the property of any party - even the Fianna Fail party. The paper had a mission to the nation, and this would be jeopardized by party control.

It was going to preserve such independence as would enable it to do its national work, and that was to criticise impartially certain actions and even certain policies of the Fianna Fail party, and to make suggestions from time to time as to what should be done.

(IT, 27 10 1927 p 7)

On the contrary, Mr de Valera was to be the controlling director, and stated that he would "not be bound in his control of the paper by the decisions of anybody". To

underline his absolute authority, de Valera asserted that

if there was a question in which a decision would be given, and it was on an important matter, he would give that decision and take public responsibility for it (IT 27 10 1927 p 7)

### 3 3 2 The Board of Directors

The Articles of Association listed the board of directors as follows (statute 70-71, p 22)

70 The number of directors shall not be less than three or more than twelve

71 The following persons shall be the first Directors of the Company -

EAMON DE VALERA, Controlling Director, 84 Serpentine Avenue, Sandymount, Co Dublin, Teacher, Chancellor, National University of Ireland

JAMES CHARLES DOWDALL, Villa Nova, College Road, Cork, Merchant, Director, Dowdall, O'Mahony & Co, Limited, Cork

HENRY THOMAS GALLAGHER, Tallaght, Co Dublin, Merchant, Chairman and Managing Director, Urney Chocolates, Limited

JOHN HUGHES, Laragh, Killiney, Co Dublin, Merchant, of John Hughes & Co, Dublin

STEPHEN O'MARA, Strand House, Limerick, Merchant, Chairman and Managing Director, O'Mara, Limited, Limerick

PHILIP BUSTEED PIERCE, Park House, Wexford, Merchant, Managing Director, Philip Pierce & Co, Limited, Mill Road Iron Works, Wexford

JAMES LYLE STIRLING, Granite Lodge, Dunlaoghaire, Merchant, Managing Director, Stirling, Cockle & Ashley, Limited, Dublin

EDMUND WILLIAMS, Correen, Ailesbury Road, Co Dublin, Maltster, of D E Williams, Limited, Tullamore

The Board of Directors, therefore, consisted of prominent Irish industrialists and businessmen who had an interest in the cause of promoting native Irish industry. Most were members of NAIDA, the organisation for the development of Irish Industry and Agriculture. This organisation was to develop close links with the Irish Press in the 1930's. Each member of the board of Directors was required to invest at

✠

least five hundred pounds in shares This stipulation effectively excluded the smaller shareholders from representation on the board

72 The qualification of every Director shall be the holding in his own right and as sole Holder of Shares of the Company to the nominal value of not less than Five Hundred Pounds A Director may act before acquiring his qualification, but shall in any case acquire his qualification after being appointed a Director

### 3 3 3 The Powers of the Controlling Director

The Articles of Association enshrined de Valera's position as controlling director with absolute powers over the running of the newspaper

75 The first Controlling Director shall be Eamon de Valera who is hereby appointed such Controlling Director and who shall hold in his own name Shares of the Company of the nominal value of Five Hundred Pounds He shall continue to hold the said office of Controlling Director so long as he shall hold the said sum of Five Hundred Pounds nominal value of the Shares or Stock of the Company The remuneration of the said Eamon de Valera shall be determined from time to time by the Shareholders in General Meeting

In article 75, the right of de Valera to an effective lifelong tenure of the position of Controlling Director was established In Articles 76 and 77, entitled POWERS OF DIRECTORS, he was granted what amounted to sole control over the running of the paper over the heads of the general shareholders

76 The business of the Company shall be managed by the Controlling Director and the Directors, who may pay all expenses incurred in the formation and registration of the Company, and may exercise all such powers of the Company as are not by the Statutes or by these Articles required to be exercised by the Company in General Meeting, subject, nevertheless to any regulations of these Articles, to the provisions of the Statutes, and to such regulations, not being inconsistent with the



aforesaid regulation or provisions, as may be prescribed by the Company in General Meeting, but no regulation made by the Company in General Meeting shall invalidate any prior act of the Directors which would have been valid had such regulation had not been made

In Article 76 above, the rights of the shareholders in general meeting to override the decisions of the Directors is severely circumscribed. This article effectively limited the capacity of the general shareholders to reject any decisions taken by de Valera in regard to the policy or organisation of the paper

77 The Controlling Director shall have sole and absolute control of the public and political policy of the Company and of the Editorial Management thereof and of all Newspapers, pamphlets or other writings which may be from time to time owned, published, circulated or printed by the said Company. He may appoint and at his discretion remove or suspend all Editors, Sub-Editors, Reporters, Writers, Contributors of news and information, and all such other persons as may be employed in or connected with the Editorial Department and may determine their duties and fix their salaries or emoluments. Subject to the powers of the Controlling Director the Directors may appoint and at their discretion remove or suspend Managers, Editors, Sub-Editors, Reporters, Secretaries, Solicitors, Cashiers, Officers, Publishers, Printers, Contributors of news and information, Clerks, Agents and Servants for permanent, temporary or special services as they may from time to time think fit and may determine their duties and fix their salaries or emoluments and may require security in such instances and to such amount as they think fit

Article 77 above gave de Valera sole and absolute control over the policy, management and staff of the Irish Press. This Article represented a total safeguard against any attempt to wrest control from his hands. In later controversies which would emerge in the Dail and elsewhere, de Valera justified his position by asserting that he acted as trustee for the ordinary Irish people who had invested in

the project of a national daily newspaper (cf section 7 5 2 below)

At the end of 1930, Frank Gallagher was appointed editor and was informed by Robert Brennan that the date for publication would be June 1931 or earlier (Letter, d 29th December 1930, NLI Ms No 18361) Gallagher was requested to provide a schema of organisation for the editorial department He was informed that the paper, costing one penny, would be a morning paper of twelve pages, Daily Mail size, and that they would have to take into consideration the possibility of developing toward a greater number of pages for the morning paper, and the issuing later of an evening paper, and a weekly and Sunday newspaper It was clear from the start that the paper was intended as a rival to the Independent in commercial as well as political terms The general management of the paper listed as follows,

Editor in Chief Frank Gallagher  
General Manager Robert Brennan  
Circulation Manager AJ Carolan  
Works Manager Patrick McGrath  
Advertising Manager Al Blennerhassett  
London Editor William Sweetman  
News Editor Robert Egan  
Art Editor Seamus McCall  
Sports Editor Joe Sherwood  
Literary Editor MJ McManus  
(cf IP 5 9 1981 p II)

### 3 4 The Populist Ethos of the Irish Press

The Irish Press was clearly intended as a mass circulation daily newspaper Nevertheless, it was also aimed at a particular readership, i e those sectors of the population which Fianna Fail hoped to rally against the

4

dominant political party, Cumann na nGaedheal. Therefore, the paper was not simply "popular" in the sense of appealing to the mass of the people. If it had been merely popular, the paper would have been identical to the majority of the British papers circulating in the Free State, and would probably not have been very different from the Irish Independent. The Irish Press, however, established a distinct identity on the basis of its populist politics. Populism entailed a discourse which represented "the people" as a political category with interests separate and distinct from the pro-metropolitan interests of the "elite" in power. The construction of a populist discourse required that at least some of the journalistic staff should be sympathetic to the aims of Fianna Fail and its particular variety of Republicanism.

#### 3 4 1 The Influence of the Republican Tradition

As indicated in section 3 1 2 above, many of the key editorial and managerial staff of the Irish Press had gained their formative newspaper experience in the underground Republican journals during the independence struggle and in the course of the Civil War. These individuals were drawn together by a political commitment to the cause of the Irish nation. Some, including the editor, Frank Gallagher, were fiercely loyal to de Valera. Gallagher had contributed significantly to the propaganda activities of Sinn Fein. He had previously worked on the Cork Daily Free Press, New Ireland, the Irish Bulletin, Poblacht na hEireann,

)

✱

Eire, Sinn Fein and The Nation (NLI Ms No 18361) In terms of ideological commitment to republicanism, he appears to have been more radical than the party leader. For instance, he opposed de Valera on the question of taking the oath of allegiance and entering the Dail in 1926, although he ultimately submitted to de Valera's arguments. Gallagher's ideological commitment to the tradition of radical republicanism was later to bring him into conflict with the board of directors of the Irish Press. It seems that while Gallagher was prepared to canvass the support of business leaders in order to finance the paper, he believed that the cause of Irish Republicanism took priority over financial or commercial success. (The contradictions of this position will be explored in section 6.1 below) Many of the journalistic and technical staff were recruited on the basis of connections with the Republican movement. Certainly the goodwill and assistance of Republican sympathisers was important in the weeks prior to publication. Although some staff appointees had backgrounds in the Belfast Unionist papers, the majority were journalists, teachers and writers, the lower-middle-class intellectuals who had provided the cadres of de Valera's republican movement since the civil war. (IP 5.9.1981 p. V)

Robert Brennan, the General Secretary, had worked in the past on the Enniscorthy Echo, which had published the Irish Volunteer between 1914 and 1916. Brennan had taken part in the 1916 uprising in Wexford. Later, during the War of Independence, he was director of publicity for Sinn Fein,

4

turning the Irish Bulletin into a daily organ of Dail Eireann when most of its representatives were underground Paddy Clare, who worked as a night reporter for the paper, had been an unemployed ex-IRA comrade who had previously written for An Phoblacht and The Nation Patrick Kirwan, appointed as an assistant editor in 1934 had previously worked on An Phoblacht Paddy Devlin, in charge of reporting on Gaelic Games, had written for Sinn Fein Another Gaelic Games reporter, Mitchel Cogley, had previously been a contributor to An Phoblacht (The appointment of Gaelic Games correspondents reflected a determination to emphasise Irish culture even in the realm of sports coverage)

### 3 4 2 The Aims and Objectives of the Irish Press

For Gallagher, the role of the Irish Press was to promote national independence and full political liberty in the name of the people of Ireland His first editorial address asserted that the will of the people was paramount in the Irish Press

In this first issue we declare ourselves to the nation Our national policy is to seek for all our people that first among national blessings - full liberty We desire to see this country established as an independent state whose government is based on Christian principles and founded in social justice, in which the ultimate and final authority rests in the whole body of the people themselves

(handwritten ms, n d NLI Ms No 18361)

The themes of Christian principles, and social justice, and the ultimate authority of the people themselves were central to the populist ideology of the Irish Press Within this ideology, political legitimacy derived exclusively from the

1

people The Irish Press was therefore committed to act as the voice of the people, above and beyond any party or organisational interests Ironically, while the Irish Press stood on the one hand as voice of the people, on the other hand, it was under the absolute control of de Valera If the will of the people was paramount, then the authority of de Valera, as leader of the people, was absolute in all matters relating to the Irish Press Populism entailed an appeal to the popular masses over and above any class divisions in society Hence Gallagher's opening editorial concluded with an appeal to the people

To the achievement of that high aim we desire to attract all sections of our people, believing that 'next to the omnipotence of God is the strength of an united nation' (handwritten ms, n d NLI Ms No 18361)

Gallagher's notes show that he visited various newspapers in Britain to observe their organizational methods and management But his main consideration was to advance the Republican philosophy in the hearts and minds of the Irish people The commercial ethos of the paper notwithstanding, Gallagher clearly conceived of a newspaper whose primary function was to express the interests of the "plain people of Ireland"

### 3 4 3 The Content of the Irish Press

The nation was a binding principle, which united the people in common cause regardless of class distinctions Hence it was necessary to promote in the Irish Press what was distinctively Irish Frank Gallagher suggested a number of

ways in which the paper could commemorate the traditions of the popular struggle against imperialism. Anti-imperialism was combined with an emphasis on rural culture as the authentic culture of the people. It was proposed, for example to mount a campaign against foreign street names, to include articles on the Gaeltacht, on the old industries of Ireland, and to include features on the Irish cities of England. Gallagher was particularly conscious of the national interest in his instructions to sub-editors, which included the following directives (NLI Ms No 18361 (3))

- Always give the Irish angle in the headlines
- Do not use agency headlines, the other papers will have those
- Be on your guard against the habits of British and other foreign news agencies who look on the world mainly through imperialist eyes
- Do not pass the word "bandits" as a description of South American revolutionaries (this was not always observed in practice - cf fig 5.5 below)
- Pirates and robbers in China are not necessarily communists and therefore should not be described as such
- Propagandist attacks on Russia and other countries should not be served up as news

Gallagher's perception of the international news agencies anticipated the vast body of literature on media and dependency which would emerge in the post-war era. Hence, great emphasis was laid on the need to stress what was distinctively Irish in the news. The guidelines for sub-editors reflected a conscious determination to align the Irish Press with anti-imperialist and revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world, even to the extent of giving limited sympathy to the Soviet Union. (These aspects of the ideology



of the Irish Press will be further explored in Chapter 5 below)

Gallagher also reminded his sub-editors not to make the Irish Press a Dublin paper. There were, he observed, O'Connell Streets in other cities also. Clearly, the Irish Press was to make a determined appeal to the rural population which provided the mainstay of Fianna Fail support. The appeal to the rural population reflected an ideological tendency which was ambivalent towards the question of urbanisation and large-scale industrialisation. Gallagher's instructions also revealed a profound ambivalence towards the institutions of the state, particularly the police and judiciary. The staff were reminded not to quote jokes made by judges "unless they were real jokes", while it was advised that there was no necessity to report every word of praise spoken to policemen. This reflected a radical populist hostility to the apparatus of the state which was undoubtedly sharpened by Gallagher's personal experience of the legal system. While the paper clearly aimed to win the lower-classes in both urban and rural areas, Gallagher was also aware of the need to win specific audiences among this group. In particular, he stressed the need to include items of interest to women readers.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Irish Press was founded as a newspaper that would assist Fianna Fail in its struggle for political hegemony. In order to establish the paper in the face of extensive hostility from the existing press and the political



establishment, the organisers looked to support from a number of quarters Irish-American businesses, Irish commercial interests, and the ordinary Irish and Irish-American people who were sympathetic to de Valera's aims. The paper was thus presented as the genuine voice of the people of Ireland. It could not have been established without the support of the urban and rural working classes and marginal sectors who contributed to de Valera's fundraising drive. Hence the ethos of the paper was populist and anti-imperialist. Control of the paper, however, rested in the hands of Eamonn de Valera, leader of Fianna Fail. In organisational terms, the board of directors consisted of prominent Irish businessmen who had an interest in the protection of industry and in seeing a financial return on their investment in the paper. Within this hierarchy of control, it can be seen that de Valera was a mediating force between the interests of the mass of the people and the business interests who supported the paper. In practice, however, the potential existed for the interests of the people to be subordinated to the interests of de Valera and of the board of directors. In this sense, the Irish Press was a microcosm of the populist alliance in general.

In the first years of publication, the paper presented a semblance of popular unity behind de Valera and the Fianna Fail party. This unity was based on a common hostility to British imperialism. The question of how the Irish Press created an audience for the ideas of Fianna Fail will be discussed in Chapter Four below.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE IRISH PRESS AND THE WORLD CRISIS 1931-1932

#### INTRODUCTION

The Irish Press appeared on the streets of Dublin as the Great Depression was having its most devastating effect on international trade. The disarray of the League of Nations, the collapse of Sterling and Britain's abandonment of the gold standard provided the newspaper with ample opportunity to make the case for Fianna Fail's programme of national self-sufficiency. The IP voiced a robust critique of international finance and the world imperialist system, thus drawing a stark contrast between the greed of monopoly capitalists and the suffering and misery of the mass of the people. Within this critique, the IP sought to identify Fianna Fail with the mass of the people, in contrast to the Cumann na nGaedheal party which was portrayed as an ally of the imperialist system.

This chapter examines some key themes of the IP's response to the international crisis of 1931. It seeks to demonstrate how Fianna Fail constructed a specifically populist discourse through the newspaper in order to win the support of the mass of the people. Hence, it will be shown that populism, far from being a simple ideology reliant on emotive arguments, put forward a penetrating criticism of the existing socio-economic system.

The discourse of the IP will be considered from a number of dimensions. Firstly, the response to the international situation will be discussed in terms of the

❖

IP's opposition to the imperial powers and defence of various independence movements within the world system. Next, the IP's critique of monopoly capitalism and its ramifications in Ireland will be considered. Following the discussion on the IP and monopoly capitalism, the role of the newspaper in promoting native Irish industry will be considered. This discussion will incorporate some of the ideological legitimations of the drive for economic development, detailing the plans for a ruralised industry which would eliminate the unemployment problems of Irish society. Subsequently, the discussion will take up some aspects of the IP's discourse on the people, showing how a radical programme of social reforms was advocated while maintaining the ideal of traditional, rural-based society. Finally, the chapter describes some of the ways in which the IP came into conflict with the state and the political establishment in this period. In conclusion, it will be shown that the conflict between the IP and the government simply enhanced the newspaper's claim to represent the "plain people of Ireland".

#### 4.1 The Campaign against Imperialism

A key feature of populism, whether at a regional or national level, has been its critique of monopoly production on the one hand and of the imperialist practices which sustain monopoly capitalism on the other (cf 1.1.2 above). Hence populism became a key element of various struggles for national liberation from the 1930's onward. As the crisis of the 1930's threw many ruling elites into crisis, especially

where underdevelopment was a factor in precipitating political instability (cf 1 4 1 above), populist arguments came to the fore. From its first issues, the IP launched a trenchant criticism of the world economic and political order, focusing on the cost to the ordinary people who bore the full brunt of the world recession. It highlighted the costs to Ireland of continued economic dependence on Britain and the subservience of the government to the demands of British imperialism. Furthermore, the newspaper pointed to resistance within the Empire from independence movements such as that of India. Hence, coverage of the world crisis and of the international tendency towards protectionism and self-sufficiency became the focus of the IP news coverage in the months before Fianna Fail came to power.

#### 4 1 1 Criticism of the League of Nations

One of the key functions of the IP was to assert Ireland's identity and interests as a small nation within a world economic order dominated by the interests of the larger imperial powers. Hence we can see the analogy between the small producer and the small nation, confronted with a vast and alien system over which they have little control. The IP drew readers' attention to the underlying reasons for the world crisis by pointing to the vested interests which controlled such seemingly neutral organisations as the League of Nations. An example was the proposed Austro-German Customs Union, this had been referred to the League for adjudication, but IP editor Frank Gallagher pointed out that the issue had

in fact already been decided upon by a variety of interests outside the control of the League. In an editorial entitled THE WOUNDED LEAGUE, he sharply criticized the organization's subordination to the imperial powers and its consequent inability to defend the interests of small nations.

The League of Nations began its life lacking the courage to assert the rights of the little nations against the big. This timidity has had the inevitable ending. The big nations whom the League was to hold in check have all but strangled the League with that same leash (IP 7 9 1931 p 6)

Front-page coverage in the same issue of the IP highlighted the statistics on the economic crisis which had been released by the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation. The reader's eye was drawn to the figure of 25,000,000 unemployed as a result of the Depression (IP 7 9 1931 p 1)

As individual nation states came increasingly into conflict in their attempts to protect their home markets, the League of Nations appeared unable to resolve the multitude of tensions arising. By mid-September, discussions at the League Assembly were deadlocked. At the IP Frank Gallagher wasted no opportunity to point to the implications for the independence of smaller nations. While Free State ministers prepared to attend the League Assembly in a late attempt to reach trade agreements, IP editorials pointed to the League's impotence in the face of the vested economic interests which dominated the world economy. As the crisis deepened towards the end of December 1931, the IP highlighted the international trend towards protectionism in support of

the Fianna Fail stance. For example, it cited a statement by the president of Manchester Chamber of Commerce which suggested that protectionism was inevitable.

The force of economic nationalism has become so strong that to carry on international trade has become impossible (IP 31 12 1931 p 2)

It seems, therefore, that the IP attack on the League of Nations served to convince the readership of the impossibility of fair play and an equal position for the small nation within the world system. The populist critique of vested interests was a useful device in making the case for economic self-sufficiency and a national programme of industrial development. In a similar fashion, the IP pointed to the example of the Indian independence movement as a case of popular resistance to Britain. The newspaper also placed great emphasis on the Indian strategy of boycotting British trade.

#### 4 1 2 Support for Indian Independence

IP editorials on the League of Nations set the tone for a position on international affairs that was decisively anti-imperialist. From the outset, international news coverage gave extensive reportage of India's struggle for independence. News reporting provided day-by-day accounts of Gandhi's progress during the Round Table conference on Indian independence in London, during the course of which Press reporters secured an 'exclusive' interview with the Indian leader's son. According to the IP, Gandhi had taken a keen interest in events in the Free State, and hoped to visit

Dublin before returning to India Whereas Ireland's weapon in the struggle against Britain was propaganda, the report suggested, in a clear reference to the role of the Irish Press, India's chief strategy rested upon the economic boycott of British manufactures (IP 14 9 1931 p 1)

As news reports outlined the conference proceedings, Gallagher availed of the editorial columns to warn of the dangers facing the Indian independence movement While commending Gandhi's diplomatic skills, he urged caution, arrayed against the nationalist leader were some of the ablest diplomats in the world The odds against him were heavy, the conference had been established, in Gallagher's estimation, not to promote Indian independence, but to destroy the independence movement All the resources of British diplomacy had been and would be used to attain that end

Feature articles supplemented the news and editorial commentary with discussions of Congress Party policy, describing the aims of cultural and linguistic autonomy, In an article on GANDHI- THE MAN AND HIS CREED, R M Fox highlighted the nationalist policy of burning foreign textile imports and promoting homespun clothing The writer referred to the movement as "Indian Sinn Fein" It was argued that Ireland and India faced a common threat from British economic domination Photographs showed Mr Gandhi arriving at his residence in London's East End, followed by crowds of supporters Later, when popular uprisings began in India and Gandhi faced arrest after returning to Bengal, the Press

carried photographs of British troops boarding at Southampton, bound for India. India seemed destined to follow the path of Ireland's historical conflict with the British. Already, the British were employing the methods of the Irish war of Independence in India. The IP reported Congress Party accusations that Britain had deployed military staff in India who had a record of involvement in the Black and Tans, although British diplomatic sources denied this. Coverage of India's struggle for independence lent additional emphasis to the campaign for Irish economic independence. The outcome of the trade war being orchestrated by Gandhi was of considerable interest, given Fianna Fail's determination to impose tariff barriers to protect industry. Gallagher was optimistic about India's prospects of success. He suggested that British economic interests imperatively demanded peace. British industrialists and British workers would not indefinitely tolerate a policy that was depriving them of their Indian trade, he declared (IP 14 9 1931 p 6). Gallagher was to express the same confidence in the Free State's ability to renegotiate the balance of trade at the onset of the Anglo-Irish Economic War in July 1932 (cf section 5 1). Hence, the key task of the IP was to draw an analogy between the Indian struggle for independence and the campaign for economic independence in Ireland. For example, the news that Gandhi had rejected the British terms offered in London was counterposed to a report of the worsening conditions of trade between the Free State and Britain. The headlines on page 7



expressed the Indian leader's position thus,

NOT SATISFIED WITH A CONSTITUTION WHICH GIVES  
NOTHING- MR GANDHI  
(IP 16 9 1931 p 7)

The right-hand side of page seven was devoted to an account of Gandhi's stance against Britain, under the headlines

GANDHI DECLARES AGAINST EMPIRE AND FOR INDEPENDENCE

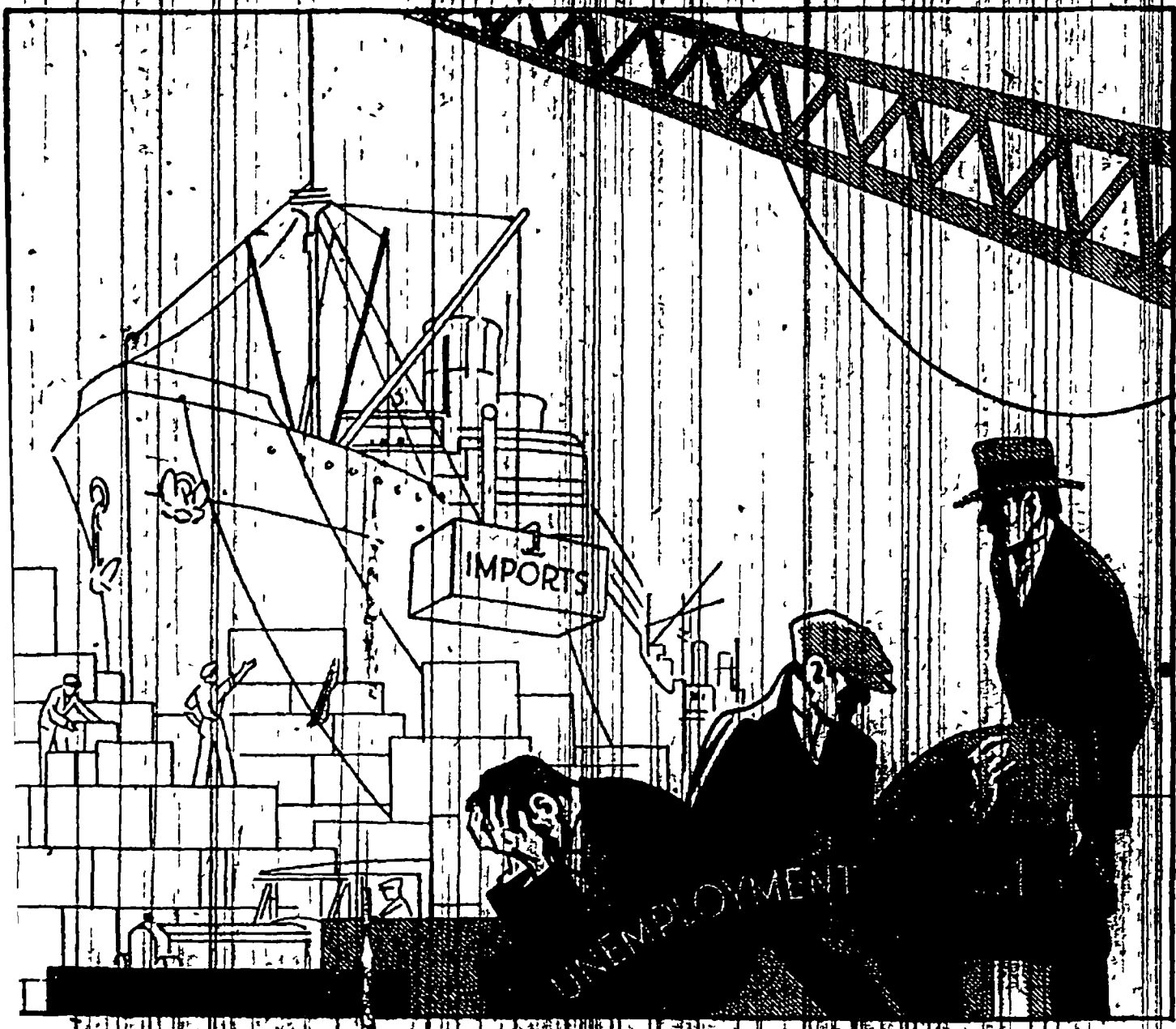
In the left-hand columns, an account was given of Irish trade returns for the first six months of 1931. These figures showed a five million pound drop in the value of exports to Britain. The centre of the page carried a pictorial illustration of the adverse effects of imports on unemployment. It depicted despairing workers slumped at the docks while foreign shipping unloaded cargoes of imports (cf fig 4.1 below). The juxtaposition of international news, home news and graphic illustration were clearly intended to reinforce the message that resistance to British domination, both economic and political, was now imperative in the Free State.

#### 4.1.3 The Crisis of International Trade

In the political crisis ensuing from the disastrous trade returns, the Free State High Commissioner demanded that Britain should purchase more Irish goods. His criticisms of the 'lopsided' trade balance were eagerly seized upon by the Press, which published a front-page account of the diplomatic row under the headlines

BUY MORE IRISH GOODS OR -  
LONDON WARNED  
(IP18 9 1931 p 1)

# WITH CONSTITUTION WHICH



THE TRADE RETURNS SHOW THE VAST SUMS SPENT ON FOREIGN IMPORTS.

fig 4 1  
VAST SUMS SPENT ON FOREIGN IMPORTS  
(IP 16 9 1931 p 7)

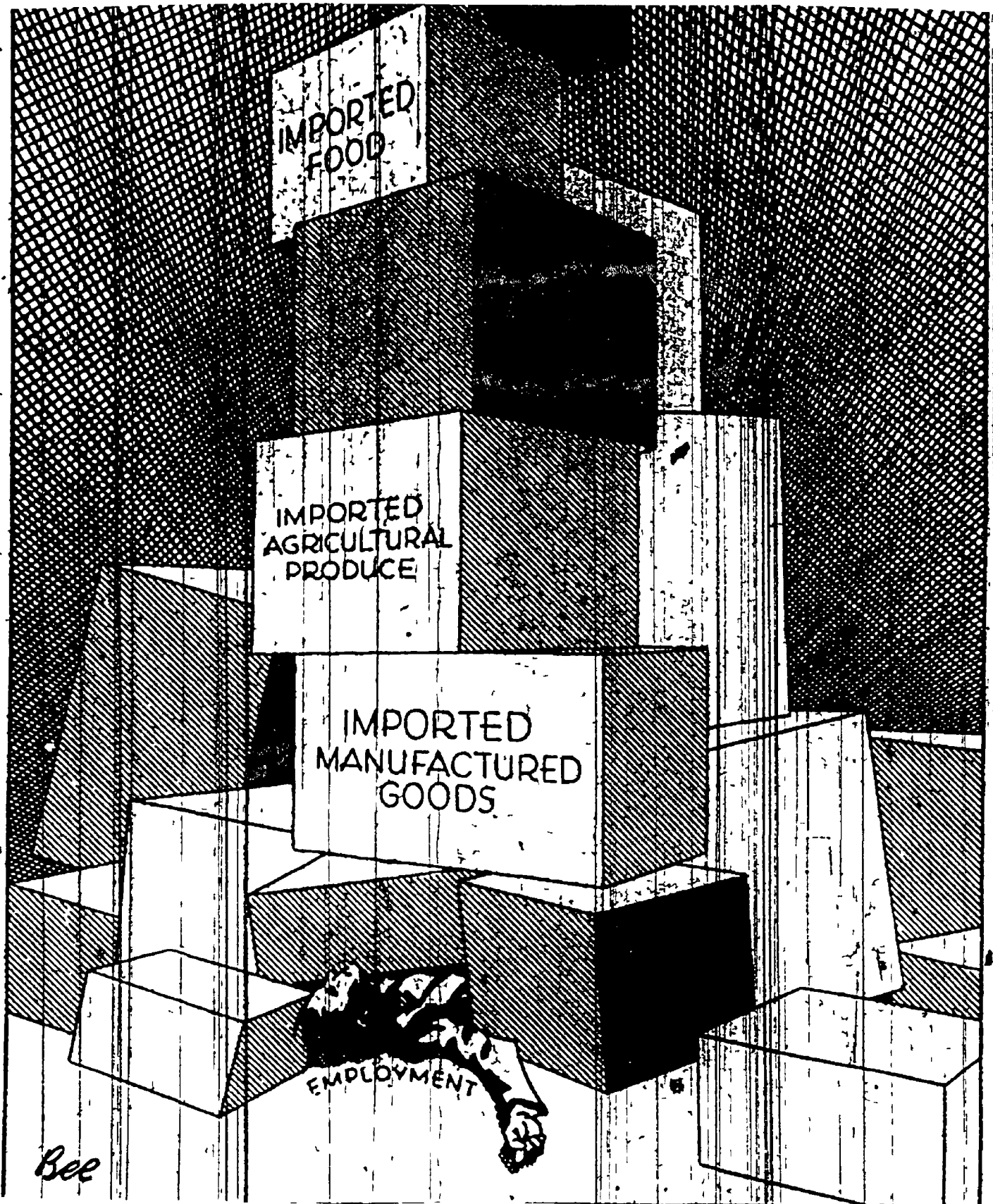


fig 4 2  
IMPORTS AND UNEMPLOYMENT  
(IP 19 9 1931 p 1)

By highlighting the implicit conflict of interests between the Free State and Britain the IP paved the way for Fianna Fail's project of economic independence (cf fig 4 2 below)

The deteriorating trade position was accompanied by a growing concern over the position of sterling and the implications for the Irish currency On September 18th 1931, the League of Nations assembly met in a last minute attempt to prevent the collapse of world trade The following morning, the IP reported with some measure of satisfaction that discussions had been fruitless The paper reported the meeting's outcome under banner headlines

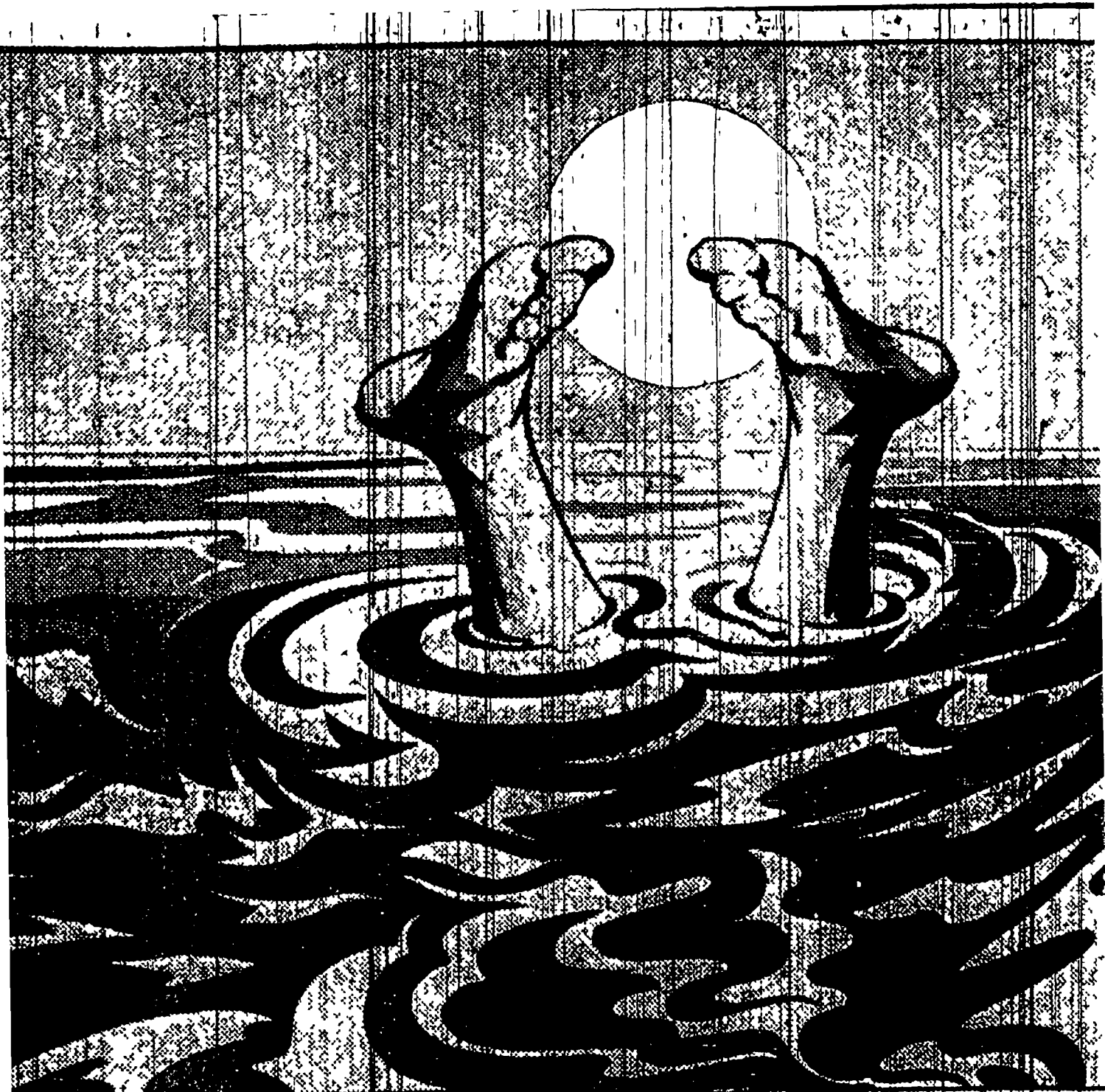
BRITISH CREDIT SHAKEN, POUND TOUCHES LOW LEVEL  
LEAGUE OF NATIONS AN EMPTY FRAMEWORK  
NATIONS STAND BY PROTECTION  
(IP 19 9 1931 p 1)

The League assembly of the previous day had admitted its impotence in the face of the slump in world trade, declared the Press Furthermore, it alleged that The Free State Government, by placing its faith in such institutions, had abdicated its duty to the people This was the opinion of Sean Lemass, who denounced the government's submissiveness to imperial interests In a speech published in the IP, Lemass declared that the Free State Government had become more imperialistic than many members of the British Parliament In a clear attack on the patriotism of the government, he alleged that Cumann na nGaedheal had made the empire their spiritual home Therefore they could be of no help to the people Instead they were a danger and an impediment (IP 14 9 1931 p 5) By making an association between free trade

and imperialism, in anticipation of the arguments put forward by many later Third World economists, the IP was able to identify anti-imperialism with protectionism and self-sufficiency

#### 4 1 4 The Collapse of International Finance

As the sterling crisis broke, coverage of internal politics served to underline the bankruptcy of Cumann na nGaedheal's monetary policy. Fianna Fail demanded that the Irish currency be brought under national control. At an open-air meeting in Cashel, Lemass advocated the establishment of an Irish central bank in Dublin and the creation of an independent currency (IP 7 9 1931 p 7). The following day, the IP gave front-page coverage to Britain's budget proposals, which had just been released. It highlighted the effect of increased taxes in Britain on Free State interests. The news report asserted that a policy of financial dependence on Britain had been pursued by the Free State government. It pointed out that the deposits of the Irish Joint Stock banks, all of the Trustee Savings Banks' deposits and over two thirds of Post Office Savings Bank accounts of the Free State were invested in British securities (IP 8 9 1931 p 1). Ireland's dependency on Britain would have disastrous consequences unless the policies of Fianna Fail were implemented (cf fig 4 3 below)



FREE STATE CURRENCY : "Safely anchored to the pound."

fig 4 3  
SAFELY ANCHORED TO THE POUND  
(IP 26 9 1931 p 1)

4

On the subject of Ireland and the British Crisis, it was pointed out that the country was almost completely dependent upon England for the sale of its exports and was therefore financially tied to sterling. Although the situation had been repeatedly pointed out by Fianna Fail, no attempt had been made to open up other markets (IP 7 9 1931 p 7)

Such news reports were supplemented by editorial commentary. For example, Gallagher reiterated the Fianna Fail demand for an independent banking system. He linked this demand to the more general populist criticism of international finance. In an editorial on Ramsay Macdonald, the editor expressed the hope that the British Labour Opposition might be strong enough to compel a drastic inquiry into the manipulation of international finance (IP 9 9 1931 p 6). Thus, if international finance were to be investigated, some benefits might accrue from the crisis of sterling.

No subject is so ripe for investigation and it may happen that out of Britain's present difficulties a new form of financial control will come which will free society from a system of whose power for harm we have in Ireland have had many generations of sad experience (IP 9 9 1931 p 6)

By the weekend of September 19/20th 1931, the collapse of the gold standard was evident. The IP reported the story on the morning of Monday 21st, when it became clear that many stock exchanges around the world had not opened for business. It was revealed that there had been a wholesale transfer of funds out of sterling in the previous two months, amounting to over 200,000,000 pounds.

The editorial response was typical of populist attitudes to the strictures of international finance. Gallagher emphasised the human costs of the world-wide depression, pointing to the 25,000,000 persons unemployed as a result of the sacrifice of human and economic interest to the maintenance of the gold standard. That nightmare, he believed, had ended at last (21 9 1931 p 6)

The collapse of the pound was the occasion of the departure for London of the chairman of the Irish currency commission, Mr Joseph Brennan. In editorializing, Gallagher viewed the state of affairs as a vindication of the IP's and Fianna Fail's earlier argument. The Free State government, as had been definitely proved, had made one of its gravest blunders in hitching the free State currency to the pound sterling. In the news columns the opinion was given that the reduction in debt contracted by Irish industry would probably offset the devaluation of investments abroad. Thus the IP tended towards the opinion that the crisis could have some positive benefits for Ireland. Thus we find that the paper took the point of view of the smaller manufacturers whose indebtedness to international finance was considered the root cause of underdevelopment. By contrast, the newspaper paid scant regard to the interests of the banks and larger commercial interests. The sole concern with finance was that the smaller Irish producer should not suffer. This concern gave rise to a number of criticisms of the banks and of their alleged subordination to foreign financial monopolies.



Although the crisis had closed stock exchanges throughout the world Irish bankers had initially decided not to raise the bank rate, (IP 22 9 1931 p 1) The following week, however, further increases in the interest rates of the major Irish banks were reported ( IP 29 9 1931 p 1) Upon investigation, the IP reported evidence of British influence behind the increased rates Under the heading

SECRET OF BANKS' DECISION TO RAISE RATE

a report indicated that the decision to maintain rates at their current level had been overturned at the behest of one of the British banks with interests in the Free State The matter was subsequently raised in the Seanad by Senator Connolly The Irish Press reported that the Senator had referred some time ago to the dangers of "outside and alien" interests operating their banking machine Here they had an example, he claimed, of precisely such influence The bank rate was not decided by the bankers of the Free State, who had agreed to maintain interest rates at their present level Instead, a bank external to the twenty six counties had decided what the rate of interest and the line of policy must be The IP was to the forefront in highlighting demands for a central state bank which could regulate credit and interest rates For example, it reported criticism of banking policy at a meeting of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce addressed by Joseph Brennan, chairman of the Currency Commission (IP 29 10 1931 p 2) At the meeting, reported the Press, Mr T J Cullen expressed the view that there was no hope for industrial expansion except through the establishment of a

state bank Mr W O'Reilly believed the chairman should have told them why the currency commission had decided to anchor the Irish pound to Sterling Thus we can see that the Press sought to organise and give expression to all those interests opposed to British financial and industrial domination

#### 4 2 The Response to the Economic Crisis

The IP's attack on imperialism and monopoly capitalism was not presented as an abstract defence of the rights of small nations The newspaper consistently sought to link the question of monopoly control of industry to the pressing problems of unemployment and emigration which beset the poor and working classes Within the Free State, the solution to the economic crisis was presented in terms of state intervention to regulate the control of industry and to ensure full employment One of the primary targets for the IP's campaign against monopoly control was the railroad company, the G S R , which was one of the largest employers of labour within the state The Press was highly critical of the G S R , not least because it was owned by the Murphy family, who controlled the rival Irish Independent

##### 4 2 1 The Campaign Against Transport Monopolies

Following legislation enacted in 1924, the Great Southern Railway Company had been constituted as the main provider of rail services within the Free State in a government bid to modernise and centralise the service By the early 1930's, competition from road transport was leading

to a rationalisation programme which entailed mass redundancies for railway staff and the closing down of a number of rural branch lines (cf Girvin, 1989 24)

In its first issue, the Press drew attention to the appointment of a Scottish "efficiency expert" under whose recommendations the closures were being implemented. It was noted that during the previous year, approximately twenty to thirty percent of railway staff had been dismissed (IP 5 9 1931 p 1). The IP began to report extensively on the mass meetings held by the railworkers unions, at which there were numerous demands for the state to nationalise the railways. In mid-September, Irish Press representatives attended a meeting of the Railway Shops' Joint Council, held in the Mansion House. The report of the meeting highlighted the Unions' resolution to call on the Government to take "immediate steps for an impartial inquiry" and for the introduction of legislation for state ownership and control of the entire transport industry.

James Larkin, who attended the meeting, welcomed the appearance of the Irish Press, saying that he hoped a standard of truthfulness would be established which would give to the working classes a power of expression they had lacked in the past. The report was published in the newspaper under the heading

RAIL WORKERS CRITICISE MANAGEMENT  
POLICY DECLARED TO BE HARMFUL TO NATIONAL INTERESTS  
DEMAND FOR STATE CONTROL  
(IP 21 9 1931 p 2)

Further reports described a number of mass meetings around the country. In Limerick, Alderman Bourke, T D criticized the mass dismissal of railwaymen, while Mr John McCormack, the County Chairman asserted that the reconstruction of the railways in 1924 should have included state control (IP 23 9 1931 p 4). The opinion of a representative of the road transport companies was given that the state should nationalize the railroads in order to regulate transport competition (cf interview with Mr J Furey of Furey's Tours) (IP 25 9 1931 p 1).

Government policy was strongly condemned in an interview with Mr C D Watters, Irish Secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen. He pointed out that the government had paid the GSR around 50,000 pounds annually to service rural areas, now that the money was gone, the GSR was seeking to abandon its contractual obligations by closing down unprofitable lines. This policy was leading, he added, to a "continuous stream of dismissals" (IP 2 10 1931 p 7). In Galway, Senator O'Farrell addressed a meeting of the Irish Section of the Railway Clerks' Association.

The government, he argued,

boasted of a few men employed here and there as the result of tariffs on certain commodities, but calmly looked on whilst railwaymen by the thousand were losing their employment as a result of a state of affairs which it could, but would not rectify"

(IP 1 11 1931 p 4)

The Senator rejected any remedy which fell short of "a central authority with full powers to control and regulate all branches of Irish Transport"

The government's Transport Bill which proposed to regulate competition, was sharply criticised by Frank Gallagher in an Irish Press editorial entitled THE MONOPOLIST MIND (IP 11 12 1931 p 8) He argued that the government sought to consolidate the monopoly conditions prevailing in the transport industry rather than attempting to alleviate them The transport legislation would ensure that small bus owners would be "crushed out" This was a further indication of the monopolist leanings of the administration Gallagher added that the policy of concentrating wealth and power was what had brought the world to its present plight Circumstances had saved Ireland from the worst forms of this domination of the many by the few Wise rulers would not merely preserve such immunity from concentration of wealth, but would endeavour to increase the number of owners of property Instead, the Cumann na nGaedheal administration sought to increase the concentration of wealth and power in Irish society

At the same time, the editorial criticised the low wages and excessive working hours prevalent in the smaller bus companies On some of the smaller lines, Gallagher argued, wages were below the standard necessary to provide a decent livelihood and working hours were grossly excessive These were conditions which no state should tolerate

While defending the interests of workers in the transport industry, a major focus of the IP campaign rested on opposition to British influence in the control of Irish

4

transport Some critics had in the course of the public discussion queried whether the policy of the G S R was not unduly influenced by the interests of British manufacturers Senator John J Counihan, in a statement to the executive of the Irish Cattle Traders Association, alleged that the policies of the directors were dictated by the British rail and shipping companies The Senator objected to the cost of rail transport, pointing out that freight rates were up to 120% higher than pre-war rates in the Free State, compared with increases of 75% in the North and 50% in England The Senator's remarks were published in the Irish Press under the headlines

STATE INTERVENTION URGED TO SAVE THE RAILROADS  
DO THE RAILWAYS SERVE THE IRISH PEOPLE?  
(IP 18 9 1931 p 2)

This type of reportage provided the basis for the Press campaign against British influence over Irish transport

In early October, the paper began to carry adverts for The Irish Shipping Company Like many of the advertisements appearing in the Press at the time, this company was described as a new Irish-owned concern The shipping company in question was owned by Staffords of Wexford, which intended running a new service in direct competition with those offered by Coast Lines, a subsidiary of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company On November 3rd the Press lead story ran

IRISH SHIPPING COMPANY TO FIGHT FOR LIFE  
NEW MOVE TOWARD RATE CUTTING ON CARGO LINE  
HOME MERCANTILE SERVICE  
90 PER CENT OF SHIPPING FOREIGN OWNED  
(IP 3 11 1931 p 1)

The story reported the registration of a new British shipping line to service Irish ports, in competition with the areas serviced by the Irish Shipping Company. Thus, eleven days after the announcement of Staffords' enterprise, another company had been registered to operate from Wexford. The directors of this company were also members of the Board of Directors of the British and Irish Steampacket Co., a subsidiary of Coast Lines.

The IP story asserted that the new developments represented an attempt to eliminate the Irish company. It pointed to the findings of the Ports and Harbours Tribunal of 1930, which had commented upon "the hopeless position of the Irish mercantile marine". Within the previous ten years, Irish-owned shipping companies had been either driven out of business or absorbed by British combines. While the new service operated by James Stafford and Co. represented an attempt at an Irish service, already British interests had set out to destroy it. Over the subsequent weeks, the Press sought to publicise the case. It pointed out that Irish cattle traders, for example, welcomed the Irish enterprise. The opinion of the chairman of the National Executive of the Irish Cattle Traders' Association, Mr J. Cassidy, was given that

no trade could be healthy where there was a complete monopoly of its transport in the hands of any concern or combine (IP 5 11 1931 p 1)

The Press coverage of the case had been warmly received in Wexford where, it was reported, every copy of the paper had sold out of the newsagents. As well as publicising the

case, the IP sought to galvanize public support for the Irish company Thus, on November 5th, Press headlines attempted to rally public opinion,

SHIPPING FIGHT DEVELOPS AID FOR IRISH LINE  
RALLYING TO SUPPORT OF THE NEW IRISH SHIPPING COMPANY  
PUBLIC OPINION ROUSED BY EFFORTS TO CRIPPLE THE VENTURE  
(IP 5 11 1931 p 1)

The text of the report stated that Mr T P Dowdall, of Dowdall, O'Mahoney and Co , Cork, had in a statement to the Irish Press called for support from the government, the general public and Irish traders so that the new venture might not "be bludgeoned off the seas by the great goliath"

Mr Dowdall, described as a leading public man with extensive business interests in the country, (who was also a director of the IP) would give a lead in supporting the company by investing a sum of 500 pounds He urged Irish people, great and small, to invest what they could, since, he warned, the Irish Shipping Company was to fight for its life against one of the greatest shipping combines in the world, disguised as a little company formed eleven days after Staffords (IP 5 11 1931 p 1) The story acquired a further dimension as another Irish Press exclusive report appeared the following morning under the headlines

PROPOSAL TO CREATE BIG RAILWAY-SHIPPING COMBINE  
IRISH COMPANIES PARTICIPATE IN SECRET LONDON NEGOTIATIONS  
A NEW MONOPOLY DANGER  
(IP 6 11 1931 p 1)

"The Irish Press is in a position to announce exclusively today" stated the text "that secret negotiations are at present being conducted in London to bring about a big



railway-shipping combine" The companies involved were listed  
as

THE LONDON-MIDLAND AND SCOTTISH RAILWAY CO  
THE GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY CO OF ENGLAND  
"A THIRD BRITISH RAILWAY CO "  
THE GREAT SOUTHERN RAILWAYS CO OF IRELAND  
THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY CO OF IRELAND

Together, these companies proposed the purchase of the  
entire Coast Lines cross-channel shipping services This  
would involve taking control of

THE BRITISH AND IRISH STEAM PACKET CO  
THE CITY OF CORK STEAM PACKET CO  
THE BELFAST STEAMSHIP CO  
THE DUNDALK AND NEWRY STEAMPACKET CO  
MICHAEL MURPHY LTD , DUBLIN

Negotiations had been opened by the Chairman of Coast  
Lines, described in the IP as "the shipping magnate, Sir  
Alfred Reid" Sir Alfred was leading the discussions with Sir  
Joshua Stamp, President of the London, Midland and Scottish  
Railway Company, while representatives of the G S R were  
also in London for talks The Press account stated  
emphatically that the G S R 's Articles of Association did  
not permit it to engage in shipping In this case, special  
legislation would be required to permit its involvement in the  
combine It was added that while each of the railway  
companies would have representation on the new combine's  
board of directors, the Irish company's influence would be so  
small as to have a negligible impact on rates and policy  
Would the Free State government, queried the Press, agree to  
a deal which extended the British monopoly of the country's  
shipping services? Such revelations lent added weight to

the Irish Press campaign against foreign economic domination

This campaign also took the form of a concerted attack on foreign dumping, which was a major cause of concern to sections of Irish manufacturing industry, particularly those concerned with clothing and footwear

#### 4 2 3 NAIDA and Irish Industry

The question of transport was but a single facet of the main preoccupation of the Irish Press, which was to gain support for the protection of Irish manufacturers and agriculturalists from monopoly concerns elsewhere. The trade crisis and the attendant threat of tariffs in Britain had led to an acceleration of dumping within the Free State, which as a party to Imperial Preference was exempt from such tariffs. Dumping, or the sale of goods at prices below cost, was the focus of a major campaign in the Press as the international crisis worsened. Following the tradition of NAIDA (cf section 2 3 above), the Irish Press began to highlight instances of foreign produce sold on the Irish market as "Irish"

In September 1931, following the issuing of the Merchandise Marks Bill, a commission was established by the government to adjudicate on Irish industries seeking protection. The IP expressed dissatisfaction with the assumptions and procedures of the Commission (IP 10 9 1931 p 7). For example, it was pointed out that no provisions were made for more stringent marking of foreign goods coming into the country. The IP argued that the commission would not

proscribe the use of certain national emblems by foreign manufacturers. Rather, the onus would be on the Irish manufacturer to prove that particular Irish goods were being injured by the marking, or lack of marking of foreign goods. Furthermore, the Merchandise Marks Commission had attached a number of restrictive conditions, such as the requirement that the feasibility of stamping the country of origin on a particular product.

For the IP such requirements were indicative of the government's reluctance to give wholehearted protection to Irish industry. The IP pointed to the example of the bacon industry, Irish bacon curers seeking that foreign bacon be marked as foreign would have great difficulty in demonstrating how this could actually be done in practice. The same report raised the issue of imports processed in Ireland and sold as Irish - such as jam made from imported fruit pulp and shoes made with imported uppers, where the manufacturing process was completed in the Free State. It was alleged that the advice of NAIDA had been ignored, since there would be no prosecution of foreign companies selling imported goods as Irish. Both Mr W E Shackleton, vice-president of the Irish Industrial Development Association (IIDA), and the secretary, Miss Somers, expressed criticism of the Bill, the latter calling on the State to prosecute offending foreign manufacturers rather than leaving this function to associations such as the IIDA.

The IP's coverage of IIDA criticism of the government was supplemented by reports of Fianna Fail attacks on the

neglect of industry For example, in the days following the report on the Merchandise Marks commission, Frank Aiken was quoted as saying that the government had failed to give the necessary help to Irish industry For Aiken, the solution was to develop native Irish industries rather than to give millions of pounds to other countries in exchange for their produce (IP 14 9 31 p 5) In taking up the arguments made by the IIDA and giving publicity to the statements of NAIDA members, the IP had clearly aligned itself with the interests of the smaller manufacturers against those who demanded the continuation of free trade

#### 4 2 3 The Campaign Against Dumping

Following the discussion of the Merchandise Marks Bill the Press began an "exclusive" series of reports on foreign dumping under the headlines

A SUIT FOR 25 SHILLINGS  
THREAT TO IRISH CLOTHING INDUSTRY  
LARGE CONSIGNMENT FROM RUSSIA  
(IP 11 9 1931 p 1)

In previous days, the report indicated, a large consignment of ready-made mens' suits, trousers and overcoats had arrived at the North Wall in Dublin, to be sold at prices that would put all the wholesale clothing companies out of business in a couple of months The goods had been produced at prices considerably lower than those of home manufacturers, Mr Andrew J Sheeran, Secretary of the Irish Free State Wholesale Clothing and Cap Manufacturers Association, gave the opinion that a complete embargo on such

cargoes was needed, even duties of 100 per cent would not be sufficient to make Irish clothing competitive. He indicated that if the Free State government permitted the Irish market to be flooded with these Polish or Russian clothes it would finish the home factories in a short time and leave close on three thousand people unemployed. This theme was repeated by de Valera, speaking at a meeting in Wicklow during which he emphasised the need for economic restructuring to deal with the slump in world trade. The economic crisis, he reminded the audience, was forcing all nations to a policy of self-sufficiency. Fianna Fail would not permit the dumping of foreign goods and if a tariff were not sufficient to prevent this, a Fianna Fail government would resort to an absolute embargo (IP 14 9 1931 p 4)

Subsequent to Mr De Valera's Wicklow speech, the Irish Press reported that a council meeting of NAIDA had recommended that the revenue commissioners be empowered to assess import duties on their actual value rather than on the price (IP 17 9 1931 p 1). Discontent with Government inaction was also expressed at a meeting of the Irish Wholesale Clothing and Cap Manufacturers Association. The meeting passed a resolution stating that a serious view was taken of foreign clothing being sold at a fraction of the cost of production in the Free State. Being convinced that the continued importation of this clothing would result in the extinction of the clothing industry in the Free State, the organisation requested that the Minister for Industry and Commerce meet a delegation of its members to discuss the

2

P

situation at his earliest convenience (IP 17 9 1931 p 1) After the publication of the Free State's trade returns for the first six months of 1931, the IP reported the formation of the Irish Manufacturers' Association, which would represent all branches of clothing and boot manufacturers in the Free State (IP 18 9 1931 p 1) For the report, the paper interviewed Mr A J Smalley of the boot manufacturers Messrs James Winstanley The paper also interviewed the Secretary of the National Union of Boot, Shoe and Leather Workers Both men were in agreement that skilled labour would remain unemployed until something was done to stop the wholesale dumping of "shoddy" foreign footwear In this way, it was implied that both Irish capital and Irish Labour had an equal interest in protectionism By emphasising the threat to employment rather than profits, it seemed that the small manufacturers and the working class shared the same interests (cf fig 4 4 below)

The Press also interviewed Mr James Clune, Managing Director of Todd, Burns and Co , Dublin, on the subject of suit dumping For the interview, Mr Clune had procured a specimen "Mystery Suit" to illustrate his remarks It was emphasised that his firm did not stock such goods Mr Clune's commentary gives a clear indication of the frustrations of the smaller Irish manufacturers faced with overseas competition The element of the "mystery suit" was obviously intended to arouse the reader's interest in what was otherwise a rather uninteresting subject In fact, it is

difficult to see why the working class should have objected to low-cost clothing, whether Irish-made or foreign. According to Mr Clune, with mystery specimen presented to the IP reporter

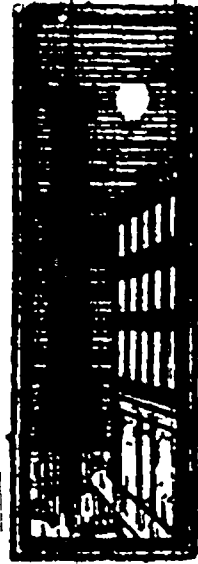
This navy blue suit is well cut and fairly well finished. It can be sold, at a fair profit, by retail traders to the public at 18/11. To produce a similar suit in Dublin, with the cheapest form of trimming and making, and based on a large output, it could not be sold retail at the same rate of profit at less than thirty shillings" (IP 19 9 1931 p 1)

Mr Clune warned that factories would close as a result of the sale of such products on the Irish market. Even in the event of tariffs being imposed, foreign imports would continue to undercut home-produced articles unless a complete embargo were imposed (IP 19 9 1931 p 2). The same issue of the IP carried advertisements urging the public to "Buy Irish Serges". These advertisements asserted that "a suit or costume of Irish Serge will outlast three of shoddy". Customers would save money by buying the home-made article. A list of stockists included the firm of Todd, Burns and Co (IP 19 9 1931 p 3) (cf fig 4 5 below). In an appeal for government protection a delegation of the IWCCMA to the trade and industries section of the Department of Industry and Commerce pointed to the Press reports on suit dumping from Eastern Europe. This appeal, which claimed to have the co-operation of clothing workers, requested a complete embargo of foreign clothing (IP 23 9 1931 p 1)

# An IRISH-MADE SHOE

*that will Stand up to plenty of Hard wear*

Here's an Irish made shoe, equal in style, material and finish to the best imported, and selling at a figure with which it is impossible to compete. It is cut from the finest super-grade Black Box Calf Leather-lined throughout for winter comfort. With double damp-proof soles, welted as hand-sewn. This shoe (made on the newest type last) is the last word in comfort—it fits like a kid glove.



Just around the corner from the Pillar



UNBEATABLE  
VALUE AT

**21/-**

Also in Tan Willow Calf at 22/6  
Postage 9d. extra.

**ORDER NOW**

Just send P.O. or cheque together with size (or a pencil outline of your foot) State whether Black Box Calf or Tan Willow Calf. Give full name and address clearly and you will have the shoes by return.

Money Back  
in Full  
if not satisfied

## FITZPATRICK

2 G.P.O. Buildings, Henry Street, Dublin

OPEN TO-NIGHT TILL 8.30 .. PHONE 43686

fig 4 4  
AD FOR AN IRISH-MADE SHOE  
(IP 19 9 1931 p 9)



# IRISH SERGES

## Dyed Fast . . .

Irish Serges have reached a standard of excellence equal to the world's best. They are dyed fast with the best dyes produced. They are beautifully finished with that richly soft appearance found only in Serges of the highest grade. They are woven from pure wool, ensuring long wear and retention of shape.

A Suit or Costume of Irish Serge will outlast three of shoddy. It is saving money to buy the Home-Made Article.

# BUY

Ask your tailor for Irish Serges, and Insist on seeing a good variety.

# IRISH SERGES

*The following are the Leading Irish Serge Mills:—Kilkenny Woollen Mills (1929), Ltd.; Martin Mahony & Bros., Ltd., Blarney; Morrogh Bros & Co., Ltd., Douglas; Maloney Redmond & Co., Ltd., Adfinnan; Providence Mills, Foxford; Athlone Woollen Mills, Ltd., Athlone; Clayton & Co., Ltd., Navan; Conroy Woollen Mills, Ltd., Co Donegal; Dripsey Mills Ltd., Co. Cork; Hill & Sons, Ltd., Lucan.*

fig 4 5  
AD FOR IRISH SERGES  
(IP 19 9 1931 p 3)

Further reports highlighted a variety of instances of dumping in the Free State. In October, the Press carried details of Russian match dumping, reporting that a scheme had been uncovered to flood the home market with imported matches (IP 9 10 1931 p 2). It was stated that travellers had been all over the Free State in the previous six weeks, offering matches to shopkeepers at under half the price currently being paid. The report added that there was also a scheme in which the retailer was entitled, upon purchasing 12 boxes, to a free gift coupon. Low price tinned salmon and sugar products were also being offered. Such examples of allegedly unfair competition were used by the IP to strengthen the demands for full-scale protection.

In early November, faced with the probability of British protection measures, the Cosgrave government introduced temporary measures to halt dumping for a period of approximately nine months. The Press began to campaign for an extensive implementation of the act, illustrated with depictions of Irish manufactures drowning under a deluge of imports. Reports on the tariff commission pointed to instances of Irish linen sent to Japan and China to be embroidered and subsequently sold in the United States as "Irish Linen, Hand Embroidered". Material was also being sent to Belgium and Switzerland for finishing, then re-sold on the Irish market as Irish, the reports suggested (IP 7 11 1931 p 5).

By late November, the British government had announced tariffs, reported in the Press under the headlines

1

SENSATIONAL BRITISH MOVE AGAINST FOREIGN GOODS  
DRASTIC ANTI-DUMPING PROPOSALS INTRODUCED  
POWERS TO IMPOSE HUNDRED PER CENT TARIFF ON IMPORTS  
(IP 17 11 1931 p 1)

The Press contrasted British promptitude in imposing tariffs with the hesitation of the Cosgrave administration. When, at the end of December, the first anti-dumping order imposed a tax on foreign bacon (cf IP 31 12 1931 p 1), Frank Gallagher was scathing in his commentary on the government's belated measures.

For the first ten months of 1931, the Free State, which produces the best bacon in the world, imported 86,000 cwts of that commodity more than it exported  
(IP 31 12 1931 p 6)

He pointed out that since 1924, exports of bacon had fallen away by half. The Press emphasised NAIDA's attitude to the question, which was that preferential tariffs with regard to trade between Ireland and Britain was unacceptable. A resolution passed by NAIDA in early January stated:

That in the light of the fact that ministers of our government are reported as having the intention of conferring with the Government of Great Britain relative to the question of Imperial Preferences, the National Agricultural and Industrial Development Association urges upon the people of this country the absolute necessity of holding unflinchingly to their right to impose tariffs or prohibition against any or all imports which in any way may delay or impair the full and complete economic development- industrial and agricultural- of this country  
(IP 11 1 1932 p 3)

At the same time, NAIDA announced an extensive "Buy Irish" campaign. The Irish Press was to become one of the major publicity instruments for this campaign. From January

16th, 1932 the Press began to carry weekly full-page advertisements on behalf of NAIDA. These exhorted the public to buy Irish-made goods, stating that the cure for "unemployment and unrest" lay in the development of the Irish home market.

The Irish Press also reported on a campaign to organise Irish women to assist native manufacturers by purchasing Irish goods. This campaign had first been mentioned by Mr De Valera while opening Aonach na Nodlaig, the Christmas fair for Irish goods at the Mansion House in December (IP 12 12 1931 p 1), where he appealed specially to Irish women to support native industry. Subsequently, the Irish Industries Purchasing League took up the issue, contributing to a major drive to assist native manufacturers. The Irish Press clearly played a significant part in organising and giving voice to those Irish manufacturers concerned with the development of the home market for industry. More importantly, it sought to incorporate within this project the mass of the people, whose support was vital to Fianna Fail's success.

#### 4 3 The Needs of the People

The Irish Press did not simply focus on the needs of Irish industry. It consistently sought to present the project of industrialisation in terms of the needs of the ordinary people. This was done in a number of ways. Firstly, it was argued that industrial society was facing crisis and that the only alternative was a programme of ruralisation, (i.e. the

development of small-scale industries throughout the country) (cf 2 3 above) Secondly, while maintaining the ideal of rural society, the IP advocated a programme of state intervention to resolve pressing problems such as housing and welfare By highlighting the problems of the working classes, and by appearing sympathetic to the trade unions, the Press sought to win the support of the working class and at the same time to present Fianna Fail as the real party of the working classes In presenting the alternative of a "third way" between monopoly capitalism and communism, the IP sought to channel working-class radicalism towards support for Fianna Fail

#### 4 3 1 The Crisis of Industrial Society

From the outset the IP discussed at length the idea of small-scale production For example, the ruralisation of industry was frequently advocated by members of the lower clergy, whom Gallagher cited at length Citing the Rev J M Hayes, whose address to a meeting of an Rioghacht raised the question of the real national economy, Gallagher pointed to the need to restore rural life Industrialisation as it existed had "come to a dead end" Father Hayes suggested that it had been, in fact "a bad system from the beginning" Father Hayes was in fact a member of NAIDA and the publication of his opinion in the Irish Press serves to underline the close links which were developing between the newspaper and NAIDA

Hayes argued that by drawing the population into the cities,

industrialisation had injured the health and physical development of the race

It drew the people from their closeness to nature and beauty and cooped them up amongst bricks and mortar "  
(IP 10 12 1931 p 8)

Gallagher added that the alternative to the present system was the ruralisation of industry described by Father Hayes. The State, he argued, should promote the establishment of small industries and help them in their struggle for existence. To illustrate the point, Gallagher referred to the recently-completed Hydro-electric station at Ardnacrusha on the Shannon. Now that the scheme was an accomplished fact, ruralisation had become practicable.

"To visualise it is to understand immediately its value and its beauty - the village with its small factories and its craftsmen and women supplying many of the needs of the rural community of which it is the centre, providing work for the surplus population of the land, introducing into the homes of the land-workers themselves craft industries through which they may express their thought and character.

This varied life would be the source of a culture and happiness for the people which concentration in the cities must always deny them (IP 10 12 1931 p 8)

The Irish Press also gave coverage to municipal authorities who were opposed to greater urbanisation. At a meeting of the Annual Conference of the Association of Municipal Authorities, strong criticism was expressed at the growth of a "top-heavy" Dublin. Economic stagnation was leading workless agricultural labourers to join the pools of unemployed in the cities. While rural areas were being depopulated, the city offered little hope of employment for the rural immigrants. The Mayor of Sligo indicated that there was "no encouragement for people to remain on the land". In

his opinion, the government bore responsibility for failing to stimulate native manufacturing

They could, for instance grapple with the import of the foreign manufactured articles that could be produced as cheaply and better at home. Personally he would not be satisfied with a tariff on some items but would prohibit their import entirely (IP 16 9 1931 p 2)

#### 4 3 2 Combatting the Evil of the Slums

The social policies of the Irish Press were remarkably progressive by the standards of the 1930's. Housing and welfare were pressing concerns in both urban and rural areas. While editorial commentary was highly critical of existing policy in regard to both these issues, a number of reports pointed to progressive policies in other countries which might be implemented in the Free State.

In an editorial entitled HOUSE THE PEOPLE, Gallagher wrote of the need for low-rent housing to replace the evil of the slums. Dublin, he wrote, was at present one of the worst-housed cities in the world. The growth of the slums and overcrowding reflected the disastrous effects of chronic unemployment. It was pointed out that in 1926, 79,000 citizens of Dublin County Borough were living in one-roomed tenements. Gallagher was critical of the optimism expressed by the Lord Mayor of Dublin on the subject. Far from showing signs of declining, the numbers of residents in the slums was growing. Between 1913 and 1926, the number of slum-dwellers had grown by 5,000. The scale of the problem was so great that the local authorities alone could not deal with it. A state loan should be granted to finance new housing projects.

4

since the banks were unwilling to provide long-term loans at low interest rates. Furthermore, steps should be taken to ensure that those most urgently in need of housing would benefit.

A very large proportion of the houses built by or with the aid of the Corporation are occupied by well-to-do people. We have yet to see any evidence that the Corporation's building schemes have led to a substantial reduction in the number of residents in the slums.  
( IP 16 9 1931 p 6 )

The Press also reported on a speech by Mr R H White at the Rotary Club, in which a favourable account was given of Vienna's response to housing problems. The Vienna City Council had raised taxes from its citizens in order to finance housing projects for the working classes. Mr White referred to the modern style of the buildings, mentioning that modern planning had produced "Garden Cities" in which the needs of the residents were well catered for. The architects of the housing programme had made provision for laundry facilities, kindergartens, open spaces and gardens. Public baths, direct lighting and other amenities could be provided within such a scheme. It was suggested that members of Dublin Corporation visit Vienna and subsequently undertake a loan to resolve the Dublin housing problem in a similar manner. (IP 15 9 1931 p 5) In the same issue a report was carried on social services in the Soviet Union. Dr R A Johnson, who had recently returned from a visit to Russia, expressed astonishment at the efforts being made to increase living standards. While in Russia, he had devoted most of his



time to the medical aspects of social services, and had been "remarkably impressed" by the manner in which the country was tackling social problems (IP15 9 1931 p 2)

#### 4 3 3 The Appeal to Women Readers

The Women's page focused in particular on the needs of working-class women and those on low incomes. For example, it pointed to the need for welfare centres in Dublin in order to reduce infant mortality rates. The opinion of Dr Bethel Solomons, Master of the Rotunda hospital, was given that greater state funding was needed in this regard, (although he was not in favour of state control). In Denmark, he pointed out, provisions for post-natal care had been highly developed, and consequently infant mortality rates there were very low (IP 15 9 31 p 3). Dorothy Macardle, the Republican author, conducted a series of interviews on Irish mothers and their children. She reported on the problems of unemployment and the difficulties of housing and rent faced by slum residents.

For top-floor back rooms, the rent here is five shillings or more. In a single room that costs five shillings a week, Mrs Farrell lives with her husband, the baby and a boy aged two. Without assistance from the Child Welfare Association the baby could not hope to live (IP 14 9 1931 p 6).

The paper's stance on social issues reflected the typical populist position. On the one hand, modern and progressive policies were advocated to deal with the problems of urbanization. On the other hand, the paper looked to the regeneration of rural life as the long-term solution. For example, an article on the need for welfare centres which

appeared on the women's page also referred to the virtues of traditional Irish motherhood (cf fig 4 6 below) References to traditional female virtues also contrasted with the depiction of women as part of the workforce building the new Irish industries (cf fig 4 7 below) (This contradiction was not resolved until 1937 when most women were excluded from the workforce under the new Constitution)

# SAVING THE CHILD

## Need for Welfare Centres

### A Tribute to Irish Mothers

(Special to IRISH PRESS)

THE serious waste of infant life in the poorer areas of Dublin caused by the conditions under which young children are reared and the lack of specialised knowledge on the part of some mothers was the subject of strong comment by prominent Dublin social workers interviewed by an Irish Press representative.

It was pointed out that a great deal has been done to grapple with the problem, but child welfare workers are held back by the apathy of the public who do not realise the extent of the menace to the future of the nation.

Reddin visits the clubs and clinics are held weekly when mothers and babies are given treatment. It is different from dispensary work in that it prevents the beginning of diseases such as rickets in children. The function of the clubs is to prevent disease and to look after the health of the mother and child. The babies are weighed weekly and advice is given to mothers as to proper food and care of children, etc.

Every birth in the poorer districts of the city is notified to the medical officer and a nurse visits the case.

### Splendid Irish Mothers

Equally insistent on the importance of the work was Dr Kathleen Lynn of St. Ultan's Hospital who emphasised the need for educating the mother.

The unfortunate condition of so many of our children," she said, "is not due to any fault of the parents. The Irish make proverbially good mothers and visitors from other countries are astounded at the anxiety shown by them in the care of their children. All the damage is done by lack of knowledge, and the great need is for more trained workers. There is room for three times the present number and the lack of adequate facilities for child welfare work is the serious menace to the future health of the nation."

Miss Elizabeth Mullen, a co-founder with Dr Lynn of St. Ultan's Hospital cited innumerable cases where improper feeding had resulted in permanent, and even fatal injury to infants. There were 50 beds at present occupied in the hospital which only accepts children under the age of one year and many more could be filled if space were available. Not neglect of under feeding but malnutrition due to improper feeding was the most common cause of the maladies which affect the children of the very poor.



BABIES ARE BABIES  
In the world, this is the position of baby in Japan.

### Growth of Child Welfare Movement

Enormous work to the country could be done by extending the educational work of the baby clubs, said Dr Andrew Horne, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Child Welfare Institute and Chairman of the Baby Clubs Committee. He went on to outline the growth of the movement in the city.

It is a quarter of a century, he said, since the first baby club was started under the auspices of the Women's National Health Association of Ireland. The object of these clubs is threefold: first, the care of the expectant mother, secondly, the care of the nursing mother, and thirdly, the care of the child from birth to school age. The first baby club was set up in 1906, and since then the number of these clubs has increased to 112.

After the formation of these clubs, the work of the baby clubs was to take up the work of the baby clubs in the city and in the suburbs. In 1912 the City of Dublin Child Welfare Scheme was launched and the Central Committee formed. Under the Central Committee are 10 sub-committees - the sub-committee for the baby clubs and that for infant aid. The Central Committee consists of representatives from the Corporation, the baby clubs, the infant aid and other interests.

### Eleven Hundred to One Nurse

"The work of the baby clubs still continues. The medical officer Dr K.

advises the parents and if necessary sends the child to a baby club. The parents are also directed as to the correct methods of feeding and every nurse has from 40 to 100 cases a day to handle which is an impossible number for one woman, however enthusiastic and capable she may be.

Each club is run by a voluntary committee. Dental treatment is a phase which we are anxious to develop but we are handicapped by lack of funds. The baby clubs receive about £600 annually from the Government and the remainder of the cost of upkeep is made up by voluntary subscriptions. If the ordinary citizen were to take an interest in the matter and help in the work of the voluntary committees it would be a great help to us. In England they are ahead of us in child welfare work simply because it has been going on longer there and they have more funds.

### The Age of the Child

This is the age of children, age added and more has been done for child welfare in the past 25 years than in the preceding two centuries. We must look to child welfare for the building up of our country in the future. The children must have the best possible chance to develop mentally and physically to the best advantage.

Finally Dr Bethel Solomon, Master of the Rotunda Hospital stressed the importance of the care of the expectant mother.

The baby clubs are doing splendid work, he said, but in my opinion pre-natal clinics should be run in connection with maternity hospitals. There should be larger State and Corporation grants though do not advocate State control. In Denmark for instance where the work has been more highly developed infantile mortality is very low. There is a great loss of life through patients not attending the natal clubs and worse loss through ignorance of baby management. If mothers could be persuaded to come to the baby clubs a great deal of unnecessary loss of life and injury to health would be avoided.

# NEW WAYS FOR FISHY DAYS

## LEAVES from my ABSTINENCE DAY COOKERY BOOK



Most women, when it comes to framing abstinence day meals, turn instinctively to fish and with good reason.

Fish is rich in food values, it is good for the growing child and for the adult, whether the adult of the hearty stouter type whose digestion apparatus is all the better for a partial rest - or the adult city worker of sedentary habit, whose lack of exercise makes constant meat meals a strain on the constitution.

onions, four sliced carrots and four tomatoes in a stewpan or casserole and brown slightly with two ounces of butter or margarine. Season with pepper and salt. Then add two pounds of any white fish cut in convenient pieces and cover with sliced potatoes. Dab with butter or margarine. Cook with the casserole lid on for about an hour. Then remove lid to broken potatoes.

The benefit of these pie or casserole dishes is that the entire food values of the fish and vegetables are conserved whereas in boiling much of the good is lost in the cooking water.

### What about Fish Soup?

Have you tried fish soup? It is economical, since fish trimmings or cheap cuts can be utilized in its making. Here are two good recipes in fish and rice soup and a thick fish soup.

For this, take four medium sized tomatoes and fry lightly in a little butter or frying fat. Put in casserole saucepan together with three quarters of a pound of fish trimmings and three pints of water.

Simmer for two hours. Then strain and put back in saucepan together with two ounces of unpolished rice and boil for three quarters of an hour. Add a little chopped parsley before serving.

Slice onion and carrot and fry in bottom of enamel saucepan. Add three quarters of a pound of white fish (a teaspoonful of sweet herbs, a ounce of tapioca or sago, seasoning to taste and two pints of water.

Simmer gently for two hours and strain before serving.

For the main meal an economical choice is either a fish pie or a casserole of fish dish. In each case a little fish goes a long way.

### The Business Girl's Supper

Then there are countless economical and easily prepared small fish dishes suitable for an abstinence day breakfast or a business girl's supper. There are soft herring roes or cod's roe on toast and there is savoury fish toast another palatable way of clearing up left overs.

### SOFT RICE ON TOAST

Rinse Irish herring roes in cold salted water, dry and after lightly flouring fry quickly. Take buttered toast spread thinly with anchovy paste and put the soft roes on top. Sprinkle salt and a hint of cayenne pepper and serve piping hot.

### COD'S ROE ON TOAST

For four people boil three quarters of a pound of cod's roe. When cold pound it with two ounces of butter or margarine, salt and cayenne to taste and half an ounce of chutney. Put this mixture in well greased pan and fill in juice of half a lemon.

fig 4 6  
THE NEED FOR WELFARE CENTRES  
(IP 15 9 1931 p 3)

# WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

—Sea—Air—The Machine—  
and the



Girls at Work in a Dublin Chocolate Factory.

fig 4 7  
IRISH WOMEN IN INDUSTRY  
Girls at Work in a Dublin Chocolate Factory  
(IP 15 9 1931 p 3)

#### 4 3 4 The Critique of Monopoly Capitalism and Communism

The Irish Press reflected the populist concern for the perceived evils of mass society and large-scale industrialization. It also reflected the belief that late developing countries could turn to their advantage the lack of capitalist development and promote a more egalitarian social order where the ravages of competition could be regulated by some measures of state control.

Gallagher's editorials demonstrate the contradictory tendencies clearly. The evils of modern urban society could only be resolved by increasing the number of peasant proprietors and re-establishing rural communities, he argued. In an editorial entitled MORE PEASANT PROPRIETORS, he pointed to the threat posed by increasing numbers of propertyless masses.

The natural increase in the population of the Free State is about 16,000 or 17,000 a year. Who can contemplate without misgiving an addition of that number each year to the propertyless class? It would mean the concentration of property and economic power in the hands of a steadily diminishing proportion of the people. It would mean the creation here in an acute form of social evils from which we are still relatively free, evils which threaten the foundations of the social order in the industrial countries of the world. We can avert such a calamity by broadening the property basis of our social life. (IP 16 12 1931 p 6)

Clearly, the populist ideology of the Irish Press reflected a determination to exclude the possibility of communism.

For example, a weekly column devoted to social issues, written under the pseudonym Catholicus, pointed to the possibility of a "third way" between capitalism and

✠

communism While critical of monopoly capitalism, the author suggested that the present crisis could only be resolved by the co-operation of capital and labour It was asserted that large-scale industry huddled men in undesirable numbers Livelihoods became precarious Man became dehumanised through specialisation and rationalisation The sole raison d'etre of monopoly capitalism was efficiency, with the result that "the vast armies of the propertyless earners lived no full human life The solution was "not the large port mill", but "the village mill in the midst of its wheat fields", not "one central furniture depot" but "groups of woodworkers in every town" We want, asserted Catholicus " the local lime kiln, not Imperial Chemicals" (IP 19 12 1931 p 6)

The estate of the capitalist had been placed in jeopardy by the unleashing of rampant commercialism Only by welcoming his workers as real co-partners could the capitalist hope to save any part for himself The alternative was the ruralisation programme advocated by Fianna Fail

Contented industrial life will be found for us in small industries spread over the country, the co-partners owning a bit of land to tide over hard times But before all our minds must be present the ideal of co-partnership - capitalist, craftsman, apprentice alike - if industry is to prosper (IP 19 12 1931 p 6)

While the Press paid considerable attention to Trade Union activity, even devoting a weekly column "with the wage earners" to reports of branch activities, it rejected the doctrine of class struggle in favour of co-operation Therefore the mutual relations between capital and labour should be determined according to the Christian principle of

commutative justice laid down by the pope, wrote Gallagher in an editorial entitled "THE SICKNESS OF SOCIETY"

It is in that idea of justice as an absolute principle of social relations that alone we can find the solution for the world's miseries"  
(IP 1 12 1931 p 6)

By maintaining the high levels of property ownership within the country, the threat of communism could be averted, he added, since the people were individualist in temperament and Catholic by belief and tradition (IP 12 10 1931 p 8) Nevertheless, the growth of monopoly capitalism internationally was the main contributing factor in the growth of communism

No one who thoughtfully observes the trend of events can doubt that great cartels and combines, by concentrating wealth and power, by destroying individual initiative, by reducing the great mass of mankind to the condition of a propertyless proletariat, are creating precisely those material conditions and that attitude of mind which are most favourable to the growth of communism  
(IP 6 11 1931 p 6)

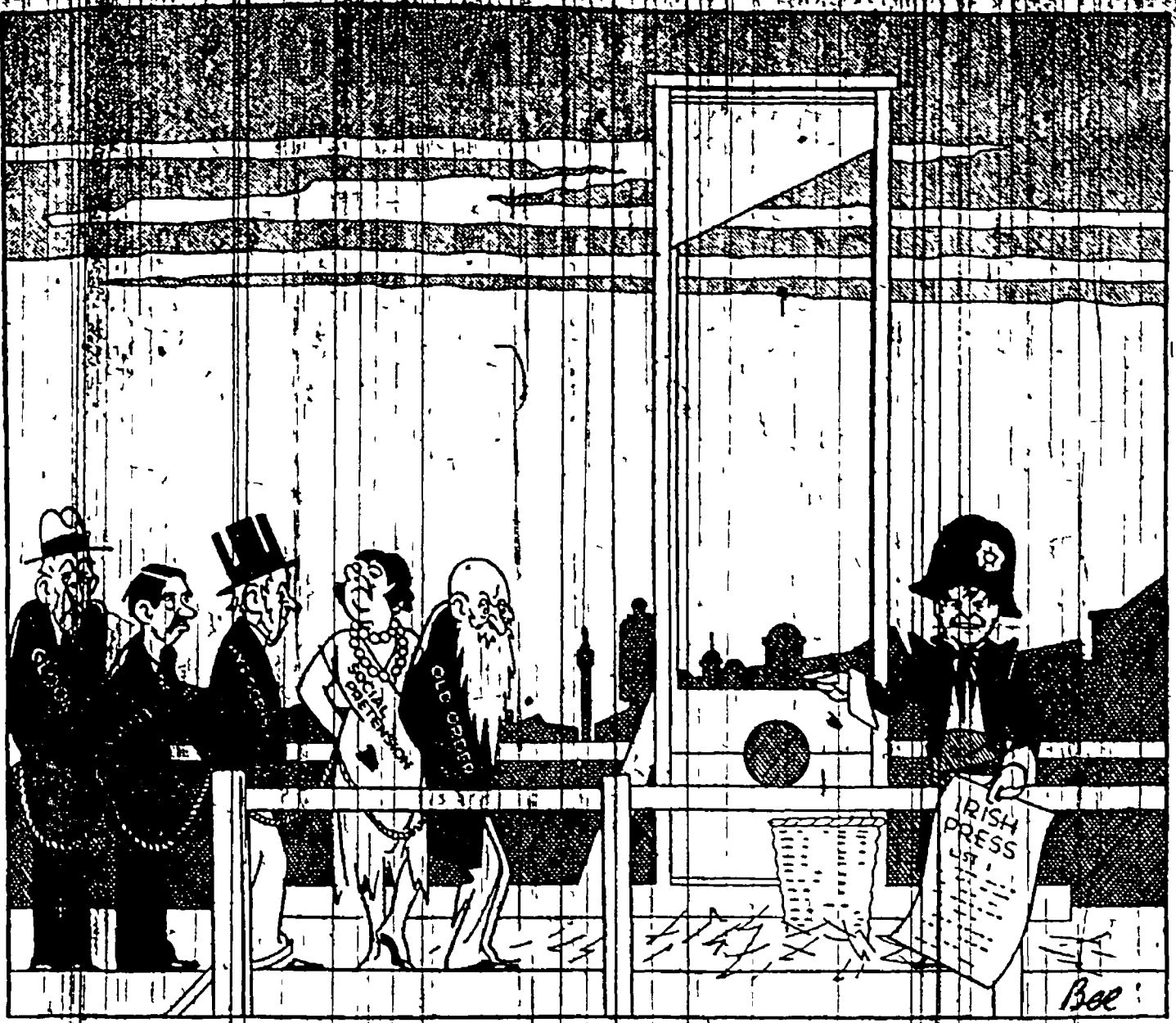
While opposed to communism and the idea of class conflict in society, the populist ideology of the IP in its radical phase could incorporate a number of grievances of the workers. For example, the paper reported on low wages in the catering trade. An official of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union interviewed by the paper was critical of proprietors whose low wages forced girls to survive on tips. The opinion was given that the majority of waiters and waitresses would prefer to see tipping abolished and wages increased. In some cases, the question of wages and conditions was given front-page coverage, particularly where

Fianna Fail and Labour seemed in agreement on an issue,

DAIL DISCLOSURES ON BUS WORKING CONDITIONS  
- SIXTEEN HOURS A DAY  
TEN SHILLINGS A WEEK FOR EMPLOYEES  
(IP 13 11 1931 p 1)

This article related to a Dail debate in which Sean Lemass, in alliance with Labour deputies, denounced the "scandalously low" wages in some of the bus companies. It was the duty of parliament, Lemass declared, to see that appalling conditions of work should be altered. By drawing public attention to the difficult conditions of the working classes, the IP sought to create a cross-class alliance of all those affected by Irish economic dependency. It seemed that the only solution to the economic and social problems of the day was the election of a Fianna Fail government which stood for the workers and small farmers against the corruption of the old order (cf fig 4 8 below)





We've got them on the list, And they'll none of them be missed—  
—(With apologies to Gilbert and Sullivan.)

fig 4 8  
CANT, HYPOCRISY, PRETENSION  
(We've got them on the list)  
(IP 5 9 1931 p 7)

#### 4 4 The Response to the Irish Press

In its first months of publication, the IP made a radical populist appeal to the working class, the rural poor and the smaller manufacturers. It actively publicised the policies of Fianna Fail and mounted a strong challenge to the legitimacy of the government. The mass circulation newspaper offered advantages other than the size of audience which could be reached. Clearly, a mass circulation press would prove more difficult for the government to suppress using traditional means. That is, the government would find it more difficult to stifle a modern daily newspaper than to ban the traditionally small-scale republican publications. The IP's claim to represent all the people of Ireland was a safeguard against the kind of suppression that had hindered republican papers in the past. It seems that Cumann na nGaedheal hoped that the new paper would fail to establish a commercial basis and would disappear of its own accord. When asked in the Dail whether he would suppress the Irish Press, Cosgrave replied that "by the looks of the first issues it will suppress itself" (IP 5 9 81 p VIII). Although the IP won support from some organisations and newspapers, a variety of forces conspired to undermine the new Fianna Fail paper.

#### 4 4 1 The Press Reaction

While the other national daily papers were clearly hostile to the Irish Press, reflecting the predominantly anti-Republican sentiment of the political establishment (cf Coogan, IP 5 9 1981 p 1), the newspaper did draw on support from a number of provincial papers and sections of the Irish press overseas. Tributes to the Irish Press were carried in the Midland Tribune, Galway Observer, Kilkenny Journal, Dundalk Examiner, Derry Journal, Roscommon Journal and the Tuam Herald. The Irish World in New York gave the opinion that the Irish Press was "by far the finest piece of modern journalism to come out of Ireland" (IP 9 12 1931 p 5). Individual tributes were paid by Robert Mahoney, State President of the AARIR in New York, Archbishop Mannix of Melbourne, and, in the Free State, by Mrs Cathal Brugha and Dr Alfred O'Rahilly. The response of the radical wing of the Republican movement was more cautious. It reflected the view that Fianna Fail was not to be trusted, but nevertheless offered a tentative support for the project. Surprisingly, the IP carried a report of An Phoblacht's ambivalent response, evidence of Fianna Fail's openness at the time to sections of the radical republican and labour movements. The editor of An Phoblacht commented thus on the IP

As a newspaper it will, we believe, be the organ of Irish industrialists, and as merely such we cannot expect it to give a lead to the country [however] by giving the truth about Ireland, by breaking through the paper wall which hides from the people their slavery, their impoverishment and the brutality of their rulers - the Irish Press will render national service  
(IP 12 9 1931 p 7)

A

This assessment is indicative of the ambivalent stance of the left-republican movement, which viewed its task in terms of giving critical support to Fianna Fail. For its part, the Irish Press was still reluctant to attack the radical Republicans, probably in view of the need for unity in the face of the government's opposition to all republican publications including the Irish Press.

Although the IP drew upon (qualified) support from within the Republican tradition, the newspaper also reflected an awareness of alternative journalistic traditions which had proven effective in radicalising public opinion in the past. In seeking to define its own role, the Irish Press made reference, for example, to the muckraking traditions of American journalism. Early book reviews covered publications such as Upton Sinclair's "Money Writes", which emphasised the pressures exerted by powerful vested interests to prevent writers attacking abuses of wealth and position. The book was described as "a timely plea for an independent press responsive to the people's needs" (IP 11 9 1931 p 5).

Although Irish industry in general had failed to produce the kind of monopoly attacked in Ida Tarbell's account of Standard Oil, the Irish Press was determined to challenge Cumann na nGaedheal's alleged support for British imperialism within the world system. Therefore, the Irish Press contrasted the position of the "small man" with that of the international combines which prevented genuine national development.

The American experience demonstrated that a radical popular style of crusading journalism in the context of a populist challenge to the political establishment could bring enormous benefits to a well-run newspaper. Hearst's New York Journal, for example, had been able to mount a successful challenge to the dominance of Pulitzer's New York World by supporting populist leader William Jennings Bryan in the Presidential election of 1896. While the New York political establishment had been outraged by Hearst's support for Bryan, the New York Journal was able to gain widespread circulation in rural areas where support for Bryan was strong (cf. Emery and Emery (1978: 249) and Mott (1947: 522)). By espousing demands for monetary reform and denouncing the monopoly powers of the cartel system, the New York Journal won enormous popular support. The Irish Press, emerging at precisely the moment that the gold standard collapsed, would also find itself in a position to gain popular support through a denunciation of international finance. The anti-British stance of the Hearst press would also provide a model for the Irish Press, given that Fianna Fail's main strategy was to attack the pro-imperialist stance of the Cosgrave administration.

#### 4.4.2 The Commercial Reaction

While the Government initially adopted a 'wait and see' attitude, the Irish Press met with considerable resistance from the established press and commercial circles. The indigenous Irish industries which the Irish Press sought to

4

represent seemed barely capable of sustaining such a paper through advertising. It seems, on the evidence of Frank Gallagher's calculations, that most of the revenue was expected from circulation based on electoral support for Fianna Fail (cf 3 2 5 above). However, much of Fianna Fail's support at the time was concentrated in the poorer regions of the West. The Irish Times and Independent were urban papers, whereas the Press sought to relate to the rural population and the urban working class. While the Times and especially the Independent dominated the urban advertising market, the Irish Press would have to compete with well-established provincial newspapers for rural advertising.

By the late 1920's the Irish Independent had consolidated its grip on the advertising market in anticipation of the competition expected from the Irish Press. In 1928, the Murphy family had offered 200,000 pounds worth of shares in Independent Newspapers to the public. A large number of these shares were reputedly offered at a discount to business people - newsagents, undertakers, auctioneers and solicitors. Having acquired a financial stake in the Independent, these businessmen and women would be more disposed to advertise in that paper and to promote its sales. In consequence, the Irish Press encountered great difficulty in appointing newsagents around the country. New agencies had to be opened, frequently in unsuitable locations in a number of towns and villages (IP 5 9 1981 p II).

It also seemed that the Irish Times and Irish Independent had secured the agreement of many newsagents that

4

only their publications would be stocked. The national daily papers also refused to accept the advertising notices required for the advance publicity of the Irish Press. The Fianna Fail paper was forced to rely on sections of the provincial press, public billboards and handbills. Despite the Irish Press's position of promoting native Irish Industry, advertising from British manufacturers would have been welcome had it been forthcoming. The first issues of the paper, for example, carried advertisements for Bedford vans and lorries which were manufactured in England. British manufacturers, not surprisingly, appear to have boycotted the Irish Press in favour of rival papers. The Irish Times, for instance, frequently carried large detergent advertisements. This, in the opinion of some commentators, represented a form of subsidy to the established national press (cf Walsh, IP 5 9 1981 p II). By contrast, the IP did manage to secure consistent advertising contracts with Ford and established strong commercial links with the company. The relationship with Ford reflected the IP connection with NAIDA, whose forerunner the IIDA had brought Ford to Cork in the early years of the century. The IP consistently promoted the Ford enterprise in Ireland, in seeming contradiction with the paper's stance against monopoly powers in industry. The ambivalence of the newspaper's position was reflected in an early account of the Ford plant, which highlighted the efficiency of the enterprise while simultaneously asking whether mass production was in fact a desirable development.

†

in industry (cf A Visit to Ford, IP 10 9 1931 p 5) Although advertising in the first issue was over-subscribed, this temporary success was mainly due to the novelty value of the first new national daily paper to appear in decades. After the success of the first few issues, considerable difficulties were encountered. The perception of the newspaper within the business community was not helpful. IP advertising canvassers frequently met with the response that

The paper is only read by penniless raparees. Its policy is not in the best interests of the consumer (Oram, 1986 408)

The first advertising manager, Leo Blennerhassett, departed from the newspaper soon after its inception. He subsequently took a position with the Irish Independent and was replaced at the IP by Eiskine Childers.

The extent of the Murphy family's dominance in Irish business was to pose further problems for the IP. The owners of the Independent also had a majority shareholding in the G S R Company. Their position had been consolidated by the transport legislation of 1924 which accorded the G S R a virtual monopoly over rail transport in the Free State (cf 4 2 1 above). In the months before the IP was due to be published, the Irish Independent negotiated with the Irish Times and the GSR to exclude the IP from the morning mail train. The Press took the matter to the railway tribunal, which in August 1931 ruled in its favour. The GSR subsequently lodged an appeal with the High Court. Pending the hearing, the IP was carried on the newspaper train, but in April 1932 the Court decided in favour of the GSR. The



4

Irish Press Company was obliged to hire a special train which departed later than the newspaper train. This setback incurred significant losses to the company for a number of years, in spite of attempts to establish an alternative distributional network based on road transport (IP 5 9 1981 p II)

#### 4 4 3 The Political Reaction

By October 1931 it seemed likely that a general election would soon be held. Tensions between the government and the IRA were increasing as Cumann na nGaedheal launched a campaign for law and order to bolster its weakening position. The Constitutional Amendment Bill was introduced, under which a number of radical and republican organisations were banned, including the IRA, Cumann na mBan, Saor Eire, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Worker's Revolutionary Party and Fianna Eireann. The IP protested vigorously against the Bill. A Military Tribunal, with power to impose the death penalty, was introduced to replace trial by jury in the case of prosecutions brought under the Constitutional Amendment Bill. Twelve organisations in all had been suppressed. The IP highlighted the undemocratic manner in which the bill had been rushed through the Dail without a single amendment. While Fianna Fail and the IP were not immediately affected by the Bill, there was increasing evidence of government hostility to the paper as the general election drew near. This hostility generally took the form of attempts to exclude IP reporters from official functions and Press briefings.

In December 1931, the IP complained of an incident where its reporter had been excluded from the trial of a new urban rail service, the Drumm Battery train. The trial was attended by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, P J McGilligan, accompanied by representatives of the rival newspapers. Upon entering the train, the IP reporter had been informed that no journalists were to be admitted. The reporter later realised that representatives from the Independent were in fact on board. Frank Gallagher gave front-page coverage to the incident, defiantly asserting that the IP representative had been on board the train, "though not when it was in motion". It was noted that the Irish Press reporter found the third class seats at the rear quite comfortable. By contrast, the Independent's reporters "occupied first-class seats" (IP 1 12 1931 p 1).

This incident, which in retrospect seems almost farcical, illustrates the stance of the IP as representative of the lower classes, (occupying the third-class seats) while the Independent was associated with the rich and privileged (i.e. accompanying the government Minister in the first-class seats). Similar incidents were reported throughout the election campaign. For example, Finance Minister Ernest Blythe refused to admit the Irish Press reporter to his weekly briefing of journalists when announcing a new 250,000 pound fund for the relief of unemployment (IP 26 11 1931 p 6). In the wake of criticism of the new electricity supply company (the ESB) in the pages of the IP, the Department of Industry and Commerce attempted to withhold the Auditor's

report and Accounts of the ESB from the IP. While copies of the statement were sent to the Times and Independent on December 7th 1931, the IP received none. The mythology of the Irish Press recalls a heroic journalistic mission to find a draft of the statement in time for the copy deadline at midnight, and the triumphant publication of the auditor's report the following morning. Subsequently, the editor received notice from the Secretary of the Department of Industry and Commerce that in future no official or other statements would be issued to the IP by that Department (cf IP 5 9 1932, Anniversary Supplement). The attempts by the political establishment to exclude the IP provided the Fianna Fail paper with excellent propaganda opportunities. The conflict between the Irish Press and the state was to reach crisis point in early January 1932 at the height of the General Election campaign.

#### 4 4 4 The Prosecution of the Irish Press

In defiance of the public order clauses of the Constitutional Amendment Bill, Frank Gallagher published a series of editorials on the alleged abuse of Republican prisoners in Free State custody. A number of letters had been received from captive republicans, who described severe beatings and torture at the hands of the custodial officers. The editorials appeared in the Irish Press on December 22nd and 24th 1931, and on January 7th 1932. As a result of the publication, Gallagher and the IP were charged with seditious libel. The trial was to be held before the Military Tribunal

at Collins Barracks It began on January 26th 1932, three weeks before the general election

The prosecution indicated that the articles published by Gallagher alleged to bring the administration of the law into disrepute and to scandalise and vilify the government and the Gardaí. On three of the four charges, the offence was alleged to include the Executive ministers of the Government. The prosecution case, put forward by Mr Lavery, alleged that four summonses relating to four separate acts showed clearly the course of conduct amounting to a campaign conducted by the defendants for a certain purpose. The prosecution charges rested on the claim that the basis of any government in a civilised community depended on being protected from attacks upon it. With reference to the articles criticising the conduct of the Civic Guard, it was stated that the articles made a deliberate attack on the entire force by alleged instances of acts by individuals. The articles had alleged that the police force was managed in a corrupt and discredited manner.

The Counsel for the prosecution read two letters published in the Irish Press, signed by John Burke and Peter Power of Loughrea, in which they alleged that they were brutally beaten, kicked and generally subjected to ill-treatment after being arrested by members of the guards. The Irish Press commentary on the letters was taken as a definite and libellous allegation against the state. The incriminating text stated that

✱

If these were isolated and unusual instances in which members of the detective division got out of hand, it would be a matter of very grave concern, and one in which the Government should instantly take action. But there was reason to fear that unless drastic action was taken a system of 'beating up' these suspected people was becoming part of the administration of the law  
(II 26 1 32 p 10)

A second incriminating paragraph related to the powers of the government, in which Gallagher stated that

we think that in the Constitution Amendment Act the Government has taken to itself all the powers a ministry could conscientiously ask for. That they should permit their agents to personally assault an individual is as grave and most important of public matters that has arisen in Ireland in the last ten years  
(II 26 1 32 p 10)

In that statement, the prosecution claimed, the government was charged with permitting its agents to assault individuals (cf II 26 1 32 p 10). During the eleven-day hearing, Gallagher's defence rested on the assertion of the right of the press to report matters of public concern. Nevertheless, both editor and paper were found guilty and fined one hundred pounds each. The judgment was reported in the IP on February 18th 1932.

It appeared that the government's prosecution of the newspaper had been entirely counterproductive. Support for the Irish Press and for Fianna Fail increased throughout January 1932. The prosecution of the paper shows how effective the IP was in undermining the confidence of Cumann na nGaedheal. The desperate retreat to a campaign based on law and order simply underlined the government's weakness on economic and social issues. The IP had made much of the

government's belated introduction of limited tariffs and continued to attack Cosgrave's policies

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has shown how the IP took up and elaborated elements of populist ideology, which combined a critique of monopoly capitalism with plans for an alternative system based on a balanced home market and the ideal of small-scale production. Such a discourse was articulated in the IP in a variety of ways. Firstly, the paper expressed a distrust of international organisations such as the League of Nations, which, it held, merely served as instruments by which the stronger nations repressed the weak. The paper followed the tradition of earlier republican journalism in giving support to the independence struggles of other subordinated nations. Secondly, the paper campaigned against Ireland's subordination to international finance, the effects of which could be discerned in the midst of the sterling crisis of September 1931 and the ensuing collapse of the gold standard. Thirdly, the question of transport monopolies within the Free State was the subject of a heated controversy, not least because the Press itself was a victim of the GSR's dominant position. The alternative programme of development presented in the Press focused on three main areas. Firstly, the protection of the home market and the establishment of a balance between industry and agriculture within that market. A second, but related issue was the development of native industries on a rural basis throughout

the country Thirdly, the question of the welfare and housing needs of the masses was placed to the fore The response from the political establishment indicated that the Irish Press was perceived as a serious threat Thus attempts were made to exclude the paper and to prevent it from establishing a foothold either politically or economically

The IP was clearly important in Fianna Fail's struggle for political hegemony in the 1930's This chapter has shown how the newspaper, even within the first year of its existence, helped the party to win the support of the smaller manufacturers, the working classes and the rural population The role of the IP during the radical phase of Fianna Fail rule will be dealt with next

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE IRISH PRESS AND THE RADICAL PHASE OF POPULISM

#### INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the radical populism of the Irish Press during the first phase of Fianna Fail rule. Firstly it contrasts the style of the Irish Independent and Irish Press in the General Election campaign which brought Fianna Fail to power in February 1932. Particular attention is given to the anti-communist campaign waged by the Independent and the means whereby the Press countered this. Secondly, the discussion considers the role of the IP after Fianna Fail took power. It focuses on the representation of the Land Annuities issue and the Economic war. Emphasis is given to the manner in which the IP highlighted the support of industrialists, trade unionists and small farmers for de Valera's stance against Britain. Thirdly, the discussion demonstrates how the IP related the Fianna Fail project to the interests of each of these groups. Hence, the discussion assesses the role of the newspaper as a mediator between Fianna Fail on the one hand and the groups from which the party drew support on the other.

#### 5.1 The Triumph Over Cumann na nGaedheal

By the end of 1931 the Cumann na nGaedheal party under the leadership of William Cosgrave had been in power for almost ten years. The party had responded to the threat of Fianna Fail and by adopting an increasingly right-wing stance (cf. 2.3 above) issues of law and order were placed to the



fore (Lee 1989 71) By contrast, Fianna Fail proposed a radical programme of economic development and a new social order based on Christian principles of justice and equality While Cumann na nGaedheal was supported by the larger farmers and the Catholic Church, Fianna Fail looked to the lower classes and hitherto marginalised sectors of society for legitimation The divergences between the two parties can be illustrated by a consideration of both the Irish Independent, which supported Cumann na nGaedheal, and the Irish Press, the paper of Fianna Fail

#### 5 1 1 The General Election Campaign, January 1932

Throughout the general election campaign the Irish Independent devoted much of its editorial commentary to a denunciation of Fianna Fail policy In accordance with the arguments of Cumann na nGaedheal, the Irish Independent stressed that Ireland had experienced an extraordinary degree of prosperity in the previous decade Although the country had some problems with regard to finance and unemployment, these were not comparable to the "nightmares that harass the minds of statesmen elsewhere" (II 8 1 1932 p 6) In fact, foreign observers spoke with envy and admiration of the conditions in the country and of its sound administration This type of commentary reflected the apparent complacency of the administration

The Independent's editorials charged Fianna Fail with recklessness, demanding whether any responsible statesman or politician in the Overseas Dominions would

advocate a proposal fraught with such disastrous economic consequences (II 8 1 1932 p 6) The Fianna Fail policy of non-co-operation with Britain was denounced as "suicidal" The Independent pointed out that Dominion statesmen elsewhere were urgently pressing for closer economic relations with Britain Even Scandinavian countries with a past tradition of high protection were eager to place more of their products on the British market The Free State had, on account of its close relations with Britain, been less affected than other nations by the world crisis

A variety of expert opinion was called in evidence of the folly of the Fianna Fail plan Professor Slichter of Harvard University, for example, was quoted in support of Free Trade Not only had tariff walls failed to protect any protect any country from the effects of the trade crisis, they had, in the opinion of the Professor, acted as a major influence in making the world more vulnerable to depression (II 12 1 1932 p 8) The view of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce was also given to support the assertion that the Free State was "remarkably free from economic difficulties" (II 27 1 1932 p 8)

In mid-January the Independent devoted a full page to the Cumann na nGaedheal response to Fianna Fail's economic policy The opinion of the Minister for Finance, Ernest Blythe, was given that the public should pay little heed to the economic policy of Fianna Fail This policy, Blythe declared, was "unreal and conceived entirely in the interest

of vote-catching" (II 11 1 1932 p 8) Cumann na nGaedheal stressed that while economic policy had been dictated by Britain prior to 1922, the situation had since been completely altered. All that Fianna Fail could offer the electorate was the prospect of "another round with Britain" and "the guns let loose at home". Both the government and the Irish Independent consistently attempted to associate Fianna Fail with violence and disorder. This was linked with the threat of communism.

#### 5 1 2 The Irish Independent and the Communist Threat

From the beginning of the election campaign the Irish Independent attacked Fianna Fail's commitment to active state promotion of industry. This, it seemed, was tantamount to a threat of communism. Editorials ridiculed Fianna Fail proposals for dealing with unemployment.

We are told that countless thousands of extra hands would be employed. Yes, if the reaping were to be done as of old, by means of hooks. For this agricultural adventure some millions per annum would have to be produced by the State as a bounty. Protection on an intolerable scale would be applied and if that proved inadequate the State would "establish and promote industries". In other words, the Soviet system would be applied (II 1 1 1932 p 8).

On January 30th 1932 the Dail was dissolved and a general election was announced for February 16th. The Irish Independent immediately declared its unhesitating support for Cumann na nGaedheal. The leader page was devoted to a justification of this support. Prominent coverage was given to the charges of communism levelled against Fianna Fail by the leader of Cumann na nGaedheal, Mr Cosgrave. In

particular it was alleged that

Fianna Fail are prepared to set down an arbitrary limit of self-sufficiency and to enforce it by a process of State Socialism

(II 30 1 1932 p 8)

This point was reinforced by sub-headings which read

POLICY OF STATE OWNERSHIP  
SOVIET PARALLEL

(II 30 1 1932 p 8)

In the opinion of Mr Cosgrave, Fianna Fail's policy was one of state ownership, state control and state interference in every aspect of private enterprise. For instance, Fianna Fail would have to arrange on a compulsory basis for the distribution amongst the people of the different types of employment.

The State will through its Governmental machinery or through boards which it creates, determine the ownership of every natural resource, control its utilisation, fix wages, prices and production, and take over the management of industry when in its all embracing wisdom it regards such a course desirable.

(II 30 1 1932 p 8)

It was alleged that Fianna Fail proposed a plan of complete subordination of the individual to the state - an exact parallel to the system in operation in Russia. Ireland would be subjected to "an experiment in State socialism". The President of the Executive Council concluded by declaring the need for a strong government which would repress with a stern hand any attempt to create trouble. The policy of Cumann na nGaedheal, he added, was one of friendship and co-operation with Britain and with the other self-governing members of the British Commonwealth.

While readers were reminded that the Irish Independent had never been tied to any political party, the paper's editorials strove to defend the actions of the government. In response to the allegations of state coercion and brutality raised in the Frank Gallagher trial, the Independent's editorial was unapologetic.

The Government has been guilty of coercion. It coerced the men who gave the country to fire and sword in 1922-23, it coerced those who in the moral chaos that followed the revolt, robbed banks all over the country, and it coerced those who threatened to impose communism on the people by the arguments of force and terrorism (II 9 2 1932 p 8)

The Independent's systematic campaign against Fianna Fail was underpinned by its coverage of the rise of communism internationally. A given issue might contain headlines such as

COMMUNIST REPUBLIC DECLARED IN SPAIN

with reference to votes passed by left-wing majorities in various Spanish town councils. In the same issue, coverage might be given to Cumann na nGaedheal warnings on Fianna Fail.

General Election Campaign  
MINISTER ON PERILS OF COMMUNISM  
(O'Donnell 1945 390)

In this juxtaposition of foreign and home news, the association between Fianna Fail and the Communist threat could be reinforced.

The authorities called upon in support of the Independent's views reflect the marked contrast in the intended readership of each paper. The Independent referred its readers to the views of Ministers of State, Dominion

A

Statesmen, Harvard University Professors and the Dublin Chamber of Commerce The Irish Press, by contrast, tended to interview representatives of the trade union movement, the smaller manufacturers and members of the lower clergy in support of its arguments

This point can be more fully illustrated with reference to the Independent's response to the railway crisis From the point of view of the Independent, the final say in the fate of the railways rested in the hands of the shareholders, a fact which it believed to have been overlooked in the general public outcry The Independent produced a number of rather plaintive articles in defence of the shareholders

#### RAILWAY SHAREHOLDERS' FLIGHT

Great Southern Railways  
NOT STATE PROPERTY  
RIGHTS OF OWNERS IGNORED  
(II 20 1 32 p 7)

This contrasted with the vigorous manner in which the IP pursued the demand for reform of the railways and publicised rail-workers' demands for state control (cf section 4 2 1 above) The Independent's plea for attention to the rights of the shareholders could be taken to imply that Fianna Fail presented a real threat to private property The IP's defence of the railworkers and its demands for state control of the railroads were used as an example of the threat of Fianna Fail The fact that the IP had won the sympathy of the railworkers in the course of the Frank Gallagher trial could only have added to the rivalry between the two papers

### 5 1 3 The Response of the Irish Press

The IP began its election campaign with a vigorous drive for new readers. Sales in 1931 had reached an average of 60,000 copies and the management aimed to raise this figure to at least 100,000. Prizes worth 500 pounds were offered to those who could significantly increase sales of the paper and introduce it to new readers. This attempt was clearly aimed at winning some newsagents away from their adherence to the Irish Independent (IP 2 1 1932 p 3)

The main ideological threat during the election was the charge of communism. The IP countered this threat by pointing out that Cumann na nGaedheal was the party supported by Unionists and British sympathisers. The paper had scored a significant political point by gaining possession of a copy of a letter canvassing support for Cumann na nGaedheal. This letter had been circulated by a number of prominent British Unionists. The IP triumphantly exposed the letter, which it alleged to have been sent to people in the Free State who were unwilling to be publicly identified with Cumann na nGaedheal. The IP asserted that this was yet another example of support for Cumann na nGaedheal by people whose only interest was in safeguarding the existing links with Britain. In requesting funds for the Cumann na nGaedheal campaign, the signatories had pledged, in Gallagher's words, not to part with a penny until they were in a position to force their own terms on Mr Cosgrave. Gallagher remarked that

The signatories, with one or two exceptions, are persons whose public activities have been in the service, not of the Irish nation, but of the British Empire. (IP 27.11.1931 p.6)

By consistently pointing to Unionist and British support for Cumann na nGaedheal, the IP was once more able to draw a sharp distinction between the elitist, pro-British policies of Cumann na nGaedheal and the populist stance of Fianna Fail. The strategy proved to be a resounding success. The Fianna Fail party, under the leadership of de Valera, swept to victory in the General Election of February 1932. This victory marked the end of a long period of political propaganda against both Cumann na nGaedheal and its British allies. The IP announced the victory with promises of a new era for the workers, an end to unemployment, and a commitment to the development of industries throughout the Free State. The first step in the Fianna Fail project was to challenge British domination of the Irish economy.

#### 5.2 De Valera and the Land Annuities

Fianna Fail had campaigned on a number of social and economic issues in the general election of February 1932. Among the promises made by the party was a commitment to withhold the payment of the land annuities due to Britain under the terms of the 1922 Treaty. Following the general election victory, the Fianna Fail leader announced that the Land Annuities would no longer be remitted to Britain. The outcome was a trade war which lasted from 1932 until 1938.



In order to justify non-payment of the annuities, Fianna Fail proposed the legal argument that the debt had been contracted by the British State and that Britain had wrongfully imposed this debt on the Irish people. The IP successfully portrayed the conflict as the struggle of a small nation to defend itself against an imperial power. In the view of the IP, Britain's decision to impose tariffs on Free State produce was based on hostility to the independence of the Fianna Fail government.

#### 5 2 1 The Thomas Duties

On July 1st 1932, the Irish Press reported that the British Government would approach Parliament the following Monday to request special powers to impose duties on Free State imports to Britain. A special ways and means bill would be moved to enable the imposition of duties not exceeding 100 per cent. The Press put forward a number of arguments in relation to the proposed British duties. Firstly, the IP asserted that Fianna Fail was entirely within its rights to propose that the issue be submitted to an independent arbitration. It rejected Britain's demand that the arbitration board should be comprised of members from within the Dominions and insisted on independent nominees. Secondly, the newspaper argued that the continued payment of the Annuities would in the long run inflict greater damage to the national economy than would the effects of any trade war. Thirdly, it was suggested that there was considerable resistance to the idea of a trade war from within Britain.

4

The Labour Party, led by George Lansbury, was resolutely opposed to such a course of action. Lansbury had sent a telegram to William Norton, the Irish Labour Party leader, proposing a meeting to discuss the issue. British industries would be severely damaged by any trade war. In his commentary on the House of Commons debate concerning the Free State Special Duties Bill, Gallagher reported that

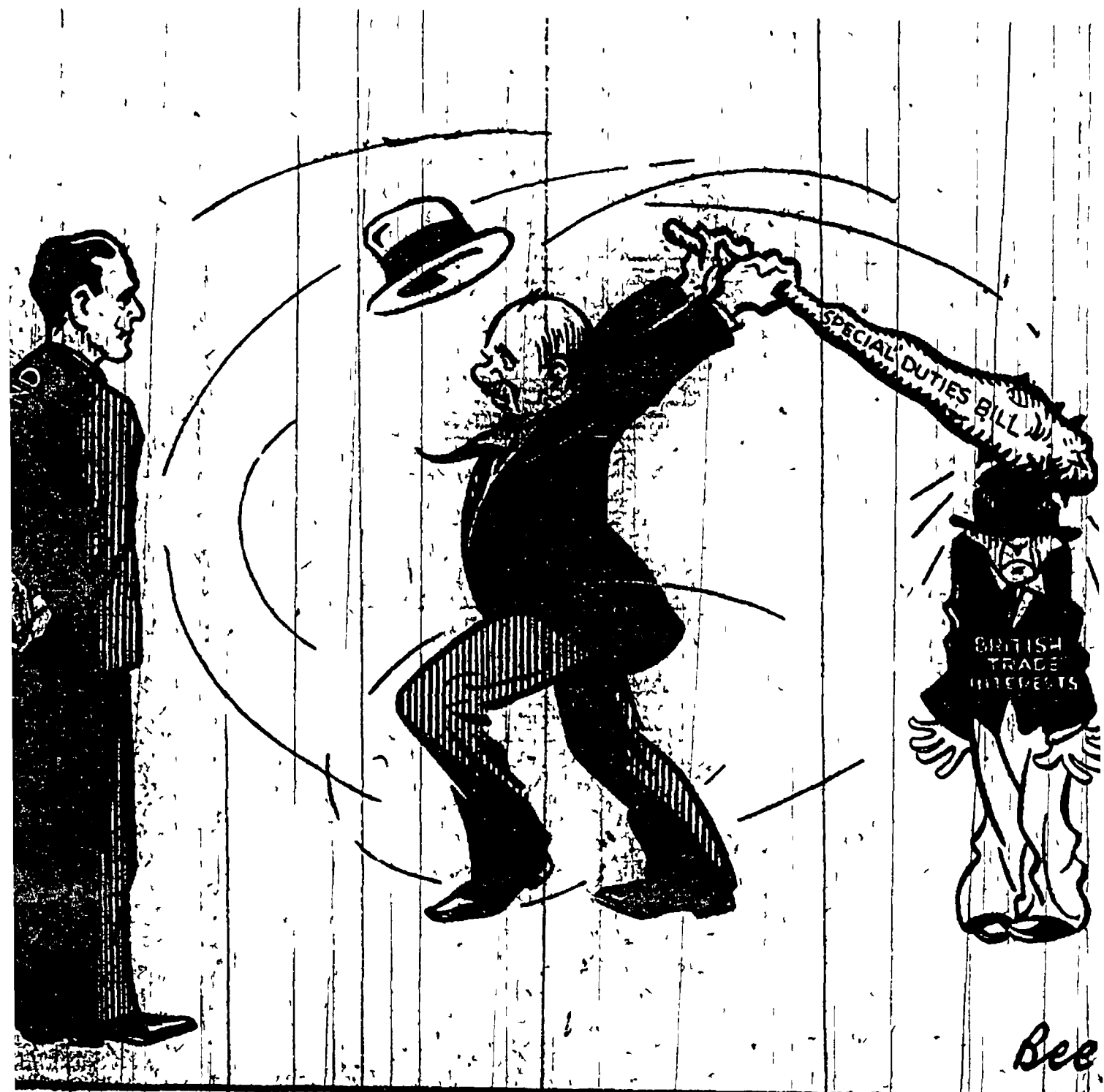
There was the feeling that any blow at Irish exports is certain to hit British interests and to hurt them in the long run far more disastrously than it can ever hurt the Free State (IP 6 7 1932 p 6)

Fourthly, the war offered the opportunity of developing native Irish industry based on the home market. Irish producers would no longer be dependent on the British market. For example, in his Senate address on the Control of Finance (Customs Duties) (No 2) Bill, Senator Connolly, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs (a director of the Irish Press) declared that the Free State could produce for itself all the agricultural machinery required. This could be done through the medium of factories in Wexford and elsewhere in the country (IP 7 7 1932 p 7). The Senator declared that home factories were already producing approximately 80 per cent of the home market's requirements of mens' and boys' clothing at competitive prices. By highlighting the speeches of Fianna Fail ministers the IP provided its readership with assurances that the economy would not be disrupted in the course of the economic war. Irish Industry was more than capable of dealing with any shortages of manufactured goods. In support of ministerial speeches, IP editorials asserted that the need to

reverse the situation of economic dependence on Britain was now imperative

Our economic development has been disastrous for our nation because of this very concentration on the British market which now gives the Thomas duties a temporary effectiveness. If that is changed and we are forced back on ourselves both as consumers of our own agricultural goods (and there is a market of 17,000,000 pounds here) and as producers of the manufactured goods we need, then the dislocation and loss of to-day must result in a lasting and most profitable gain in a short time  
(IP 14 7 1932 p 6)

At the same time, it was suggested that the economic war was unlikely to last for long. IP political correspondents reported the general view in the Dail (i.e. the view of Fianna Fail) to be that the British action was mistaken, and would only consolidate support for the government here. It was believed in some quarters that the purpose of the legislation was to provide a "big stick" to be used when negotiations on the annuities were resumed, added the IP correspondent (cf fig 5 1 below). Gallagher suggested in his editorial commentary that the British government did not like to have in the Free State "a Ministry which will not kow-tow to every order issued from the Dominions Office". The trade war had been instigated in an attempt to unseat Fianna Fail at the next general election (IP 1 7 1932 p 8)



MR. THOMAS' "BIG STICK."

fig 5 1  
MR THOMAS'S BIG STICK  
(IP 5 7 1932 p 1)

5 2 2 The Lausanne Conference

Gallagher pointed to the hypocrisy of the British in seeking to reclaim debts from Ireland. He reminded readers that the question of debt cancellation was arising throughout Europe as a number of nations, including Britain, sought relief from debts and fines incurred during the war (IP 1 7 1932 p 1). The world conference at Lausanne was a case in point. Frank Gallagher accused Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald of hypocrisy in Lausanne, stating that

while the British Premier is cooing about debt cancellation at Lausanne, Mr Thomas is trying to wring from us a tribute unsustainable in law  
(IP 2 7 1932 p 6)

Britain was insisting that its own moratorium on German war reparation be linked to the cancellation of its own debt to the United States. Gallagher pointed out that while the German war debt represented a fine imposed by Britain, the British debt had been legally contracted. The IP editor castigated the hypocrisy of the Lausanne conference, he alleged that the European powers gathered at Lausanne, debtors and creditors, were seeking a way out of the economic morass into which greed and injustice had led them. Britain, under the guise of gracious benevolence, was attempting to relieve itself of legal debts, while its real countenance was exposed by the attempt to extract the Land Annuities from the Free State.

Turn from Lausanne to London and we see the mask removed There is no benignity now, no graciousness, no anxiety for peace or concern for a people in difficulties There is only one determination Namely, by every means British politicians can think of to extract from this area each year a fourth of her entire tax revenue (IP 2 7 1932 p 6)

### 5 2 3 Rallying Support for de Valera

The IP was to serve an important function for Fianna Fail by publicising the Irish case among Irish emigrants abroad, who might put pressure on their governments to support the Irish against Britain In particular, de Valera turned to Irish-American sympathisers for support The IP warned that British attempts to coerce the Free State would not be tolerated Following the news of the impending Thomas Duties, the paper announced news of a "dramatic cable to the British government from the USA" (IP 2 7 1932 p 1) The lead story reported that Irish organisations in the U S were threatening an immediate boycott of all British goods and shipping Furthermore, it was stated that Irish-Americans intended to launch a nation-wide campaign to insist on a full reparation of Britain's war debts to the USA By informing its readers of the international support for de Valera, the IP helped to maintain the morale of Fianna Fail supporters within the Free State

In the course of de Valera's short-lived negotiations with the British at the onset of the tariff war, the IP presented Britain as the belligerent party News reports implied that de Valera was left with no option but to resist

4

Britain's threats Coverage of Dail proceedings implied that the government had a ready plan to deal with the effects of the trade war By mid-July, the Dail received de Valera's announcement of special legislation to meet the British duties As the IP broke the news that Ramsay MacDonald had requested a meeting with the Taoiseach, Sean McEntee disclosed to the Dail that the government would seek immediately to open up other markets for Irish produce and would give inducements to other countries to trade with the Free State The British action, he asserted, had all the appearances of an attempt to sabotage Irish economic life before any independent tribunal had an opportunity to declare in Ireland's favour (IP 15 7 1932 p 1) The following morning, the IP opened with news of de Valera's short-lived negotiations in London

HAND OVER THE LAND ANNUITIES FIRST -  
Britain's demand at the conference yesterday  
(IP 16 7 1932 p 1)

Talks had broken down, the paper reported, when Mr de Valera refused British demands that the payment should be forwarded as a preliminary to further talks The IP began to rally support for the Government's stance, publishing resolutions in support of the government from around the country The IP placed great emphasis on support from NAIDA and from sections of the trade union movement Among the first indications of support was a resolution passed at a meeting of the Council of NAIDA, representative of 200 manufacturers in the Free State Mr T O'Donnell, addressing

†

the meeting, suggested the real reason for the boycott of Free State produce. Within the last few months, he reasoned, the English had realised that a new policy had been determined by the Irish people. The war had been forced upon them, not because of the Land Annuities, but because of the traditional policy of England to try by every means in her power to prevent Ireland from becoming a self-supporting industrial nation. The meeting resolved to send a telegram to Mr de Valera and Mr MacDonald in London, pledging support for the Fianna Fail leader in the economic war initiated by Britain (IP 16 7 1932 p 7)

As news of the deadlock emerged, Mr de Valera issued a statement to counteract British cabinet allegations that Free State intransigence was responsible for the situation. The statement asserted that the Irish people did not want this war, but would defend themselves if the conflict was forced upon them. It was argued that a payment of 5,000,000 pounds a year from the Free State was the equivalent of 330,000,000 in terms of the British economy. No member of the British public would accept the imposition of such a burden by external powers. There was no reason why the Irish people should be forced to accept it (IP 18 7 1932 p 1)

The IP reported that resolutions in support of the government had been passed by the Limerick and Galway County Councils, and by the No 1 Branch of the N U R. At the fortnightly meeting of the Broadstone No 1 Branch of the N U R, Mr J Murray, chairman, had proposed the resolution that the branch supported the action of the Executive Council



of the Free State in the matter of the Land Annuities. Such support from the railway workers' union demonstrated that the Fianna Fail strategy of identifying with the lower classes and workers was beginning to pay dividends (IP 18 7 1932 p 1)

While publicising support for the government from NAIDA and the Railway Unions, the IP denounced Cumann na nGaedheal's opposition to de Valera. For instance, the paper provided a report of one speech made by the former Minister Mr Fitzgerald-Kenney, at Ballyhaunis. The Cumann na nGaedheal deputy had attacked the action of the Executive Council. He was certain, he declared, that a break with the English market would spell ruin for the state and for every citizen of the state. He did not see why the government did not simply hand over the payments in the understanding that they would be returned if arbitration ruled in their favour (IP 4 7 1932 p 2). Frank Gallagher responded with a scathing denunciation of Fitzgerald-Kenney in an editorial which accused Cumann na nGaedheal of aiding and abetting British attempts to undermine the government (IP 5 7 1932 p 6). The issue in which Gallagher responded to Fitzgerald-Kenney carried a front-page cartoon which ridiculed Mr Thomas's attempts to injure Irish trade interests. The real victims, the cartoon implied, would be British trade interests (cf fig 5 1 above)

The support of the "people" was held in contrast to the dissension of the ever-truculent Senate, over whom Mr de

4

Valera nevertheless asserted his authority IP headlines gave a clear indication that no renegacy would be tolerated from that quarter, a stronghold of Cumann na nGaedheal recalcitrance

WITH THE PEOPLE WE ARE GOING TO WIN  
Mr de Valera's firm talk to the Senate  
(IP 19 7 1932 p 1)

The IP lead story reiterated the argument made by de Valera in his speech to the Senate The debt was not a private contract between Irish farmers and British bondholders, but a state debt owned by Britain and transferred to the Irish people Hence, the IP headlines drew a clear contrast between the Irish people, victims of an unfair burden imposed by the British, and the Senate which was in the main supportive of Cumann na nGaedheal and by inference, Britain

In support of the government, the IP drew attention to newsagency reports of widespread concern among cross-channel manufacturers The Agencies had quoted in particular the concern of British boot and shoe manufacturers, of whom the Free State was the main foreign customer The IP emphasised that rival manufacturers were in a position to take the place of British manufacturers in the Irish market News reports indicated that a number of foreign firms had been interviewed and acquainted with the opportunities to capture the British market in the Free State It seems that this was purely a propaganda device designed to increase pressure on the British government to withdraw the Thomas Duties since the

main concern of Fianna Fail was that Irish shoe manufacturers should replace the British in the event of a prolonged trade war

#### 5 2 4 The Ottawa Conference

As the trade war commenced, Irish ministers prepared to attend the Commonwealth trade conference in Ottawa. While Cumann na nGaedheal had publicly expressed optimism about the possibilities offered by the Ottawa Conference, opinion at the IP was decidedly pessimistic. The protectionist stance of Fianna Fail underlined a tendency to expect little from the Imperial Conference. An Irish delegation would attend, led by Dr. Ryan, Minister for Agriculture, and it would seek to secure what they could for the Free State. The opinion expressed in the IP was that there was little room for manoeuvre. There was conflict, not only between Britain and her Dominions, but within the Dominions between manufacturers who wanted to keep British goods out, and agriculturalists who wished to let British goods in so as to have a bigger claim on the British market (IP 9 7 1932 p 7). In the editor's opinion, only excellent diplomacy would keep the conference from visibly breaking down. In spite of this pessimism, the Press was the only paper to have a staff reporter accompany the Irish delegation, an indication of the new privileged status of the paper in relation to the State.

During the first week of the Ottawa Conference, the Free State government announced a series of retaliatory duties on British imports. Tariffs were imposed on bacon, all

pig meat, cheese, cheese-making machinery, potatoes, coal and cement, electrical goods, iron and steel manufactures and sugar. Immediately after the list of duties was published, the IP reported panic among importers and distributors. It seemed to imply that the British manufacturers were seriously concerned with the threat of duties in the Free State. In order to reassure public opinion in Ireland, the IP published interviews with a number of Irish manufacturers and distributors, who gave the opinion that the country could adequately deal with any shortages which might result from the tariffs.

Interviewed by an IP reporter, a member of the coal-importers association stated that already 20,000 tons of German and Westphalian coal had been ordered. An official of the Electricity Supply Board (ESB) claimed that little difficulty was anticipated in procuring electrical goods from other sources, since equipment was more or less standardised all over the world (IP 26 7 1932 p 1).

It is worth noting that many of the duties related to produce in which members of the board of directors of the IP had interests. The point of view given in the paper was therefore not simply a "national" attitude, but reflected the interests of individual directors. The O'Mara family was concerned with bacon processing. Pierce's of Wexford produced farm machinery and iron manufactures, while chocolate and sweets were produced by Urney's. The newspaper gave the opinion of certain bacon producers (unnamed) who welcomed the imposition of tariffs, since the competitive sale of foreign

1

bacon, particularly continental bacons, on the home market, began to make itself keenly felt in the early months of 1931, and became acute as the year advanced. Other businessmen gave the opinion that the consumer would not be badly affected by the new duties. A leading Irish manufacturer and several Dublin sugar importers expressed the view that the duty would make very little difference to the consumer. Mr Henry Gallagher, of Messrs Urney Ltd (a director of the Irish Press) gave the opinion that Czechoslovakian sugar was equal in quality to the British product. Sweets and chocolate, he added, were already kept out by existing duties. The Carlow sugar factory would be able to supply about one fifth of the total requirements of the Free State. The IP report on the new duties concluded by affirming popular support for the government.

2

That the Government's decision has the support of the Irish people is clear from the Dail vote on the various stages of the emergency Bill. It is confirmed by the resolutions of support pouring in upon the Government for the last two weeks. The resolutions come from public bodies, associations, clubs, organisations, political and non-political. Not least among them have been those from organised labour (IP 26 7 1931 p 2).

While reassuring the public at home, the IP was concerned to emphasise disarray on the part of British trade interests. The reaction to the Duties in Britain was described by the paper as one of dismay. The British Government had panicked and was attempting to prevent other countries from exporting coal to Ireland. It was reported that the British government had exerted pressure on the

Polish government to withdraw all offers of coal to Ireland. Polish colliery agents in the Free State had received telegrams from their own country to cancel all offers of coal. The step had been taken, they were told, "for political reasons" (IP 27 7 1932 p 1). This move, the IP added, was evidence of the fear which Irish tariffs had created in political circles. The British Coal industry, the report indicated, regarded the tariffs as disastrous, estimating a loss of employment to 8,000 miners. The British cement industry was also fearful, while the situation was viewed with gloom by the manufacturers of iron and steel products. The British shipping industry was badly hit, a conference was to be held in Liverpool that week to consider what could be done with the ships put out of commission by the British and Irish tariffs (IP 27 7 1932 p 2). The Great Southern Railways, it declared, had already cancelled all its coal contracts with Britain (IP 28 7 1932 p 1).

By contrast, the IP suggested that Irish traders were supporting the government in increasing numbers. Opinion within the country was hardening. Mr P J Buckley, president of the United Irish Cattle Traders, declared that the holders of cattle would get better prices in the Autumn. The struggle was not going to be a long one, he said, as too many interests in England depended on the cattle trade (IP 27 7 1932 p 1).

The mood of defiance was stimulated by IP headlines which emphasised the government's determination to oppose the British demands for the repayment of the Land Annuities.

Following an Executive Council meeting on the Special Duties, the paper announced that the heads of government had decided to carry out a speaking campaign throughout the country. The first mass meeting, to be held at College Green, Dublin, would be addressed by Mr de Valera. On July 29th, the headlines ran

30,000 HEAR MR DE VALERA SPEAK IN COLLEGE GREEN  
(IP 29 7 1932 p 1)

It was, the Taoiseach gravely informed the audience, a time for "cool, calm courage". The crowds carried banners bearing the message "No Oath- no Tribute", "Boycott British Goods" and the legendary maxim of Dean Swift "Burn Everything British Except Her Coal" (IP 29 7 1932 p 1)

The IP added that a message of support from the Boston Irish had been received by Mr de Valera. Dr J P Tynan, chairman of the Boston Irish Societies, had sent a telegram to say that the fifty thousand members of the Societies stood firmly behind the tariff policy. Members had, he added, begun an intensive economic war against all British goods, British steamship lines, and insurance companies (IP 29 7 1932 p 2)

Further reports followed

MINISTERS ADDRESS GREAT MEETINGS IN ELEVEN COUNTIES  
TEN THOUSAND HEAR MR DE VALERA  
A People Politically and Economically Independent  
(IP 1 8 1932 p 1)

Mr de Valera's speech pointed out that the government had put before the people at the last election a very definite programme, political and economic. As part of their economic policy, they said to the people that they would not

continue to drain away the wealth of the country as their predecessors had done. The people, he declared, must be prepared to tell British Statesmen that if they hoped to bring down the government by tactics such as they were trying at the moment, they were making a big mistake. It had been the aim of British policy in the past to turn the country into a grazing ranch, to destroy industry and to profit from both at the same time. He did not have to wait until coercive action was tried to recognise the position of economic dependency to which they had been reduced. De Valera's speeches in the course of the campaign to rally public support provided the keynote for the Irish Press campaign.

The clear-sightedness of the Irish government was contrasted with the confusion which reigned within the Dominions over trade policy. The Ottawa Conference was drawing to an early close, the IP reported, without any indication of concrete agreements having been reached. The Irish Press reporter accompanying the Irish delegation indicated that beyond certain extensions for Dominion goods in British markets, and additional openings for British goods in Dominion markets, the conference would leave international trade fundamentally unaffected (IP 30 7 1932 p 1). Dr Ryan's premature departure from Ottawa the following week was interpreted as further evidence of the priority accorded to the home market and the development of tillage by the government.

Following the report of Dr Ryan's imminent return from the conference, it was reported that the negotiations in



Ottawa had effectively broken down

DEADLOCK REACHED AT THE OTTAWA CONFERENCE  
 CANADIAN PAPER'S STRONG CRITICISM  
 BRITAIN UNLOADING PROBLEMS ON DOMINIONS  
 (IP 10 8 1932 p 1)

The IP reported with some satisfaction that after weeks of speculation on details and silence on the main issues, the newsagencies were predicting gloomy prospects for the conference. Britain and Canada were in open conflict, the Canadian premier was in difficulties with Canadian farmers on the one hand and industrialists on the other. Meanwhile, the Canadian press had come out strongly against the British delegates. Such reports, by pointing to the disarray within the British Dominions, implied that Fianna Fail had taken the correct course in embarking on a programme of self-sufficiency (cf fig 5 2 below)

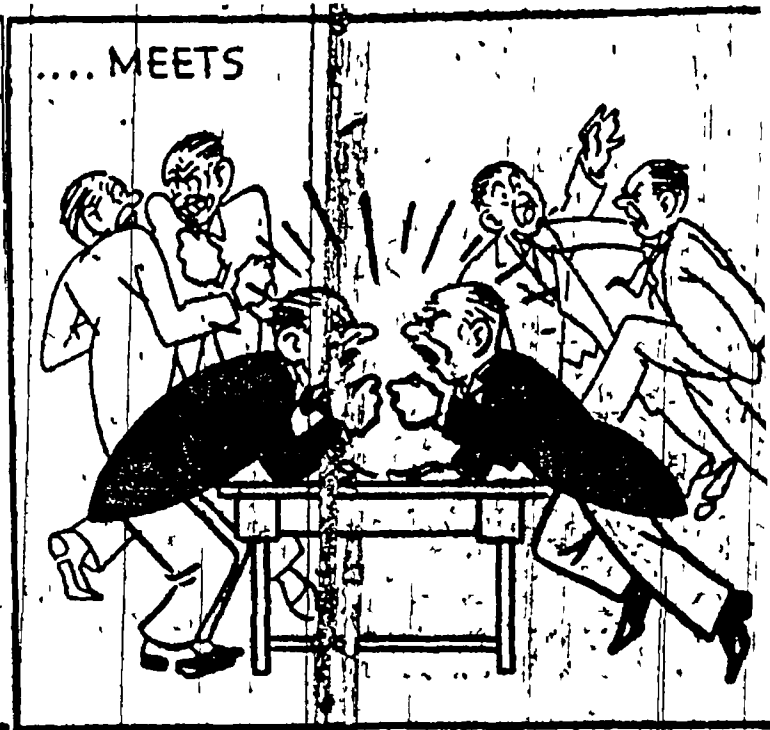


fig 5 2  
EMPIRE UNITY AT OTTAWA  
(IP 20 8 1932 p 1)

### 5 3 The Irish Press and Protectionism

In the months after the onset of the Economic War, the IP devoted its attention to the promotion of Irish industries. The attitude towards industry was nevertheless an ambivalent one. On the one hand, the paper sought to give a lead to Irish industrialists who might expand their enterprises behind the new tariffs. On the other hand, the paper attempted to maintain popular support by indicating that industries would be developed on a small scale throughout the country. Thus the IP implied that large factories would give work to thousands on the one hand, while promising that small scale, traditional industries would flourish on the other hand.

#### 5 3 1 The Irish Press and Irish Industry

The paper began to report extensively on new industries and on the revival of older ones throughout the country. In Drogheda, for example, new industries would employ 400 in the wake of the internal trade revival. Drogheda, the Press reported, was about to enter upon an era of great industrial progress and prosperity. Close upon the announcement that the town would have two new boot and shoe factories came the news that "two other important industries" were to be established in the town. It was anticipated that these would almost eliminate the town's unemployment problem (IP 4 8 1932 p 2). A big plant for building motor bodies was announced for Cork. The IP interviewed Mr O'Neill, manager

of Ford's works in Cork, who explained that new machinery and equipment were being installed to supply all the requirements of the home market (IP 5 8 1932 p 7) Mr O'Neill did not believe that the works would be affected by the emergency duties. By contrast, it seemed that the Irish industrial revival was well under way.

TRADE BOOM FOLLOWS TARIFFS  
(IP 12 8 1932 p 5)

declared the headlines which announced an upsurge in Waterford's bacon curing industry following the imposition of tariffs.

WATERFORD PLANS FOR NEW FACTORIES  
Schemes to Provide Work for 600  
Bacon Curing Fillip  
(IP 12 8 1932 p 5)

Mr J C Landy, manager of the Co-Operative Meat Factory, stated in an IP interview that the industry had never been in such an advantageous position (IP 12 8 1932 p 5). It was also reported that Kilmeaden (Co Waterford) woollen mills were to be re-opened. Mr Chas Stephenson, the proprietor, declared that everything was now ready and that it was hoped to have the mills working at full pressure by the end of the year. Furthermore, plans were being discussed with a view to establishing a canned meat industry in Waterford, according to the town's Lord Mayor, Alderman Jones.

At the beginning of September 1932, a number of new import duties were announced, which covered vegetables, egg and meat imports. The IP declared them a "fillip to home made

produce" and a boost to Irish industry (IP 1.9.1932 p.1)

A representative of Messrs. J. Leonard and Sons, egg merchants, gave the view that the duty would not have a detrimental effect on the trade, as eggs had not been imported for the past couple of years. The duties would have the beneficial effect of preventing foreign produce from being dumped on the Irish market. In the past, when eggs had been scarce, he added, Lithuania and Poland had had a considerable trade in the Free State with cheap eggs of poor quality. The new measures would force Irish manufacturers to rely on the home market. There was a Cork firm, he believed, which produced the type of egg powders required in the confectionery business, and there was no reason why these products could not be used by firms in the Free State. By highlighting the opinion of prominent industrialists, the IP sought to counteract fears of economic collapse in the wake of the trade war. The revival of traditional industries was of particular interest to the IP. One feature article described "the mill of the rags", a Co. Waterford mill which had supplied local needs "before the big milling combines crushed the home industry". The writer expressed the opinion that whereas modern methods might have made the old mills uneconomic, their restoration would solve many of the problems of rural unemployment (IP 7.9.1932 p.6). The article anticipated that there would be many of these local industries soon. Thus it seemed that the problem of unemployment could be resolved through the creation of small-scale local industries which could keep the population on the

land                    At the same time, the paper was investigating the application of modern factory methods in industry. For example, reports of fruit canning demonstrations at the Agricultural Hall of the Cork Exhibition were included. The demonstrations were being carried out under the supervision of Mr. E. H. Pratt, a representative of a British company which supplied the machinery. The company had been contacted by the Free State High Commissioner in London in compliance with the Exhibition authorities' request for a demonstration (IP 29 1932 p 2). Hence we find some of the ambiguities of the populist rhetoric of the Irish Press. On the one hand, the paper spoke of an industrial revival based on traditional industries in rural areas. On the other hand, the most modern methods of factory production were also promoted.

At this point, there seemed little contradiction between the idea of small-scale or ruralised industry and the idea of eliminating mass unemployment. The decline of the cottage industries could be reversed. It seemed that the clock could be turned back. But at the same time, the Press devoted considerable attention to larger industries where the prospects of relieving unemployment seemed greater in the short-term.

### 5.3.2 The Irish Press and Ruralisation

While news reports gave extensive coverage to the issue of industrial development, columns such as An Feirmeoir beag, aimed at the small farmer, continued to assert the need for ruralisation. Factories, whether capitalistic or co-

4

operative, could only guarantee minimum wages. The real solution to the economic crisis was to provide land for the workers. The natural way, and the only way to keep industrialisation in check, was to give an allotment - for example, three acres and a cow - to every worker (cf fig 5.3 below). This was the only way to prevent the decay of industrial workers into a proletariat, fed on bad food by profiteers and rearing rickety, street-bred children. The opinion was given that

There is no reason why two or three acres should not be enjoyed by our rural labourers and by a big proportion of the workers in our country towns, provided that the state and the municipalities encourage and facilitate the purchase of little buildings (IP 16 9 1932 p 6)

This appeal to the smaller farmers and rural poor represented an attempt to consolidate the support of that group for Fianna Fail. Gallagher commented with indignation on a resolution passed by the West Limerick Farmers Union calling on the Irish Government to restore friendly relations with Britain or otherwise contemplate ruin. To add further injury, a copy of the resolution had been forwarded to the British Government. For Gallagher, this was clear evidence that while the 'masses' were behind the Government, the 'classes' were betraying the country (IP 16 9 1932 p 6)

ACCESS TO NATURE FOR THE NEEDY

WHY NOT—

MAN has three chief material needs—food, clothing and shelter. A state of society in which hundreds of thousands of citizens live in single room dwellings or in houses with empty grates in which daily bread is hard to come by is adulterated and made a means to profiteer and in which many people are insufficiently clothed—such a state of society is unjust. There may be splendid mansions for the rich, brightly lighted cities, plentiful amusements and cheap luxuries for the fortunate classes but God, and nature are defied. Where on the other hand as is usually the way among primitive people all the population has easy access to the bounties of the earth and a simple but brotherly economy ensures shelter, fuel and decent apparel for all there is a healthy order of things.

Good governments therefore, do not concern themselves so much with grandiose schemes—palaces and power houses cunning inventions and fancy clothes—as with the timely task of making as many families as possible comfortably independent and secure. The peasant nations are the happiest, the healthiest and most stable nations, and the nations where life is nearest to poetry most pleasing (as we may dare to say) to Divine providence. God placed Adam in a garden. I have pleaded in a former article for the resettlement of the grass lands of Ireland now becoming uneconomic owing to the collapse of the English market for cattle with peasant proprietors, who ought, to form the centre of our national being. Before I pass on to the second stage of development, let me deal with a criticism.

Answer to a Critic.

A writer in another journal says that my proposal of 20 to 25 acre holdings is insufficient; that at least 40 acres are necessary for successful mixed farming. This writer contends, therefore that only half as many people could be resettled in Ireland as I have suggested. My answer is this—

Seeing that Ireland has more fruitful soil than most Continental countries, why should her farmers need holdings twice as large as those on which Continental peasants flourish?

The fact is, that 20 to 25 acres of Irish land are ample for a fruitful holding worked by family labour. If a large holding has been needed in recent times, that is because of the abnormal conditions, which made for grazing. If we were committed forever to Mr. Hogan's dairy policy it is true that only the big grass holding could prosper but my whole argument is based on the assumption that we are going to keep in power a Government which will help instead of penalizing the small farmer.

Have a Penny—Lose a Nation

The means economies of free trade have favoured the decay of the peasantry and the growth of the un-



Shall They Live in Tenements Always?

LET THEM GROW THEIR OWN FOOD!

Following his plea for resettlement of the grass lands by peasant farmers a plea is made for small holdings and allotments for artisans and others by

AN FEILMEOIR BEAG

skilled unemployed underworld in the cities the way to national death. Farmers have grown crops at a loss year after year until they gave up growing them and ceased to employ labour. The nation has been obliged to shoulder the cost of all this rural ruin but the free trade writers have concealed the loss.

These writers have peddled to cheap four cheap fruit cheap meat (most of it with its food value frozen out of it) from overseas and have said: See what you save by not buying the native product—but they have not pointed out that while we were saving pennies at the shops we were suffering pounds of loss in the disastrous decay of farms and country towns and in the crushing taxation which is necessary in an uneconomic State. They have taught us to have a penny and lose a nation.

After the Farmers, What?

Very well, let us assume that the reconquest of the grasslands for the plough always (the patriotic aim is pushed ahead by these means—

- (A) State-aided purchase of ranches and resettlement by couples of farming blood on small holdings.
- (B) State protection of agriculture by a guaranteed price or prime products, with the rest of the national economy scaled to that standard.

We then will be on the way to restore the healthy old Irish civilisation in which the land-owning and land-labouring family was the normal and central type. Only in such a society can stability be won and only so can the Gaelic language and ideals be restored.

We cannot make the whole population farmers however that is true and the contrary is not pretended. Nevertheless we can enable the rest of the population to share in the benefits of the system.

The Craftsman's Claim

Let us repeat, ready access to Nature's bounty for the mass of the people is our aim. The peasant has that in completeness. What of the labourer and the townsman? Can we give it to them in any measure? Yes we can. After the peasant the citizen most needed by society is the craftsman—the man who weaves cloth, makes boots, tools, implements. Under the ancient, graceful and

healthy economy of olden times which still lingers in the Gaeltacht the craftsman worked in his own home and produced beautiful durable things like home spun cloth which now is a luxury. Can we get back to the handloom and away from the poor products of machines? Can we ever restore the high standard of living in real value which was enjoyed before machines cheapened quality as well as price?

This is a problem which I will not discuss at present. I will assume that machine-production will continue for the large part of our chief industrial needs.

Give Him Some Land!

We are to have factories then whether capitalist or co-operative, in which wage earners will work about 40 hours a week for a living wage. Now a living wage in money always works out at little if anything over cost of living. If the wage earner is to advance in prosperity he must have another source of gain, an avocation (Give him an allotment). This is the natural way perhaps the only way to keep industrialism in check—to prevent the decay of industrial workers into a proletariat, fed on bad food by profiteers and rearing ricketty street bred children.

Let the industrial worker produce a main part of his own food like the Italian who has a small farm and works in a local factory in the winter. Then he will be able to save. He will have security against unemployment. He will have a healthy interest, a means to keep his children from the street corners and to train them in manly occupations. He and his family will have health. The nation as a whole will gain because the number of its citizens to be supported as the back of the first producers will be fewer.

From Hunger to Plenty

What do I mean by an allotment? I use the expression with a large range. The ideal allotment is the proverbial three acres and a cow. This is roughly what the countryside *gracioso* and the *spheadóir* the shoemaker and the weaver used to possess. There is no reason why two or three acres should not be enjoyed by our rural labourers and by a big proportion of the workers in our country towns provided that the State and the municipalities encourage

—CHEAP FOOD FOR ALL?

and facilitate the purchase of little holdings. With two or three acres a family can produce for itself an abundance of really wholesome food: milk, butter, vegetables, eggs, tall birds, bacon, fruit with a sufficient surplus of these to pay for groceries.

Now take any artisan family in the towns with an ordinary money in come.

Tell the housewife that she will get milk, butter, vegetables &c. free henceforward. Will she not even to her a transfer into blissful comfort?

How much of the average wage earner's expenditure goes in these necessities? I answer flippantly so large a part that his child's stomach gets enough. How many wage-earning families have milk enough in the tub to give their child a drink of this vital food when or the little bottles would be the better for it. How many families have eggs to go all round the table? How many in Dublin get fresh vegetables at all? Few, very few yet every family could have washings and leavings under the system that is proposed.

Keep Touch with the Soil!

Round the bigger towns and cities two acre holdings would not be practicable for artisans, even with motor buses to carry them five miles into the country. Nevertheless great numbers could be accommodated with smaller holdings. Indeed a quart acre at least ought to be enjoyed by every wage-earning family. The State, even in the crowded Greater Dublin zone ought never to surrender the building of dwellings which do not give the minimum of an eighth of an acre to the family. Intensive cultivation of this small area will produce a substantial part of the family's food and will ensure just so much that is truly wholesome beside giving a healthy employment to parents and children, and so checking the trend to the demoralising street corners and the yet more demoralising figure houses.

Access to the earth however small ought never to be lost especially among the young. Cut a generation away from the earth, and it will lose vitality. Its education will be robbed of some thing that is more important than anything else save only supernatural religion. Maintain contact with the earth and there is hope that even the poorest families will breed their way back to healthy and peaceful conditions and the peasant state of body and mental well-being.

Town Planning at Last.

A long overdue town planning measure is about to be introduced in the Free State. Owing to the failure of the last Government to adopt town planning we have gone through ten years of ramshackle reconstruction under which horribly cramped new suburbs have been built and the trend away from the soil has been allowed to continue its disastrous course.

When the town planning Act gives due powers to the local authorities, let us hope that those powers will be used to promote the ideals which I have set forth here. Ideals which are thoroughly practicable. The English language causes our people to read books and papers which take English conditions for granted. Hence they do not realise the easy practicability in Ireland, where land is more plentiful, and people more adaptable to it, of a return to conditions where the masses of the nation get food for their own labour or at that cost.

Let us achieve this and we will have no further fear of the miseries of industrial capitalism on the one hand, or of materialistic socialism on the other. It is a return to our own soil and so to our own traditions.

fig 5 3  
AN FEIRMEOR BEAG  
Access to Nature for the Needy  
(IP 16 9 1932 p 6)



The main purpose at present was to develop the home market for too long, Irish farmers had been dependent on Britain and had ignored the potential of the internal market. This market could be relied on regardless of the state of international trade. In early August, the Press declared that a "State Fighting Fund" of 2,000,000 pounds had been opened (IP 4 8 1932 p 1). The monies would be used to promote trade and industry, to open new markets and to establish new industries. At the same time, the paper strove to create the impression that British economic interests were suffering greatly from the trade war (cf fig 5 4 below)



**JOHN BULL:** "I wonder AM I winning the Economic War,"

*(Within the last few weeks British mine owners, British foundry owners, Liverpool factory managers, British Shipping Companies, British miners, dockers, railway workers, etc., have complained of losses and unemployment suffered through the Irish tariffs).*

fig 5 4

JOHN BULL - I WONDER AM I WINNING THE ECONOMIC WAR

(IP 5 7 1933 p 1)

#### 5 4 The Irish Press and State Distributivism

The Irish Press devoted considerable space to the question of industrial development, but also sought wherever possible to highlight the benefits of the industrial revival to the poorer sections of the population. In particular, it gave publicity to state intervention to protect the interests of the less-well-off. As indicated in section 1 4 3 above, this strategy was part of the attempt to increase consumption on the home market and also served to consolidate support for the populist Fianna Fail party and the state.

##### 5 4 1 The Problem of Unemployment

Editorial commentary supported the idea of developing the home market by referring to the views of the Rev. Dr. John Ryan, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the USA. In Dr. Ryan's opinion, the cause of the world crisis was not over-production, but under-consumption. By increasing the power of consumption of the individual, the appalling problem of unemployment in the United States could be resolved. A similar argument applied to Ireland. Everything that the government could do to increase the amount of money in circulation, either by assisting the establishment of industries or by direct schemes such as the Housing Programme, guaranteed prices to farmers and road construction schemes would contribute to resolving the problem.

until the average home can earn enough to maintain itself comfortably and decently, there will always be unemployment and such a dwindling demand for goods as to make the capacity of modern machinery to produce not the blessing to man God intended but an added curse  
(IP 13 8 1932 p 6)

This sentiment was echoed in the columns penned by "Catholicus", who advocated that every family be given a share of the land in order to build up a prosperous and contented nation (IP 21 10 1932 p 6)

#### 5 4 2 The Needs of the Poor

The Irish Press played an important role during the Economic War on account of its publicisation of the benefits to the poorer sections of society. In this way it sought to show how the underprivileged masses were to benefit from the Fianna Fail programme of industrialisation. For example, it drew attention to government initiatives to distribute cheaper milk to the poor in the tenement districts of Dublin through the establishment of the Newmarket Dairy Company, a wholesale depot in Pim Street. This company was owned by the Government and distributed milk which retailers were bound to sell to the public at the reduced rate of one and a half pence per pint (IP 6 9 1932 p 1). The IP also announced reductions in prices to the consumer as a result of protectionism. It seemed that Fianna Fail's main priority was to ensure that the poor and underprivileged did not suffer as a result of the economic war. The paper also cited support for the government's social policy from the Trades Union Conference under the headlines

REAL SENSE OF SOCIAL NEEDS  
GOVERNMENT COMPLIMENTED AT TRADES UNION CONFERENCE  
LABOUR AND CRISIS  
(IP 28 7 1932 p 2)

Louie Bennett, of the Irish Women Workers Union, in her presidential address to the Irish Trade Union Congress, said that the government had shown a real sense of social needs in their policy for housing and certain social services. She was, however, critical of protected industries which employed women workers primarily because their wage rates were lower. While the report stressed Bennett's support for the Government, the editorial rejected claims that workers in the new protected industries were being exploited. No government had been closer to the people than the present government, Gallagher asserted. Its members were drawn from the "ordinary rank and file of the nation". They lived the frugal and unluxurious lives which the mass of the people had to live. The Fianna Fail party was in fact the creation of Irish workers, and had been selected because workers were not simply concerned with economic issues but with the wider national issue as well. On the land and in the towns, the mainstay of Government support was the "everyday Irishman".  
(IP 28 7 1932 p 6)

5 4 3 The Campaign against Profiteering

The populist denunciation of international finance (cf 4 1 4 above) found its corollary in an attack on profiteering. It was feared that the monopoly position of some firms on the home market, in addition to possible

shortages resulting from the trade embargo, might lead to higher prices Gallagher pointed out that the government's Control of Prices Bill was necessary to protect the poor (IP 7 7 1932 p 6) Profiteering, he wrote, was "usury in modern disguise" The poor had few defences against the profiteer, whose activities had in places reached the stage of the theft of workers wages The State had a right and a duty to intervene to protect the poor and unemployed By giving front-page coverage to the state's campaign against profiteering, the IP could emphasise the theme of social justice implied in the programme of national development

STATE'S CALL TO PUBLIC TO EXPOSE PROFITEERING  
BUREAU TO BE SET UP IN DUBLIN  
ALL PARTS OF COUNTRY TO SEND IN COMPLAINTS  
UNFAIR RENTS INCLUDED  
(IP 26 8 1932 p 1)

Alfred O'Rahilly contributed an article on the theme of "The Just Price" (IP 10 3 1932 p 6), while the column An Feirmeoir Beag covered the issue in an article entitled What is Profiteering? (IP 11 11 1932 p 6) Government threats of JAIL AND BOYCOTT FOR PROFITEERS were also publicised in the IP (IP 14 5 32 p 7) The paper was used in this way to emphasise Fianna Fail's claim to be the natural party of the working class Fianna Fail was acting in the national interest, it was argued, which was ultimately in the interest of the working class Hence the the rejection of Louie Bennett's criticism of the low wage rates in certain industries The state was presented as a haven of peace and prosperity, secure from the conflicts which afflicted other regions (cf fig 5 5 below)



fig 5 5  
IRELAND IS NOT A BAD OLD PLACE AFTER ALL  
(IP 16 3 1933 p 1)





The paper gave details of the official statement released by the government on unemployment policy. Grants including a 500,000 pound loan for housing were being made available to relieve the scarcity of work, declared the report, which carried the text of the government statement

The government accepts the duty of the state to be, to the limit of its power, to provide work or induce the provision of work for workless citizens of the state, or alternatively, to maintain, as far as its resources allow, those workless citizens for whom work cannot at the present be provided (IP 3 8 1932 p 1)

3,000 houses were being built and 15,117 more were being provided for under the proposed scheme. While commending the government scheme, Gallagher's editorial on housing stressed the importance of the small proprietor to the nation. They had seen great nations grow up in Europe whose power was firmly built on small proprietors, whether in the rural areas or around the cities.

If instead of slums or huddled flats every Irish city-dwelling family to-day were able to secure a separate home and a garden, who will measure the gain not only in contentment and in the public health but in the actual production of wealth (IP 2 9 1932 p 6)

The ideal was a system where workers could augment their wages by producing their own food on their own plots of land. This approach towards small-scale property ownership was also favoured by certain members of the intelligentsia who were attracted to aspects of corporatism. For example, the economist Professor J. B. Busefield contributed an article to the IP in which he argued that "materialist capitalism was defective and doomed" (cf also section 4 3). He proposed that alternative form of society based on the principle of

the organic state would overcome the evils inherent in modern industrialism (IP 9 3 1933 p 8) This perspective was reiterated by Alfred O'Rahilly, writing on the solution to the crisis caused by "calvinism and its offspring, capitalism" (IP 25 3 1933 p 8)

Great pains were taken to refute the charge of socialism which was frequently levelled at the government from the opposition benches. The present policy, wrote Frank Gallagher, was the very opposite of Socialism. It was based on that which was anathema to the socialist - the right of the individual and the family to private property. The present government had declared its determination to provide work for the workless, and especially to encourage the setting up of rural industries throughout the 26 Counties, industries which would give to the rural communities the means of employment and the ability to produce wealth. This type of social policy was precisely the type advocated by Pope Pius XI in his encyclical, Quadragesimo Anno in which he denounced the reduction of society to slavery at the hands of international financiers (IP 15 8 1932 p 6)

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, a number of points should be noted from the above discussion on the Irish Press and the Economic War.

Firstly, the paper was vital to Fianna Fail in counteracting the opinions of Cumann na nGaedheal and the established press in the course of the general election.

campaign While the Irish Independent represented the opinion of conservative farming and business interests, and steadfastly supported the Catholic Hierarchy, the Irish Press adopted a much more radical stance in its bid to win popular support While declaring itself opposed to Communism, the IP concentrated on presenting solutions to the economic and social problems which it believed to give rise to communism Thus the IP attacked Cumann na nGaedheal's on account of the party's reluctance to stand against British economic domination In this way, the IP made a substantial contribution to the election victory of Fianna Fail in February 1932

Once in power, Fianna Fail inevitably came into conflict with Britain My review and analysis of the paper's editorial line during 1931 and 1932 shows that it consistently sought to rally support for the party, creating a mood of defiance and asserting the right of small nations to follow independent economic policies It drew public attention to support for de Valera's stance both within Ireland and abroad Subsequently, the paper encouraged smaller manufacturers with reports of industrial expansion throughout the country Finally, the IP attempted to consolidate popular support for the government by highlighting the benefits of its policies for the poor and the working classes Thus it can be seen that the IP presented a radical populist countenance in the first stages of Fianna Fail rule The ways in which this radicalism was undermined will be dealt with in the next chapter

### PART THREE

#### THE IRISH PRESS AND CONSERVATIVE POPULISM

In Part Two of this dissertation, the role of the Irish Press during the radical phase of populism was examined. Chapter Three provided an account of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the newspaper, the ownership and control structures, and the political stance adopted by the first editor, Frank Gallagher. It was suggested that the distinguishing features of the new paper derived from its role in the Fianna Fail struggle for political hegemony. In Chapter Four, some of the means by which the paper created an audience for the party were discussed. The key issues during this phase of the paper's development were identified as the response to the international economic crisis, the proposals for an alternative programme of national development, and the close attention to the needs of the rural population and the urban working class. Chapter Five dealt with the role of the paper during the first years of Fianna Fail rule. The discussion focused on the role of the paper during the general election campaign of 1932, the Economic War, and the attempts to win support for Fianna Fail's stance among smaller manufacturers, the working class and the rural population.

In Part Three, which comprises Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight, the conservative phase of populism and its consequences for the Irish Press will be examined. Chapter Six deals with the factors which precipitated the decline of radical populism. It examines the political and commercial

exigencies which undermined the position of Frank Gallagher, the rapprochement between the IP and the new Irish industries, and finally, the paper's alignment with the State as protectionism was abandoned Chapter Seven deals with the difficulties encountered by both Fianna Fail and the Irish Press in the post-war era, when the party faced a crisis of hegemony. The outcome of this crisis, and the consequences for the Irish Press will be summarised in Chapter Eight

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE IRISH PRESS AND CONSERVATIVE POPULISM

#### INTRODUCTION

By 1935 it was evident that the radicalism of the Irish Press was being undermined. The increasing conservatism came from two sources. Firstly, the enterprise was not yet profitable, a fact attributable to the difficulty in gaining sufficient advertising revenue. Secondly, Fianna Fail increasing aspired to establish political stability. The first section of this chapter examines some of the factors in the decline of radical populism in the Irish Press. The second section explores the resulting identification between the Irish Press and the new Irish protected industries. The third section discusses the emerging conflict between the State and Industry, as the limits of import substitution were reached. Particular emphasis is given to the State's use of the Irish Press to promote trade liberalisation towards the end of the economic war and to counter opposition from significant sections of Irish industry.

#### 6.1 The Decline of Radicalism in the Irish Press

Under the editorship of Frank Gallagher, the Irish Press emerged as a radical nationalist journal pledged to represent the people of Ireland. From 1933 onwards, however, there was evidence of a conflict between the board of directors on the one hand and the editorial staff on the other. The outcome of this conflict was decided by 1935, when

†

Frank Gallagher resigned as editor Gallagher's resignation marked a new phase in the development of the Irish Press, but it is clear that this new turn was not achieved without considerable internal conflict between staff and management. On a broader level, the abandonment of radical populism indicated Fianna Fail's increasing rapprochement with the both the urban and rural middle classes. It seems that the abandonment of "politics" in the Irish Press was not simply a function of commercial pressures, but also reflected the increasing conservatism of the Fianna Fail party. This can be related to the changing balance of forces within the populist alliance, as the "voice of the people" became subordinated to the priorities of the State. At this stage, the "grassroots" populism of the early 1930's became replaced by a form where the Fianna Fail party's relationship with the people was mediated through the provision of state benefits. The instrumentalist view of populism expressed by Girvin (1984) would seem to accord with this phase of development. In terms of the content of the Irish Press, we can find on the one hand an increasing tendency to publicise state provisions for the masses, and on the other hand a distancing from the ideological commitment to radical reform. This latter tendency was reflected in the increasing commercialisation of the paper.

6 1 1 The Commercial Imperative

The existence of a conflict of interests at the Irish Press was hardly surprising. Advertising canvassers for the paper, (as noted in section 4 4 2 above), encountered prejudice from businesses on account of the paper's predominantly lower-class readership and its radical political stance. The IP's commitment to the exclusion of British manufacturers, and its criticism of some of the British industrial cartels, meant that the paper was overlooked in the advertising budgets of the main agencies in Ireland. The populist philosophy of the IP entailed criticism of many potential advertisers. By contrast, some of these companies were clients of the paper's advertising department. A list of the advertisers in the first year of publication is of particular interest (cf IP 1st Anniversary Supplement, 5 9 1932). Advertisers included the British and Irish Steam Packet Company, which had been the subject of the IP campaign against British rail and shipping monopolies (cf section 4 2 1 above). The Bank of England, the Great Southern Railway Company, the Great Northern Railway Company, and the London Midland and Scottish Railway Company also advertised in the IP. Furthermore, Imperial Chemical Industries, Lever Bros Ltd, Rowntrees, the Chiswick Polish Company had also placed advertisements in the first year of publication. Many of these companies had been the subject of adverse publicity, either direct or indirect, in the editorial and feature columns. For example, the column penned by "Catholicus" had included the



1/2

assertion that " we want the local lime kiln, not Imperial Chemicals" Unfortunately, the same Imperial Chemicals was a client of the IP's advertising department The newspaper had also gained a foothold in the lucrative market for detergent ads which had previously sustained the Times and the Independent Advertisements for the entire range of Lever Bros products, including brand names such as Lux, Sunlight and Lifebuoy soap, Vim, Skippers and Rinso, appeared in the IP While many of the ads bore the legend "Made in Ireland", there was no disguising the fact that the parent company was British In order to compete effectively and expand its share of this market, the issue of the paper's political stance would have to be resolved at the Irish Press Ltd Advertising revenues were not necessarily related to the size of the readership, since the wealth and class background of the readership was also a significant factor

The need to win advertising from foreign manufacturers was not the only constraint on the editorial policy of the Irish Press The Irish manufacturers who controlled the board of the paper also advertised heavily in the IP For example, ads for Urneys' chocolates, O'Mara's bacon and ham, Dowdall O'Mahoney & Co 's margarine products, Pierce's farm machinery, and J T Hughes' imported teas all featured prominently in the advertising columns Senator Joseph Connolly, who replaced J L Sterling on the board, controlled a number of businesses, including Aylesburys of Edenderry and Navan, whose products were also advertised regularly in the paper (cf IP 5 9 1981 p II)

While these advertisers stood to gain from protectionism and by the increased consumption made possible by Fianna Fail's reflationary policies, the IP would be obliged in future to appeal to a wider audience beyond the poor and unemployed. Perhaps for this reason, but also because of Fianna Fail's attempts to widen its support among the middle classes, Frank Gallagher began to stress the broad cross-class basis of Fianna Fail support. In response to a claim in the Manchester Guardian that Fianna Fail was supported only by the penniless and the unemployed (and by the theorists, critics and political activists) Gallagher referred to the broad base of party support among the commercial classes, manufacturers, university graduates and the professional classes. He asserted that the party was not merely supported by the poor and unemployed, but also held the allegiance of

sturdy nationalists in every rank of Irish life with no exceptions and no class distinctions.

(IP 10.9.1932 p.6)

This statement stands in contrast with the claim that Fianna Fail

stood for the needs of the small farmer and labourer, who had been the backbone in the fight for Irish freedom in the past.

(IP 5.10.1931 p.5)

It also contrasts with Gallagher's earlier response to Louie Bennett's criticism of Fianna Fail, in which he argued that Fianna Fail was the natural party of the working classes in Ireland (cf. IP 28.7.1932 p.2). In the early days of the paper, the appeal to advertisers frequently appeared side

by side with the declaration of allegiance to the people For instance, during one of its many campaigns to promote Irish-made goods, the IP published an issue which was expressly aimed at advertisers The issue highlighted technical improvements in the layout and production of the paper under front page headlines which announced

GIANT NEW MACHINE PRINTS THIS ISSUE OF IRISH PRESS  
(IP 8 3 1933 p 1)

A full page was given over to charting the paper's increasing circulation Meanwhile the commentary proudly stated that

It is permissible to point out that in all particulars this journal stands in the popular tradition, a people's paper, owned by the people and conducted with their talents and ideas  
(IP 8 3 1933 p 5)

Campaigns such as the "Buy Irish" week could promote Irish industry while drawing attention to the paper's value as an advertising vehicle It was frequently the case that "news" features on factory openings were accompanied by ads for the products of the company in question For example, a review of the hosiery and knitwear industry was headlined SUNBEAM COMPANY'S BIG DEVELOPMENT The news report occupied half of one page, while the other half was taken up by an advert for Sunbeam products (cf IP 3 3 1933) "Buy Irish" campaigns provided prizes donated by leading manufacturers, including, for example, Urneys' chocolates donated by NAIDA member and IP director H T Gallagher One of the great ironies of populism in the Irish Press was that major

b7  
c

promotions of Irish capitalism were publicised alongside articles which questioned the viability of capitalism internationally. In the midst of one "Buy Irish" promotion, the IP carried an article by the economist J. Busteed, who declared that "materialist capitalism is defective and doomed" (IP 13 3 1933 p 8). While the early radicalism of the Press had involved questioning the values of industrial society and international capitalism, the contradictions of the populist position became clearer as Irish industry developed.

By mid-1933, the board of directors began a drive to strengthen the commercial position of the company. This drive was undertaken just as de Valera raised proposals to refund the Republican bondholders in the Dail. In the view of his critics, these events were not mere coincidence. It was alleged that by raising the issue of repayment, de Valera wished to redirect some of the funds towards the Irish Press. In the course of the Dail debate, opposition deputies sought to introduce an amendment which would ensure that monies were repaid directly to subscribers. Cumann na nGaedheal deputies stressed that de Valera's campaign to persuade bondholders to assign their bonds to the Irish Press (cf section 3.2.1 above) had been illegal, since the bonds had clearly been marked "not negotiable". It was alleged that individuals had been persuaded to assign their bonds to de Valera on the basis that these were worthless and unlikely to be redeemed. Now that the money was to be repaid, a substantial amount would go directly to the Irish Press. In making the

opposition case, Cosgrave read a statement to the Dail which showed the IP to be operating at a considerable loss De Valera retaliated by referring the assembly to an "independent" auditor's report which declared the company to be in a healthy financial state (IP 28 6 1933 p 1) Nevertheless, the sudden efficiency drive suggests that an injection of funds via the redemption of the Republican bonds would not have been unwelcome to the board of the Irish Press Although the drive to increase readership in the first quarter of 1932 had paid dividends, with circulation rising to an average of 102,573 in that period, the problem of advertising remained unsolved

#### 6 1 2 The Resignation of Frank Gallagher

Gallagher's defence of Fianna Fail notwithstanding, we can find evidence that he was increasingly uncomfortable with the demands of the board of directors that the paper become more commercially-oriented The main source of contention was the introduction of an American "efficiency expert", J Harrington, whose recommendations increasingly undermined the editor's position The fact that the company had been undercapitalised from the beginning, coupled with the failure of a number of shareholders to fully pay for their stock, increased the need for efficiency This was to become an increasing source of contention between the board and the editor

On a number of occasions, Gallagher sent memoranda to the board, objecting to the understaffing of the newspaper's

departments He argued that the reductions in staff would make the paper unfit to compete with the Independent The editor seems to have become increasingly bitter, writing in July 1933 that

Every appeal I made for nearly a year to the board for extra help was denied even when I showed that I was trying to do with two young men and Miss Clyne what the rival paper was doing with more than twice that number of senior journalists

(NLI Ms No 18361)

Following the appointment of Harrington, rumours began to circulate concerning the possibility of staff dismissals in the near future In consequence, staff began to join the union in growing numbers Gallagher came into conflict with the board over staff cutbacks almost immediately He later wrote that the conflict had arisen

out of their anxiety for finances and mine lest economies make us unfitted to hold the lead we had gained

(NLI Ms No 18361)

It seemed that Gallagher was mainly preoccupied with maintaining the reputation of the paper as the "voice of the people", in contrast with the board's emphasis on profitability In September 1933, the editor submitted a report to the board of directors giving details of economies These affected practically every department, comprising staff reductions in the advertising, circulation, accounts, secretarial and editorial departments Staff were also being made redundant in the technical departments - the case room, machine room and among labourers and general staff

For his part, Gallagher defended his staff and complained of Harrington's interference with work practices and with the contributions of journalists and editors. His views were not shared by the advertising manager, who wrote to Gallagher in June 1933, giving the opinion that

You may be interested to hear that at least two people have remarked on the amazing improvement in the paper recently

It makes me feel that when you defend your staff to Mr Harrington that you are underestimating your own ability in a most unfortunate way. Some of your staff do not deserve the support you give them

(NLI Ms No 18361)

Gallagher resented the directives sent by the board which instructed him to delegate work in order to be free to scrutinise the accounts of the department and to save expenses (Memo to General Manager, NLI Ms No 18361 (5)). His frustration was greatly increased by the board's refusal to pay expense claims submitted by journalists. The board also rejected Gallagher's proposals to increase the remuneration of sub-editors, a group particularly disenchanted with the increased work-load which followed staff layoffs.

In July 1934 the Unions initiated strike action. Whereas the management of the IP had previously been resolutely hostile to the Independent, the strike called by the DTPS union provided occasion for all newspaper managers to unite. The union called a number of lightning strikes and instructed members not to print certain articles submitted to the papers in relation to the strike. In unison, the management of the Dublin newspapers issued a warning that

1  
1/2

this action was tantamount to censorship and as a precondition to any settlement demanded that

the Executive of the DTPS hereby undertake on behalf of their members employed in the Dublin Newspaper Offices that no member of the DTPS will in the future in any circumstances whatsoever refuse to set, handle or print any matter tendered by the Editor or his representatives, or by the management (NLI Ms No 18361 (3))

The Irish Press was clearly no different from the other commercial daily papers in regard to the rights of workers to have a say over the content of the paper. The management's determined opposition to the union also revealed the seeds of a growing political conservatism at the paper. This trend was indicated in a letter written by Gallagher in defence of one staff member who was reported to have been victimised for union activity during the strike.

The staff member concerned, Kevin Whelan, had worked on The Nation from July 1929 until September 1931, when he joined the Irish Press as a wages clerk. Whelan, along with many other staff, had joined the union in November 1933, following the rumours of impending dismissals. Although Whelan had not acted as a union organiser and had not encouraged other staff to join the union, he was demoted from his position after the strike ended. In Whelan's defence, Gallagher stressed that the employee, although dissatisfied with the final settlement, had taken no part in organising resistance to the settlement and had never spoken at any strike meeting. Nevertheless, it seemed that Whelan was held responsible for the Union's procurement of wage lists during the dispute and was subsequently demoted to a position of



manual labour

Gallagher stressed that Whelan was not a member of the IRA, nor of any left-wing social organisation, and had not "any views that way" The editor's own disillusionment with the Irish Press is evident in his appeal on behalf of Whelan, which he addressed to the chief of accounts in the newspaper office

I want to get out of your own mind any suspicion that there is some dark evil in him for which he is to be dismissed That I know is the method in the Irish Press, the half-spoken innuendo, which seems to blast more than any charge which can be met and answered  
(NLI Ms No 18361)

In October 1934 Gallagher sent notice of resignation to the board of directors It seems that he was initially persuaded to remain, but finally departed from the company in May 1935 By then he must have realised that the board, including de Valera, did not intend to support him as editor His personal documents include an article which was published in the Roscommon Herald following his resignation, and which he suspected to have been "leaked" by the board The article suggested that a new editorial policy would henceforth be followed in the Irish Press

#### OUR DUBLIN LETTER

It is said that the political policy of the Irish Press has been seriously considered by the Board of Directors Some of those in control have urged that the Irish Press should aim first of all at being a newspaper rather than concentrate on the propagation of political views It is possible that in the near future the paper will devote its editorial columns to matters which have a bearing on industrial development and that in political matters the paper will be less partisan than in the past (Roscommon Herald, 6 7 1935)

Although some of the editorial staff expressed sympathy with Gallagher, (including Women's editor Anna Kelly who resigned in solidarity), the new direction of the paper was clearly signposted De Valera had refused to give the editor his wholehearted support, and ultimately backed the board of directors In the final analysis, the Fianna Fail leader had complete authority over the editorial policy of the paper The abandonment of the radical political stance could not have been undertaken without his full consent

### 6 1 3 The New Irish Press

During 1935-1936, the management of the Press instigated a number of changes which modernised the style and content of the paper The layout was improved by shortening the lead stories, increasing the use of flash photography, and introducing a greater variety of typefaces for the headlines Whereas the old style of reporting had provided detailed political analysis, the new IP placed greater emphasis on description of individuals and events The political caricatures which had frequently illustrated polemical points on the front page were no longer in favour Instead, the paper carried photographs of official functions, of ministers performing the duties of public office, and of visiting foreign dignitaries On pages two and three, the densely-ranked columns devoted to local politics and rural news had also been abandoned A new format was adopted whereby one or two main stories were prominently placed,

giving the paper a greater visual appeal but eliminating a good deal of the detail. Columns such as "An Feirmeoir Beag" and "With the Wage Earners" no longer appeared.

The IP acquired a more transatlantic flavour with the appearance of American comic strips, including Mickey Mouse, Blondie, and Reg'ler Fellers. Even the Irish section now carried an American cartoon strip, although the sub-headings were translated into Irish. The paper had been extended from twelve to sixteen pages, providing greater space for advertising. Small ads were now organised into the type of columns characteristic of the modern newspaper, while the paper carried an expanded section of death notices and social announcements.

Reporting on social issues such as the slums was transformed by the use of flash photography. The style of articles had also changed. Instead of the in-depth coverage which had been provided by Dorothy Macardle in the early paper, reports now took the form of "human interest" stories. Hence they became shorter and more highly dramatised. For instance, the situation of the O'Connor family was described under the headlines:

PLIGHT OF CO DUBLIN FAMILY  
LIVING IN PITIFUL SHELTER CLOSE TO BRIGHTLY-LIT  
SHOPPING CENTRE  
CRUMBLING WALLS, DRAUGHTS AND RATS  
(IP 4 1 1937 p 9)

The report carried a photograph of Mrs Annie O'Connor and her children, and briefly described the shelter in which they lived. The difference between this type of story and

↓

those of the earlier campaign is striking. The earlier reports on the slums had been carried within the context of a determined campaign for wide-ranging social reform. Hence, the general conditions which created the slums - including pointed criticism of rackrenting landlords and the failure of state policy - were emphasised. Since the Press now carried regular reports on government schemes to expand housing, and concentrated on publicising government activity on social issues, the paper stressed individual cases but mainly tended to defend government policy. Dislocated from a wider critique of society, the items on the slums lacked the closeness to the subject which characterised earlier reports. The Press now adopted the position of defending government policy rather than acting as a critical representative of "the people". When the Independent, for instance, ran a campaign which suggested that poverty and starvation were widespread, the Press retaliated by pointing to the availability of government grants and development assistance. An example was the debate on living conditions in West Cork, which the Independent alleged to be particularly afflicted by poverty. This was a highly emotive issue, since popular memory still recalled the instance where a family had starved to death in Adrigoole, Cork, under the Cumann na nGaedheal administration. The Press responded to the allegations by highlighting government grants for housing, reconstruction, and water supplies to the West Cork area. Reporter Maire Cotter was sent to investigate, and announced that she could find no evidence of the poor living standards alleged by the

rival paper Readers were informed that none of the cases referred to in the Independent actually existed (IP 1 4 1937 p 2) Press headlines declared that the

PEOPLE OF ADRIGOOLE HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE GOVERNMENT  
(IP 5 4 1937 p 9)

The paper underlined the government's committment to the people by publicising speeches by Sean T O' Kelly, minister for Local Government and Public Health The minister urged local bodies to apply for grants under the new public health schemes The headlines reflected the confidence of the Fianna Fail administration, quoting the minister's words verbatim

WE CAN GIVE YOU THE MONEY  
(IP 1 4 1937 p 2)

Further reports underlined governmental concern with the welfare of the masses

4,638,508 TO BE SPENT ON SAORSTAT EDUCATION  
(IP 1 4 1937 p 11)

Here we find the shift to a more instrumentalist form of populism, as the radicalism of the anti-imperialist campaign was diminished The paradox of the Irish Press was that its style and content became more modern and cosmopolitan at precisely the moment that its ideological stance became more conservative

While the paper had modernised the form of reporting on social issues, much of the earlier critical perspective was lost The management had shifted the emphasis to "popular" items which gave a new tone to the paper while diminishing both the political radicalism and the traditionalism of the

content The new urbanism was reflected even in sports coverage, with wider reporting on greyhound racing, rugby football, and cross-channel racing events

The cultural outlook of the paper showed a new orientation towards Hollywood A weekly film review described the latest releases and provided gossip on the stars of the day Movie-goers were catered for with reviews of the latest Alexander Korda film, or the most recent Jean Harlow appearance Serialised fiction followed, bearing titles such as "Buccaner's Blood" to excite the popular imagination The adoption of American style reporting was also reflected in the increased coverage given to human interest features - DUBLIN YOUTH ON MURDER CHARGE, INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC, and so forth This type of story began to appear more frequently, and to occupy more space, in the new Irish Press

The modernisation bid was accompanied by an aggressive circulation drive which brought the paper into conflict with the newspaper retailers' association The Press claimed that it was being boycotted for political reasons by the Irish Retail Newsagents Association (IRNA) Conversely, IRNA accused the Press management of flouting trade practices by putting newspapers in every manner of retail outlet Mr J F McEnerney, President of the IRNA, said that

shoving newspapers into milk and cabbage shops does not increase the circulation It is essential that the goodwill of the newsagents be got (IP 12 1 1937 p 12)

He stated that the Association was not fighting the Irish Press, but the new American methods of distribution The Association was opposed to newspapers being sold by

street traders, a means to which the Press management had resorted in a bid to win circulation

At the Irish Press Ltd Annual General Meeting in June 1937, the Chairman, Mr E Williams discussed some of the changes which had been made to the paper (IP 14 6 1937 p 3) He pointed out the increased size of the paper and the innovative use of supplements on industry and commerce which provided an extra source of advertising revenue He indicated that there had been a ten per cent increase in advertising volume in the previous year Nevertheless, the paper was still making a loss The circulation figures for 1931-1938 show an upward trend, with a surge in 1937 which may reflect the new appearance of the paper (cf Table 6 1 below)

-----  
TABLE 6 1 CIRCULATION OF THE IRISH PRESS, 1931-1938

1931	-4th qtr	56,821
1932	-1sr qtr	77,764
	2nd qtr	86,825
	3rd qtr	82,740
	4th qtr	87,335
1933	1&2nd qtr	102,573
	4th qtr	94,944
1934	1&2nd qtr	97,570
	4th qtr	103,237
1935	1&2nd qtr	97,920
	3&4th qtr	101,080
1936	1&2nd qtr	96,700
	3&4th qtr	101,968
1937	Jan-Jun	104,534
	Jul-Dec	106,056
1938	Jan-Jun	107,170

NOTE (The figures for 1931-1936 are from Frank Gallagher's account of circulation (NLI Ms No 18361 (3)), while those for 1937-38 are the audited sales figures published in the Irish Press in September 1938 (IP 5 9 1938 p 8) No figures are available for the third quarters of 1933 and 1934 due to the newspaper strikes)

-----

Circulation had risen to an average figure of 100,000 by 1933. Until 1936, circulation remained at approximately 100,000, but jumped again in 1937 to an average of around 105,000 copies. By the first half of 1938 circulation had again risen, to 107,000. This would seem to suggest that the new approach was paying dividends.



Yet a number of peculiarities existed in the newspaper market in the inter-war period which must be taken into consideration. Firstly, the Finance Act of 1933 imposed a 2/5d tax on imported daily newspapers, this extended the constraints on the British Sunday papers to the dailies, providing some leeway for Irish newspapers competing on the home market. Secondly, it appears that the Irish Press did manage to gain at least some of the rival Independent's readership. O' Donnell (1945: 393) indicates that when the Irish Press first appeared, the effect was to reduce the Independent's average sales from around 150,000 to around 120,000. As the benefits from the restriction of British newspapers and the readership won from the Independent diminished, it seemed that the future expansion of the paper depended on the links which had been established with the new Irish industries.

#### 6.2 The IP's links with Irish Industry

The Press was well placed to benefit from the new Irish industries. It had close links with NAIDA and the Federation of Saorstát Industries through its board of directors. It also had privileged access to government ministers who were closely involved with industry. Occasions such as factory openings, trade fairs and agricultural exhibitions provided the Press with advertising for both rural and urban areas. The paper, privileged by its close links with the Fianna Fáil party, seemed to be participating directly in the boom in Irish-made manufactures.

## 6 2 1 Advertising the New Irish Industries

A mutually beneficial relationship was established whereby the Press provided news coverage of factory openings, business opportunities and generally publicised the case of Irish manufacturers, and in return gained advertising from the companies involved. At the 1937 AGM the company chairman, E J Williams, pointed to a number of special supplements on Irish industries, which had carried a considerable volume of advertising for Irish business. It was mentioned that the volume of advertising had increased by ten per cent in 1936-37, while circulation had also expanded.

To enhance its appeal to advertisers, the Irish Press ran competitions in which readers were encouraged to create advertising slogans for Irish-made products. Readers were asked to study a given series of advertisements, to try the products, and to come up with a suitable slogan for the Irish branded goods. In this way, the IP sought to establish itself as the main vehicle for the promotion of Irish goods.

In June 1937, the paper had published a 132-page supplement entitled The New Ireland Five Years of Progress (IP 11 6 1937). This publication, introduced by the Taoiseach, contained an extensive review of Irish industry, and contained a considerable number of advertisements for Irish companies. A special Ford supplement had also been produced, to coincide with the Ford motor show in Cork, the paper had also published a special supplement for Clery's. The IP was able to avail of its privileged relationship with

government to include ministerial endorsements in the advertising supplements. For instance, the Ford Supplement included a commentary by Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce. This type of advertorial supplement highlighted the close relationship which existed between the Press, the State and Irish Industry.

#### 6 2 2 The Irish Press Ltd and Irish Business

In 1937, Erskine Childers, advertising manager of the Press, became president of NAIDA, the organisation which promoted Irish industry. H T Gallagher, M D of Urney's chocolates and a director of the Irish Press, had also been involved with NAIDA (NAIDA papers NLI Ms 16,238-16249). Mr J J O'Leary, Chairman and Managing director of Cahill & Co, Chairman of Polikoff (IFS) Ltd and a director of the Irish Press, was elected to the council of the Federation of Saorstát Industries in 1937. By 1945, Mr O'Leary was on the board of a number of other companies, including Aer Lingus. Timothy O'Mahony, of Dowdall O'Mahony & Co, another director of the Press, was also to become a director of the Irish Sugar Company in that period (Mercier, 1945 485). The connections between the Irish Press and the new Irish industry were such that Mercier commented upon it:

The Irish Press is almost as closely linked with the new Big Businesses of Ireland as the other two daily papers (1945 485)

The growth of the Press reflected the success of the new Irish businesses which had sprung up under protection. To a large extent, the interests of the paper and the interests

of Irish manufacturing were identical. The paper depended for advertising revenue on the success of the new Irish entrepreneurs, and had adjusted admirably to the needs of the new Irish elite. Speaking at the opening of a new factory in Drogheda, one businessman commended the stock exchange intelligence of the paper, declaring that it was "second to none" for its excellent reports of the local market and the very good reports of the market abroad (IP 25 5 1937 p 10). In a speech made to the Rotary club in Dublin, Mr D Rushton commended the promotion of social reform in the Irish Press, pointing to the newspaper's innovative use of flash photography in its campaign against the slums. Mr Rushton added that Irish industry needed to use similar methods of publicity to promote its case abroad. It seemed that the campaign experience of the Irish Press should be availed of by manufacturers wishing to advance their products both at home and in overseas markets. In keeping with the theme of Mr Rushton's speech, the IP launched a campaign to persuade manufacturers to advertise in Irish rather than British newspapers (ADVERTISING IN ENGLISH PAPERS (IP 12 11 1937 p 9))

### 6 2 3 New Irish Factories

Publicity was given to both Fianna Fail and Irish industry through extensive reporting of new factory openings. Typically, the newspaper drew attention to official factory openings attended by Mr Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce. Headlines such as the following were frequent

SLIGO'S NEW FOOTWEAR FACTORY  
Official Opening by Mr Lemass  
(IP 28 1 1937 p 6)

MODEL IRISH FACTORY  
100,000 Share Issue by Messrs Polikoff  
(IP 29 1 1937 p 3)  
(cf fig 6 1 below)

MR LEMASS AT THE FORD SHOW  
(IP 9 2 1937 p 1)

Wherever possible, the Press cited ministerial opinion on  
progress in industry

TOBACCO GROWING IN SAORSTAT  
Dr Seamus Ryan surveys Industry's Progress  
(IP 16 2 1937 p 9)

SAORSTAT AVIATION IN THE FUTURE  
Mr Lemass and Plans to make Ireland  
International Air Junction  
(IP 26 2 1937 p 9)

MR LEMASS OPENS BRAID FACTORY  
(IP 17 3 1937 p 6)  
(cf fig 6 2 below)

ANOTHER IRISH BOOT FACTORY  
(cf fig 6 3 below)  
(IP 23 3 1937 p 11))

MR LEMASS OPENS GOREY TANNERY  
(cf fig 6 4 below)  
(IP 20 4 1937)

The Irish Press seemed well positioned to take full  
advantage of the further expansion of Irish industry. Some of  
the factories given publicity, such as Polikoffs', were owned  
by directors of the Irish Press. Others merely provided a  
valuable opportunity to win advertising revenue.

# MODEL IRISH FACTORY

How Clothes Are Made  
750 Now Employed By  
Firm Four Years Old

£100,000 Share Issue By  
Messrs Polikoff

ONE of the outstanding developments in industrial and export in Ireland has been the establishment in the province of Ulster of the Model Irish Clothing Factory at Carrickmacross, Co. Dub. The factory, which is now four years old, has a capacity of 750 employees and has a turnover of £100,000. It is the only factory of its kind in Ireland and is the only one in the world which produces ready-made clothing for men and boys.



A VIEW OF THE APRIL 1937 Model Irish Clothing Factory, Carrickmacross, Co. Dub.

## INFLUENZA NOT ABATING

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCHOOLS DEATHS REPORTED

IN many parts of the country influenza has been reported to have been spreading rapidly since the beginning of the year. The Department of Education and Schools has reported that the number of deaths from influenza in schools during the year ending 31st March 1937 was 1,000. This is a significant increase on the 600 reported in the year ending 31st March 1936. The Department has issued instructions to all schools to take the most effective measures to prevent the spread of influenza.

## INCREASE IN PREMIUMS

PROGRESS RECORDED AT ROYAL LIVER SOCIETY ANNUAL DINNER

THE progress of the Royal Liver Society in the year ending 31st March 1937 was recorded at the annual dinner held at the Grosvenor Hotel, Dublin, on the 27th inst. The dinner was presided over by the President of the Society, Mr. J. J. O'Connell, and was attended by a large number of members and guests. The President's report for the year was a most optimistic one, and he congratulated the members on the success which had attended their efforts during the year. He also announced that the Society had received a grant of £10,000 from the Government for the year ending 31st March 1937.

## PARTICULARS OF ISSUE

EXPANDING PROFITS SHOWN

THE particulars of the issue of £100,000 of shares in the Model Irish Clothing Factory, Carrickmacross, Co. Dub., were announced at a meeting of the directors of Messrs Polikoff & Co., Ltd., held on the 27th inst. at the Grosvenor Hotel, Dublin. The meeting was presided over by the Chairman of the directors, Mr. J. J. O'Connell, and was attended by a large number of directors and guests. The Chairman's report for the year was a most optimistic one, and he congratulated the directors on the success which had attended their efforts during the year. He also announced that the company had received a grant of £10,000 from the Government for the year ending 31st March 1937.



Mr. J. J. O'Connell, Chairman of the directors of Messrs Polikoff & Co., Ltd.

# POLIKOFF'S



## IRELAND'S GREATEST CLOTHING FACTORY

Readymade and Made-to-Measure  
**SUITS and OVERCOATS**  
of Quality for Men and Boys

Sole Manufacturers of the Regd  
"GAELESTORM" RAINCOATS  
and "SPORTOWN" FLANNEL TROUSERS

# POLIKOFF'S



POLIKOFF (IFS) LIMITED  
RIALTO BRIDGE, DUBLIN

fig 6 1  
MODEL IRISH FACTORY  
100,000 Share Issue by Messrs Polikoff  
(IP 29 1 1937 p 3)



# The Irish Press



No Shortage of **IRISH** CREAMERY BUTTER For 1/5 Findlaters Findlaters Corner, Dublin

Vol VII No 65 WEDNESDAY MARCH 17 1937 The Truth in the News PRICE ONE PENNY

## THE NATIONAL FESTIVAL AT HOME AND ABROAD

### GREAT RADIO LINK-UP

### Mr. de Valera to Speak to Whole Race

### EXILES JOIN IN HONOURING SAINT PATRICK

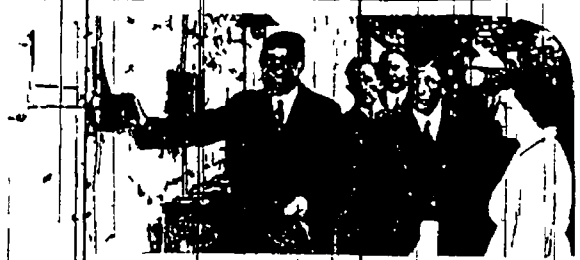
THE National festival is being celebrated to-day at home and abroad in an impressive manner.

The chief functions are of religious and national significance.

The observance will begin in Dublin with the Students Mass in the University Church St. Stephen's Green at which a sermon in Irish will be preached by the Rev. Father Michael O'Mahony.

The Mass will be relayed from Radio Athlone between 9.30 and 10.30 a.m.

At the Free State Army parade and march past at College Green, Mr. Frank Aiken, T.D. Minister for Defence, who will be accompanied by Major General M. Brennan, Chief of Staff, Major General H. McNeill, Assistant Chief of Staff, Colonel L. Hughes, Adjutant General, and Colonel P. A. O'Connell, Quartermaster General, will take the salute at 11.10 a.m.



### BRITISH AIRLINER CRASHES

### Burnt-out Wreckage Found In German Mountains CREW OF THREE PERISH

THE Imperial Airways liner Jupiter, which had been felt since it was last heard of over Brussels late on Monday night, was yesterday found burnt to ashes at Elstorf, Borge in Wurtemberg (Germany) in the hilly region on the borders of the Swabian Alps. The three occupants were dead.

The victims were Captain G. B. Hobson (43), Pilot Wireless Operator Laugman, and Mr. Charles Francis (54), former manager of Imperial Airways.

News of how the disaster happened is scanty but it is known that the ill-fated machine which left Croydon at 8.30 on Monday night for Cologne reported its presence over Brussels at 11 p.m. and at 11.15 p.m. as being over Hamm.

The cause of the crash and why the three had been slain and how they died through the night was not known.

Several Belgian military planes, and a few civil aircraft, were seen to search for the missing machine.

The Imperial Airways liner was piloted by Capt. G. B. Hobson, one of the company's most experienced pilots, and carrying 12 passengers. It was reported that the plane was flying at a height of 10,000 feet when it disappeared.

### A Popular Election

MR. C. E. REDDIN LICENSED VINTNERS ASSOCIATION NEW SECRETARY

MR. C. E. REDDIN, 10, James's Street, Dublin, has been elected secretary of the Vintners Association.

### FEIS TIGHE TO NIGHT

The 17th annual dinner of the Leinster Feis Tighe will be held in the Museum House to-night.

The Committee of the Civil Service Gaelic Society report that the attendance at the 16th annual dinner was the highest ever and the success of the evening was well attested.

The President of the Executive Council, Mr. E. B. Sheehy, has been elected to the office of President of the Leinster Feis Tighe for the year 1937.

Mr. Sheehy has previously acted as President of the Leinster Feis Tighe in 1935 and 1936. He has been a member of many deputations to the Minister for Finance to discuss the subject.

The new constitution of the Leinster Feis Tighe, which has been approved by the members, will be in force from the beginning of the year 1938.

### DEATH OF TREATY SIGNATORY

Sir Austen Chamberlain, Victim of Sudden Heart Attack

### BELFAST M.P.s STILL IRISHMEN

It is refreshing to remember that the Belfast M.P.s are still Irishmen and that they are still loyal to the British Empire.

### Emigration Bogey Laid By Minister

Population Fell Between 1926 And 1930 Rose In 1935-36

### MORE IRISH

fig 6 2 MR LEMASS OPENS BRAID FACTORY (IP 17 3 1937 p 6)

# ANOTHER IRISH BOOT FACTORY

## MR. LEMASS IN CASTLEBLAYNEY

ALL SHADES OF RELIGION AND POLITICS UNITE IN WELCOME

### IMPORTANT REFERENCES TO PRICES

(By Our Special Reporter)

CASTLEBLAYNEY, Monday

THE Blayney Shoe Company's £4000 factory was opened formally by Mr Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce here today.

It has been working since August 1936. It employs 110 persons and produced 800 pairs of men's boots and 400 pairs of women's shoes at full production of 1,200 pairs.

Mr Lemass, having cut a tape across the entrance spent half an hour watching the processes from upper-cutting to the polishing of the finished shoes.

Progressive expansion of Free State industry was predicted by the Minister when he replied at a luncheon in the Tappa Hall prior to the opening of The Ministry of Industry and Commerce. He stressed the importance of farming.

In the circumstances of this country with a very limited market owing to the smallness of its population Mr Lemass said before any industrial enterprise can be set on foot there must be a ready market for its products.

Mr Lemass said that the Government was doing its utmost to assist the expansion of industry and commerce. He stressed the importance of farming.

Mr Lemass said that the Government was doing its utmost to assist the expansion of industry and commerce. He stressed the importance of farming.

### POSITION OF AGRICULTURE

The position of agriculture in the Free State is a subject of great importance. It is the backbone of the economy and the source of food for the population. The Government is committed to the improvement of agriculture and the welfare of the farming community.

### MILLIONS NOW INVESTED IN INDUSTRY

There has been a significant increase in the amount of capital invested in industry in the Free State. This reflects the confidence of investors in the country's economic prospects and the Government's policies to encourage industrial development.



Mr. S. Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce, presiding at the opening of the Blayney Shoe Co. factory yesterday.

He noted many instances of possible industrial expansion and the Government's role in facilitating this. He mentioned the importance of the shoe industry in the Free State and the need for government support.

### WITHOUT FOREIGN AID

The boot and shoe industry had prospered very rapidly since it started in Castleblayney with the assistance of the Government. It was noted that the industry had become self-sufficient and no longer relied on foreign aid.

### WEEKLY WAGE BILL

Mr. C. Leavy, Minister for Labour, reported that the weekly wage bill in the boot and shoe industry had increased significantly. This was attributed to the growth of the industry and the rising cost of living.

### PRODUCER FARM

It is an inevitable feature during the next few years. This refers to the economic conditions and the impact of agricultural production on the overall economy.

### CHANGED REALITY

The changes in the economic landscape have created a new reality for the Irish people. This is due to the various factors influencing the economy, including international trade and domestic policies.

### WALK THE BLAYNEY WAY

A New Factory with new ideas manufacturing Gent's and Boys' Boots and shoes machine sewn and screwed and stitched for the up to date and keen shoe stores; has now been officially opened by Mr Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce. The Directors of this energetic concern are men of wide experience in shoe distributing and conversant with the styles and needs of boots and shoes in every town in the country. Below are shown a few of the lines being produced by this enterprising and energetic firm.



Fig 6 J. ANOTHER IRISH BOOT FACTORY (IP 23 3 1937 p 11)

## JOHN MARRAY

WINE & SPIRIT MERCHANT  
AUCTIONEER AND VALUER  
FUNERAL UNDERTAKING ESTABLISHMENT  
MAIN ST CASTLEBLAYNEY

FOR SALES—SERVICE—SATISFACTION  
Buy Your Ford From  
JOHN BOGUE CASTLEBLAYNEY  
Large Stocks of Parts Latest Ford Service  
Equipment—Easy Payment Terms Arranged

FINEST QUALITY  
EGG FILLERS AND FLATS  
(PLAIN AND CORRUGATED)  
At Competitive Prices  
Manufactured on Premises  
IRISH EGG FILLERS, LTD.  
MUCKNO STREET, CASTLEBLAYNEY

POULTRY REMEDIES  
Foot Sprays—The oldest and most successful preventative and cure for 'Fowl Cholera' and 'New Disease' in Poultry.  
Poultry Tonic—The most valuable and safest remedy to counteract 'Fowl Cholera' and 'New Disease' in Poultry.  
Sole Proprietors  
LEAVY'S MEDICAL HALL,  
Veterinary Chemists CASTLEBLAYNEY

P. SHORTT  
VICTUALLER  
MAIN STREET,  
CASTLEBLAYNEY  
FOR PRIME BEEF MUTTON AND LAMB CORNED BEEF AND 'OX TONGUES

The Electric Power and Lighting  
Installer at the  
NEW FOOTWEAR FACTORY  
W. McPEAKE  
CASTLEBLAYNEY ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER COMPANY

BUY YOUR SPRING SHOES AT  
McAREE'S, CASTLEBLAYNEY  
AT KEENEST PRICES

GORMAN BROS.  
Boots, Shoes, and Leather Merchandise, Agents for the leading make of Irish Footwear. Repairs made by and promptly sent on.  
MAIN STREET CASTLEBLAYNEY

JAMES McGEOUGH  
CASTLEBLAYNEY Wholesale and Retail General Merchant  
Sole Agents for the leading make of Irish Footwear. Repairs made by and promptly sent on.





Behind the appearance of unity a number of tensions were beginning to surface Irish manufacturers began to establish their own organisations and to seek a separate identity from Fianna Fail This reflected the conflicting interests of the state and industry as the limits of the industrialisation drive were approached

### 6 3 The Irish Press and the State

As noted in section 1 4 3 above, the populist project of state-assisted industrialisation entailed a number of contradictions As the process of import-substitution industrialisation reached its limits, the need to create a competitive and internationally viable manufacturing industry came to the fore By 1937, a number of weaknesses in Irish industry were apparent Although industries had expanded and employment had increased considerably, the existence of protective barriers had sustained industries which were inefficient and uncompetitive in real terms As minister for Industry and Commerce, Sean Lemass began to strive for increased productivity and greater efficiency in industry On the other hand, a number of Irish manufacturers felt threatened by the possibility of reduced state protection They began to press for greater state control over foreign-owned companies which had undertaken to establish industries in the Free State Thus the Irish Press was drawn into the debate over the future course of Irish industry It soon became apparent that the paper could not serve two masters

4  
4

6 3 1 State and Industry The Emerging Conflict

In January 1937 the NAIDA annual dinner was held in the Gresham hotel. The function was attended by Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce, and received front-page coverage in the Irish Press. The fact of ministerial presence at the dinner reflected the new confidence of Irish Business. In 1932, NAIDA had proposed some such official function to de Valera, but the Taoiseach had rejected the suggestion, possibly not wishing to be publicly identified with the business classes at the time (NAIDA papers, NLI).

The IP report on the event was, typically, accompanied by a number of adverts for some of the companies mentioned in the speeches, companies which had grown up under the protectionist policies of Lemass - the Limerick Steamship Company, Irish Ropes Ltd, and the Callan Knitwear Co, for example. At the ceremony, the amalgamation of NAIDA and the Federation of Saorstát Industries was announced. With the success of protectionism, the roles of both NAIDA and the FSI were to be re-evaluated. NAIDA had acknowledged that with the institution of protection, its function had been accomplished (NAIDA papers, NLI). The FSI saw its role as promoting native capital for native industries and had established a "federation national mark" to designate goods produced by a firm which was nationally owned and controlled (IP 19 1 1937 p 7). The Federation's main concern was with national ownership and control of industries. This preoccupation reflected concern over increased production on the home

1

market by foreign-owned firms It also reflected the determination of sectors of Irish industry to maintain the positions they had established under protection

The new organisation resulting from the fusion of NAIDA and the FSI was one from which foreign-owned firms would be barred This required that those foreign-owned firms which were currently members of NAIDA should be excluded from membership There was, stated the Press report, to be a "big offensive" against foreign control In the view of NAIDA,

the continuance of the penetration of external interests into Irish industry and its harmful influence, which has been stressed again and again by the council, must be brought home to the country as a whole (IP 20 1 1937 p 5)

Explaining the reasons for the amalgamation, the Secretary of NAIDA, M McInerney, pointed out that

any measure of political freedom which we may achieve is weakened and in many cases nullified by the hold which foreign capital and credit has in controlling the future of industrial enterprise  
(IP 20 1 1937 p 5)

The FSI represented the opinion of a considerable number of the new Irish businesses Prominent members included Mr Harold Crean of James Crean & Co Ltd , Dr J J Drumm of the Drumm Battery Co Ltd , Mr Daniel O'Donoghoe of Bolands Ltd , Mr J J O'Leary of Cahill & Co Ltd , Mr David Lane of the Hammond Lane Foundry Ltd , Mr M Noone of Browne & Nolan Ltd and Mr P L McEvoy of McEvoy's Advertising Service A number of the companies associated with these businessmen had gained extensive publicity in the IP

Browne and Nolan had opened a new print works, Boland's Mills had modernised its plant, J J O' Leary's

Polikoff Clothing Company had opened a new factory and was offering a new share issue to the public, while Crean and Co had formed the National Soap Manufacturers Association along with Dowdall O'Mahoney of Cork and Dixon's of Dublin. Clearly, these manufacturers wished to safeguard the future of their new investments. The new Federation would replace NAIDA as the voice of Irish manufacturers. The role of the latter would henceforth be confined to propaganda, and would consist solely of private members and non-manufacturing bodies, while the FSI would be the public representative of national manufacturers.

In subsequent discussions on the amalgamation, it became increasingly clear that the FSI's priority was to eliminate foreign ownership of Irish industry. Mr Peter McCarthy, President of the FSI, declared that the main difficulty of national manufacturers was the constant penetration by external firms of the field of industrial activity created by the government policy. Furthermore, the FSI was critical of the government's failure to debar foreign-owned companies who undertook to manufacture in Ireland. In a speech by the President of the Federation, criticism was expressed at Mr Lemass's failure to give greater protection to Irish capital.

The Press, however, did not give front page coverage to the content of his speech but printed it on page 11 under the heading

SECRET CONTROL IS SECRET DANGER  
(IP 20 1 1937 p 11)

The Federation President's implicit criticism of Lemass was also printed on page 11 In Mr McCarthy's words

Few doubted the ability, capacity and enthusiasm of the Minister for Industry and Commerce, but in years to come he would be judged not by the number of factories set up during his term in office but by the extent to which they are nationally owned and controlled

(IP 20 1 1937 p 11)

In the past, a complaint against foreign ownership would probably have made front-page news, couched in terms of opposition to foreign monopoly control of Irish industry Times had changed, however, and the front page of the IP indicated the extent to which a conflict was developing between state and industry on future economic expansion The Irish Press front page was reserved for the Ministerial broadside with which Lemass challenged his critics,

INEFFICIENT FACTORIES NOT WANTED - MR LEMASS'S ADVICE

(IP 20 1 1937 p 1)

(cf fig 6 5 below)



# The Irish Press



Vol VII No 17 WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1937 The Irish Press PRICE ONE PENNY

## INEFFICIENT FACTORIES NOT WANTED

### MR. LEMASS'S ADVICE

#### "Industrial Policy Now Generally Accepted"

#### National Control Issue

THERE is no national ground for the maintenance of an inefficient concern—the type of concern that fears competition—no matter who owns it. On the contrary there are many good grounds for putting it out of existence as quickly as possible.

declared Mr. S. Lemass Minister for Industry and Commerce speaking to the toast of 'Saor Stail Industria' at the annual dinner of the Federation of Small Scale Industries in the Aberdeen Hall of the Grosvenor Hotel Dublin last night.

The Minister was referring he said, to an agitation for the limitation of the number of firms in certain industries on the plea of over production and undue competition.

Industrial competition was largely relied on to check possible abuses of protection secure efficiency and keep prices at a reasonable level—were it absent more direct and more efficient methods would have to be adopted.

Examples of apparent successful examples of the spirit of the spirit of Manufacture Act were, he pointed out, and were not only in lines of comparative minor importance.

The practicality of the industrialisation policy was never accepted there was no difficulty in getting capital and industry to generally deemed a suitable establishment here as already in operation.

The fact that the industry had been a success in the past was a strong argument in favour of the policy.

Mr. J. M. Carthy, President of the Federation of Small Scale Industries, presided at the dinner and proposed the toast.

Over 100 guests attended the function which was presided over by an official dinner.

The Minister was accompanied by his wife and daughter.

The dinner was held in the grand ballroom of the Grosvenor Hotel.

The Minister's speech was well received and he was applauded throughout.

The Minister's speech was well received and he was applauded throughout.

The Minister's speech was well received and he was applauded throughout.

The Minister's speech was well received and he was applauded throughout.

The Minister's speech was well received and he was applauded throughout.

The Minister's speech was well received and he was applauded throughout.



A photograph taken at the Federation of Small Scale Industries Annual Dinner in the Grosvenor Hotel, Dublin, last night. (I.P. Staff (L.R.))

### Anxiety For Pope Renewed

#### His Holiness Said To Be Suffering Greater Pain

#### DOCTOR'S DECISION

THE general physical condition of the Pope has grown worse in consequence of increased pain in his legs yesterday says Reuters. These pains had already shown a tendency to become more acute two days ago and in the last 24 hours they have become more marked and insistent.

The following somewhat detailed account of the Pope's condition was received from the Vatican on Monday.

Dr. Milani visited His Holiness at 10.30 a.m. He allowed the Pope to sit up in his armchair only a short time during the morning.

For the immediate future Dr. Milani has decided to limit the time which the Pope may spend in his chair to the time in the morning when he is giving audience to the mass of his courtiers. His Holiness will pass the rest of the day in bed.

BROADCAST ARRANGEMENTS. A preliminary indication of the Pope's condition was given by the fact that the preparations for the broadcast which His Holiness plans to give from his bedside at the close of the Mass on Saturday night are still proceeding.

The Pope is scheduled to speak at noon (Irish time) on February 7 and arrangements are being made to relay the address to the United States and other parts of the world.

A high Vatican authority stated to the I.P. that the doctor's plan is the Pope's own, and that the Pope's general condition is stable. It is further stated that there is no reason to believe that the Pope's condition is anything but serious.

### "Ready To Take Any Opportunity"

#### Mr MacDonald On Settlement With Irish Free State

#### COMMONS STATEMENT

IN THE BRITISH COMMONS

### Fierce Fighting On Malaga Front

#### Over 1,000 Casualties On Both Sides Hospitals Packed

### "A Different Issue"

#### INTO PRESIDENT AND DEPUTY'S REPLY TO HIS CHALLENGE

#### INTERVIEWED BY THE PRESS

IN THE BRITISH COMMONS

fig 6 5 INEFFICIENT FACTORIES NOT WANTED (IP 20 1 1937 p 1)

↓  
\$

The IP report rejected demands for limits on the number of firms competing in any given section of industry. It downplayed the significance of the foreign firms producing in the country and stressed that greater efficiency, not restrictions on competition, was required. The editorial of the same issue, while cautiously sympathetic to the needs of Irish industry, repeated Lemass's claim

Mr Lemass, while agreeing that the aim should be to make Irish industry as Irish in every sense of the word as possible, does not think that the complaints in this respect which have been made are quite justified" (IP 20 1 1937 p 8)

The editor pointed out that there had in fact been a recent increase in the transfer of foreign interests in Irish firms to Irish ownership.

Lemass had effectively used the Press to counter the criticisms of industrialists in the opening rounds of what was to be a lengthy debate over the future direction of Irish industry. The inherent difficulty of Lemass's position, and that of the Irish Press, was augmented by the fact that Fianna Fail was unwilling to openly advocate the removal of tariff barriers. In fact, some of Lemass's public declarations suggested that the removal of import levies was out of the question. In a speech to the Dail, Lemass warned the opposition that

if you remove these levies you are talking about, we will be able to get these commodities from Japan at a much lower price than they can be produced here or in Great Britain. That is the opposition policy. They want their Japanese clothing, their Argentine Beef, their Danish butter and their American bacon to sell on our markets (IP 21 10 1937 p 1)



On the other hand, the IP carried a severe warning to those who were complacent about the protection of tariffs (cf fig 6 6 below ) Clearly, a shift in perspective was underway, ushered in by the prospect of the end of the Economic War The government also appears to have been concerned about price rises and public hostility to the monopoly positions of some Irish producers The Press began a campaign against profiteering, highlighting instances where consumer prices seemed unreasonable Lemass and his department appear to have been more concerned with stimulating production at home than with the precise degree of Irish ownership In his message in the IP Ford Supplement (1937), Lemass emphasised that the motor-assembly industry was an outstanding success of the industrial revival Ford, he pointed out, had consistently encouraged native industry's involvement in the production process, through the supply of parts and services

# MINISTER WARNS TARIFF EXPLOITERS

## "CASHING-IN ON STATE AID"

CORK AONACH OPENED BY MR LEMASS

Hint To Retail Shops

(IRISH PRESS Staff Reporter) CORK Monday

In one or more directions we may perhaps have made a false start, and it may be necessary to clear the ground and start again. By a judicious pruning we will enable the whole tree of Irish industrial organisation to grow strong and tall and that is a much wiser policy than cutting down the tree because of a few decayed branches. Mr Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce said when declaring open Aonach Na Nodlag in the City Hall, Cork to night, under the auspices of the local branch of the Women's Industrial Development Association.

"As one who believes that industrial well being is essential to our well being as a Nation if not to its very existence and who is determined that anything which may delay or destroy that development must be removed, I am prepared to face an apparent set back to our industrial progress rather than to see development on the wrong lines and I know that the majority of our Irish industrialists will support that attitude." Mr Lemass continued.

The greatest danger to the Irish industrial revival does not come at present from the a sound economic from those who buy imported with importations or distribution or advertising of foreign goods. It comes from a minority of manufacturers who are not taking full advantage of the protection and aid now given to them by the State. These people may give a reaction which will destroy and destroy their own, but the other half managed to come a long way.

I propose that a policy of Mr Lemass continued the holding of an Aonach in Cork which would be of great benefit to the people of Cork and the whole of the country. It is a pity that the atmosphere of the Aonach is not such as to give many of the retail establishments a new lease of life. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.

It is one of the main reasons why the Aonach is not a success. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival. It is not a social gathering but an industrial revival.



Mr Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce with Mr J. O'Connell, Mayor of Cork, Mrs J. O'Connell, and Mrs J. O'Connell, during the opening of the Aonach Na Nodlag, Cork yesterday. (I.P. Staff P.)

## Japanese Advance Continues

WHETHER Japan has really got within the "Manchurian" China and second biggest industrial or are still a long way in the country in the unexplored Manchurian forests for its cotton and silk mills.

South of Lake T—Wah stands on the northeast horn of the Japanese have laid a g to Wushing the famous silk producing city. The whole population of Wushing has already fled.

Further north the Japanese have set up the Manchurian Railway. It is a long railway line which will connect the coast with the interior. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops. The Japanese are building it to transport their goods and to transport their troops.

## OVERRUNNING CHINA

Table showing Japanese advances in China.

Date	Area	Population
November 15	Shanghai	2,000,000
November 15	Wushing	1,000,000
November 15	Other areas	500,000

## Brussels Conference Adjourns

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

The Brussels Conference on the subject of international security and disarmament has adjourned.

## Another Wall St Slump

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

Wall Street prices fell sharply today.

## French Airmen Break South Atlantic Records

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

French airmen have broken the record for a round trip of the South Atlantic.

## EARTHQUAKE IN AZORES

An earthquake was felt in the Azores islands.

An earthquake was felt in the Azores islands.

An earthquake was felt in the Azores islands.

An earthquake was felt in the Azores islands.

An earthquake was felt in the Azores islands.

fig 6 6  
MINISTER WARNS TARIFF EXPLOITERS  
(IP23 11 1937 p 1)

### 6 3 2 The New Phase of Industrialisation

While official attitudes still stressed protectionism, the Fianna Fail leadership began to pave the way for the end of the economic war. In his introduction to the Irish Press supplement The New Ireland, de Valera clearly emphasised that a turning point had been reached.

Economically, there has been a complete transformation. Actual achievement has confounded all the pessimists and a new spirit of enterprise has been born which ensures success in this domain for years to come.  
(IP 11 6 1937 p 1)

The Taoiseach continued to speak of the need to establish a social order based on the "frugal comfort" which was a typically populist motif, but the overall message was clear. The first phase of industrial development had been established. By the end of 1936, the growth curve for manufacturing industry was falling away. It seemed that without a drive to increase productivity in Irish industry, manufacturing would simply stagnate while relying on protection to exclude competition.

The Irish Press began to promote industries that were more capital-intensive, and which were potentially capable of winning export revenues. In an article entitled

INDUSTRIALISATION THE NEXT STAGE  
(IP 2 3 1937 p 9)

it was asserted that the new requirements were "more planning and more control". Mr J P O'Brien, general manager of the Irish Tourist Board and Chairman of the Prices Commission, addressing a meeting of the Galway Industrial Development Association, warned against non-technical

industries many towns, he suggested, looked for the easier and less technical industries They forgot that these industries were most likely to invite duplication elsewhere and were therefore most likely to reach saturation point and over-production in a short period

The tariff policy was also imposing limitations on those producers who relied on imports for a part of the production process The Press report of the Galway IDA meeting noted that the association had had to intervene with the Ministry for Industry and Commerce on behalf of one manufacturer whose company's survival depended on the importation of scrap leather duty free The case of the Galway company showed that the Press was beginning to consider some of the problems inherent in the tariff policy At the same time, it was not easy to abandon a line of argument which had been successful in the past The paper still highlighted the success stories of the programme of economic development, showing how "the people " were being assisted by Fianna Fail

LIMERICK'S WORKERS ARE BUSY AGAIN  
BIG HOUSING PLAN IN HAND  
NEW FACTORIES RISING  
(IP 3 3 1937 p 9)

Typically, the IP carried an interview with Limerick's city manager, who described the progress made in housing, slum clearance and road schemes The new cement factory, which had provided work for 300 men, would contribute in large measure to making the country self-sufficient as far as

cement production was concerned This type of report, highlighting Fianna Fail's successful policies, represented a continuation with the reportage of the early IP There were also some features on radical and labour traditions -such as an article on Mother Jones at the height of the union drive in America Nevertheless, a shift was underway, motivated to a large extent by the government's determination to make industry more competitive

### 6 3 3 The Anglo-Irish Trade Pacts

As negotiations with Britain proceeded apace, the Press found itself defending the coal-cattle pacts (which went some way to restoring trade with Britain) against Cosgrave's allegations that Fianna Fail had granted Britain monopoly control of the Irish market There could be no question of such a monopoly, retorted the Press, since there was an entire range of British coilleries to choose from The IP inquired whether Mr Cosgrave intended that Polish coal should be given priority over British coal on the Irish market, although the Free State received no quid pro quo for her products as it did with Britain Opposition challenges on emigration were also summarily dismissed Who could blame emigrants for trying to better themselves abroad, asked the editor Unless Mr Cosgrave was suggesting that they be prevented from leaving the country, there was little point in the argument The government could hardly be blamed that it had not worked miracles in a couple of years (IP 9 2 1937 p 8) Clearly, the paper was adopting a more pragmatic and

less ideological stance on policy issues, a stance which was increasingly necessitated by the apparent ambiguities of official rhetoric

While the paper printed statements by government ministers to the effect that Britain needed Irish agricultural produce to feed its population in the event of war (cf speech by Sean Lemass, IP, 12 3 1937 p 7), there were also indications of an internal shift in the perception of foreign trade. For example, the paper carried news of a "move to capture foreign markets" by the Irish International Chamber of Trade. This organisation had approached the Department of External Affairs with a view to the appointment of an Irish Trade representative in Malta. The representative would co-ordinate attempts to gain entry to Near Eastern markets for Irish goods. The organisation requested the formation of an export marketing board in Dublin, and suggested that the government seek equitable freight rates for through shipping cargoes.

Mr F W Ryan, a representative of the Chamber, told the Irish Press that several producing and manufacturing concerns had already agreed to participate in an export scheme, particularly where Irish produce was equal, if not superior to that of Britain. The theme of outward expansion was reiterated by Mr Erskine Childers in his address to the NAIDA a few days later. The Irish market, he said, was a very small one, and many industries had gained virtual monopolies and were only just within range of being efficient in operation. A further report detailed the views of Mr J J Walsh, former

minister for Posts and Telegraphs, on the export potential of the Latin American market

The paper also began to carry reports of a new attitude in Britain, noting that the Manchester Guardian was of the opinion that "a fresh start" was needed in relations between the two countries (IP 16 1 1937 p 8) In January 1938, a new series of trade negotiations commenced, lasting until April, when the Press announced triumphantly

AGREEMENT REACHED IN TALKS WITH ENGLAND  
MINISTERS LEAVE FOR LONDON TODAY  
SIGNING OF PACT TO TAKE PLACE ON MONDAY  
(IP 23 4 1938 p 1)

The government issued a statement that agreement had been reached between the representatives of the two countries The agreement covered the contentious issues of outstanding payments and of the Treaty ports which had been retained by Britain since independence The Press wholeheartedly supported the agreement, declaring the benefits in its front page headlines

BRITISH TO LEAVE PORTS  
PENAL DUTIES TO BE ABOLISHED  
10,000,000 PAYMENT TO MEET ALL OUTSTANDING CLAIMS  
COMPREHENSIVE TRADE PACT  
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT SAFEGUARDED  
(IP 26 4 1938 p 1)

The last item was significant, as it immediately became clear that section of Irish Industry were not in the least content with the outcome of the negotiations IP editorials sought to reassure manufacturers, declaring that

A study of the relevant clauses will prove that there is no real risk that any existing industry will be deprived of the protection essential to its prosperity. What is provided for is that the Government of Eire shall undertake a review of the existing protective duties and import restrictions in accordance with the principle that such duties and restrictions should be reduced to such a level as would give United Kingdom manufacturers opportunity for reasonable competition  
(IP 26 4 1938 p 6)

In the case of industries not fully established, it was indicated that adequate protection would be afforded. Consideration would, however, be taken of the relative cost of economical and efficient production.

#### 6 3 4 The IP and the FIM Response

The agreement was not greeted with universal acclaim by the representatives of Irish industry. Mr Andrew O'Shaughnessy, ex-TD, vice-chairman of the Federation of Irish Industries and a member of the NAIDA indicated that there was a feeling among many industrialists that the pact would adversely affect their interests. The Federation of Irish Manufacturers was critical of the fact that its view had not been solicited by the Taoiseach, in spite of the offer of assistance in the matter. It issued a statement declaring that

The council desires to emphatically protest against the failure of the government to consult with representatives of national industries before entering into an agreement which vitally concerns the present position of industrial development in this country and its future prospects  
(IP 27 4 1938 p 6)

The Council was critical of Article 5 of the agreement, which, it indicated, denied protection to a number of articles (covering six pages of the agreement). Article 8



was also the subject of controversy This article stipulated that all future tariffs would be submitted to the jurisdiction of the Prices Commission The council noted that it is further provided that a review shall be made of all existing protective duties with a view to placing British manufacturers on a par with the Irish manufacturer in regard to competition on the Irish market (IP 27 4 1938 p 6)

The implementation of Article 8 would entail that the British manufacturer would have equal right of appearance with the Irish producer before the Prices Commission

The Press attempted to rally support for the government, finding support in quarters which it had previously scorned

Under the headlines

CONVINCING THE DOUBTERS  
INDUSTRIALISTS AND SHIPPERS ACCLAIM THE PACT  
(IP 28 4 1938 p 1)

it was reported that support in the cattle trade was growing apace for the agreement Railway and Shipping interests were looking forward to immediate advantages when the tariffs were adjusted on both sides of the Irish Sea Interviewed in London, Sir Alfred Reid, chairman of the Coast lines group of Shipping companies, said that the flow of trade between Great Britain and Ireland would be improved in marked degree by the removal of the artificial barriers which had existed (IP 28 4 1938 p 1) (cf section 4 2 1 above for the previous hostility towards monopoly shippers and Sir Alfred in particular)

The editor rejected the "untenable allegations" of the Federation of Irish Manufacturers. It was stated that Article 5 eliminated from tariff cover "hundreds of articles for which we have no production capacity whatsoever". Not one of the articles covered would provide the basis for remunerative employment-giving industry. The editor challenged the Federation to specify which article could, in their opinion, be profitably worked under existing conditions. With regard to Article 8, it was asserted that the Prices Commission was obliged to afford Irish manufacturers "adequate protection".

The headlines of the following morning ran

WE HAVE WON THE ECONOMIC WAR - MR LEMASS  
INDUSTRIALISTS ASSURED  
DR RYAN EXPLAINS EFFECTS OF TRADE PACT  
(IP 29 4 1938 p 1)

The paper gave the opinion of the Cork Chamber of Commerce which welcomed the Agreement with Britain on grounds that it would open up the British market for Irish products and would remove the political tension which had existed in the country. Mr D Forde-Nagle, President of the Chamber of Commerce, asserted that "there was no possibility of an undue influx of British goods coming into the country for 12 months", since the position of every industry would have to be reviewed by the Prices Commission first. A letter was read to the meeting from the London chamber of commerce stating that the agreement greatly increased the possibilities of developing trade relations between the two countries. A special meeting of the North Dublin Committee of the United

Traders' Development Association passed a resolution welcoming "the recent pact with Britain", while it was reported that the Galway Observer found the results of the trade negotiations to be "entirely beneficial" (IP 4 5 1938 p 2)

Editorials exhorted the benefits of competition, and welcomed the exhibition of industry at the Spring Show, stating that

When the manufacturer sees what his rival can produce, it is an incentive and a goal to him to do better next time, and that can only be achieved by the introduction of new methods, better designs, and, possibly, more suitable, if not superior, plant and equipment  
(IP 4 5 1938 p 6)

While emphasising the new turn towards efficiency in industry, the Press also sought to reassure industrialists by stressing that their position was not threatened. When, for example, Lemass declared that the pact would help industry, asserting that "our industrial policy has not been changed or modified", the Press reported that this emphatic declaration was greeted with cheers by large numbers of factory workers (in whose presence Lemass officially opened Drogheda's first Civic Week and Industrial Exhibition). Lemass asserted that recent events had not involved any variation of the industrial policy. The agreement, he emphasised, did not involve any undoing of what had been done in the industrial sphere, or any retarding of future industrial programmes. The tendency of "nagging" industry over the genuine complaint of low standards and inefficiency was not constructive, he added.

While Irish Press leaders stressed the success of the protectionist drive, the editor also sought to convince Irish industry that the period of protectionism was drawing to a close, the era of spoon-feeding was over, Lemass's conciliatory mood notwithstanding

Irish industry, as Mr Lemass pointed out at the opening of the new Galway hat factory, is growing up. The time has come when it can reasonably be expected to stand on its own feet. Watchfulness and encouragement are, of course, still needed - and a Government which has fostered native enterprises from the beginning may be relied upon to supply both - but the era of spoon-feeding is over (IP 20 7 1938 p 8)

The low standards in industry were in fact a matter of grave concern, following the signing of the 1938 Anglo-Irish trade pact, the Irish Press had devoted considerable editorial commentary to reports in the London Evening Standard which suggested that the Irish Industrial revival was in a parlous state. The Standard had reported on the Kildare wallpaper factory, which could not begin production because they still awaited their first order, meat-processing factory closures due to cattle shortages, a cement factory hampered by starting operations just as the government housing programme drew to a close, and the exploitation of apprentice boys in boot-making factories. The Press editorial refuted the article by alleging that the Standard was attempting to create an unfavourable impression in business circles. Clearly, much of the efficiency drive

was aimed at making Irish industries more attractive to investors, wherever the source of capital might come from. This explains the government's impatience with the FSI's demand that Irish industry be exclusively Irish-owned. The new role of the Irish Press in promoting efficiency and capital-intensive industries stood in contrast with the rhetoric of the early populist phase. In the early 1930's, the newspaper had presented a critical view of large-scale industry and the evils of mass society. Now, it seemed that industrialisation on a capital-intensive basis was precisely the aim of the Fianna Fail government. Hence, the newspaper's leaders still referred to the ideals of Christian social justice and the need to avoid mistakes made in other industrialising countries.

Industrially we are a young country, and there is still time before conditions become stabilised to avoid the gigantic blunder which has resulted in the break-up of society and governmental institutions elsewhere. Let us by all means run our native industrial concerns on the lines of efficiency and up-to-dateness. But let us, at the same time, not lose sight of justice and Christian ethics. (IP 21 7 1938 p 8)

Press editorials also continued to refer to the need to maintain more people on the land (IP 22 7 38 p 10), despite the fact that Fianna Fail was increasingly abandoning its commitment to ruralisation. The paper played the part of stressing the government's, and the newspaper's commitment to the people. In the seventh anniversary edition of the Irish Press, the newspaper's link with the common people was reiterated. It was stated that de Valera, like Parnell, had been charged with "taking the hard-earned dollars of Irish

serving-girls in New York" Parnell had replied that it was "at least as honourable a cause that depended for its support upon the love and loyalty of the common people as one which depended for its existence on the title-purchasing contributions of brewers and bankers" (IP 5 9 1938 p 5) The Irish Press, it seemed, stood in the tradition of past nationalist struggles in looking to the ordinary people for support The history of the Irish Press shows that the newspaper also stood in the tradition of past nationalist struggles in subordinating the interests of the common people to the aims not only of brewers and bankers, but of industrialists and businessmen

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

By 1937, a number of changes were visible in the pages of the Irish Press The change of editor and the new direction in editorial policy had resulted in a more popular, and less overtly political paper, one that was designed to appeal to the middle classes which were being increasingly attracted by Fianna Fail The changes brought about an increase in circulation and a widening readership, raising hopes that the paper would finally become a profitable enterprise The paper's modernization also reflected the close relationship between the Press and the new manufacturing industries which had grown up under protectionism

By 1937, at the height of ISI's success, a rift was developing between the state and industry over the question of protection While Irish manufacturers demanded more

protection and a more rigorous application of the control of manufactures Act, Lemass countered with an insistence on greater efficiency in industry. The final coal-cattle pact of 1938, the last in a series of negotiations on trade with Britain, was the occasion for considerable outcry among sections of Irish manufacturers. The Irish Press vacillated for a while, torn between its traditional allegiance to protectionism and its loyalty to Fianna Fail, before being committed to the new orientation towards free trade. Gradually the paper began to encourage production for export markets, giving favourable reports of industries producing for export and showing how dollars could be earned through exports to the United States. In taking this new course, the paper became both more commercialized and blander in content, lacking the confidence of the earlier period when protectionism was advocated. While the newspaper had come to represent both the new Irish business classes and the State, the future for industrial development was by no means clear. The onset of war and the Emergency served to artificially prolong the protectionist period, but the question of the next step for industrial development remained unsolved. The crisis which ensued for both the Irish Press and Fianna Fail in the 1950's will be examined in Chapter Seven below.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE IDENTITY CRISIS OF THE IRISH PRESS

#### INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Six, the emerging conflicts within the populist alliance were discussed in terms of their manifestations in the IP and their effect on the style and content of the paper. Although the economic limitations of the process of import-substitution industrialisation were central to the changing role and content of the Irish Press, a number of political factors were also important. Fianna Fail sought to establish a base among the better-off middle classes and to move away from its image as a party of the poor and marginal sectors in Irish society (This also had important implications for the commercial development of the paper). The anti-imperialist rhetoric of the early 1930's had been replaced by a moderate stance which stressed the benefits of trade with Britain. Although the Emergency of the war years reinforced some of the values of self-sufficiency and isolationism, the tendency from the late 1930's had been towards the modernisation of industry and the reintegration of the Free State in the world economy.

Nevertheless, this tendency was not universally acceptable and encountered resistance from sectors of industry and, indeed, from within the Fianna Fail party. Hence, the economic crisis of the early 1950's found the party without a unified policy position. On the one hand, the rise of radical political parties such as Clann na Poblachta



challenged the Fianna Fail claim to support in the West. On the other hand, the worsening economic situation suggested that the traditional rhetoric of populist nationalism was no longer acceptable to the public. Between 1948 and 1956 Fianna Fail lost two general elections and found itself out of power for the first time in sixteen years.

The theme of this chapter is the crisis of identity of the Irish Press in the years 1945-1956. The chapter describes the conflicting positions of the newspaper when the party's hegemony was seriously undermined by the crisis of the 1950's. The first section deals with the stance of the paper during the election campaign of January 1948. It shows how Fianna Fail sought to undermine the threat of Clann na Poblachta and how this strategy entailed a sharp criticism of the type of populist policies previously endorsed by the Irish Press. In the second section, the rhetoric of the general election in May 1954 is considered. This deals with the retreat to economic nationalism in terms of the paper's attack on Coalition plans to introduce foreign capital and diminish protectionism. The third section deals with effects on the paper of the crisis within Fianna Fail during the party's term of opposition between 1954 and 1956. The fourth section considers the position of the Irish Press at the end of the 1950's, when de Valera's credibility and his control over the paper were publicly challenged for the first time.

7 1 The General Election Campaign, January 1948

In the aftermath of the Second World War, it seemed that Fianna Fail had emerged as the only party capable of effective government in the new Ireland. Certainly, the party conducted the general election campaign on the basis of its record in government during the previous sixteen years. The speeches of leading government ministers, dutifully reproduced in the leading articles of the Irish Press, reflected the conviction that stable government was the main issue. For the IP, de Valera's personal stature was the main feature to be promoted. Accounts of his campaign were written in glowing terms which spoke of the leader's popularity with the masses. Editorials reflected the emphasis on stable government, asserting that

what is at stake is nothing less than the existence of stable government, a government made sufficiently strong by the votes of the people to do what is necessary in the public interest without party bargaining  
(IP 4 1 1948 p 6)

None of the other parties involved would be in a position to accomplish their aims, it was alleged, because they would be obliged to enter in a coalition. The editorial warned that the people in the country had become so accustomed to stability that they might not realise how easily it could be lost. This type of editorial reflected a certain complacency on the part of the paper. The position of voice of the government had created a tendency to "talk down" to the readership. The tone gave credence to those who referred to the Press as the "Irish Pravda" (cf Coogan,

section 7 4 2 below) Glowing accounts of de Valera meetings around the country could only reinforce this view It seemed that populism in decline, without its radical democratic impetus, merely served to uphold a vision of a charismatic leader rather than offering the possibility of genuine social change involving the mass of the people The people became passive bystanders, who cheered the leader and enthusiastically followed his every word and deed

#### CLARE'S GREAT WELCOME FOR MR DE VALERA

hundreds of people were at the outskirts of the town to see the Taoiseach greeted by the members of the local Sean O'Dwyer Fianna Fail cumann when he arrived shortly after one o'clock Many more lined the streets to welcome him as he passed on his way to the meeting place, and frequent cries of "Up Dev" punctuated the continuous applause "

The report is suggestive of an official visit by a head of state rather than an election campaign

Heading the procession, which included many prominent townspeople, was IRA veteran Stephen Downey, carrying the tricolor At the platform, Mr de Valera was received by a Guard of honour of the Gardaí, under Supt J Dawson, and when he rose to speak he had to pause for minutes until the burst of applause died down

(IP 2 1 1948 p 1)

This type of political coverage could rally the support of the faithful, but left unanswered the main social and economic issues facing the electorate Fianna Fail repeatedly asserted that its record stood for itself

#### 7 1 1 The Threat of Clann na Poblachta

Fianna Fail's complacency was to expose it to the threat from a radical political grouping which emerged at the end of

the War This group was Clann na Poblachta The leader of Clann na Poblachta, Sean MacBride, had worked on the Irish Press in its radical days His professional links with the paper ceased following the newsboys's strike of 1934 He took over editorship of An Phoblacht after Frank Ryan departed, and appointed young journalists Liam MacGabhann and Terry Ward, who were later to join the staff of the Irish Press In 1951, MacBride founded the Irish News Agency with the aim of providing an Irish service for overseas newspapers

MacBride's family background and impeccable Republican credentials gave him an authority which could, at least temporarily, win the allegiance of those disillusioned with Fianna Fail's conservative drift The foundation of Clann na Poblachta in 1946 was to incur at least one significant loss to the Irish Press Aodh de Blacam, who had edited the journal Young Ireland during era of the "mosquito press", and later wrote the Roddy the Rover column in the Irish Press, left to support the cause of Clann na Poblachta On election platforms he denounced Fianna Fail's abandonment of its commitment to the land He reiterated the traditional populist argument against urbanisation in a speech marked by its bitterness towards de Valera

Mr de Valera goes to Clare and says there is a danger of saturation on the land Was anything like that ever said before? If he said there was saturation of the Dublin tenements by herding the population in that unfortunate city and crushing one load upon another, it would make sense But he speaks of the countryside, so rich and splendid, as being in danger of saturation  
(IP 17 1 1948 p 1)

De Blacam went on to argue that the policies of 1932 had

been abandoned by Fianna Fail. He had been informed by Erskine Childers that the policy of self-sufficiency, - the old policy of Sinn Fein and Fianna Fail - had been "scratched". The outcome was that shops were now being "flung open" to foreign hats, clothing, shoes and goods. Furthermore, de Blacam objected that the Fianna Fail government had been party to British manufacturers' recruitment of Irish workers. Advertisements had covered the walls of the nation's unemployment exchanges two years previously when the post-war labour shortage became apparent.

The case of Locke's Distillery, he continued, was further evidence of the degeneration of Fianna Fail. The issue of Locke's distillery was to recur with distressing regularity in the course of the election campaign. The issue had come to public attention through allegations of bribery and corruption levelled against de Valera, Lemass, Gerry Boland, and de Valera's son. These allegations were brought by Oliver Flanagan, the Fine Gael TD for Laois-Offaly. A judicial tribunal had taken evidence on the allegations and had concluded that there was "not a scintilla of evidence" that any minister had a personal interest in the sale of the distillery. For de Blacam, the issue was not primarily about corruption, but the sale of the distillery to foreigners in contravention of the Control of Manufactures Act. Others in Clann na Poblachta, however, were quick to raise the issue of public morality, claiming that the Locke's distillery case was but one of a series of incidents involving prominent Fianna Fail members. The issue was sufficiently contentious

for de Valera to intervene personally, in a speech which set the tone for subsequent Irish Press editorials

For example, the editor made the not uncontentious claim that the judges in the Locke's Distillery Tribunal were

more independent of the executive than probably in any other state in the world - absolutely independent and free (IP 15 1 1948 p 4)

Furthermore, he drew attention to the paragraphs of the report which specifically cast doubt on Deputy Flanagan's reliability as a witness

We find it quite impossible to follow or to appreciate Deputy Flanagan's ever-shifting evidence as to the meaning to be attached to the allegation that a minister of state had a keen personal interest in the sale of the distillery

(IP 15 1 1948 p 4)

Corruption was not the only issue which placed the Irish Press on the defensive. The economic and social policies of Clann na Poblachta were strikingly close to early Fianna Fail rhetoric. In an editorial entitled THE LINK WITH STERLING, Clann na Poblachta's demand for financial independence was dismissed in a manner that would have done justice to the Unionist Irish Times

The contention that our economic salvation is to be obtained merely by establishing our "financial freedom" is about as sound as the fatuous claim of the so-called monetary reformers who call on the Government to use the printing presses so that everybody will be as rich as Croesus (IP 7 1 1948 p 6)

Clearly, the pound was no longer under alien control as it had been in the heady days before Fianna Fail took office. The editorial soberly declared that there was no defect in national independence that could be ascribed to the "non-

varying rate of exchange between the Irish pound and the English pound"

#### 7 1 2 The IP and the "Communist Threat"

Fianna Fail's increasing political conservatism, and its abandonment of the more radical aspects of populist rhetoric, paved the way for an attack on the "communist" tendencies of Clann na Poblachta. Nevertheless, this was carried out in different ways by different elements of the party leadership. In this respect, the Irish Press presented two different faces of the party in the course of the election campaign. On the one hand, Sean Lemass was portrayed as the party's progressive face. Lemass speeches reported in the Press stressed that Fianna Fail was "a workers' party". This did not mean, he explained, that Fianna Fail was a "class party". The distinctive characteristic of the party was "the conception that class interests were not necessarily antagonistic" and that national advance could be planned in such a way as to benefit every class. The aims of policy in this regard were to give the workers security, to raise the standard of living, and to expand employment. Lemass was shrewd enough to minimize the rhetoric of anti-communism, or at least to shroud it in ambivalence. Nevertheless, his speeches hinted at a vague threat to "Christian Democracy". The IP gave a full account of his speculations, which seem designed to draw a distinct line between Fianna Fail, as part of Christian Democracy, and other tendencies which were part of the threat.

During [the next five years] the campaign which is now in progress - to destroy Christian Democracy in Europe will either succeed or it will be defeated. The immediate attack may not be against this country. It may be Italy or France or some other country which is being made the subject of the undermining activities of the organisation which is directing the campaign, but the campaign is in progress. We need not have any doubt that we are on the list for attack some time (IP 5 1 1948 p 5)

Such subtle appeals to catholic paranoia were beyond the capacity of more "conservative" elements of the leadership. The IP became for a time the instrument of Sean MacEntee's personal crusade to expose the communist tendencies of the Clann na Poblachta leadership. The paper went beyond the institutional requirement of publishing a verbatim account of his speech on C na P, but also published letters from the Minister and from rank and file members of the Fianna Fail party, denouncing communist influence over their opponents (IP 20 1 1948 p 8). The role of the IP in using anti-communist tactics was later denounced by Dr Noel Browne. The IP had, in Browne's estimation, engaged in a piece of "black propaganda" (1986 109) by speculating that young Jim Larkin would become Minister for Education in a future Coalition government. In fact, Browne argued, Larkin's previous association with communism would have effectively excluded him from consideration for any Ministerial position. The IP writer would have been fully aware of this fact but wished to underline the "communist threat". Press editorials poured scorn on Clann na Poblachta's plans for dealing with unemployment, neglecting the fact that these were identical to past Fianna Fail declarations. On the scheme for re-



afforestation proposed by CnaP, the editor pronounced it to be nothing short of slave-labour. This conveniently ignored the fact that de Valera's attempt at labour camps in the Emergency had deserved the same criticism and had failed because of concerted resistance from the unemployed.

The general election campaign showed the Irish Press directed against the threat of a new radical populism. While Fianna Fail and the IP laid claim to the traditions of republicanism, it can be seen that by 1948 the paper was involved in a complex rewriting of its own history and that of Fianna Fail. The difficulty of relying on history, even a sanitised version of history, for legitimation, was that it failed to deal with problems which required immediate solutions. The IP no longer argued that emigration could be halted through rural industries. Instead, editorials suggested that the emigration figures were not excessive and that in some years there had been a net influx of population. Such arguments reflected a real crisis within Fianna Fail. The party had drawn away from its traditional base, and was clearly losing its support on the western fringes. Yet the decline of populism left the party without any strong cohesive ideology. This was reflected in the increasing stagnation of the IP.

#### 7.2 The Conservative Turn

It has been argued that Sean Lemass represented the modernising and progressive face of Fianna Fail. In particular, Lemass was associated with the turn towards the

1  
3  
4

urban working classes and the modernisation of the Fianna Fail party after the crisis of the 1950s. During the party's first period in opposition, 1948-1951, Lemass became managing director of the Irish Press. In 1949, he presided over the establishment of the Sunday Press. This would have been an ideal opportunity to push the party towards full modernisation.

Yet there seems little evidence that the Irish Press was used to promote any radically new ideas on economic or social progress. The lack of direction in the Press would seem to indicate that the party in general was faced with a crisis of ideology in the 1950's. In 1951 Bill Sweetman was replaced as editor of the Irish Press by Jim McGuinness. The change of editor did not radically alter the stagnant tone of the paper. When the Fianna Fail party returned to power in 1951, the dominant economic policy was a stringent fiscal orthodoxy. This reflected the dominance of the more conservative members of the cabinet. By the time of the election campaign of May 1954, it seemed that Fianna Fail had decided to rely on its rural support, and fought the campaign on traditional arguments.

#### 7 2 1 Economic Orthodoxy

Instead of confronting the problems of stagnation in industry and agriculture, and decisively moving towards an open market policy, the party reiterated its traditional defense of ruralism and protectionism. Within the Irish Press, the editorial columns were used to challenge any

suggestion that tariff barriers should be dismantled. The retreat to protectionism was combined with a defence of the fiscal rectitude which Fianna Fail had pursued in office. In the second week of the election campaign, Sean MacEntee attacked proposals to introduce food subsidies (IP 1 5 1954 p 5). A government of Fine Gael and other coalition groups, he declared, would embark on a policy of open inflation. Nothing, he added, could be more unjust to the worker, the small investor, and the middle class citizens. The defense of tight monetary policy would seem to indicate that Fianna Fail was concerned to maintain support among the middle classes and to pursue a policy of "sound money" which would attract investors. At the same time, Sean Lemass spoke in the West of plans for a major development drive. At a meeting in Listowel, Co. Kerry, he asserted that Fianna Fail's aims would not be fully realised until every Western county and town had the benefit of industrial activity (IP 3 5 1954 p 5). This theme was more in keeping with the interventionist policies of the 1930's than with the fiscal conservatism of MacEntee. For the Irish Press, the latent conflict between Finance, represented by MacEntee, and Industry and Commerce, directed by Lemass, was initially resolved in favour of Finance. Editorials concentrated on the issue of inflation and consumer spending. The prospective coalition of Fine Gael and Labour was portrayed as an alliance which would lead to further inflation. Differences of emphasis between Lemass and MacEntee were covered by a reiteration of traditional Fianna Fail arguments.

## 7 2 2 The Retreat to Economic Nationalism

On the issue of protectionism, all the party seemed united. Although headlines in the Irish Press seemed to suggest that Fine Gael was in retreat, this compensated for the fact that Fianna Fail's retreat to economic nationalism was essentially a defensive gesture. Fianna Fail rhetoric on protectionism was raised in response to opposition policies to make the economy more competitive. A speech by James Dillon, in which it was suggested that Fine Gael would lift some restrictions on the importation of foreign fertilisers, drew a unanimous response from the Fianna Fail leadership. Irish Press headlines proclaimed

LEMASS WARNS ON THREAT OF DUMPING FERTILISERS  
2,000 JOBS MAY GO  
FINE GAEL THREAT TO INDUSTRIES  
(IP 5 5 1954 p 1)

The newspaper gave front page coverage to the issue, and gave priority to Lemass's opinion that the Fine Gael party seemed intent on dismantling a large section of manufacturing industry. Lemass's rhetoric was typical of early Fianna Fail populism since it returned to the theme of foreign monopolies, dumping, and the threat to Irish jobs. He warned that Fine Gael, by pursuing a policy of tariff reduction, would open the door to powerful foreign combines which could destroy competition on the home market. By dumping their surplus on the Irish market, the foreign fertiliser companies could soon establish a monopoly here. Lemass went on to reiterate the traditional argument that Fine Gael had intrinsically been hostile to industrial development,

particularly in the past when Cumann na nGaedheal had drawn their main political support from

that wealthy and influential class of merchants who were engaged in the business of importing and selling foreign goods" (IP 5 5 1954 p 1)

This argument found all sections of Fianna Fail in agreement. A speech given by Frank Aiken, the minister for external affairs, was also reported in the Irish Press

FOR NEXT 40 YEARS WE'LL BE PAYING FOR GOODS COALITION  
NEEDLESSLY IMPORTED  
CLOSED 100 FACTORIES, PUT 600,000 ACRES TO GRASS, SAYS AIKEN  
(IP 5 5 1954 p 10)

Aiken accused the opposition of having wasted all the funds received under Marshall aid. The money had been spent on the purchase, in foreign markets, of wheat, animal foodstuffs, and finished goods. The burden of repayment would fall on the Irish taxpayer, Aiken warned. All the goods in question, he argued, could have been produced by Irish workers. Aiken went on to demand what the level of wages and employment would be if the 104,000 workers employed in industry were not protected against dumping. Like Lemass, Aiken concluded on the theme of Fine Gael's past attitude to industrial development, asserting that

if we want to attain national security, steady employment in factory and in farm, and a better standard of living, and to maintain our social services, we must smash once and for all the Fine Gael link with 19th century British Economic policy (IP 5 5 1954 p 10)

### 7 2 3 Fianna Fail In Crisis

Lemass seemed determined to avoid any definite statement on Fianna Fail policy on tariffs. In a political broadcast from Radio Eireann, he suggested that the first phase of industrial development was coming to a close. Industries had to be developed which could win export business, he maintained. Lemass, however, gave little indication of the implications for those industries which relied on protection and which had little prospect of meeting foreign competition. The Radio Eireann broadcast showed that the public pronouncements on industry had not changed since 1938, when Irish Press editorials declared that "the era of spoon feeding is over" (IP 20 7 1938, p 8). Since the end of the Economic War, it seemed that Fianna Fail had been announcing a new phase of development for Irish industry. Rather than decisively abandoning protectionism, Fianna Fail attacked Fine Gael's proposals. In fact, the policies of both tendencies appeared as mirror-images of one another. Lemass, castigating the opposition, declared that "their attitude to industry remains evasive and uncertain". The Tanaiste pointed out that on the one hand, Mr Dillon had spoken of the advantages of buying in the cheapest market and had pointed to one industry to be dismantled. On the other hand, Mr Costello, the leader of Fine Gael, had spoken of protection as a permanent feature of the economy (IP 12 5 1954 p 4). Meanwhile, de Valera had set out to reassure the rural farming population. It seems that Fianna Fail was concerned

about the possibility of losing this constituency. The Irish Press gave front page coverage to de Valera's message

LET NO ONE SAY WE HAVE NEGLECTED OR OVERLOOKED  
AGRICULTURE: SAYS MR DE VALERA  
FINE FUTURE FOR FARMERS  
(IP 6.5.1954 p.1)

The tone of this headline reflects a concern to reassure the rural support base of the party. The Taoiseach reiterated the traditional rhetoric of western development and asserted that the development of agriculture was Fianna Fail's primary aim. The aim of the party, he declared, was to develop national resources for the benefit of the people. De Valera reminded the audience that the country had been kept by Britain as a ranch to produce cheap food for herself and as a dear market for her manufactured products. Since Fianna Fail took office in 1932, over a thousand new factories and hundreds of new industries had been established, he concluded, pointing out that "even since 1951, 202 new industries had been started" (IP 6.5.1954 p.1).

De Valera's role was to reassure the traditional Fianna Fail voters that no change of policy was being considered. Speaking at a meeting in Limerick, he asserted that the programme from the economic point of view had always been to utilise to the full the natural resources of the country, in order to be as self-reliant and self-sufficient as possible. By arguing that "the Fianna Fail policy of today is the same policy of self-sufficiency and self-reliance as ever", the Taoiseach sought to stem the tide of rural disillusionment with the party. The IP was used to reinforce the idea of

Fianna Fail as the natural choice for the farmers A feature article which appeared on May 13th 1954 bore the title

NATIONAL PROSPERITY BEGINS ON THE FARM  
HOW WILL THE FARMER VOTE?  
- FOR FIANNA FAIL, SAYS AN INDEPENDENT OBSERVER  
(IP 13 5 1954 p 6)

The "independent observer" reminded readers that Fianna Fail had always had the bulk of small farmers on its side. More recently, it was noted, there had been a swing towards Fianna Fail by the larger farmers. Indeed, some of the smaller farmers of the South and West, who had found their temporary confidence in others to be misplaced, had also returned to the Fianna Fail standard (IP 13 5 54 p 6). The main point of the article was the argument that the majority of farmers were opposed to Free Trade.

Mr Dillon's Free trade policy is the subject of more criticism by thoughtful farmers. They point out that Mr Dillon does not expect the farmers of England, of America, or any other country, to be subjected to the competition of dumped surplus food in their own home market. They ask why does he expect the Irish farmer, alone of all farmers in the world to be deprived of protection? (IP 13 5 1954 p 6)

The writer added that Irish farmers had more than a chance of selling milk, meat and potatoes to the worker in Dublin, Cork or Galway. But not even Mr Dillon could decide what a worker in Birmingham, New York or Paris would buy, or from which farmers he would buy it. The conclusion was clear. The foreign worker had to give preference to the produce of his own farmers and Irish farmers should recognise this.

Articles such as the above seemed to be considerably at odds with the type of news report carried by the Press



during the previous months The Fianna Fail government of 1951-54 had been keen to encourage agricultural exports in order to deal with the balance of payments crisis Correspondingly, the Press reported on attempts to win bigger U S markets for both agricultural and manufactured goods (cf BID TO WIN BIGGER US MARKET FOR OUR GOODS (IP 12 1 1954 p 1), FREE TRADE GIVES MORE LOW-PRICE GOODS (IP 15 1 1954 p 4), EFFORT NEEDED TO WIDEN EXPORTS, (IP 29 1 1954 p 11), EXPORTS SEND WHAT US NEEDS (IP 30 1 1954 p 8), IRISH GOODS CAN FACE THE WORLD EXPORTS MEAN PROSPERITY' (IP, 25 3 1954 p 8))

The Irish Press had also carried numerous reports in relation to the drive for increase productivity in both industry and agriculture These reports were clearly motivated by the need to increase exports (cf MACHINERY ON FARM SPELLS PRODUCTION UP (IP 5 1 1954 p 6), PRODUCERS ARE ADVISED TO IMPROVE METHODS AND QUALITY (IP 8 1 1954 p 1), 40,000 TEXTILE FACTORY OPENED DOLLAR EXPORTS (IP 14 1 1954 p 6), MEET CHALLENGE PRODUCE MORE (IP 3 2 1954 p 5), FARMERS MUST USE SPECIALISED SERVICES TO MEET COMPETITION SAYS MR WALSH (IP 9 2 1954 p 1)

The election campaign of May 1954, however, witnessed a wholesale retreat to economic nationalism The Irish Press sought to place the issue of protectionism to the forefront In fact, by making protection a major issue in the election campaign, Fianna Fail attempted to circumvent the need for a break with the past The final election rally was covered on

the front page of the IP under the headline "WE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE" (cf fig 7 1 below) In reality, the semblance of party unity had only been achieved by retreating from the problem of economic stagnation, emigration and population decline The Irish Press editorial gave the impression that Fianna Fail's traditional policies would be equal to the task of overcoming such problems

Our task is to go ahead with the work of building up a prosperous nation there is no time now for the luxury of political experiments, especially when it has been made evident that they can only bring unfortunate consequences with them (IP 18 5 1954 p 6)

Fianna Fail failed to gain an overall majority in the general election of May 1954 The party lost four seats, reducing the number of deputies to 64, the lowest figure since 1927 The party's failure has been attributed by some writers to the austerity programme instituted by Sean McEntee in the preceding years (cf Lee, 1989 326) While it is probably the case that the deflationary thrust of McEntee's policies did not enhance Fianna Fail popularity, the defeat of Fianna Fail must also be considered within a broader perspective The ideology of the party was challenged, not by Fine Gael, but by the real failure of populism to challenge rural decline, emigration and unemployment The stance of the Irish Press during the period 1945-56 was essentially defensive

are available  
inkle tailored by  
**ndmola**

radios,  
electrical goods,  
paints  
are best bought at  
**HODGES**

**CITY**  
*Patches*  
MINT  
CARAMELS

**New Car**  
J. H. MOORE Ltd  
AUNGHER ST. DUBLIN

*We've Been Chasing Our Opponents, Trying To Get Them To Stand Their Ground, But They've Been Scurrying And Scampering In All Directions, Says Mr. de Valera*

# WE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE

## One Thing In City Other In Country

...we've been chasing our opponents and trying to get them to stand their ground, but they've been scurrying and scampering in all directions and ever we come to close quarters with them they try to get into another covert."

Mr. de Valera last night when he addressed a large rally in Dublin, said that the people could depend on that Fianna speak in two voices in the election. "None of us explained in the cities that butter at 4.2 a lb. and then go to the country and tell the farmer that he should get a good price for their milk."

**Of Individual And Family**

...regarding the social aspect of Fianna's policy, he said that the material benefits they had intended for the good of the people and for the future. There was a social philosophy behind



...regarded the rights of the individual and the fact that the State had no right to interfere with it, also recognized that organized society had the same rights, which the individual in turn had to respect.

...the law that society and the State were to the advantage of the individual and not the other way round. The State had to be in the service of the individual. The individual's soul gave him his position in the universe and his destiny. The only thing that mattered was the right of going to the extreme Left was that the State should not submerge the rights of the individual and the individual should not be easy to determine, said Mr. de Valera.

...these matters you are going too far to the left. You will find our social philosophy outlined in the Constitution and you will find the rights of the State and of organized society defined.

**Left Run When Challenged**

...involved in giving the people a choice between two alternatives was the people's right. If they did not get it, they would never get it.

...past three years, Mr. de Valera continued the tradition regarding financial questions as fundamental. He pointed out they had some way of conjuring up a way in which the country could get rid of the debt they had to face.

...he accused Fianna of having budgeted for more than was required but when the accounts for the year it was found that far from there being a surplus, there was a £2 million deficit.

fig 7 1  
WE SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE  
(IP 18 5 1954 p 1)

During the period of office of the second inter-party government, 1954-56, the paper was used to advance Fianna Fail criticism of the government, not to promote a new strategy for development. This can be seen clearly in the stance adopted towards foreign investment in industry after 1954.

### 7.3 The Issue of Foreign Capital

By January 1955 it was clear that the economy was in deep crisis. The editorials of the Irish Press showed little indication that Fianna Fail had any new policy in mind. The editor pointed to past successes such as the boot and shoe industry, and suggested that market opportunities were available in North America and elsewhere. Fianna Fail could point to the need to modernise industry, but on the question of tariff barriers and foreign investment, little change of opinion was apparent (cf IP 29 1 1955 p 8). Instead, the Press gave priority to Fianna Fail criticism of the Coalition's attempts to deal with the crisis. A report on the Fine Gael Ard Fheis suggested that government policy was dictated by the "Left Wing of the Labour Party". The report was highly critical of the government's extension of food subsidies. While the price paid to farmers for wheat had been reduced, tea was being subsidised, to the advantage of no-one but the capitalist tea-exporters of Ceylon. The writer observed bitterly that the Dublin vote had "put Fianna Fail out and Fine Gael in". Now the Dublin worker would have to pay through higher taxes (IP 31 1 1955 p 5). Such comments

underlined Fianna Fail's increasing awareness of the urban working classes, and signalled that ruralism was finally in decline

### 7 3 1 The IP and Foreign Investment

The announcement of a new refinery to be established in Cork by the major oil companies finally forced the Irish Press to take cognisance of the issue of foreign investment. In February 1955, Mr Norton, Labour leader and Minister for Industry and Commerce announced plans for the establishment of an oil refinery in Cork. Although the Irish Press gave front-page coverage to the announcement, there was no immediate editorial response. The following day, however, presumably following consultation with Fianna Fail, the official position was given. Fianna Fail had obviously decided to avoid the issue of foreign control of investment and instead attempted to take the credit for the initiative. The report of the Irish Press on February 4th 1955 stressed that the decision to establish a petroleum refining industry was the outcome of negotiations taken by the IDA on the direction of the Fianna Fail government in 1951. This move, the report added, was in accord with the policy for Europe recommended by the OEEC. The lead article emphasised the central role of Lemass in encouraging a link-up between the oil-distributing companies for the purposes of establishing a refinery. The principle of establishing this refinery had been agreed before the change of government (IP 4 2 1955 p 1)

By contrast, the theme of foreign monopoly control was raised in relation to British rail's operation of passenger services by sea between Ireland and Britain. Lemass had raised the issue in the Dail and his criticisms were reiterated in the Irish Press editorials. The British railways, argued the editor, had not been using their privileged position in a way that did justice to the needs of the people or of the tourism industry. There would be support nationwide for the ending of this monopoly, the editorial warned, if British rail did not improve its service. In spite of this traditionalist rhetoric on the power of the British transport monopolies, there was little tendency to instigate a full-scale campaign of opposition as had been done in 1931. This writer's analysis of the IP indicates that at that time, Fianna Fail was prepared to continue to use some populist rhetoric while in opposition, albeit without the conviction or the policy emphasis of earlier years.

### 7 3 2 The IP and Tariff Reform

As far as the crisis of industry was concerned, Fianna Fail and the Irish Press were consistent in their emphasis on the need for greater Irish investment in plant and equipment. The necessity for modernisation was given added urgency by the publication of an American report on Irish industrial potential which underlined the need for greater investment (IP 16 2 1955 p 4). The IP concentrated on the question of Irish investment, urging the public invest in native industry

Here in Ireland there is adequate capital for investment in a useful way. What we must ensure is that the encouragements are there to bring it into industry. This means not merely a national taxation system but that our industrialists are prepared to show greater enterprise in methods of production and in seeking out fresh markets (IP 12 4 55 p 8)

On the question of tariff reform, the Irish Press editorials were extremely cautious. In response to the OEEC report of April 1955, the editor commended the survey's recommendation that tariffs be reduced in Europe in general and that trade to the US should be increased. The editor urged caution, however, noting that the larger countries, the US, Britain and Germany, still maintained high tariff barriers and had been slow to go over to Free Trade. Before committing the country to any scheme of tariff reform, the editor warned that readers should be clear in their own minds that it would not hinder the development of Irish industry and agriculture (IP 16 4 55 p 6)

### 7 3 3 Divisions Within Fianna Fail

Fianna Fail seemed hesitant to publicly abandon protectionism, or to introduce foreign capital, but remained internally divided on how to stimulate Irish investment. In June 1955, McEntee seemed to favour a laissez-faire approach with minimum government intervention. He declared that a definite limit must be imposed on public spending, arguing that the state could not, in view of its underdeveloped economy, continue to provide the amenities afforded by most highly industrialised communities in the world. McEntee gave the opinion that money fructified best in the hands of those

who made it So far as the financing of private industry and agriculture was concerned the best hope lay in allowing the man who made the money to employ that money to his own best advantage (IP 3 6 1955 p 5) By contrast, Lemass's speech at Clery's Restaurant in October 1955 gave the impression that Fianna Fail intended to pursue a Keynesian state-led investment programme The Irish Press gave front-page coverage to the Lemass speech, under the headlines

FIANNA FAIL'S AIM IS FULL EMPLOYMENT  
(IP 12 5 1955 p 1)

Furthermore, the paper devoted a full 4-page supplement to the explication of Lemass's proposals

The full text of the speech was reprinted and accompanied by a detailed explanation of the role of the trade union movement in the development programme (IP 12 10 55 p 1ff) Lemass outlined proposals for a "carefully prepared investment programme", which would initially be undertaken by the government and which would lead to the provision of 100,000 jobs within 5 years The investment programme was to be financed "other than by taxation or by borrowing from current savings" In the view of Lemass, early investment in public works would be followed in due course by private investment To this end, Year One of the programme would involve a 13 million pound increase in public investment outlay, "raising total national expenditure to 20 million and creating 20,000 new jobs" At this stage, no private contribution would be involved In Year Two, Government expenditure would be increased by 20 million The



B  
A  
1

contribution from private capital was expected to increase substantially in the final three years of the five-year plan. According to Lemass, this programme represented current Fianna Fail thinking on the future progress of the nation. It seemed that the old policies were finally to be abandoned, and along with them, the populist rhetoric of the past. Lemass's speech indicated that a turning-point had been reached.

The Fianna Fail party has accepted the conclusion that the economic development programme which it initiated twenty-five years ago, notwithstanding its many and very substantial achievements and its subsequent acceptance by all political parties, has not proved to be sufficient to bring about all the economic and social progress which we desired and which we believe can be accomplished (IP supplement, 12 10 1955).

In fact, the Clery's restaurant speech served to highlight the differences of policy among the Fianna Fail leadership. While Aiken and McEntee stood for financial orthodoxy, Lemass was viewed as a radical expansionist. De Valera remained the upholder of traditional economic nationalism. In the Dail, Sweetman and other Fine Gael leaders sought to exploit the disunity of Fianna Fail, pointing out that Aiken had taken great pains to distance himself from the "Semi-Keynesian views" put forward by Lemass in the Clery's Restaurant speech (cf. PDDE, vol. 159, col. 1852, 26 7 1956).

Given the extent of disagreement among the leadership, it is significant that the Irish Press went to such lengths to promote Lemass's proposals. It seems that Lemass had greater influence over the Irish Press than did Aiken or

McEntee Lemass's use of the Press on that occasion might be interpreted as an attempt to win the support of both the trade union leadership and the more progressive elements of Fianna Fail support. It has been suggested that Lemass found his support mainly among the urban constituencies and was probably more aware than others among the leadership of the need to expand urban support for Fianna Fail. The use of the Irish Press by Lemass was not, however, decisive. De Valera was ultimately in control of the paper and the need for a semblance of party unity seemed paramount. In the months following the Clery's Restaurant speech, the Irish Press was not used to develop the ideas put forward by Lemass. In fact, Lemass himself seems to have retreated and party unity was once more based on the theme of criticising the Coalition government.

By January 1956, Norton had made definite overtures to foreign investors. Although Norton had travelled to the United States to meet a group of businessmen, there was little response in the Irish Press beyond a short news report on the meetings (IP 11 1 1956 p 1). A week later, Lemass gave his response at a meeting of the Dalkey Literary, Historical and Debating Society. The Irish Press carried his speech under the headlines

FOREIGN CAPITAL NOT THE ANSWER - LEMASS

(IP 19 1 56 p 7)

(cf fig 7 ? below)

# FOREIGN CAPITAL NOT THE ANSWER — Lemass

No desire to hurt patients' Nurses' Union

*Reliance on it would aggravate problem*

IRISH PRESS Reporter

**BRINGING** foreign capital in Irish industry was not a real answer to the country's basic economic problems if it meant also the uncontrolled transfer of profits to foreign shareholders, said Mr Lemass last night.

Foreign capital could greatly aggravate our problems, he said. Bringing foreign capital into Irish industry was not a real answer to the country's basic economic problems if it meant the uncontrolled transfer of profits to foreign shareholders, he said. Mr Lemass said at night.

Foreign capital could greatly aggravate our problems, he said. Bringing foreign capital into Irish industry was not a real answer to the country's basic economic problems if it meant the uncontrolled transfer of profits to foreign shareholders, he said. Mr Lemass said at night.

### Basic problems

In the light of these facts the basic national problems become very clear, Mr Lemass continued.

The level of production is low in the present living standards to be maintained with out drawing on a cumulative reserve.

It is not increasing rapidly enough to guarantee present living standards and less to permit a level of production.

The level of capital investment is entirely inadequate in present circumstances. Agriculture and industry cannot generate new capital in sufficient volume to give the national economy the buoyancy it should have.

The whole position regarding capital investment was made a great deal worse by the international preference shown for external as against internal investment.

### F F proposals

Finance Minister Lemass said he had put forward a series of proposals designed to reverse the trend which had characterized the proposals in 1955. They proposed to increase production activity by a substantial increase of capital outlay to restrict new external investment by special taxation and to raise the efficiency of production so as to reduce costs and facilitate exports.

Along these lines he said we can end unemployment and emigration we can secure in years ahead a continuing rise in the standard of living and can bring this country economically into line with the rest of Europe.

### 'No great change'

Dr J. J. Donovan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government said he did not think the population of this country would increase or decrease very much in the next ten years.

He believed, he said that emigration would continue unless there should be catastrophic developments elsewhere. In countries like Canada and Australia the Irish had a great advantage since we were an English speaking nation.

Emigration was not now the conclusive act it was heretofore. There was a continuous movement backward and forward between Great Britain and Ireland.

Dr O'Donovan said that our educational system was reasonably good despite continuous complaints.

He would like to see one change—the inclusion in the professional courses of a liberal Arts

IRISH PRESS Reporter  
 Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body  
 Lecturer hits lack of knowledge  
 Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body  
 Lecturer hits lack of knowledge

### National scales

Comparison of national scales...  
 Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body  
 Lecturer hits lack of knowledge

### Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body

Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body...  
 Lecturer hits lack of knowledge

### Lecturer hits lack of knowledge

Lecturer hits lack of knowledge...  
 Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body

### Long term plan

Long term plan...  
 Labour force

### Labour force

Labour force...  
 'No great change'

'No great change'...  
 F F proposals

F F proposals...  
 Basic problems

Basic problems...  
 National scales

National scales...  
 Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body

Mrs O'Kelly patron of 'Safety First' body...  
 Lecturer hits lack of knowledge



Mr Sean MacEntee on behalf of Irish Abroad (Ireland) Ltd presented two engines to Mr Martin O'Keefe (Chief Executive Officer City of Dublin Vocational Education Committee at Dublin Street Technical Institute at left) (from left) Mr J. F. O'Keefe director of the Arm, Mr Donal O'Dwyer principal of the Institute and Mr J. D. Barry vice principal and head of the engineering department.

fig 7 2  
 FOREIGN CAPITAL NOT THE ANSWER-LEMAS  
 (IP 19 1 1956 p 7)

Lemass gave the opinion that foreign capital would only aggravate the problem. Foreign capital was not a real response to the country's economic problems if it meant also the uncontrolled transfer of profit to foreign shareholders. Referring to a mining concession granted to a Canadian company some months previously, Lemass stated that this was an example of how to exploit an Irish natural resource so as to get the minimum of national advantage from it.

It was suggested that the government showed an unnatural preference for external as against internal investment. Fianna Fail, by contrast, had put forward a number of proposals to deal with the problem of investment. These included a substantial increase in capital outlay, raising productivity, and restricting new external investment by means of special taxation (IP 19 1 1956 p 7)

#### 7 4 The Press and the End of Populism

In the final analysis, Fianna Fail's vacillation over foreign investment and tariff reform was resolved when the party returned to power in 1957. The party, under the leadership of Lemass, turned to the task of attracting foreign investment and gradually reducing tariff barriers. From the late 1950's onward, the success of the party relied on the economic growth which occurred under its series of programmes for economic expansion, which included significant levels of foreign investment in Irish industry. At this point, one would expect that the Irish Press would have also

been "modernised", since the rhetoric of populism was no longer suited to the propaganda needs of Fianna Fail. Surprisingly, this was not the case.

#### 7 4 1 The Sunday Press and the Evening Press

Following the election defeat of 1948, Lemass was appointed to the Board of the Irish Press and became Managing Director of the Company. Accordingly, he went to London to study newspaper production with the Daily Mail (IT 10 4 1948). In 1949, he presided over the launch of the Sunday Press. This was an initiative taken by Jack Dempsey, the advertising manager of the Irish Press. With the support of two former chairmen of the Board, Edmund Williams and John McEllin, Dempsey had persuaded the de Valeras that diversification and expansion was necessary in order for the company to survive in the new post-war climate. By the same token, the election defeat in January 1948 convinced Lemass that Fianna Fail needed to re-orient towards a younger and more urban electorate. Thus, the Sunday Press reflected a more liberal outlook than the morning paper, the Irish Press. Lemass made a determined effort to build up circulation and seemed less concerned with the editorial content. Thus, the Sunday paper was not tied to the local Fianna Fail party cumann as the morning paper had been. Matt Feehan, the editor, had a background in business and introduced a rigorous costing system to the editorial department. It was evident that the problems which had beset the early paper under Frank Gallagher were not to be repeated. This time the

commercial priority was clear and political considerations took second place. This approach was highly successful from the management point of view. Within a decade of its appearance it had attained the largest circulation among the Irish Sunday papers, outstripping sales of the Sunday Independent by nearly 40,000 copies per issue in 1960 (cf ABC circulation figures). Where the Irish Press had attained its success in the 1930's through its populist politics, the Sunday Press reflected a conscious decision to exclude the traditional Fianna Fail echelons from control of the paper. In the opinion of the former Irish Press editor, Tim Pat Coogan, a decision had been made that the Cumann who had collected for the Irish Press were not to feel that they had a grip on the new paper. That policy, Coogan suggested, was accentuated in 1954 when the Evening Press was published.

Douglas Gageby, who had joined the Irish Press in 1945 and subsequently worked at the Irish News Agency, was appointed editor of the Evening Press. Gageby concurred with Coogan's opinion. There had been a definite policy not to include the type of party speeches and political content that characterised the morning paper. The aim, Gageby stated, was to produce a bright, modern evening paper. A determined effort was made from the outset to win circulation and advertising revenue. A previous attempt to produce an evening paper, the Evening Telegraph had failed in 1934. Thus the publication of the Evening Press was accompanied by innovative methods of distribution using motor-scooters, which ensured that copy arrived in the suburbs ahead of the

rival Evening Herald and Evening Mail A major drive to win advertising from the established evening papers followed Cheap rates were offered to those who had previously advertised in the Herald and Mail Both the Sunday Press and Evening Press were to become market leaders as a result of these strategies Some members of the Fianna Fail party faithful, however, were dissatisfied

#### 7 4 2 The Irish Press and Fianna Fail

When Douglas Gageby left the Evening Press in 1959 to take a position at the Irish Times, the then Managing Director, Vivion de Valera, showed him a collection of letters The letters were complaints from local cumann members whose speeches and activities had not been reported in the Evening Press From this evidence it seems that the new papers were to be run on a commercial basis with the minimum of party interference

By contrast, the morning paper became the last repository for publicising the party activists The quality of the paper began to decline It gained a reputation as "the only provincial paper published in Dublin" Within the company, regard for the paper was scant According to Coogan, there was great contempt for the paper in Burgh Quay He himself had shared this contempt as a young man (Interview with the author, February 1992) The editors, he suggested, "were obviously creatures of management and beaten over the head by them" The question of Fianna Fail control over the paper was finally raised in the Dail in December 1958

### 7 4 3 De Valera's Control Challenged

The matter of de Valera's personal involvement in the Irish Press was raised by Di Noel Browne, who sought to draw public attention to de Valera's increasing control over the paper. In Browne's opinion, de Valera's business interest in the Irish Press was incompatible with his position as Taoiseach. The text of the Private Members' Bill, introduced by deputy Browne and seconded by Jack McQuillan, proposed that

as the Taoiseach, in continuing to hold the post of controlling director of the Irish Press Ltd while acting as Taoiseach, holds a position which could reasonably be regarded as interfering or being incompatible with the full and proper discharge by him of the duties of his office and further as he has not considered it necessary to indicate the position to the House, Dail Eireann is of the opinion that he has rendered a serious disservice to the principle of integrity in parliamentary government and derogated from the dignity and respect due to his rank and office as Taoiseach (PDDE, vol 171, 12 Dec 1958 col 2169)

Browne's attack on de Valera was based on two principal arguments. Firstly, the contention on which the Private Members' Bill was based, i.e. that the very fact of holding a directorship in a company was incompatible with the office of the Taoiseach. Underlying the first contention was a second, and potentially more serious allegation.

As a shareholder of the Irish Press Ltd, Browne had investigated the company books and had perceived that de Valera had been gradually purchasing unquoted shares from members of the public who had participated in the original share issue in both the United States and in Ireland. Browne believed that de Valera had prevented the public quotation of



such shares on the stock market and had subsequently been in a position to purchase the shares for himself at considerably less than their market value. For his part, de Valera had repeatedly denied to the Dail that he had any financial interest in the paper.

#### 7 4 4 The Fianna Fail Response

De Valera's defense rested on the claim that the paper had not been primarily a profit-making concern. The capital had been subscribed in the main to provide a national newspaper. The position of Controlling Director had been established in the interest of those who had subscribed to the ideal of a national newspaper. De Valera had merely acted as a trustee on behalf of those who supported the paper.

Rising to the defense of the Taoiseach, the Minister for Health, McEntee, declared that de Valera had remained as controlling director "in the national interest." He stated that the Friends of Ireland in America and in Britain, as well as the ordinary Irish people who had supported the Republican cause in Ireland, had entrusted their savings, in many cases their life savings, to Mr. de Valera. They had done so not because they expected any dividend but because they wished to see established an organ which would influence public opinion and keep the nation on the right path. The Minister for Health added that de Valera's position as controlling director of the Irish Press was "well known to the people of Ireland." The people had not, at any previous general election, indicated discontent with this state of

affairs In a typical piece of Fianna Fail populist rhetoric, McEntee challenged the right of deputies Browne and McQuillan

to set themselves up to override the judgment of the people, who, with all the facts before them, have determined that it is quite compatible with his position as Taoiseach for Deputy de Valera to be controlling director of the Irish Press" (PDDE, vol 172, 14 Jan 1959 col 582)

#### 7 4 5 The American Corporation and Noel Browne's Challenge

In response to McEntee, Browne recalled an agreement by the Dail in 1933 which confirmed that a section of the Republican Loan should be funnelled into the funds of the Irish Press newspaper At that time a body called the American Corporation had been entrusted with the interests of the American shareholders Deputy Browne told the Dail that he had attempted to ascertain whether the company, or the shareholders still existed Acting in his capacity as both a shareholder in the Irish Press and as a Deputy of the Dail, Browne had inquired as to whether the American shares, to the value of 100,000 pounds, were still under the control of the American Corporation The Secretary of Irish Press Newspapers ltd , had refused his request for information

Browne alleged that the Taoiseach had refused to disclose his real interests in the Irish Press because he had a guilty conscience about the American shareholders and the American Corporation Browne put it to de Valera that neither the shareholders nor the American Corporation existed

Browne alleged, that since 1929 the Taoiseach as an individual, or the Taoiseach acting jointly with his son,

Deputy Vivion de Valera, had continued to have the American shares registered in his name. On inspection of the company Books, Browne had deduced that there were at least 55,000 shares standing in the Taoiseach's name.

Secondly, de Valera, together with his son, had continued to acquire shares from 1929 onwards. Together, the de Valeras had acquired a total shareholding of 91,983, bringing the total number of shares registered in their names to between 140,000 and 150,000. Far from having a mere 500 shares in the enterprise, the de Valera family were the majority shareholders in the Irish Press Newspapers Ltd.

Thirdly, Browne continued, it had been suggested that the Taoiseach was acting as a trustee for the shareholders. In the words of the Minister of Health, these shareholders were the poor Irish-Americans who put their savings into the country during the Great Depression. In fact, Mr de Valera had used his position as controlling director to ensure that the shares of the Irish Press Newspapers Ltd had not been publicly quoted on the stock exchange. In consequence, the shares had been made available to the de Valera family at a grossly deflated undervaluation. By refusing to allow quotations on the stock exchange, the de Valera family had deprived these shareholders of a just price for their shares. The shareholders had been deprived of the dividends which must be due from a company which the last balance sheet showed to be worth nearly one million pounds. In effect, de Valera had used his position as Taoiseach to reinforce his position as controlling director of the Irish Press, while

simultaneously using his position as controlling director to maintain his position as Taoiseach furthermore, de Valera had used his extensive powers as Controlling Director to bring his son on to the board of directors, and had also brought his son's brother in law on to the Board Of the six members of the Board of Directors at that time, three were members of the de Valera family

Browne alleged that De Valera had been guilty of a breach of faith with the shareholders of the company The Taoiseach had also been guilty of a breach of his undertaking (given in the letter soliciting funds from America in the thirties) that he would receive no personal remuneration from the enterprise

He has deprived the shareholders of their just rights to a dividend when that dividend comes to be paid He has deprived the shareholders of their right to whatever assets are payable should this company go into liquidation and he has misled the House when he said in answer to a question of mine on 12th November "I have no financial interest in the Irish Press(PDDE vol 172 14 Jan 1959 col 590ff)

The Bill was defeated by 71 votes to 49

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Dail debate failed to gain widespread news coverage Dr Browne believed that the newspapers had "killed" the story, on account of de Valera's standing for President that year (conversation with the author, April 1992) Nevertheless it demonstrates both the power which accrued to de Valera as Controlling Director of the Irish Press, and the determination of Fianna Fail to defend that power where it was challenged Attempts to clarify the exact

ownership structure of the paper were consistently rebuffed. Almost nothing can be understood from the public records of the company which are lodged in the Companies office in Dublin.

It seems that the fate of the paper was influenced by three different groups, whose interests sometimes coincided and more frequently diverged. Firstly, the history of the Irish Press has shown that certain individuals motivated by the ideals of republicanism or nationalism, have sustained the paper, generally in an editorial capacity. Frank Gallagher in the 1930's and Tim Pat Coogan in the 1960's were to have a decisive impact on the paper's outlook. Secondly, there was the influence of de Valera and the Fianna Fail party, whose concerns were to maintain political and personal power through the use of the Irish Press. Thirdly, there were the business interests of the board of directors, whose concern was with profitability. When the Irish Press was founded in 1931, it seemed that the interests of all three groups were in convergence. At any rate, de Valera was prepared to promise to each constituency that the paper would be run principally in accordance with the interests of that constituency.

It seems clear that the decline of populism as a radical political force contributed to de Valera's increasing financial control over the paper. As the paper lost its radical connotations and adopted a more conservative stance, its fate was more easily determined by a few individuals.

Throughout the 1950's, the paper had increasingly come to reflect the conflicts within the party leadership, it may be the case that the internal conflicts prompted de Valera to increase his control over the paper all the more. If, by the end of the emergency, the paper was primarily the voice of the State, its role in the 1950's was thoroughly ambiguous. The modernising tendencies of Sean Lemass found greater expression in the Sunday and Evening papers, while the Irish Press, the flagship of the Fianna Fail party, became the voice of the rural and traditional elements of party support.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### THE IRISH PRESS AFTER DE VALERA

#### INTRODUCTION

The 1950s witnessed the abandonment of the economic policies and political strategies which underpinned populism in Ireland. This coincided with changes in the leadership of the Fianna Fail party and the adoption of a different strategy of national development. In 1959, Eamon de Valera resigned as Taoiseach and Sean Lemass became leader of Fianna Fail. De Valera was elected president of the Irish Republic and took up residence in Aras an Uachtaran. (The management of the Irish Press had gradually been transferred to his son, Major Vivion de Valera, T D.)

Under the direction of Lemass, the Fianna Fail party implemented a series of five-year plans for economic development, which relied heavily on attracting foreign capital to develop Irish industry. By 1965, many tariffs had been removed and a policy of free trade was pursued. The opening of the economy to foreign multinationals signalled that the era of economic nationalism was over. Ironically, the 1960's witnessed the rise of dependency theory as many political economists and media theorists sought to deal with the growing penetration of national markets by multinational conglomerates. While media theorists wrote of the problems of cultural imperialism, national governments eagerly sought out foreign capital. The opening of the Irish economy stimulated change in the media, as in society as a whole other factors

were equally relevant Educational reform, including the provision of free secondary education, had a significant impact after 1966 The expansion of the state sector led to a growth in the number of white-collar workers, while the decline of traditional employment in agriculture continued apace Although Fejes (1986), following the Brazilian example, has suggested that the decline of populism led to authoritarian governments influenced primarily by the needs of foreign multinationals, the Irish case was very different The Fianna Fail party returned to power and successfully managed the transition to an open economy While multinationals played a considerable part in the new direction of the economy, the public sector also expanded in the 1960's and early 1970's and accounted for a significant increase in employment Economic liberalisation meant increased competition for Irish media, but the opening up of society entailed a new critical stance towards political parties and the government

This chapter will examine some of the contradictions of the process of change, as they related to the evolution of the Irish Press in the era of "modernisation" Section 8 1 deals with the changes of the 1960's and the process by which the Irish Press was gradually distanced from Fianna Fail politics Section 8 2 deals with some of the changes in the newspaper market from the 1970's onwards, including increased competition from British tabloids and the demands of advertisers for better value from Irish newspapers Section 8 3 considers the crisis of the Irish Press as conflict



emerged over how the paper should be adapted to meet the demands of the increasingly competitive newspaper market. Section 8.4 considers the solutions offered by Dr Eamon de Valera, which included tabloidisation and the partnership with the Ingersoll Corporation, and the difficulties which surrounded this venture.

#### 8.1 Political Modernisation and the Media

In Chapter Seven above, it was suggested that the decline of radical populism in the Irish Press had led to a situation where the paper was increasingly subordinated to the immediate political exigencies of Fianna Fail as the party struggled to maintain its hegemony. As the party leadership decisively moved away from its commitment to economic nationalism after 1956 the role of the paper was thrown into question.

This author's research, based on interviews with former staff of the paper, suggests that for a number of years there was little attempt to change the orientation of the paper. This corresponded to a declining circulation in a situation where the other national dailies made considerable gains (cf APPENDIX I below). The evidence suggests that the paper retained its image as a rural and traditionalist organ of the Fianna Fail party until the late 1960's. The reasons for this can be related to the fact that the paper symbolised Fianna Fail's radical past and its links with the struggle for national independence. It can be argued that the sharp turn towards economic liberalisation required that some semblance

of continuity with the past should be maintained until the transition was successfully completed. On the other hand, the changes brought about in the 1960's increased the pressures for the paper to relate to a new, urban audience. For instance, television was introduced to Irish society in 1961. This had a number of implications for political coverage in the Irish media. Television gave a new dimension to the question of political reportage. Ministerial speeches would no longer be reproduced in full on the front page of the Irish Press or any other paper. Although the Irish Press was still, to the public mind, the paper of the Fianna Fail party, some changes in the style of political reportage were underway by the early 1960's. In 1962, Joe Walsh resigned as editor and was replaced by Francis Carty. In October 1963, Douglas Gageby became editor of the Irish Times. Gageby had departed from the Evening Press after 1959 to act in a managerial capacity at the Times. Under Gageby's editorship, the Irish Times was modernised and began to gradually expand its circulation. The changes at the Irish Times and at the Independent signalled to the Press management that a new approach was in order.

#### 8 1 1 The Irish Press and Fianna Fail

The process of liberalisation and the new developments in the media were to change the way political reporting was carried out. In 1963, Michael Mills was appointed political correspondent of the Irish Press. Mills appeared as a regular panellist on RTE's current affairs programme The Hurler on

the Ditch Although employed by the Irish Press, Mills did not hesitate to provide critical commentary on aspects of Fianna Fail policy The days when Fianna Fail could expect full co-operation from political commentators were over Although Mills had previously been secretary of a Fianna Fail cumann, he accepted the post of political correspondent on condition that he should not be expected to write "propaganda" By the late 1960's some steps had therefore been taken towards a political stance which was somewhat independent of Fianna Fail

This trend was accentuated after 1967 when Francis Carty came into conflict with Major Vivion de Valera at the Irish Press and resigned In March 1968 Carty was replaced by Tim Pat Coogan Coogan had worked on the Evening Press as a sub-editor, features editor, assistant editor, and finally as deputy editor He had been on the point of leaving the Press Group in order to take up full-time writing when he was approached by Major Vivion de Valera, the Managing Director De Valera argued that the paper was losing circulation at a rate of 20,000 copies a year If the paper collapsed, a valuable tradition in Irish society would be lost Coogan accepted the challenge of restoring the fortunes of the paper His appointment marked a significant break with the Fianna Fail tradition, since his father had been a Fine Gael TD for Kilkenny The new editor manifested an independence from both management and Fianna Fail which was to bring about a number of changes at the Irish Press

### 8 1 2 The Modernisation of the Irish Press

Under Coogan's editorship, the style of the paper was modernised. Writers at the forefront of the women's liberation movement such as Mary Kenny began to make a significant impact. A variety of new talent was introduced - Maeve Binchy, Rosita Sweetman and Michael Viney all began to write for the new Irish Press under Coogan's editorship. The Saturday paper included an innovative page of New Irish Writing, edited by David Marcus. This page reflected Coogan's determination to maintain the tradition of the Irish Press in promoting literature. In the mid-1960's, the Press had supported the contention that censorship should be less restrictive. Peter Somerville-Large had written an article decrying the rigid censorship of Irish writers. He pointed out that Irish literature written in English was banned while foreign-language translations of banned works were freely available. The official view seemed to presume that those who could understand foreign languages were not likely to be corrupted. The writer concluded that censorship should be less puritanical - "less liable to blanket so much modern literature under the phrase "indecent or obscene in general tendency" (IP 1 1 65 p 10). The Irish Press had traditionally given full support to the Catholic bishops' campaigns against obscene publications.

In the post-war era, writers such as Sean O Faolain in The Bell, had argued against restrictions on literature. On the question of censorship in general, the

intelligentsia was more circumspect O Faolain was of the opinion that censorship had been effective in controlling the spread of pornography He objected to the practice of censorship in which the writer had no right of reply An all-catholic board of censors was a further source of contention (cf IT 24 2 1956 p 6) Throughout the 1950's, the Irish Independent and the Irish Press had both supported the Bishops' campaign against obscene material of foreign origin This adherence to traditional catholicism was less apparent in the 1960's as the IP sought to change with the times

### 8 1 3 News Reporting

Under Coogan's editorship a determined effort was made to develop news coverage in the Irish Press The newspaper became more politically independent of Fianna Fail than it had been in the past With the onset of the Civil Rights struggle in Northern Ireland, Coogan was given the opportunity to go beyond a restatement of government policy Throughout the 1950's the Irish Press had been used to criticise economic conditions in the North and to show how the economy of the South was in a much healthier condition With the crisis of 1968, the paper took an editorial line which was broadly more supportive of the republicans than was the case with any of the other morning papers This stance did not always coincide with the demands of the Fianna Fail leadership Mills, as political correspondent for the Irish Press, produced some reports which the Fianna Fail leadership found objectionable One such report concerned a secret agreement between Taoiseach Jack Lynch and the British Army,

which permitted British Aircraft to fly over Irish territory in 1971 Mills submitted the story, which was refuted by the government Mills recalls that Lynch was extremely annoyed by the publication of the story Coogan was convinced that the system within Northern Ireland was incapable of reform from within He expressed the conviction that Britain should set a date for withdrawal In sum, his editorial policy came across as much more favourable to the IRA than the editorials of the Independent or the Times Coogan felt that his stance on Northern Ireland would not necessarily increase sales, and acknowledged the pressure from circulation managers who urged him to include less on Northern Ireland on page one Nevertheless he believed that there was a responsibility to inform the public of the issues in Northern Ireland Yet support for the hunger-strikers in 1980/81 caused considerable tensions within the Irish Press Following an editorial which criticised SDLP leader Gerry Fitt, there was considerable dissent among the journalistic staff Coogan had condemned Fitt's appeal to Margaret Thatcher in the house of Commons not to give in to the demands of the hunger strikers Coogan's opening paragraph caused outrage

Poor Gerry Fitt The old jibe that whenever the British theatre required a stage Irishman, there was always an Irishman found to play the part has acquired a new vitality (IP 12 11 1980)

In the belief that the opening paragraph of the leader exceeded the bounds of fair comment, thirty-one journalists signed a telegram dissociating themselves from it (cf O'Toole, 1992 101)

## 8 2 The Changing Newspaper Market

The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area agreement with Britain in 1965 meant a ten per cent per annum reduction in tariffs on British imports. From then onwards, British Newspapers would be less restricted by tariffs by which Fianna Fail had sought to restrict their circulation. In 1967 Mirror Group Newspapers began to print at a new plant near Belfast. Irish versions of both the Sunday Mirror and Daily Mirror could then be produced. The Irish versions of the Sun and the People were also printed from the plant. Although the plant was later blown up after the resurgence of the Northern Ireland conflict, the decision to print in Ireland marked a significant step in the drive by the British dailies to gain ground in the Irish newspaper market.

Entry to the EEC in 1973 removed the final barriers to British newspaper penetration of the Irish market. The combination of political liberalisation and increased economic competition was to have a decisive impact on the fate of the Press. The popular British dailies began to gain an ever-increasing share of the Irish market (cf table 8 1 below)

-----

TABLE 8 1 IMPORT PENETRATION OF BRITISH NEWSPAPERS IN THE  
REPUBLIC OF IRELAND

1973-1985

PERCENTAGE OF AVERAGE MORNING/SUNDAY CIRCULATION

YEAR	MORNING PAPERS	SUNDAY PAPERS
1973	13	35
1974	17	34
1975	16	32
1976	21	32
1977	19	32
1978	21	31
1979	24	29
1980	26	29
1981	27	32
1982	27	35
1983	27	36
1984	30	36
1985*	28	34

Source Abc Circulation figures  
and CSO import figures

\*1985 figures affected by temporary closure of Irish Press  
Group

in McGough, J (ed) Report by the Joint Committee on  
Developments in the Newspaper Industry Dublin 1986

-----

### 8 2 1 The View of Advertisers

The growing circulation of the British press, particularly the tabloids, was a matter of some concern to the Dublin newspaper editors. The view within the advertising industry was that the Irish newspaper needed to modernise rapidly. Donald Helme, President of the Institute of



Advertising Practitioners in Ireland, wrote of the evolutionary myopia which appeared to afflict certain industries. The press in Ireland was a notable example. Helme pointed to the increasing cost of the daily newspaper to the reader. Advertising rates had also increased dramatically. The cost of reaching one thousand people had been marginally lower in the press than in television between 1972 and 1974. By March 1st 1976, the cost of press advertising increased by around 20 per cent. Helme suggested that the average CPT for national newspapers had risen by around 150% since 1970. This compared with an increase of approximately 100% for TV over the same period. While the readership of the national press was falling, television audiences were growing. Colour television and the arrival of the Sunday World, "an aggressive tabloid Sunday paper" (1986: 34) had compounded the danger to the press. Daily sales of the Mirror had reached approximately 60,000 copies. This compared with 87,934 for the Irish Press, 69,900 for the Irish Times, and 174,981 for the Independent.

While the Irish Times was gaining readership, this seemed to be at the expense of the Independent and the Press, both of which showed a decline in circulation. Helme gave the opinion that demand for the old-style, all-round newspaper was declining sharply. For Helme, the solution was to give the traditional dailies a more specialist profile which could increase their appeal to specific advertisers. It was suggested that the Press Group should make the morning paper into a tabloid and slant its editorial policy more

towards its actual readers "Going Tabloid" would have some advantages and one major disadvantage. The advantages would stem from the public belief that the tabloid paper was easier to handle than the broadsheet. Hence a significant rise in readership could be anticipated. Savings could also be incurred through the decrease in the amount of newsprint required. On the negative side, there was the perceived loss of authority involved in moving "downmarket". In Helme's estimation, this loss in stature would be more than compensated by the increased circulation. The example of the British Daily Mail was given as a demonstration of the tabloid format's greater appeal to advertisers.

The greatest obstacle to the modernisation of the press was the belief that news coverage and considered editorial response were central to the function of the newspaper in society. News reporting in the press had been made almost redundant with the growth of radio and television. Instead of concentrating on what appealed to the mass market - sports coverage, gossip, short items of interest, cartoons - the editors of the Press and Independent clung to the old ideals of taste, decorum and professionalism. The national daily papers faced a number of both technical and organisational problems which demanded immediate attention. Advertisers urgently needed reasonably priced colour in print and the newspapers had failed to solve the technical/union problems involved. Helme's assessment of the newspaper industry in 1976 might reasonably be expected to represent the view of

the Irish advertising agencies

### 8 2 2 The Media Response

On the other hand, some commentators on the Irish media were critical of the pressures exerted by advertisers. Conflict had emerged in the Independent Group when one financial editor, Arthur Wayne, had refused to allow the advertising department any say in the content of his page. On RTE's "Report" Programme, journalist John Devine spoke of "the constant drip, drip, drip of advertising pressure and it isn't always a drip, sometimes it's a right good shove" (cf Bowman, 1973 82). The pressures of both television and the British tabloids were beginning to have an impact. For his part, Coogan at the Irish Press was hostile to any move "downmarket". Although he estimated that the circulation of any Irish paper could be doubled through the introduction of "sex and sensationalism", Coogan felt that "You'd be in the business of prostitution, producing adult comics" (cf Bowman, 1973 84).

From another point of view, what was required was a much sharper form of political coverage which could provide genuine news rather than uncritical coverage of events. John Bowman, for example, was critical of the Irish journalistic tendency to indulge in "passive" rather than "active" reporting. Political coverage in the press relied overmuch on direct reportage of Dail discussion and the reprinting of politicians' speeches. Bowman suggested that the Irish newspapers needed more muck-raking journalism - not to be confused, he added, with mud-slinging. While commending

Coogan's attempts to establish a tradition of independence from Fianna Fail, he argued that the Irish Press was still overly indulgent in a form of "green jingoism" that reflected the paper's past history

Thus it seemed that there were two possible options for the Irish Press, and indeed for the other Irish newspapers, in terms of responding to the changing circumstances of Irish society. The first would involve the path of going "downmarket" and seeking to gain wider readership by becoming more "popular" and less concerned with the ideals of quality journalism. The second would entail greater political independence, a greater commitment to campaigning journalism and in-depth coverage of stories. While Coogan seemed intent on pursuing the second option, he felt hampered by lack of resources. This problem was to intensify as the economic crisis of the 1980's brought the problems of the Irish newspaper industry and the Irish Press in particular to a head.

### 8.3 The Crisis of the Irish Press

By the early 1980's the crisis of the newspaper industry was beginning to catch up with the paper. In 1980 the Press Group showed a substantial pre-tax profit (IT 29.5 1990). Circulation of the Irish Press had shown an increase for every year since 1973 (aver 86,000), and had reached approximately 104,000 daily in 1981. The Evening Press had average sales of 171,000 nightly, more than 50,000 copies above the rival Herald. The Sunday Press had a

circulation of 380,000, by far the largest among the Sunday newspapers. A number of problems were in store, however, brought to the fore by the general rationalisation of the newspaper industry in the 1980's. Following a dispute with the NUJ over the introduction of new technology, the paper was off the streets for three weeks, incurring losses of 1.5 million pounds. Two years later the loss had more than doubled. By then, Dr Eamon de Valera had succeeded Major Vivion de Valera as Controlling Director and Managing Director. At the Press Group's Annual General Meeting in 1982 it was pledged that the Group's entire operational structures would be reviewed. Unless drastic action were taken, financial catastrophe was predicted.

### 8.3.1 The Conflict over Modernisation

On May 13, 1983, two "outsiders", Donal Flinn and Sean Mac Hale were co-opted to the Board of the Irish Press Ltd. Their function was to bring a modern style of business expertise to what had been a very traditionally managed company (cf II 20.5.85). Flinn, who was appointed Chairman of the board, was a partner in Coopers and Lybrand (Chartered Accountants) and had brought MacHale along with him to the Irish Press. In late 1984, Tom O'Mahony of Coopers and Lybrand submitted a report to the Board. The report recommended that a Chief Executive be appointed. Underlying the report was the firm conviction that the young Eamon de Valera should move over and give executive control to a business team. Coogan recalls that O'Mahony came in and asked

how to present the report "to the man who was paying for it",  
"when its telling him that what is needed is that he removes  
himself from the position"

The Coopers and Lybrand report arrived in the  
midst of increased anxieties within the Irish Press Group In  
Coogan's words "the advertising department was in a terrible  
state" The Sunday Press was losing circulation The  
introduction of new technology had gone disastrously from a  
management point of view While each of the other national  
dailies had made the changeover without strike action, the  
Irish Press had closed down There was a general recognition  
that Dr Eamon de Valera was one of the chief obstacles to  
modernisation Every decision, from the hiring of staff to  
the content of the morning editorial, was under de Valera's  
control This was the legacy of Eamon de Valera who had used  
the trusteeship of the republican bond issue to gain control  
in 1931 For Coogan as well as the Business Executives,  
change was imperative When Jack Dempsey retired as General  
Manager, there had been no attempt to introduce a more modern  
management structure At that point a new system of  
accountability should have been introduced Instead, a number  
of problems were left unsolved

### 8 3 2 The Effect on the Irish Press

By the mid-1980's the IP was declining rapidly  
Technical staff had become extremely disaffected as the new  
technology was being introduced Vital Rail connections in  
the distribution network were being missed when the morning

paper was not produced on time Demoralisation began to take its toll The Irish Press Group had been financially reliant on the profits from the Evening Press and Sunday Press The morning paper was essentially being "carried" by the other two papers within the group

According to Coogan, the young de Valera did not particularly interfere with editorial matters He simply failed to give the editor the resources needed to develop the Irish Press The paper was not advertised It had a low public profile Coogan made some attempts to increase public interest in suburban areas by providing free copies on a trial basis This attempt seemed to generate some interest, but there was no concerted campaign to build up circulation Thus, in Coogan's words, "society was allowed to evolve without the Irish Press" By contrast, the Irish Times had modernised under Gageby's editorship The Independent had also made improvements, particularly in financial reporting and business journalism The Irish Press did not have the benefit of the solid advertising base enjoyed by the Independent - especially with regard to classified ads, death notices, educational notices, the type of advertising which was vital if the paper was to become profitable

Coogan did not wholly approve of Flinn and MacHale, believing Flinn in particular to be arrogant and right-wing in political opinion On one occasion in particular, Flinn had objected to an editorial on dealings in Atlantic Shares The Atlantic Shares issue was one of the numerous corruption

scandals to come to light in the course of the 1980's In Coogan's opinion, the public was being deceived very badly in this issue, and gave his opinion in the morning editorial Flinn, on the other hand, was a director of Fitzwilton, which was implicated in the scandal Accordingly, he had serious objections to the editorial

### 8 3 3 The Resignation of Flinn and McHale

Whatever the political differences, Coogan concurred with the need for a thorough overhaul of management in the Irish Press Group De Valera junior on the other hand seemed intent on resisting all attempts to remove him The situation came to a head in May 1985 The Irish Press was going from bad to worse The Coopers and Lybrand team confronted de Valera with an ultimatum If the Controlling Director failed to follow the Coopers and Lybrand report, Flinn and McHale would resign Their resignation would do inestimable damage to the public credibility of the Irish Press Group It seemed that de Valera would have no option but to follow the recommendations

The board meeting of the 6th May 1985 proved that de Valera had other plans The main item on the agenda of the meeting was the appointment of a new director This would give Eamon de Valera a majority on the Board Elio Malocco, a cousin of Dr de Valera, was appointed to the Board Secondly, a letter was presented stating that Terry de Valera was prepared to sell his shares in the company to Eamon The Coopers and Lybrand report was shelved At this point Flinn



and McHale resigned This turn of events bears out the assessment of one journalist who wrote that

The shares and control structures of the Irish Press Ltd reveal the most brazen concentration of power in the hands of one individual known to the newspaper industry anywhere in the Western world For although the de Valera family owns only a minority of the shareholding in the company, the Articles of Association make it absolutely impossible for any outside individual or group of individuals to wrest any measure of control from it (Magill, August 1978 p45/46)

The exact proportion of shares vested in the hands of the de Valera family has always been shrouded in mystery What seems clear is that the Articles of Association (cf Section 3 3 above) gave absolute control to de Valera at a time when his personal shareholding amounted to 500 shares The de Valera power base therefore rested on the control, as distinct from the ownership, of the American block of shares In Reynolds' words, "he so copperfastened it as to make that control unchallengeable- all with other people's money " (Magill, Aug 1978 p 45)

While the power of the controlling director over the appointment of staff represented one obstacle to modernisation of the company, his powers over the organisation of captial were an even greater obstacle Dr Eamon de Valera had clearly invoked the powers available to him as controlling director when he appointed Elio Malocco, (husband of his cousin Jane de Valera) to the board Article 82 clearly stipulated his right to appoint another director to exercise some of his powers, and the Malocco appointment was clearly designed to strengthen de Valera's hand against the Coopers and Lybrand associates Such powers were immune

from any sanction on the part of the shareholders

Article 21 prevents the possibility of any outside group gaining control of the company through the purchase of shares on the stock market. It states that

the directors may decline to register the transfer of a share (not being a fully paid share) to a person of whom they do not approve, and they may also decline to register the transfer of a share on which the company has a lien. The Directors may also decline to register any transfer of a share which, in their opinion, may imperil or prejudicially affect the status of the company in the state"

This article effectively gave the Controlling Director the power to prevent any sale of shares which would adversely affect the dominance of the de Valera family. This dominance and the unwillingness to undertake any action which would dilute the de Valera control over the paper, had been Flinn's main concern. Flinn feared that it might not be possible to have a rights issue - the sale of shares at a discount to existing shareholders - if one should be desirable - because this might dilute the de Valera family control over the company. Flinn had been a former managing partner in Coopers and Lybrand and had been a friend and advisor to Major Vivion de Valera for many years. Flinn's fears had been born out when Dr Eamon de Valera had rejected the Coopers and Lybrand report and appointed Elio Malocco to the board.

#### 8 3 4 The De Valera Solution

In May 1987, Dr de Valera announced that the Coopers and Lybrand report was not the answer to the company problems

and instead hired Larry Lamb to bring about the transformation which was needed Lamb had previously been associated with the Sun in Britain and brought with him an associate, Giles, who had been responsible for the introduction of page three to the Sun The Irish Press was to be transformed into a tabloid At this point, Coogan departed from the staff Many of the more committed journalists followed suit The circulation of the Irish Press began to fall again The gaps in staffing were filled by staff from the Evening and Sunday papers Consequently, these papers began to decline further The result was even greater demoralisation of the staff within the Irish Press Group

Tabloidisation did not bring about the anticipated increase in circulation Between 1987 and 1991, average yearly circulations dropped from approximately 77,000 copies daily to under 60,000 (Source ABC figures) Table 8 2 below demonstrates the declining circulation throughout the 1980's

-----

TABLE 8 2 CIRCULATION OF THE IRISH PRESS 1980-1991

YEAR	PERIOD	
	JAN-JUN	JUL-DEC
1980	98,568	100,357
1981	104,902	104,633
1982	101,809	101,393
1983	94,295	90,996
1984	86,655	89,076
1985	89,249	83,205
1986	78,328	78,954
1987	79,235	75,912
1988	79,108	65,774
1989	63,904	62,786
1990	60,635	60,287
1991	59,049	

(SOURCE, ABC HALF-YEARLY FIGURES)

-----

#### 8 4 The Ingersoll Affair

In July 1987, it was announced that Ingersoll Publications Ltd, an American-based corporation, intended to acquire a 50 per cent equity shareholding in Irish Press Newspapers (cf IT 12 7 1987) The Ingersoll Publications Group published 40 daily and over 150 weekly papers in the United States In 1987 it had also purchased a majority stakes in the Birmingham Post, the Birmingham Mail and in the Coventry Evening Telegraph In 1988, it declared revenues of over \$750m (L462m) At the time of purchase, the Irish Press had reported losses of L1 5m on a turnover of IRL31 7m (FT 8 7 1989) It was hoped that Ingersoll could provide the capital necessary to modernise the plant and equipment The Irish Press was the last of the Irish daily newspapers to

undertake the transition to the new work practices and technology. The transition had been managed at the Times, Independent and Cork Examiner without any stoppages. At the Irish Press, there was a complete shutdown in the midst of the confrontation between unions and management and no papers were produced for three weeks.

In July 1990, events reached crisis point. The management threatened to shut down publication completely. The other national newspapers had already published obituaries to the Irish Press. At the last moment, an agreement was reached and the morning paper appeared on 21st July 1990 with the headlines NEVER SAY DIE. This partial victory over the unions merely added to the low level of morale among the remaining staff. Yet it seemed that Ingersoll might push through a programme of modernisation which would be acceptable to the management.

#### 8.4.1 Ingersoll's Impact on the Irish Press

In September 1990, shareholders in Irish Press plc ratified the co-option of two representatives of Ingersoll publications to the board. Dan McGing, executive chairman of ACC and a former managing partner in Coopers and Lybrand joined the board as chairman in April 1991. In the same month, the relaunch of the Evening Press was announced. The new Evening Press represented the first major initiative undertaken by Ingersoll. Circulation of the Evening Press had dropped by 25% in the previous three years. The rival Evening Herald had begun to outsell the Evening Press.

Meanwhile, Ingersoll Publications, which comprised the British and Irish division of the Ingersoll empire, began to suffer from the effects of over-extension. In February 1991, press speculation increased that Ingersoll might force the pace of rationalisation at the Irish Press. Ingersoll had incurred debts of stg L46 million in Britain. Following extensive restructuring, the circulation of the flagship Birmingham Evening Mail had begun to rise, against the prevailing trend in the West Midlands (SBP 24 2 1991). Nevertheless, Ingersoll Publications had been forced to reduce the number of titles in its freesheet "Focus" series, from 39 to 11. Plans to relaunch the Birmingham Post had been deferred, despite the invasion of its catchment area by competition from the Wolverhampton Express and Star and by Reed International, which operated a number of competing titles in the West Midlands. Although Ingersoll appeared to be pressing ahead with investment, increasing his stake in the Coventry Evening Telegraph from 75% to 100%, there was increasing awareness that the Ingersoll enterprise was in crisis. Following the example of the Birmingham Evening Mail, Ingersoll planned to restructure the Evening Press.

#### 8 4 2 The Relaunch of the Evening Press

This plan reflected the perceived need to modernise the paper and regain lost circulation and advertising revenue. The relaunch was intended to strengthen the paper's appeal to women, who constituted the majority of readers in the evening market. It also aimed at greater penetration of the crucial

AB and C1 readership At the relaunch of the EP, in the form of a 250,000 pound agency reception at Dublin's Conrad Hotel, it was announced that the new paper would henceforth consist of two sections and would include an expanded business section, at least five pages of daily sport, and a significant increase in feature articles (IT, 22 4 91) Greater emphasis on entertainment events was also anticipated At the reception, Ralph Ingersoll personally took the credit for the initiative of dividing the paper into two sections

The relaunch of the new Evening Press was a disaster for the company Within two weeks, it was announced that the two-section format would be abandoned and that the paper would revert to the original format The extensive promotional campaign, which used television, radio and outdoor advertising, had been a failure Media Managers placed the 'if you do, you must' ad campaign of the Evening Press at the bottom of a preference list in a survey carried out by Marketing magazine Public reaction to the new Evening Press had been extremely negative In some quarters it was speculated that circulation had fallen as low as 75,000 during the course of the relaunch (SI 7 7 1991)

#### 8 4 3 Ingersoll In Difficulty

Following the debacle of the Evening Press, rumours began to circulate to the effect that Ingersoll was seeking a buyer for his share of the Irish Press Group These reports arrived amidst the news that the company had delayed the

planned move to new premises in Parnell Square The company had also withdrawn a pay rise offered to journalists, citing 'uncertainties facing the company' (ST 16 6 1991) Ingersoll was by then negotiating to sell his British interests to Daily Telegraph owner Conrad Black Nevertheless, it was denied that there was any intention to sell off the Irish Press shareholding In July 1991, Ingersoll and his financial partner in the United States, Warburg Pincus, split up their holdings, Warburg taking the U S papers and Ingersoll taking the British and Irish holdings

The Ingersoll Empire in the United States had been based on four principal companies 1) Ingersoll Newspapers Inc , with 75 newspapers in Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island In addition, there were 45 suburban journals and shoppers, 2) Community Newspapers held 83 newspapers in New York and Ohio, including 76 supermarket-distributed publications and weeklies in the Chanry Group 3) New Haven Newspapers held 1 publication, 4) Ingersoll Publications held 26 newspapers in England and Ireland (SBP 9 2 92) The Group's financial problems began in 1987 when Ingersoll took over the Horowitz group of papers in Ohio and upstate New York for \$413m and the Chanry chain on Long Island for \$31m The purchase of the Horowitz papers placed enormous pressure on Ingersoll's main profit earners, the St Louis weekly papers, which were obliged to subsidise debts incurred by other papers Amidst growing financial difficulties,



Ingersoll split from his financial backers and departed with control over Ingersoll Publications, the European side of the business. His departure caused considerable skepticism among his business associates in the United States. Mark Stone, former vice-president at Henry Ansbacher, which brokered deals for Ingersoll and Warburg, commented wryly that "after everything that happened, Ralph is lucky he walked away with more than a nickel in his pocket" (SBP 9 2 92)

The collapse of the Ingersoll empire in the United States added to the pressures at the Press Group. The failure of the Evening Press relaunch was a further blow to morale. Furthermore, the conflict with the Unions had not been decisively resolved from a management point of view. Although the management showed unity against the trade unions, the rift between the Ingersoll faction and the Irish management was widening. At the Annual General Meeting of the Irish Press Plc, shareholders were critical of management's decision to increase their emoluments by over 50%. The remuneration of directors had been increased from 206,000 pounds in 1989 to 308,000 in 1990/91. For some shareholders, the increase should have been directed towards a return on their investment in the company. For the trade unions, the 50% pay rise awarded to the directors contrasted with the management's refusal to honour a 3% pay increase awarded to journalists under the national pay agreement, PESP.

#### 8 4 4 The Decline of the Irish Press

The public perception of the Irish Press was further affected by the publication of the Joint National Media Research survey (JNMR) in October 1991. The survey confirmed that all the Irish Press Group newspapers were losing readers heavily. In a declining market for newspapers, the Irish Press Group had suffered the most significant readership losses of all the national newspapers (cf SBP 6 10 1991). In 1990/91 the losses for each of the Press Group papers were severe, the Irish Press losing 17,000 readers, the Evening Press 63,000, and the Sunday Press 103,000 readers.

The survey showed that readership of the Irish Press among Dubliners was extremely low. While 23% of readers in the Dublin area subscribed to the Irish Times, and 21% bought the Irish Independent, only 6% bought the Irish Press. It seemed that the Irish Press had failed to distance itself from its rural image, in spite of "going tabloid". It seemed that the paper was caught between the need to expand circulation, i.e. to attract a larger working-class audience, which dictated that the paper go "downmarket", while on the other hand advertisers would look more favourably on a newspaper commanding a higher proportion of readers among the AB/C1 income bracket. The Irish Times had marginally the highest readership among those who had completed third level education, although the Independent was shown to have the highest student readership. Among the 75% of adults who read one of the four largest-selling Sunday papers, the Sunday

World had the highest circulation at 37%, the Sunday Independent had 32% and the Sunday Press 28%

The Irish Press was in an unfavourable position not only in terms of the urban readership, but also in terms of the average age of its readers. While the Star had the highest proportion of readers in the 15-24 age bracket, the Irish Times had most readers in the 35-54 bracket. Both the Irish Press and the Cork Examiner had the highest proportion of readers over the age of 55. 77% of the Irish Times readership was in the AB/C1 income category, while 26% of Irish Independent readers belonged to the C1 category. The largest percentage of readers of both the Star and the Irish Press were in the C2 bracket. Hence the Irish Press was in a position of having a predominantly rural and ageing population primarily in the lower income brackets. In response to the survey findings, the Chairman of the Irish Press Plc, Mr Dan McGing, declared that the Irish Press would have to aim more at the readers of the Irish Times and Irish Independent. However, the Irish Press was not in a strong position to engage in a battle for circulation.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Ingersoll Affair demonstrates conclusively that the possibilities of American multimedia conglomerates simply dictating to the owners of national media in less developed countries are in fact circumscribed by a number of factors. The structures of ownership and control which had been installed by de Valera in the 1930's proved remarkably

resilient Even where the logic of commercialism and the market would dictate that foreign capital was necessary to continue financing the newspaper, a countervailing political logic dictated that the de Valera family should attempt to maintain control The de Valera faction was facilitated by the conditions of the world market, by the fact that Ingersoll's empire was largely based on junk bonds, and by the general difficulties faced by multinationals reliant on this type of financing in the late 1980's Therefore it would seem that the question of gaining control of national media is fraught with difficulties for the multinational investor The tradition of having an "independent" national newspaper, established by de Valera through the Irish Press, may still have some resonance in Ireland

Ingersoll was to find that de Valera represented an unsurmountable obstacle to the institution of modern managerial practices This is not to suggest that Ingersoll would have made the Irish Press into a profitable enterprise It merely underlines the efficacy of the control structures which vested control of the Irish Press in the hands of the de Valera family It seemed that no matter how incompetently the paper was managed, the family could not be removed from its position of control While there was general agreement that the Irish Press Newspapers group needed further injections of capital in order to survive, it was considered that no investors were likely to come forward unless de Valera relinquished control A commentary in the Sunday

Tribune suggested that although rumours abounded of interested parties,

until de Valera indicates that he is willing to take a back seat in the running of the company, it is unlikely that any serious bid will be made (ST 7 6 1992)

Those structures which protected the Irish Press from "foreign ownership" remain as an obstacle to the further development of the paper. Even Irish investors who wish to acquire a share in the newspaper would be obliged to deal with the problems created by the Articles of Association. In conclusion, the history of the Irish Press since the 1960's has reflected a number of attempts to overcome the legacy of the de Valera era. It is clear that the paper suffered in the long run from its close association with Fianna Fail and with the populist era. While the pressures of increased competition from television, the British press, and the modernisation of the Irish national dailies stimulated change, the continued control by the de Valera family remained an obstacle to full modernisation.

Considerations of the de Valera family's control aside, it seems clear that the Irish Press had failed to make a clean break with its past, in spite of Coogan's efforts. The paper seemed to have failed to create a new audience, and relied mainly on traditional Fianna Fail supporters in rural areas for its readership. There does not appear to be any logical reason why the Irish Press should not have adopted the outlook of the Sunday and Evening Press from the early 1950's onward. If the morning paper's modernisation was a matter of too little, too late, then this can only have been

because de Valera and Fianna Fail did not wish to alienate its traditional support in the course of the party's modernisation. Furthermore, the traditional style of management, which had suited the populist era when the paper performed a more overtly political role, was inappropriate to the competitive newspaper market which emerged in the late 1960's. Finally, the reluctance of the de Valera family to relinquish managerial control was exacerbated by the structures which had been established at the foundation of the paper. It seems that the traditions which ensured the success of the paper in the heyday of populism later contributed substantially to the decline of the Irish Press.

## CHAPTER NINE

### CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, a review of the arguments presented in this dissertation is in order. At the outset, it was suggested that earlier models of dependency theory failed to provide an adequate basis for studying the evolution of the mass media in late industrialising countries. With reference to Cardoso and Faletto's (1979) reworking of Dependency theory, this thesis sought to explore one ideology of late industrialisation, i.e. populism, and its representation in the Irish Press.

In Part One, the theory of populism was considered. Chapter One dealt with a variety of perspectives on populism and underdevelopment, while Chapter Two considered the question of populism in Ireland. In Part Two, the Irish Press and the rise of radical populism was discussed. Chapter Three dealt with the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Irish Press. Chapter Four dealt with the IP response to the economic crisis of 1931, while Chapter Five dealt with the role of the IP at the onset of the Economic War with Britain. In Part Three, the IP was considered in the context of the decline of populism. Chapter Six dealt with the conservative phase of populism in the IP and Chapter Seven considered the identity crisis of the IP in terms of the contradictions within the Fianna Fail party as the phase of import substitution industrialisation drew to a close.

This dissertation arose as a response to a number of perceived inadequacies in the theorisation of the media in late developing countries. The inadequacies of media theory stemmed from a political economy of development which was, in the view of this writer, defective from a number of standpoints. These deficiencies, noted in the introduction to this work, led to an almost exclusive concentration on the external determinants of media development - i.e. the role of foreign or transnational capital within the national economy.

The growth of American monopoly capital in the postwar era had led to an overriding concern with American strategies of global hegemony. This concern was given theoretical foundation by means of a version of Baran and Sweezy's work on Monopoly Capital (1968). Hence work on media and development was ultimately shaped by the influence of "Third Worldist" political perspectives, which found theoretical expression in Dependency theory.

The corollary of an overly deterministic approach to foreign capital was an uncritical approach to the cultural and ideological modes of resistance to imperialism. In this view, where the multimedia empires of the US conglomerates gained access to and control over national media systems, they brought the values of commercial consumer capitalism. Cultural imperialism became a threat which could only be resisted through campaigns for cultural autonomy in global communications. Hence, it seemed that the appropriate level of response to capitalism's global bid for cultural and



ideological hegemony was at the national level. This formulation bore the qualification that national media should, of course, represent the culture of the mass of the people, i.e., that the media should be both popular and national in the broadest sense. Indigenous culture and national traditions were counterposed to the bland culture of transnational media. This tendency found its fullest expression in the campaign for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO). Until the mid-1980's, the debate on media and development was dictated by the terms established by NWICO, in which the principles of dependency theory were called forth in legitimation.

The failure of NWICO called into question the entire field of critical media and development studies. In effect, it pointed to a number of exigencies. Firstly, the need for an adequate critique of the terms of dependency theory, and an understanding of its historical origins.

Secondly, the need for a new framework which could take into account the insights offered by dependency theory in relation to the critique of imperialism but which could go beyond the question of national development to look at the class interests behind this project.

Thirdly, it seemed that a new approach would require a more thorough consideration of the relationship between structure and agency in terms of the media in newly industrialising countries. That is, the objective forces giving rise to particular patterns of ownership and control on the one hand, and the mediation of the ideological process

by particular social classes on the other, requires careful consideration. In order to avoid a purely instrumentalist view of the media, we should consider not simply the genesis of a particular hegemonic project, but how the contradictions of such a project become manifest and are worked out.

In terms of the aims and objectives of this thesis, it was anticipated that a critical perspective on recent developments in media and development theory could be used to explain the rise and fall of the Irish Press. That is, the phenomenon of populism in Ireland was understood to have been central to the evolution of the paper between 1931 and 1956. Thus it seemed that the paper was rooted in the contradictions of the development process, caught between traditional republicanism and the onset of modernisation. Yet the Irish Press was by no means a simple reflection of asynchronous development at the political or ideological level. The paper represented a conscious attempt by a specific political agency, the Fianna Fail party, and particularly its leader, de Valera, to further the development of industrial capitalism in Ireland. In seeking to win popular support for its project of state-assisted industrialism, and to challenge the hegemony of the pro-metropolitan Cumann na nGaedheal party, the Fianna Fail leader showed an acute grasp of how the contradictions of development might be turned to political advantage.

The foundation of the Irish Press was a process in which various groups were drawn into the network of Fianna

;

Fail support These groups included Irish manufacturers interested in protectionism, republican sympathisers confronted with the victory of an increasingly right-wing Cumann na nGael party, and the working classes and rural poor, for whom the proposed national daily newspaper offered the promise of at least some form of public representation. Although the rhetoric of the paper's founders stressed a commitment to national goals in the name of the people, it was always the contention of de Valera that the paper should be a commercial proposition. This was obviously related to the need for a mass-circulation paper which could compete with the Independent. The commercial imperative also reflected the dominant position of Irish businessmen on the board of directors. Such men were unlikely to invest a minimum of five hundred pounds without any expectation of financial returns.

Although the Irish Press was founded as a commercial enterprise, this was a secondary aim in comparison with the main ambition of de Valera - to secure a medium of mass communication which could be used to win popular support in the struggle against Cumann na nGaeheal. Hence the ideology of the paper couched the project of industrial development in terms of the struggle against imperialism and the need to find a third path between capitalism and communism. In the early years of the Irish Press, the need to create an audience among the lower classes was paramount. The ways in which the newspaper appealed to this audience are evident in the response to the economic crisis of 1931. Firstly, the

paper aligned itself with the small nations within the international economy, rebelling against the domination of the League of Nations by the major powers Secondly, it pointed to examples of popular resistance to British domination, notably in the case of the Indian independence movement which received widespread coverage as part of the paper's campaign against imperialism Thirdly, attention was drawn to the complicity of the Irish ruling party, Cumann na nGaedheal, in maintaining Irish economic dependence and political subservience to Britain Fourthly, an alternative programme of economic development was proposed, in which the evils of mass industrialisation could be avoided by progressive legislation, state intervention, and the distribution of industries throughout the Free State

In this phase, the Irish Press adopted a radical campaigning style, giving voice to the poor and oppressed of both urban and rural Ireland At this time, both the Irish Press and the Fianna Fail party were viewed as a threat to the established order and the paper met with considerable resistance from both commercial and political interests aligned with Cumann na nGaedheal Yet government attempts at suppression merely added to the popular appeal of the paper, which drew support from sections of both Irish industry and the trade union movement Indeed, the Irish Press made a conscious attempt to align itself with these sectors, giving expression to their various representatives through interviews, publication of speeches, and through its

campaigns against the G S R and against foreign monopolies. Wherever possible, the paper sought to show that workers, manufacturers and smaller farmers had a common interest in the struggle against Britain. It seems that the paper was mainly concerned with consolidating such a populist alliance in the first years of publication. In terms of media analysis, we can conclude that the experience of both economic and cultural imperialism gave grounds for a variety of classes to support the new Irish Press and to identify with the populist ideology of the paper.

After Fianna Fail came to power a different set of priorities began to take precedence over the "appeal to the people". The main task of the paper at the onset of the economic war was to consolidate popular support for the government. This was accomplished in a number of ways. Firstly, it was argued that the imposition of the Thomas Duties was a political act intended to undermine the Fianna Fail government. The hypocrisy of the imperial powers, which sought to relieve their own legally contracted debts while imposing heavy burdens on smaller countries such as the Free State, was a key theme at this point. The Irish Press was used to highlight support for de Valera's stance on the part of the smaller manufacturers and trade unions, while demonstrating the unpatriotic stance of Cumann na nGaedheal and the larger farmers, who demanded that the land annuities be returned to Britain. Hence a clear contrast could still be drawn between the "mass" and the "elite", a contrast which relied on a division between those who supported Fianna

Fail's anti-imperialism and hostility to the status quo, and those who sought to maintain trade relations with Britain. The Irish Press did not simply rely on anti-imperialist rhetoric. From the onset of the trade war, it sought to publicise the benefits of Fianna Fail policy. The project of economic self-sufficiency seemed to offer the possibility of both a balanced and rural-based form of industrial development, and the relief of unemployment through state-sponsored programmes of infrastructural development. Typical Irish Press headlines announced the benefits to the poor, the unemployed, and the working classes which would accrue from the Fianna Fail programme. While sympathetic to the Labour Party, the paper consistently asserted that Fianna Fail was the natural party of the working classes, and sought to refute any criticisms levelled at the party's policy from within the trade union movement. Smaller manufacturers were encouraged through reviews of the potential for industrial development throughout the country. Nevertheless, the process of stimulating industry was described in terms of the industrial revival, a strategy which implied that traditional Irish society was being restored rather than eliminated. Finally, the development of industries throughout the country was linked to the case for ensuring social stability and offsetting the threat of communism. While it was acknowledged that the root cause of communism was the proliferation of monopoly capital, it seemed that the solution was to consolidate rural society through universal property.

ownership Hence the radical phase of populism in the Irish Press, while challenging imperialism and monopoly capitalism, relied on the petty-bourgeois ideal of small-scale production and "fair" competition Urbanisation and the emergence of a propertyless proletariat was viewed as a threat, even as Fianna Fail sought to win the allegiance of the urban working class By subordinating class conflict to the struggle for national development, Fianna Fail successfully marginalised the Labour party even when appearing sympathetic to Labour's aims and objectives In raising the issues of housing and welfare, unemployment and emigration, and in posing a programme of economic development which promised to avoid the evils of industrial society, the Irish Press contributed to Fianna Fail's struggle for hegemony It presented a critique of mass society which expressed the grievances of the lower classes and simultaneously offered the solution of a development programme in which all classes would share equally in the nation's progress In this sense we can conclude that anti-imperialist rhetoric was not the only factor which gained popular support for the Irish Press The paper was involved in offering a concrete alternative to the world capitalist system, one which had a radical appeal in view of the circumstances of the time

By the mid-1930's, a change of policy in the paper was apparent The drive for efficiency and profitability reflected not only the immediate concerns of the businessmen who had invested in the paper, but also related to the new confidence of Irish industrialists in general The interests

of the "masses" were now clearly secondary to the interests of Irish business. The Irish Press followed the trend wherein industrial development was paramount and criticism of the social order was increasingly irrelevant. In this sense, the attempt to win greater support among the commercial and industrial classes reflected Fianna Fail's new concern with social stability and the declining importance of the conflict with Britain. Hence the conflict between Frank Gallagher and the board of management which resulted in the editor's resignation. Gallagher's departure symbolised the triumph of the right wing of the populist alliance over the radical forces which had contributed to the victory of Fianna Fail in 1932.

From 1935 onward, the Irish Press became increasingly oriented to the promotion of the new Irish industries, a strategy which offered immediate benefits to the paper in terms of advertising revenue and the approval of the business classes. The decline of politics in the Irish Press paved the way for a new style of journalism which was popular rather than populist. Nevertheless, the paper retained its image as a Fianna Fail newspaper, and strove to present the party in a favourable light. This position was favourable to the paper so long as the state and industry remained in broad agreement over the goals of economic policy and the future of industrial development. This state of affairs was not destined to last.



By 1937 the phase of import-substitution industrialisation was drawing to a close. Even as Lemass was congratulated by the official representatives of Irish industry on the success of the previous five years, conflicts began to emerge. While moves were underway to end the trade war with Britain, there were indications of unease among sectors of industry. It was feared that foreign competition could have a devastating impact on the sheltered industries which relied on the home market. By contrast, the Fianna Fail leadership and particularly Lemass focused on the need for competitiveness, productivity, and capital intensive industries. The Irish Press was used to signal to industry that a new phase of development was in order. Editorials defended Lemass and emphatically declared that the "era of spoon-feeding" was over.

The Anglo-Irish trade agreement of 1938 was the occasion for a full-scale confrontation between the state and industry, in which the Irish Press found itself defending Fianna Fail against criticisms forwarded by the Federation of Irish Manufacturers. On this occasion there was no appeal to popular support. The Fianna Fail paper called upon the authority of the state to push the deviant manufacturers into line with the new policy. The arguments focused on the need to win export markets and to establish reciprocal trade agreements in order to facilitate this process. Readers were reminded that Britain was the Free State's best customer and that Irish manufacturers would still be protected under the

new conditions While aligning itself with the state and the "modernising" elements of the Fianna Fail leadership, the Press was nevertheless unable to completely abandon the rhetoric of the past This was a reflection of the position of the Fianna Fail leadership itself, which found itself unable to undertake a wholesale confrontation with industry, but instead produced a number of ambiguous declarations to the effect that policy had not changed and that the practice of protectionism remained constant

The onset of the war and the declaration of a state of emergency produced a retreat to the traditional rhetoric of self-sufficiency, leaving the main problems of modernisation unsolved The Irish Press entered the post-war world with its links to the Fianna Fail party firmly intact Facing the new conditions of Irish Society in the late 1940's, the paper relied on its past association with the success of the party in order to ensure continued public acceptance But the successes of the 1930's were not to be repeated Where the paper had contributed to, and benefitted from the party's success in the past, it now seemed fated to endure the crisis which overtook Fianna Fail in the 1950's In fact, the paper was one of the major casualties in the conflicts which emerged as the party leadership vacillated perilously in the face of economic crisis and ebbing electoral support

In the ensuing crisis, the party moved increasingly to the right On gaining re-election in 1951, policy was dominated by a financial orthodoxy which reflected the pre-eminence of the more conservative elements of the leadership

such as Sean MacEntee. The Press gave expression to such conservatism through its editorial campaigns against food subsidies and its warnings against the inflationary policies of Fine Gael. Not surprisingly, the new conservatism failed to find favour with the electorate in the wake of the severe austerity measures implemented by MacEntee. During the 1954 general election, the key issue was the question of protectionism. The Irish Press reflected the concern of the party to win back its declining rural support and attacked any suggestion that traditional policies should be altered. This contrasted with the paper's previous position, which stressed the need to win export markets and referred to the benefits of free trade for Irish consumers and manufacturers. The issue of protectionism offered the possibility of uniting the party behind a semblance of unity over traditional Fianna Fail policy. Yet little mention was made of the real problems facing the Irish economy, or how Fianna Fail proposed to deal with them. The retreat to traditionalism failed, leading to the recognition on the part of some among the party leadership, notably Lemass, that the urban electorate was vital to the survival of the party. This recognition had a number of repercussions at the Irish Press. The paper had reflected some of the contradictions within the Fianna Fail party in the mid-1950's, at times seeming to favour Lemass, at times echoing the conservatism of MacEntee, and equally giving voice to the traditional populism of de Valera.

The Irish Press Limited underwent considerable

expansion in the 1950's, involving the publication of the Sunday Press and the Evening Press. Both of these papers reflected the new urban orientation of Lemass and reflected a concern to relate to the concerns of a younger and more liberal audience. The morning paper, however, remained the paper of de Valera, and as such, was kept as the voice of the mainly rural party supporters who adhered to the past traditions of Fianna Fail. The paper was allowed to stagnate, failing to change with the times and gradually diminishing in stature and importance. It seemed that the Irish Press had become irrelevant in the new Irish society which emerged from the 1960's onward. Fianna Fail embraced modernisation and seemed to regain its prime position in Irish politics on the basis of a vigorous strategy of "industrialisation by invitation". While the Press had been to the forefront in setting the agenda for Irish society in the 1930's, it now lagged behind.

In the late 1960's attempts were made to bring the paper up to date under the editorship of Tim Pat Coogan. The change of editor and the new independence from Fianna Fail brought temporary success, but this failed to offset the long term decline of the paper. It seemed that the resources which might have been invested to adapt the paper were simply not made available. In order to fully modernise the Irish Press, the traditional ownership and control structures which gave complete authority to de Valera and his successors would have to be dismantled. This was not to happen. The recent history of the Irish Press demonstrates the effectiveness of de

Valera's control structures, which made it practically impossible for an outside interest to gain control of the company. This was discovered, to his cost, by Ralph Ingersoll. Unfortunately for the Irish Press, the same control structures acted against any attempt to modernise the company, which has resulted in the long-term decline of the paper.

This thesis commenced with an inquiry into the impact of political conflicts and ideological strategies on the evolution of the mass media in late developing countries. It was suggested that the phenomenon of populism could be understood in the context of conflicts emerging in moments of crisis, where fractions of the national elite appealed to the masses in order to challenge the hegemony of pro-metropolitan interests. Where successful, populist parties could use the state to implement programmes of national development which went some way towards industrial development. In the 1930's, such programmes could take the form of import substitution industrialisation. Yet populism was not simply constituted by an economic programme of national self-sufficiency. It was, above all, a political strategy which aimed at winning hegemony for a particular fraction of the ruling class. Hence this thesis had stressed the contours of populist discourse in the Irish Press, tracing the evolution of the paper through the successive political decisions which determined the fate of the populist alliance.

By placing emphasis on the conflicts within the populist alliance and their impact on the Irish Press, it can be shown that the fate of the newspaper was not determined simply by the limitations on economic self-sufficiency, the subordination of political radicalism to the demands of the state and industry affected the Irish Press well before any discussion on the limits of economic nationalism was broached. Similarly, the end of economic nationalism did not automatically entail the abandonment of populism. Logically speaking, the era of protectionism was on the wane by 1937-38, with the signing of the Anglo-Irish trade agreements. Nevertheless, Fianna Fail and the Irish Press were prone to use populist rhetoric until the mid-1950's, even when significant elements of the party leadership were keen to adopt alternative strategies. Even Sean Lemass kept silent when the party retreated to ruralism in the general election campaign of 1954. Thus we can reason that the fate of the Irish Press was determined by political concerns rather than by economic dictates.

This can be clearly seen if we consider the question of the paper's profitability. Although the efficiency drive of the Harrington era reflected a concern with profits, there were distinct constraints on the extent to which the paper could become purely commercial. These constraints derived from the ideological role attributed to the paper from the outset. Until Tim Pat Coogan took over as editor, the policy of the paper was determined by Fianna Fail's need to maintain its hegemony. Thus in the conflict with Irish industry over

the issue of protectionism, the paper could not simply advocate the wholesale removal of tariffs. It was constrained by the political decision to maintain a rhetoric of economic nationalism for the purposes of electoral propaganda until the late 1950's. Similarly, the modernisation of the paper from the 1960's onward was hampered by the control structures which had made it possible for de Valera to use the Irish Press as an ideological weapon in the 1930's.

Unlike the case in Latin America, the transition from economic nationalism to free trade, (and from populism to market liberalism) was not carried out in one fell swoop. Instead, Fianna Fail managed, after a period of crisis, to adapt itself to the new conditions of capital accumulation which succeeded the phase of ISI. In adapting itself to the new circumstances, it seemed that the party no longer required the close links with the Irish Press which had obtained in the past. Or at least those sectors of the party leadership who looked to the urban population for the future Fianna Fail support seemed to recognise that a break with past traditions was necessary. The Evening and Sunday papers accorded with the new image of the party and reflected the assumption that simple propaganda could no longer ensure party hegemony. For the Irish Press, the decline which began in the mid-1950's was never fully reversed. In a sense, the paper has never fully escaped the legacy of populism, the contradiction between tradition and modernity which has been the hallmark of politics in independent Ireland.

APPENDIX 1

---

CIRCULATION OF THE IRISH PRESS, 1956-1991

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>
	Jan-Jun	Jul-Dec
1955/6	154,326	141,205
1957	130,908	125,685
1958	121,388	121,889
1959	118,824	117,901
1960	116,405	119,658
1961	115,049	120,511
1962	116,373	116,552
1963	117,172	120,615
1964	128,411	122,844
1965	123,553	119,232
1966	110,163	110,688
1967	106,498	103,561
1968	102,073	102,578
1969	100,155	101,597
1970	101,572	99,080
1971	91,231	96,172
1972	96,976	97,047
1973	95,049	94,115
1974	92,050	92,406
1975	84,759	87,934
1976	83,305	89,161
1977	85,696	92,064
1978	93,598	95,809
1979	98,790	102,424
1980	98,568	100,357
1981	104,902	104,633
1982	101,809	101,393
1983	94,295	90,996
1984	86,655	89,076
1985	89,249	83,205
1986	78,324	78,954
1987	79,235	75,912
1988	79,108	65,774
1989	63,904	62,786
1990	60,635	60,287

SOURCE ABC HALF-YEARLY FIGURE

---



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Section I Primary Sources Cited

Synopsis of Sources

- I Manuscripts
- II Unpublished Sources
  - Dissertations and theses
  - Personal Statements and Interviews
- III Government Documents
- IV Newspapers (title and date, page number for primary sources)
- V Journals and Periodicals
- VI Other Published Sources

I Manuscripts

National Library of Ireland

Frank Gallagher Papers (Ms No 18361 (1-5))  
M J MacManus Papers (Ms No 18341)  
Joseph McGarrity Papers (Ms No 17441)  
NAIDA Papers (Mss Nos 16238-16249)

II Unpublished Sources

Dissertations and theses

Allen, K (1992) Fianna Fail and the Irish Labour Movement 1926-1990 Ph D Dissertation, University of Dublin  
Baker, S (1987) Dependency, Ideology and the Industrial Policy of Fianna Fail Ph D Dissertation, European Studies Institute, Florence  
Girvin, B (1986) Protectionism and Economic Development in Independent Ireland 1922-1960 Ph D Dissertation, University College, Cork  
Reynolds, B A (1976) The Formation and Development of Fianna Fail 1926-1932 Ph D Dissertation, University of Dublin

Statements and personal interviews

Dr Noel Browne  
Tim Pat Coogan  
Douglas Gageby  
Michael Mills

III Government Documents

Parliamentary Debates, Dail Eireann (PDDE)

PDDE vol 03 Sep 1922  
PDDE vol 48 Jun 1933  
PDDE vol 171 Dec 1958  
PDDE vol 172 Jan 1959

Company Records Office

Articles of Association of the Irish Press Ltd ,  
file no 143739, Irish Press Newspapers Ltd

IV Newspapers (title and date, page number where quoted)

The Irish Independent

<u>II</u>	01 01 1932 p 8
<u>II</u>	26 01 1932 p 10
<u>II</u>	08 01 1932 p 6
<u>II</u>	11 01 1932 p 8
<u>II</u>	12 01 1932 p 6
<u>II</u>	20 01 1932 p 7
<u>II</u>	27 01 1932 p 8
<u>II</u>	30 01 1932 p 8
<u>II</u>	09 02 1932 p 8

The Irish Press

<u>IP</u>	05 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	07 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	07 09 1931 p 6
<u>IP</u>	07 09 1931 p 7
<u>IP</u>	07 09 1931 p 7
<u>IP</u>	08 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	09 09 1931 p 6
<u>IP</u>	10 09 1931 p 7
<u>IP</u>	10 09 1931 p 5
<u>IP</u>	11 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	11 09 1931 p 5
<u>IP</u>	12 09 1931 p 7
<u>IP</u>	14 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	14 09 1931 p 4
<u>IP</u>	14 09 1931 p 5
<u>IP</u>	14 09 1931 p 6
<u>IP</u>	15 09 1931 p 2
<u>IP</u>	15 09 1931 p 3
<u>IP</u>	15 09 1931 p 5
<u>IP</u>	16 09 1931 p 2
<u>IP</u>	16 09 1931 p 6
<u>IP</u>	16 09 1931 p 7
<u>IP</u>	17 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	18 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	18 09 1931 p 2
<u>IP</u>	19 09 1931 p 1
<u>IP</u>	19 09 1931 p 2

<u>IP</u>	19 09 1931	p 3
<u>IP</u>	21 09 1931	p 2
<u>IP</u>	21 09 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	22 09 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	23 09 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	23 09 1931	p 4
<u>IP</u>	25 09 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	29 09 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	02 10 1931	p 7
<u>IP</u>	05 10 1931	p 5
<u>IP</u>	12 10 1931	p 8
<u>IP</u>	19 10 1931	p 2
<u>IP</u>	29 10 1931	p 2
<u>IP</u>	03 11 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	05 11 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	06 11 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	06 11 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	07 11 1931	p 5
<u>IP</u>	13 11 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	26 11 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	27 11 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	01 12 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	01 12 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	09 12 1931	p 5
<u>IP</u>	10 12 1931	p 8
<u>IP</u>	17 11 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	11 12 1931	p 8
<u>IP</u>	12 12 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	16 12 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	19 12 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	31 12 1931	p 1
<u>IP</u>	31 12 1931	p 2
<u>IP</u>	31 12 1931	p 6
<u>IP</u>	02 01 1932	p 3
<u>IP</u>	11 01 1932	p 3
<u>IP</u>	10 03 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	14 05 1932	p 7
<u>IP</u>	01 07 1932	p 8
<u>IP</u>	02 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	02 07 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	04 07 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	05 07 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	06 07 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	07 07 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	07 07 1932	p 7
<u>IP</u>	09 07 1932	p 7
<u>IP</u>	14 07 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	15 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	16 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	16 07 1932	p 7
<u>IP</u>	18 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	19 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	20 07 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	26 07 1932	p 2

<u>IP</u>	27 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	27 07 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	28 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	28 07 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	28 07 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	29 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	29 07 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	30 07 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	01 08 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	02 08 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	03 08 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	04 08 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	04 08 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	05 08 1932	p 7
<u>IP</u>	10 08 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	12 08 1932	p 5
<u>IP</u>	13 08 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	15 08 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	01 09 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	02 09 1932	p 2
<u>IP</u>	02 09 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	06 09 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	07 09 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	10 09 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	16 09 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	26 08 1932	p 1
<u>IP</u>	21 10 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	11 11 1932	p 6
<u>IP</u>	03 03 1933	p 4
<u>IP</u>	08 03 1933	p 1
<u>IP</u>	08 03 1933	p 4
<u>IP</u>	08 03 1933	p 5
<u>IP</u>	09 03 1933	p 8
<u>IP</u>	13 03 1933	p 8
<u>IP</u>	23 03 1933	p 8
<u>IP</u>	28 06 1933	p 1
<u>IP</u>	07 01 1937	p 7
<u>IP</u>	12 01 1937	p 12
<u>IP</u>	16 01 1937	p 8
<u>IP</u>	19 01 1937	p 7
<u>IP</u>	20 01 1937	p 1
<u>IP</u>	20 01 1937	p 5
<u>IP</u>	20 01 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	20 01 1937	p 11
<u>IP</u>	28 01 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	29 01 1937	p 3
<u>IP</u>	09 02 1937	p 1
<u>IP</u>	09 02 1937	p 8
<u>IP</u>	16 02 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	26 02 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	02 03 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	03 03 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	12 03 1937	p 7

<u>IP</u>	16 03 1937	p 8
<u>IP</u>	16 03 1937	p 11
<u>IP</u>	17 03 1937	p 6
<u>IP</u>	19 03 1937	p 19
<u>IP</u>	23 03 1937	p 11
<u>IP</u>	01 04 1937	p 2
<u>IP</u>	01 04 1937	p 11
<u>IP</u>	02 04 1937	p 7
<u>IP</u>	25 05 1937	p 10
<u>IP</u>	11 06 1937	p 1
<u>IP</u>	14 06 1937	p 3
<u>IP</u>	21 10 1937	p 1
<u>IP</u>	12 11 1937	p 9
<u>IP</u>	23 04 1938	p 1
<u>IP</u>	23 04 1938	p 10
<u>IP</u>	26 04 1938	p 1
<u>IP</u>	27 04 1938	p 6
<u>IP</u>	28 04 1938	p 1
<u>IP</u>	28 04 1938	p 10
<u>IP</u>	29 04 1938	p 1
<u>IP</u>	04 05 1938	p 2
<u>IP</u>	04 05 1938	p 10
<u>IP</u>	10 05 1938	p 1
<u>IP</u>	20 07 1938	p 8
<u>IP</u>	21 07 1938	p 8
<u>IP</u>	22 07 1938	p 10
<u>IP</u>	05 09 1938	p 8
<u>IP</u>	05 09 1938	p 5
<u>IP</u>	02 01 1948	p 1
<u>IP</u>	04 01 1948	p 6
<u>IP</u>	05 01 1948	p 5
<u>IP</u>	07 01 1948	p 6
<u>IP</u>	10 01 1948	p 7
<u>IP</u>	14 01 1948	p 1
<u>IP</u>	15 01 1948	p 4
<u>IP</u>	15 01 1948	p 6
<u>IP</u>	17 01 1948	p 1
<u>IP</u>	20 01 1948	p 8
<u>IP</u>	21 01 1948	p 6
<u>IP</u>	05 01 1954	p 6
<u>IP</u>	08 01 1954	p 1
<u>IP</u>	12 01 1954	p 1
<u>IP</u>	14 01 1954	p 6
<u>IP</u>	15 01 1954	p 4
<u>IP</u>	29 01 1954	p 11
<u>IP</u>	03 02 1954	p 5
<u>IP</u>	09 02 1954	p 1
<u>IP</u>	25 03 1954	p 8
<u>IP</u>	01 05 1954	p 5
<u>IP</u>	03 05 1954	p 5
<u>IP</u>	05 05 1954	p 1
<u>IP</u>	05 05 1954	p 10

IP 06 05 1954 p 1  
IP 12 05 1954 p 4  
IP 13 05 1954 p 6  
IP 14 05 1954 p 1  
IP 18 05 1954 p 1  
IP 18 05 1954 p 6  
  
IP 29 01 1955 p 8  
IP 31 01 1955 p 5  
IP 03 02 1955 p 1  
IP 04 02 1955 p 1  
IP 15 02 1955 p 4  
IP 16 02 1955 p 4  
IP 12 04 1955 p 8  
IP 16 04 1955 p 6  
IP 03 06 1955 p 5  
IP 12 10 1955 p 1  
  
IP 11 01 1956 p 1  
IP 19 01 1956 p 7  
  
IP 01 01 1965 p 10

Irish Press Special Supplements

IP 1st Anniversary Supplement 05 09 1932  
IP 7th " " 05 09 1938  
IP 50th " " 05 09 1981  
IP Ford Supplement 03 02 1937  
IP Irish Industry Supplement  
     The New Ireland Five Years of  
     Progress 11 06 1937  
IP Fianna Fail Supplement 12 10 1955

The Nation Mar 1927  
The San Francisco Leader Feb 1928  
The Wicklow People Dec 1928

Secondary Newspaper References

<u>II</u>	20 05 1985
<u>SI</u>	07 07 1991
<u>IP</u>	12 11 1980
<u>IT</u>	01 10 1928
<u>IT</u>	27 10 1928
<u>IT</u>	10 04 1948
<u>IT</u>	24 02 1956
<u>IT</u>	12 07 1987
<u>IT</u>	29 05 1990
<u>IT</u>	22 04 1991
<u>IT</u>	21 09 1991
<u>IT</u>	03 10 1991
<u>IT</u>	30 05 1992
<u>SBP</u>	24 02 1991
<u>SBP</u>	06 10 1991
<u>SBP</u>	09 02 1992
<u>ST</u>	16 06 1991
<u>ST</u>	07 06 1992
<u>CEX</u>	04 04 1992

V Journals and Periodicals

- Baker, S 'Nationalist Ideology and the Industrial Policy of Fianna Fail the evidence of the Irish Press 1955-1972' Irish Political Studies no 1 1986 pp 57-66
- Barry, F G Between Tradition and Modernity cultural values and the problems of Irish society Occasional Papers, no 23, U C D Dept of Political Economy Dublin
- Brenner, R 'The Origins of Capitalist Development a Critique of Neo-Smithian Marxism' New Left Review no 104 Jul-Aug 1977 pp 25-93
- Brown, Rev S, S J 'The Dublin Newspaper Press, a bird's eye view 1659-1916, Studies vol XXV pp 109-122
- Bowman, J 'Newspapers - How Good Are They?', Management, Oct 1973 pp 81-84
- Coogan, T P 'Can the Media Survive the Growing Challenge?', Irish Broadcasting Review, No 4 Spring 1979 p 53
- Devane, Rev R, S J 'Suggested Tariff on Imported Newspapers and Magazines, with comments by Rev M H Mc Inerny, O P, Prof M Tierney, Senator P J Hooper and Prof Thomas O'Rahilly', Studies vol XVI, Dec 1927 pp 545-563
- Devane, Rev R, S J 'The Menace of the British Press Combines', Studies vol XIX, Mar 1930 pp 55-69
- Fejes, F 'State and Communication Policy in Latin America' Critical Studies in Mass Communication June 1986 pp 246-251
- Gallagher, T 'The Dimensions of Fianna Fail Rule in Ireland' West European Politics vol 4 no 1 1981 pp 54-68
- Garvin, T 'Political Cleavages, Party Politics and Urbanisation in Ireland, the case of the periphery-dominated centre, European Journal of Political Research, vol 2 no 4, Dec 1974 pp 307-327
- Garvin, T 'Nationalist Elites, Irish Voters and Irish Political Development, a comparative perspective, Economic and Social Review, no 8, April 1977 pp 161-184
- Garvin, T 'The Destiny of the Soldiers, tradition and modernity in the politics of de Valera's Ireland', Political Studies vol 26 no 3, Aug 1978 pp 328-347
- Garvin, T 'The Anatomy of a Nationalist Revolution in Ireland 1858-1928 Comparative Studies in Society and History vol 28 no 3, July 1986 pp 468-501
- Girvin, B 'The Dominance of Fianna Fail and the Nature of Political Adaptability in Ireland Political Studies no 32, 1984, pp 461-470
- Glandon, V E 'The Irish Press and Revolutionary Irish Nationalism' Eire-Ireland vol XVI no 1 1981 pp 21-33
- Helme, D 'The Press in a TV Age', Management, Mar 1976 pp 34-35



- Mair, P 'The Autonomy of the Political, the development of the Irish Party System' Comparative Politics vol 11 no 4 Autumn 1979 pp 445-465
- Mercier, V 'The Irish Times', The Bell, Jan 1945, vol 9 no 4, pp 290-297
- Mercier, V 'The Irish Press', The Bell, Mar 1945, vol 9 no 6 pp 475-485
- McGough, J C 'A View To the Future', Report by the Joint Committee on Developments in the Newspaper Industry Dublin, 1986
- O'Donnell, D 'The Irish Independent a business idea' The Bell Feb 1945, vol 9 no 5, pp 386-394
- O'Hegarty, P S 'The Mosquito Press, being an account of Irish newspapers', The Bell, vol XX no 1 April 1946 pp 56-65
- Orridge, A 'The Blueshirts and the Economic War, a study of Ireland in the context of Dependency Theory' Political Studies vol 31 no 3, 1983 pp 351-369
- Pipes, R 'Narodnichestvo a semantic inquiry' Slavic Review vol 23 no 3 1964 pp 441-458
- Reynolds, H 'The de Valera Divine Right to Rule the Irish Press', Magill, Aug 1978 p 45
- Roach, C 'The Movement for a New World Information and Communication Order a Second Wave?' Media, Culture and Society, Vol 12 (1990) pp 283-307
- Sarbaugh, T J 'Eamon de Valera and the Irish Press in California, 1928-1931' Eire-Ireland vol XX 1985 pp 15-22

## VI Other Published Sources

- Alawi, H 'Populism' in Bottomore, T (ed) (1983) A Dictionary of Marxist Philosophy London Blackwell
- Bax, M (1973) Harpstrings and Confessions Machine-style politics in the Irish Republic Amsterdam Van Gorcum
- Baran, P & Sweezy, P (1968) Monopoly Capital Harmondsworth Pelican
- Bell, D (ed) (1986) Is the Irish Press Independent? Essays on Ownership and Control of the Provincial, National and International Press in Ireland Dublin Media Association of Ireland
- Berlin, I (1980) Vico and Herder London Chatto & Windus
- Bew, P & H Patterson (1982) Sean Lemass and the Making of Modern Ireland 1945-1966 Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Bew, P, E Hazelkorn & H Patterson (1989) The Dynamics of Irish Politics London Lawrence & Wishart
- Boyd-Barrett, J O 'Media Imperialism Towards an International Framework for the Analysis of Media Systems' in Curran et al (1977) Mass Communications and Society London Edward Arnold
- Brock, P (1977) Polish Revolutionary Populism Toronto University of Toronto Press

- Brown, Rev S, S J (1937,1971) The Press in Ireland a survey New York Lemma, Dublin Browne and Nolan
- Brown, T (1981) Ireland a social and cultural history 1922-1975 London Fontana
- Browne, N (1986) Against the Tide Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Canovan, M (1981) Populism London Junction Books
- Cardoso, F H & E Faletto (1979) Dependency and Development in Latin America Berkeley UCLA Press
- Carty, R K (1981) Party and Parish Pump electoral politics in Ireland Waterloo, Canada Wilfrid Laurier University Press
- Chubb, B (1982) (2nd ed ) The Government and Politics of Ireland New York Longman
- Cohan, A (1972) The Irish Political Elite Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Conniff, M (1981) Urban Politics in Brazil the rise of populism 1925-1945 Pittsburgh University of Pittsburgh Press
- Cronin, S (1972) The McGarrity Papers Tralee Anvil Press
- Curran, J 'The New Revisionism in Mass Communication Research A Reappraisal and Case Study in M Ferguson (ed )(1989) Public Communication London Sage
- di Tella, T 'Populism and Reform in Latin America' in C Veliz (ed) (1966) Obstacles to Change in Latin America London OUP
- Farrell, B (ed ) (1984) Communications and Community in Ireland Dublin Mercier Press
- Frank, A G (1979) Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment New York Monthly Review Press
- Garvin, T (1981) The Evolution of Irish Nationalist Politics Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Garvin, T (1987) Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928 Oxford Clarendon Press
- Germani, G 'The City as an Integrating Mechanism' in Beyer, G (ed ), (1967) The Urban Explosion in Latin America Ithaca Cornell University Press, pp 175-214
- Girvin, B (1989) Between Two Worlds, policy and economy in independent Ireland Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- Gorham, M (1967) Forty Years of Irish Broadcasting Dublin Talbot Press
- Glandon, V (1985) Arthur Griffith and the Advanced-Nationalist Press in Ireland 1900-1922 New York Lang
- Goodwyn, L (1978) The Populist Moment a short history of the agrarian revolt in America Oxford OUP
- Hamelink, C (1988) Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications London Centre for the Study of Communication & Culture
- Hofstadter, R 'North America' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner (eds ) (1969) Populism its meaning and national characteristics New York Macmillan pp 9-27
- Hennessy, A 'Latin America' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner (eds )(1969) Populism its meaning and national characteristics New York Macmillan, pp 28-62

- Hennessy, A 'Fascism and Populism in Latin America'  
in Laqueur, W (ed), (1976) Fascism, a reader's  
guide London Wildwood House
- Ianni, O (1970) Crisis in Brazil New York Columbia  
University Press
- Inglis, B (1975) The Freedom of the Press in Ireland 1784-  
1841 Westport, Conn Greenwood Press
- Ionescu, G 'Eastern Europe' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner  
(eds) (1969) Populism its meaning and national  
characteristics New York Macmillan, pp 97-121
- Ionescu, G & E Gellner (eds) (1969) Populism its meaning  
and national characteristics New York Macmillan,  
London Wiedenfeld & Nicholson
- Kitching, G (1982) Development and Underdevelopment  
in Historical Perspective populism, nationalism and  
industrialization London Methuen
- Lee, J J (1989) Ireland 1912-1985 Cambridge CUP
- Laclau, E 'Towards a Theory of Populism' in Laclau,  
E (1977) Politics and Ideology in Marxist Theory  
London Verso
- Larrain, J (1989) Theories of Development  
Oxford Polity Press
- Longford, earl of, & O'Neill, (1971) Eamon de Valera Boston
- Lyons, F S L Ireland Since the Famine London Fontana
- MacRae, D 'Populism as an Ideology' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner  
(eds) Populism its meaning and national  
characteristics New York Macmillan, pp 153-165
- Manning, M (1972) Irish Political Parties Dublin Gill  
& Macmillan
- Mansergh, N (1934) The Irish Free State London
- Marx, K (1846) Letter to P V Annenkov, in  
Torr, D (ed) (1943) Karl Marx and Frederick  
Engels Selected Correspondence 1846-1895  
London Lawrence and Wishart
- Marx, K (1963) The Poverty of Philosophy Paris, New  
York International Publishers
- McClelland, D 'The Achievement Motive in Economic  
Growth' in Hoselitz, B & W Moore (eds) (1966)  
Industrialization and Society UNESCO- Mouton
- McNair, B (1994) News and Journalism in the UK  
London Routledge
- Miliband, R (1972) The State in Capitalist Society  
London Quartet
- Meenan, J (1970) The Irish Economy since 1922  
Liverpool Liverpool University Press
- Munter, R (1967) The History of the Irish Newspaper  
1685-1760 Cambridge CUP
- Moss, W (1933) Political Parties in the Irish Free  
State Columbia Studies in History, Economics and  
Public Law New York AMS
- Nowlan, K B 'The Origins of the Press in Ireland' in  
Farrell, B (ed) Communications and Community in  
Ireland Dublin Mercier Press
- O'Carroll, J P & J A Murphy, (eds), (1983) De  
Valera and His Times Cork Cork University Press

- O'Crualaoich, G 'The Primacy of Form a 'folk ideology' in de Valera's Politics' in O'Carroll, J P & J A Murphy, (eds ), (1983) De Valera and His Times Cork Cork University Press, pp 47-61
- Oram, H (1983) The Newspaper Book a history of Newspapers in Ireland 1649-1983 Dublin MO Books
- Oram, H (1986) The Advertising Book a history of Advertising in Ireland Dublin MO Books
- O'Leary, C (1979) Irish Elections 1918-1977 Dublin Gill & Macmillan
- O'Toole, M (1992) More Kicks than Pence a life in Irish Journalism Dublin Poolbeg Press
- Pollack, N (1962) The Populist Response to Industrial America London OUP
- Pye, L (ed) (1963) Communications and Political Development Princeton Princeton University Press
- Riordan, E J (1920) Modern Irish Trade and Industry London
- Rumpf, E & A C Hepburn (1977) Nationalism and Socialism in 20th Century Ireland Liverpool Liverpool University Press
- Rogers, E M (ed) (1976) Communication and Development Critical Perspectives Beverly Hills Sage Publications
- Rostow, W W (1960) The Process of Economic Growth Oxford Oxford University Press
- Schiller, H (1971) Mass Communications and American Empire New York A M Kelly
- Schiller, H (1975) 'Genesis of the Free Flow of Information Principles' in Mattelart, A & Siegelau, S (1979) Communication and Class Struggle Vol I N Y International General
- Schiller, H (1984) Information and the Crisis Economy Norwood Ablex
- Schramm, W 'Communication Development and the Development Process' in Pye, L (ed) (1963) Communications and Political Development Princeton Princeton University Press, pp 30-57
- Schramm, W (1964) Mass Media and National Development Stanford Stanford University Press
- Shils, E 'Demagogues and Cadres in the Political Development of New States' in Pye, L (ed) (1963) Communications and Political Development Princeton Princeton University Press, pp 64-77
- Sommerlad, E L (1966) The Press in Developing Countries Sydney Sydney University Press
- Taylor, J G (1979) From Modernisation to Modes of Production a critique of the sociologies of development and underdevelopment London Macmillan
- Tunstall, J (1977) The Media are American London Constable
- Varis, T & Nordenstreng, K (1974) Television Traffic A One-Way Street? Paris Unesco

- Venturi, F (1966) Roots of Revolution a history of the Populist and Socialist Movements in 19th Century Russia New York Grosset & Dunlop
- Walicki, A (1969a) 'Russia' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner (eds) Populism its meaning and national characteristics New York Macmillan, pp 62-96
- Walicki, A (1969b) The Controversy over Capitalism studies in the social philosophy of the Russian populists Oxford Clarendon Press
- Wiles, P 'A Syndrome, Not a Doctrine' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner (eds) Populism its meaning and national characteristics New York Macmillan, pp 166-179
- Worsley, P 'The Concept of Populism' in Ionescu, G & E Gellner (eds) Populism its meaning and national characteristics New York Macmillan, pp 212-250
- Wortman, R (1967) The Crisis of Russian Populism
- Woodman, K (1986) Media Control in Ireland Galway Galway University Press